

**the United  
Irishman**

ΔΗ Τ-ΕΙΡΕΑΝΗΔΟ ΔΟΝΤΑΙΘΗ

MEITHEAMH (JUNE) 1973

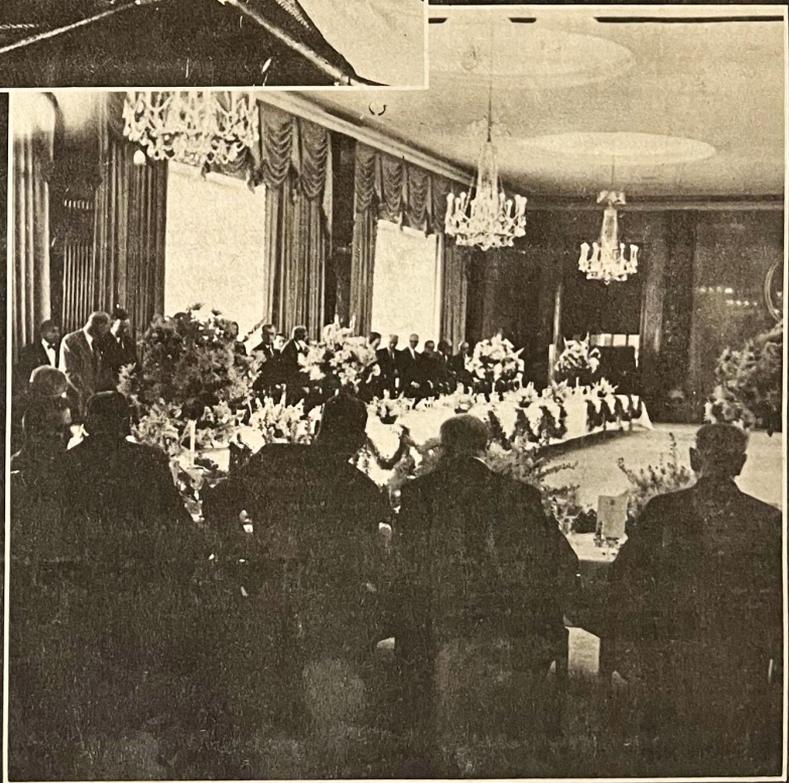
Iml. XXV11 Uimh. 6.

Luach 5p. (U.S. and Aus. 25c.)



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AND..**

**LIFE**



"We will free ourselves by the aid of that large and respectable class of the community — the men of no property."  
— Wolfe Tone.

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— George Habash, Secretary-General, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

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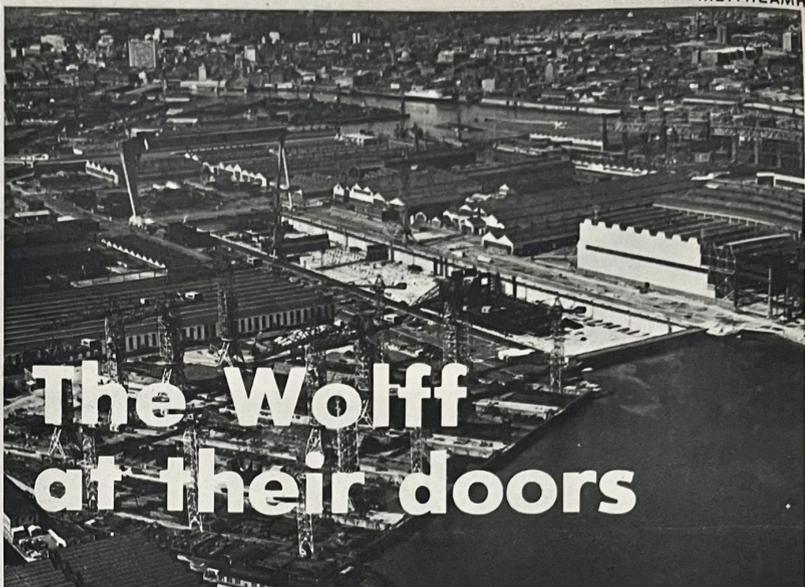
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The greatest single tragedy about the bolliermakers dispute in Harland and Wolff is that the rank and file still fail to recognise that the Conservative Unionists are their real enemy, and their true allies, the equally oppressed Catholic workers. Despite statements of support from the Co. Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs, and approaches made by individual trade unionists within the Movement, the mainly Protestant work force in the yard, still give their allegiance to the discredited unionist leaders who claim to represent them.

Because of the present deplorable, sectarian situation which exists in the north, provoked by the

Provisional's civilian bombing campaign and E.A.S. murder squad activities, Republicans were unable to make any meaningful contact at grass root level.

The dispute began when the 2,300 bolliermakers banned overtime on April 13th and refused to co-operate with the management. In protest against the companies refusal to pay productivity payments agreed on in 1971. The deal promised the labour force a bonus of £2.50 in July 1972 — rising to £3.50 in July 1973. The bolliermakers have got none of this money. They have been thrown out into the streets without dole payments and if they refuse to give in, the managing director Ivor

Hoppe, has threatened to close the yard.  
Hoppe claims that he has to work within the limits set out in Phase Two of the British Tories pay laws and that the governments anti-inflation scheme does not allow him to pay more under what he calls the "alleged" bonus scheme. Despite the fact that the Belfast workers earn £5.38 p.w. less than their counterparts in English yards. The men have also been told that the Government cannot intervene in the dispute.

Yet the Government DID intervene to appoint the Danish efficiency fanatic Hoppe and his £800 p.w. consultants. It gave Harland & Wolff £51 million in aid between 1967 and 1972, with another £23½ million this year to subsidise the £35 millions

speculation in Britain that this company, which is building the ships on "spec" in the hope that they will be chartered, has not got the finances to cover the deal and may cancel the order in the near future. If that happens, many of the 10,000 men presently employed in the yard may find themselves on the dole queues along with the 1,000's of Catholics.

We can only hope that out of this present dispute and the mounting crisis in Harland & Wolff's, that the workers there may begin to recognise the true role of British Imperialism in Ireland. They must realise that their allegiance to their British Tory rulers is completely opposed to their own class interests.

The only force in this country capable of smashing the stranglehold of British Imperialism is a united working class. Only then will the people Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, be able to claim what is rightfully theirs — the wealth and resources of Ireland.

The Republican Movement will continue to work to end sectarianism and unite workers behind their common demands. We will continue our support for the men employed in the shipyard and give them any help possible in the hope that one day we may achieve that unity.

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The Coalition Government in the Free State continues to be sold like a bargain packet of corn-flakes, bonus offers and all. The Budget, inaccurately hailed as one of the greatest social advances of all time, made a gesture towards the 700,000 people in the Twenty-Six Counties who are on or close to the bread line.

The Minister for Defence, Paddy "Up the Transom" Donegan, made and continues to make real obeisance to the British Government's dominating role in the affairs of all Ireland.

The Minister for Justice, decent Paddy Cooney, swung happily to the right when he told the annual conference of the Prison Officers' Association that he believed current agitation in Free State prisons was inspired by and for subversive elements. And Conor "Two Nations" O'Brien made clear the meaning he attaches to free speech when he refused to share a platform with the Communist Party leader, Mick O'Riordan, and the editor of *Hibernia*, John Mulcahy, whom he accused of providing a front for the I.R.A.

Any element of the Left in Irish politics which gave even grudging support to the Labour Party in the General Election is now clearly disillusioned with the performance of a parliamentary group that tried to move hell and high water, not in the interests of improving the conditions of Labour's natural supporters, but of winning support for the Blueshirt supporter, Tom O'Higgins, in the presidential election. At least one trade union recognised its responsibility to represent the democratic wishes of Irish working people and refused O'Higgins a platform.

Ministers who were full of private assurances in the immediate post-election period that the most noxious parts of the noxious Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act would not be in-

# Robbing the poor to save the rich



● Richie Ryan T.D., Minister of Finance.

voked by the new regime have been confounded by the police, acting on the instructions of the Attorney General, and the judges in the Special Criminal Court. The Act remains intact, as does the order made by the Fianna Fail Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Gerry Collins, which prevents Republicans, Republican supporters and organisations like the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association from being openly represented on current affairs programmes on R.T.E.

The Budget, boosted by the capitalist and liberal press, was designed to present a new

image of Richie Ryan as the Robin Hood of the Free State politics. What did it do? It gave a pound of the people's money to the very poor without taking a cent from the very rich. It let profiteers, speculators and ranchers away scot free. As if a pint and a packet of fags were luxuries enjoyed by the Opperman's gin set, it added to the duties on tobacco and alcohol. And it increased Value Added Tax on a great range of goods — furniture, shoes, clothes, kitchen ware — that are essential to the lives of the working people.

There was no redistribution of wealth. Those who will pay for the miserly benefits handed out by a party that once proudly reduced the old-age pension are people on fixed incomes, workers who cannot afford expensive tax dodges arranged by complacent accountants on the company's pay-roll.

Sinn Fein, in its General Election manifesto, called for

a campaign against poverty in the Twenty-Six Counties. Since his appointment as Minister for Health and Social Welfare, the Labour leader, Brendan Corish, has spoken of starting a campaign, with the advice and assistance of some voluntary bodies. Judging by the performance of the coalition parties so far, can Corish's promises be taken seriously?

The campaign which Sinn Fein outlined was part of a revolutionary programme in which the redistribution of wealth would have been achieved, not by voluntary restraints on the basis of some gentleman's agreement but by intervention by the government acting on behalf of the vast majority of Irish people, the workers and small farmers. Sinn Fein pointed out that sufficient wealth existed in the Twenty-Six County area to meet the needs of the people. But the wealth, instead of being distributed equally, is confined to the pockets of the few, the foreign and native capitalists who control the mines, the industry and the services of Ireland.

## Poverty line

It is impossible to introduce adequate redistribution of wealth without making a radical attack on the system under which the few prosper and 700,000 remain on the poverty line. The problems that face the people of Ireland cannot be solved piecemeal by scraps of reformism tossed from the tables of the wealthy via their political representatives. Paddy McGrath and Lord Iveagh, Cosgrave's pet nominees in the Free State Senate, are not revolutionary socialists. Men of their interests will obstruct even the pussyfooting reformism of the Labour men whom Cosgrave needs to hang on to power.

The Republican Movement in the Twenty-Six Counties will continue to act in the vanguard of the workers' struggle to shift power from the plush parlours of Fine Gael and the liberal lounges of Labour leadership to the streets of the cities and towns where the majority live and pay for the luxuries of the few.



The second-class citizens of the Medical Profession — that great body of workers, the nurses — who are treated with disdain, totally ignored and yet expected to work like slaves at the beck and call of money-grabbing, status-seeking doctors, are nevertheless constantly reminded that strikes and agitations are not becoming to their PROFESSION and that they are there for the people's good — Florence Nightingale, etc.

All very fine if they were paid according to their labours and given decent working conditions. Nurses who recently won a 10 per cent wage increase might be reluctant to crib about being exploited, but taking years of training and the type of work into consideration and comparing them with the present rates for far less demanding secretarial jobs, they ARE grossly underpaid.

The present scale is as follows:

Staff Nurse .....	£1,243	—	£1,717
Ward Sister .....	£1,617	—	£1,975
Public Health Nurse .....	£1,715	—	£2,075

Student nurses — the most downtrodden section of the whole nursing body, and, of course, the most vulnerable, a fact exploited to the utmost by hospital matrons — live on £40-£50 a month for the duration of their three-year course. £10 of this is "living out" expenses. Their main ground for complaint is that they are used as if mopping up was their sole reason for being. In some Voluntary Hospitals, as opposed to Health Authority ones, you still pay for the privilege of training. Vincent's Hospital — with a reputation for training "young ladies" — is as high as £300. The scale drops to £60.

Despite the fact that conditions have improved in the last three years, and their salary scale compares favourably to the British one, nurses still have a lot of grievances: promotion outlets, especially in institutions run by nuns, are bad. However, nuns aren't as prolific as they used to be and things are changing in this sphere. Married nurses are considered temporary and, therefore, passed over when it's a question of promotion.

Nurses, both student and staff, have no say in the running of a hospital, nor even a chance to express their opinions on these matters. They are treated as irresponsible children — but when it comes to leaving them in charge of 40 patients on night duty, the responsibility is thrust on them. Some hospitals have a nurses' committee — but sometimes the only nurses on them are the matrons who don't represent the views of student and staff.

Are they unionised? The INO (who, by the way, has had a non-nursing president for the last few years — surely not the ideal position) used to represent only 25 per cent of nurses. Latterly, more nurses have recognised the need to organise and have joined up. Some, in dissatisfaction, have joined the Transport Union. But the INO is negotiating weekend and night pay, and they have a 40-hour week.

The doctors, those eminent members of the IMA, treat nurses like dirt, their never-tiring computer-like slaves, and do nothing to improve the nurses' lot. What else could you expect from the IMA that strongly opposed the lifting of the £1,600 ceiling for social welfare benefits, pleading lack of facilities — the same IMA that was the root cause of Noel Browne's defeat in the famous mother and child scheme. Any tie-up here?

# Nurses and our sick society

## Obituaries

The death occurred during May of veteran Republican Martin Whyte of Clare. Imprisoned many times during his life, Martin never lost sight of the real meaning of Republicanism. A kind friend and trusted comrade he was above the pettiness and meanness which is, at times, so prevalent among old comrades. Those who knew the man also knew that he stood for the rights of that most oppressed class, the men of no property, the class to which he was proud to belong and on whose behalf he dedicated his life.

Ar dheis De go raibh a nam anam.

The Republican Movement extends its sympathies to the relatives of Brian Farrell, 45 Lavarna Grove, Dublin, particularly to his young wife. Brian was a supporter of the movement whose tragically early death has deprived all who knew him of a good friend and comrade.

Ar dheis De go raibh a nam anam.

# eagarfhocal

## Tone's vision

Wolfe Tone is commemorated for his bravery and resourcefulness, for the struggle he led and might have won, for the pride and patriotism of his death. But the spirit of the man lives not only in memory of his action but in renewal of the clear vision that was his. Tone was an original thinker, a visionary whose observation of life and politics was cool and thoughtful, whose philosophy was founded in reason and expressed with passionate force.

Tone saw through the confusion of his time, eliminated the irrelevant and pinpointed both the cause of Ireland's difficulties and the solution that lay in the hands of the Irish people. He recognised the viciousness and wastefulness of sectarianism; he realised the value of unity among the men of no property. He imbibed the revolutionary thinking of brother revolutionaries of whatever nation and applied it to his own. Tone wrote, more lucidly than anyone had done before him or was to do in the centuries after his death, that Ireland could succeed only in separation from the interference of British imperialism and only in the unity of the mass of the Irish people.

### Extension of Imperialism

It is Tone's philosophy that has inspired generations of Irish Republicans to struggle towards the achievement of independence and equality. And as the generations struggled so they added to the vision he held, each generation in its time contributing to the development appropriate to its age. Without this contribution, it would be meaningless to commemorate Tone. For political philosophy is not a static thing and must, as revolutionary movements must, respond to the demands of the people they are designed to serve.

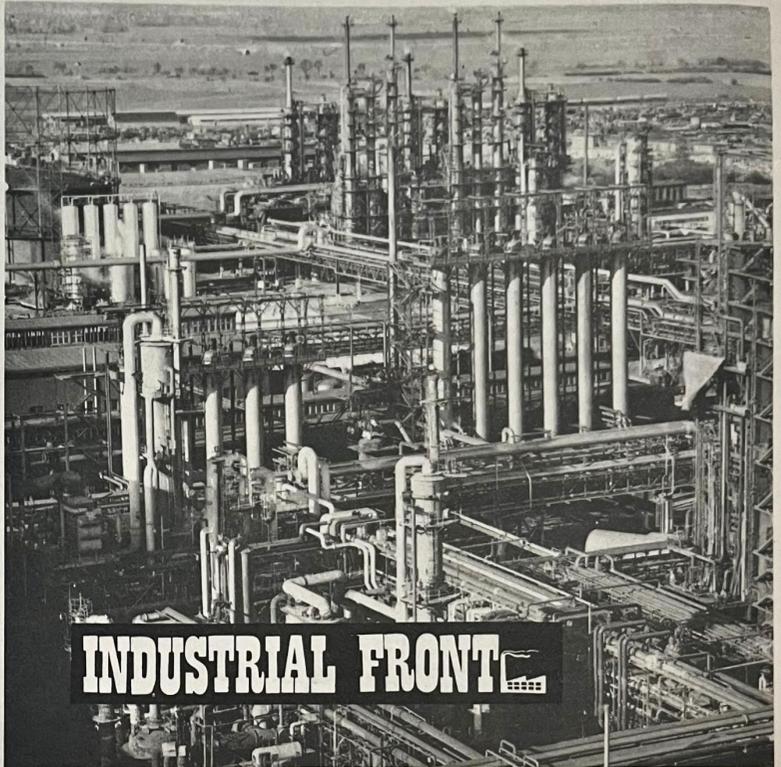
We, in our time, have seen many important changes in the pattern of Irish life. We have been subject to the extension of imperialism by new means, for if it once was represented simply in territorial control it is now represented in a thousand insidious ways. Our people are still subject to the territorial demands of imperialism expressed in murderous attack and repressive force. They are also the objects of industrial imperialism, commercial imperialism and cultural imperialism, coming not from the single source of Britain but from the United States and continental Europe.

### Mockery of Independence

Economic imperialism has insinuated itself into the daily lives of the mass of the Irish people, creating and supplying needs that were unknown in other generations; the revolutionary progress of the Irish people cannot be achieved unless this, too, is recognised and the people are organised and educated to fight against it. Credit companies, banks, building societies — organisations which trap workers in a financial mesh and at the same time profit from supplying their needs; these are the vanguard of imperialism as surely as the Pigs that scream in the streets of Belfast are the manifestations of its naked force.

Irish Republicans, commemorating Tone in June, 1973, must ask themselves whether the interests of imperialism would be demolished if the naked force were removed. And they must look to the "Free State" for their answer. Has the economic imperialism of Britain, the United States, Germany or South Africa been expelled from the Twenty-Six Counties with the Black and Tans? Has the "Free State", with its mockery of independence, become free?

The British murderers must be removed from the Six Counties. But when they go — and go they must — the struggle will not have ended. Tone stood for equality as well as for separation, Tone understood and underlined the need for economic as well as political control. His vision will not have been made whole until a socialist republic is established.



## INDUSTRIAL FRONT

# The American dream

Ireland must now be the answer to the American profiteers' prayers. A recent article on "the advantages of investing in Ireland", based on a survey carried out by Walter H. Diamond, an American expert on foreign taxes, can lead to no other conclusion.

Three of the companies questioned in the survey emphasised that their Irish subsidiaries produced a high percentage of their total worldwide overseas earnings and the Irish profits were far above the average of their other foreign operations. Still dissatisfied, two of them claimed that "increasing wage demands and low productivity" had hindered profitability.

An Atlantic coast company, proud of its exorbitant profits, stresses "that a large part of its 100 million dollars overseas earnings was from its Irish subsidiary". A firm from the Midwest "believes that Ireland is a good market if the company has an 'aggressive management'. Presumably to keep workers' wage demands in check.

Another company was so discouraged by a wage demand and the effect it would have on profits that it said the only solution might be liquidation. It decided to stay, after it had forced the workers into accepting less than half of their original demand. Similar threats have been used to brow-beat thousands of other Irish workers into accepting the crumbs thrown from the table. However, when profits do fall below "an acceptable level" or more lucrative incentives are offered by other puppet governments,

the same firms will pull out, go off in search of higher profits and leave Irish workers to rot.

Since our entry into the Common Market at the beginning of the year, more American businessmen are showing renewed interest in Ireland as a good investment prospect. This situation may alter somewhat in the coming years as the Nixon administration is now attempting to introduce a "Trade Reform Bill" — one of its proposals being the taxing of "tax-holiday" earnings of new U.S. investments abroad. This means that new American firms setting up here which are not subject to Irish taxes because of the "tax-holiday" scheme, will in fact pay American taxes. It appears that if this Bill does go through in its present form, that Ireland will be one of the countries hardest hit by its provisions; for tax-free profits on exports is the major item in the incentive system to attract foreign speculators to set up here.

The Government is anxious that American investment here should stay at its present high level, despite the fact that it is not in the interests of the Irish people. The Industrial Development Authority (I.D.A.) will be able to use Diamond's report to counteract the bad reaction of the speculators to the Trade Reform Bill. Indeed, they could probably use it to attract more foreign investment. The report says "the Irish Government has honoured without hesitation or delay all promises made covering tax exemption, cash grants, and other incentives. According to Diamond, one of the

highlights of his survey was the co-operation each company received from the Irish Government. The Irish authorities bent over backwards so that in some cases THE RECIPIENTS ENDED UP WITH MORE THAN THEY SOUGHT IN THE FIRST PLACE. Compare with this, the tight-fisted attitude to low income groups in the recent Budget.

Most American firms' profits are generally not repatriated but are ploughed back into the companies because the investors realise that under the present system Ireland has many more years of high profits to offer them. The article continues, "in the final analysis, tax incentives, capital grants and scene settings for new factories are only bonuses which aid but do not supplant the prime objective — which is, to make profits.

Every year British, American and other foreign firms reap huge profits at the expense of this country. If the natural resources of Ireland were nationalised and tax-relief schemes, industrial grants and similar incentives to foreign investors ended, there would be sufficient finance available to establish state industries as a step towards full employment.

For too long the wealth created by the Irish people has been used to line the pockets of foreign financiers. The implementation of the above demands could help to ensure that the economy of Ireland and the welfare of its people could no longer be at the mercy of foreign speculators, who put profit first and care nothing for the Irish people.

## Housing group oppose speculator

The long drawn out struggle between the Dun Laoire Housing Action Group on behalf of the homeless of Dun Laoire and Gallen Weston (through his agents Borough Estates) appears to be drawing to a close. Weston and his company, await only the seal of approval from the Minister for Local Government to build their controversial supermarket, office block complex in and around the Adelphi cinema site.

If Weston gets his permission, and we presume he will, there is one fundamental question that must be answered now and that is: what is to happen to the eight families who are still occupying the houses on the site in question, the houses which must be demolished to make way for this complex?

Will Weston re-house these families? Will the Corporation re-house them? Or will they suffer the traditional fate of homeless "squatters" — being thrown on to the roadside with their few belongings whilst their erstwhile "home" is demolished before their eyes?

The Dun Laoire Housing Action Group, who helped move these families into these houses as long ago as May 1971, and in the case of one family as late as May 1973, reiterate their complete and unconditional support for these families.

Apart from moving these families into the property, we have also opposed Weston's plans, using every means at our disposal. We have held dozens of public meetings in Dun Laoire, printed over 60,000 leaflets on this subject, organised countless demonstrations outside the Corporation Councillors' monthly meetings, and in one week of June 1971, collected 2,000 signatures on a petition which called on the Corporation to refuse planning permission to Weston, and to purchase the site for the erection of local authority dwellings. All in all, we have exhausted every means of protest within the democratic structure of this society to oppose this development and alas it seems to be of no avail.

## MEITHEAMH

The physical destruction of working-class areas of Belfast, typified in the Lower Falls, was well under way before the B.A. moved in to forcibly contain the discontent and despair which had festered for so long in these neglected communities. The people of the Falls have always known poverty, and wretched housing has been a fact of life for them. Hopes that the quality of life was to be improved by a massive redevelopment programme were dashed as the people gradually realised that the whole project was a sham based on expediency and the greed of building contractors.

Horizontal slums were replaced by vertical slums — the price of a decent bathroom and kitchen was a cramped tenement in multi-storey flats. The only thing left of the old community way of life was the dirt, the dole-queue, and the bookies' offices. Even the number of pubs were cut back from nearly thirty to a mere half dozen. The ill-conceived high-rise concrete boxes which were supposed to pass as homes cost six times as much in rent as the two-up-and-two-down houses which had served for generations.

Protests by both Catholic and Protestant sections of the working-class were pointedly ignored by the bureaucrats of the City Hall and the Northern Ireland Housing Trust. But any chance of working-class solidarity on the housing issue was destroyed when Unionist Party leaders set Protestant and Catholic at each others throats. In the inevitable sectarian conflict which followed, British troops were introduced to stop the destruction of private property.

### Perpetual poverty

As the soldiers marched into the Falls, the people of the district cheered, thinking that they were there to protect them from outside attack. No one listened to veteran Republicans who pointed out that, when darkness fell that night, the soldiers on picket duty were pointing their guns down into the narrow side-streets of the Falls and not towards the Shankill from where police and B Specials had attacked the night before. And their fears were justified, for within a short time the British Army had replaced the RUC as the "enforcers" in a war of attrition against the growing political awareness of the people. Not only did their very presence instil fear, not only did they raid homes and destroy property, not only did they drag men and women away to Faulkner's Internment Camps, but they used their jackboot tactics against social agitation for better conditions.

In the eyes of Stormont, Westminster and the British Army, the desire for a better house for one's family was a crime. The Authorities knew only too well that a prolonged and educated campaign of social agitation by the people and for the people threatened the exploitive and sectarian foundation upon which the corrupt Unionist regime depended. So the City Hall, the Housing Trust and the British Army were at one in bulldozing through the discredited Redevelopment Plan. A typical example of British Army complicity has been the use of troops and military equipment to demolish homes which construction workers had refused to touch because of public opposition.

# Picture of life in Falls



## CUIGH

But despite a strong military presence in this and other working-class areas, daily raids by troops on homes, detention, internment, torture and continuous harassment, the people continued to organise to improve the quality of their lives. The picture of life in the Falls ghetto is one of environmental deterioration reinforcing a perpetual cycle of poverty and forced emigration allied with continuous military repression and harassment. Hardly a family in the Falls area has not got serious financial difficulties and inadequate housing, and in many cases these are exacerbated by the fact that the man of the house is in jail, interned or on the run.

But the policy of demoralisation by the British Army and the Westminster Government has not succeeded in breaking the will to fight for a better way of life. Tenant associations continue to be formed, the civil disobedience campaign is being carried on, and despite attempts by the authorities to perpetuate the division among the workers, housing action groups which cross the community divide are growing stronger.

### Working class unity

Republican Clubs (there are 26 in Belfast alone) have been particularly active in agitating on local issues and recently launched a sophisticated research programme which is the basis for a continuing campaign to place the control of people's lives where it belongs — in the hands of the people. Their research has uncovered the fact that housing density in the plush Malone Road suburb is three homes to an acre, there are 80 homes to an acre in the Lower Falls and Shankill redevelopment areas. They have proved conclusively that for the single park in the Lower Falls, there are five in the Dunmurry/Lisburn suburbs.

The Clubs have been foremost in opposing the Ring-Road scheme which threatens to push a multi-lane highway through the working-class areas of North Queen Street, Unity Flats, Lower Shankill, Lower Falls, Sandy Row and Roden Street. In the face of constant military harassment, they have ignored bureaucratic red tape and improved street lighting and road-crossings, built recreational facilities and play-centres for children, established local advice centres and opened co-operatives which offer consumer goods and children's clothing at low prices.

The lives of both sections of this divided community are being threatened by the developers and their allies. Opposition to their proposals, to have any chance of success, must be organised by a united working class. Unless this unity is achieved the losers will be the workers of the Falls and the Shankill. Only the speculators stand to gain.

The Republican Clubs will continue their agitation to ensure that the interests of the people are put before those of developers and speculators. To accept their plans whether it be in Belfast, Derry, Dublin or Cork, would be an acceptance that the interests of the mass of the people must be subservient to the interests of the few. We totally reject this concept of society and will continue to oppose it by all of the means at our disposal.



**SE**

The new Coalition broom has promised to sweep clean away the poverty suffered by so many of our people. They have not indicated how this is to be done. They have made no criticism of the system of free enterprise under which this poverty has persisted. They talk of "comprehensive social security and welfare" for all in need. They talk in cliches of the "National Cake" and dividing it up more equitably. What in fact is happening is that the national cake is divided into quarters. Three quarters of the cake remains firmly in the hands of a small minority — approx. 5 per cent — while the government yearly carves and recarves the remaining quarter. Taking from Peter to give to Paul. This is known in economic circles as more equitable distribution of wealth.

We have seen how equitable such a system is in England and the North of Ireland. A much more comprehensive system of social services in these areas has not and can not wipe out the dire poverty of the mass of the people. Indeed it is not intended to wipe it out. The system thrives on it, on human needs such as housing, food and clothing, on the artificially created needs of the consumer society. Social Welfare, like charity, shores up the system, keeps the peasants from revolting, keeps them just enough over the breadline to have something to lose.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in the area of housing. Housing is a human necessity. Without it, in these climates, the people would not survive. Because there is no com-

pulsion on commercial concerns to provide housing for any but the most profitable sections of society it is left to the State to look after the less well-off. How does the State fulfill this function?

Firstly it refuses to interfere, except very marginally, in the area of free enterprise. It will enter into competition with private enterprise for land needed for housing, it uses commercial firms to build houses and flats, it accepts the system of profit-making used by commercial concerns in its dealings with its tenants. It uses the weapons of eviction and second-class accommodation against erring tenants. It is highly bureaucratic and treats those in need of its services as mendicants. A man with enough money to buy his own house can choose where he wishes to live. A Corporation tenant is "sent" to an area with no concern whatever for personal preference unless the tenant is prepared to wait, perhaps for years.

**Overcrowding**

This month saw the re-emergence of the Benburb Street flats into the news. It is now two years since the tenants forced the Presidential candidate, Mr. Erskine Childers to hide in the toilet for an hour and a half, when they invaded his office in the Custom House demanding decent housing. The recent erection of the barricades was sparked off by police intimidation of residents of the flats. Apart from Foley Street, the Benburb Street flats are the most appalling excuses for shelter ever provided for citizens by any Government in these islands. The flats, consisting of one, or at most, two rooms, are inhabited by anything up to ten people. The only sanitary arrangements are toilets on each landing. Many of them used by over twenty people. Mothers with small children must share a sink with cold water under the same circumstances. Small children play in the fiercely busy street just outside the doors of the flats. In some cases the flats are used as "padding" for a family that is in arrears with rent. On the other hand there are families living in Benburb Street who have never been in arrears or indeed in need of any help. Such families have, been on the housing list



**BENBURB ST. WHITEWASH**

for years. They have more than the qualifications necessary for housing if they lived in another area.

During the recent protests the Superintendent of the Bridewell station refused to meet the tenants to discuss their grievances because they had with them an impartial observer. He would not make a further appointment to see them with this observer even though they insisted that they wished her to be present. It was obvious that the police did not wish to deal with anyone who could answer them in their own language. They preferred to deal with people they could intimidate, both with language and threats, with no witness present to know what was being done.

**Harassment**

In the meantime they continue to harass the tenants in the name of "protection". A typical example of this kind of treatment occurred in Foley Street. A woman came to the Sinn Fein Citizens Advice Bureau with the complaint that her son of 15½ who was mentally sub-normal had been arrested and beaten by a police detective from Fitzgibbon Street. A complaint was made to the man's superior officers. They made it clear that it was well known to the police that the boy was not normal. They further said that he was the biggest blackguard in the area that he was responsible for terrible destruction. When the case came to court the detective concerned warned the mother that she was "getting involved with the IRA". Understandably, since she had to deal daily with a more ruthless and vicious set of men in blue uniforms, this did not have the desired intimidating effect.

**No action**

Just before the case came up they offered to get the boy off on that charge and another one he had against him if she would drop the complaint against the detective. She agreed. They then went into the box, took the oath, and swore that the boy was good, innocent and industrious, a credit to God and Country. He was discharged. The detective Garda, who deliberately beat a juvenile, known to be sub-

normal faces no charge or disciplinary action whatever. Presumably he still roams around Foley Street. Such cases could be told of all ghetto areas of Dublin. The Minister for Justice turns a blind eye and concentrates on the "illegal armies".

**Office jungle**

The new Chairman Commissioner of the Dublin Corporation in a radio programme recently said that the tenants of Benburb Street would have to be prepared to take accommodation in outlying districts until the flats could be demolished and rebuilt. Why? There are numerous sites in the City already cleared and serviced on which flats could be started immediately. Mind you they are the property of someone else but what of that? We are talking now of human lives, of the vital necessity of decent shelter for children — not of high finance or profits.

Question: Why must people trot off out to the suburbs, where they have no schools, no shops and no social amenities plus dependence on a bus service which is the worst in Europe apart from being the most expensive, whilst offices remain in the central city area? Answer: because land is dearer in the cities and our speculators must live. Question: but the ordinary workers have to live too. Answer: but they don't have to live as comfortably or as expensively or even as urgently as the speculators.

**Empty promise**

There is no reason to believe that this governmental new broom is going to do more than marginally affect the housing crisis. There has been no radical commitment to even a reformist programme such as that demanded by the Dublin Housing Action Committee some years ago. No declaration of a Housing Emergency, no take-over of empty unused property, no end to the speculation in building land, no nationalisation of the building industry. The tenants in Benburb Street forced the Parliamentary Secretary to make a wishy-washy statement. No remarks are forthcoming from the Minister for Local Government. He is

too busy postponing the local elections to have much time for anything else.

Already some buckets of white paint — the usual official answer to agitation by the tenants — have appeared in Benburb Street. If the tenants can be bought off again that will be the end of the matter for some time to come. In the meantime the speculators can get on with the urgent business of buying more land and making more profits. It is possible however, that the tenants will no longer fall for fine phrases and empty promises. It is also possible that the campaign started by the militant men and women in Benburb Street will spread to Foley Street, Summerhill and other ghetto areas. If it does, the authorities, including the police will find that their bullying days are over and a risen people will take what is theirs.



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## MEITHEAMH

Mr. and Mrs. A. have three children, all boys, aged three years, two years, and ten months, and came to Benburb Street after being evicted from a flat in Ballymun for arrears of rent. He was temporarily unemployed at the time (he works as a trimmer in a tyre factory), and was receiving about £8.00 on assistance, and so it became a question of letting the rent fall into arrears or the children starve.

In Benburb Street they all live in one room, heated by an open fire (on which the cooking has to be done as well, since they couldn't afford the £3.50 demanded by the Gas Company to run 16 feet of piping to their cooker). There is no toilet in the flat, no running water, the walls stream with damp, and the floor is covered with dirty and broken linoleum. The window fittings are cracked and the door fits badly, so that both have to be bagged up at night to stop draughts, making the air in the flat extremely bad.

Toilet and water facilities are, as usual, in the corridor: four toilets and an open sink used by the 30-odd people living on the floor as well as anyone who comes in from the street, since there is no restriction of access to the building. The toilets are in a filthy condition, with no lighting, and the sink is

## CASE HISTORIES

covered by an open grill which lets in wind and rain freely.

One of the worst cases, even by Benburb Street standards, is the widowed Mrs. D., who shares one small room and one bed with her six children, a girl of 29 and boys aged between 4 and 15. She was living in Ballyfermot until 1969, but was evicted for being in arrears with the rent. She now gets £7 per week in assistance, while the daughter brings in £10 in wages. There is no electricity in the flat, only candlelight and the usual small open fire.

Mr. and Mrs. E. have been living with their six children, aged from 1 to 7 years, in two rooms (a bedroom and a small kitchen) for over four years. They are very conscious of the filthy conditions around them (the husband says the place should be blown up) and the wife worries about children growing up in a block where prostitutes have been

known to do business on the stairs. The flat, like all the flats in the block, lack all amenities — toilets, bathroom and running water.

The children have only a filthy yard to play in, and are not let out into the obvious playing area, the street, because of the danger from the heavy traffic. The family live on the ground floor, so cannot hang clothes to dry in the corridor, as they will be torn down. There always has to be someone in the flat, because the ill-fitting door makes it all too easy to break in.

An even larger family living in one room is the C family, consisting of husband, wife and children aged 4, 3, 2 years, and 7 months. They are one of many families in the area who once lived in Ballymun, but were evicted for falling behind with their rent. The six of them share the one bed, and the rest of the furniture consists of a table, two chairs and a television set. The floor is very damp and full of holes, and is covered by broken linoleum. There is only one window, which has been smashed and boarded up, making the air in the flat foul and difficult to breathe. There is the same small open fire and the same over-crowded and dirty washing and toilet facilities in the corridor (in this case shared by up to 20 people) as elsewhere.

# e ousing ndal



## JUSTICE IS NOT THE LAW

On Monday 21st May four families appeared in the high court accused of squatting in property at 15 Fenian St. belonging to Jason Holdings Ltd. Present in court were the wives of the defendants accompanied by their young children. The families come from City Quay, Pearse St. area of Dublin where they had all lived with relatives in severely overcrowded conditions before circumstances forced them to squat into empty property. All are on the Corporation housing list; all are eligible for houses; none have received accommodation.

This area — like many others in Dublin — has suffered from rampant property speculation by companies such as Jason Holdings Ltd. Housing is not profitable enough, so good houses are indiscriminately demolished to make way for office development. Meanwhile as families increase in size and conditions in the area deteriorate, the number of houses available becomes fewer and fewer.

An affidavit issued on behalf of the company alleged breaking and entering, and causing damage to the house. Mr. Tommy Walker, one of the defendants, denied the charges: "When we saw the house was vacant and the door was open, we had no

alternative but to move in — we had nowhere else to go. We caused no damage to the house, in fact it is in better condition now because of our repairs". We went on to describe how, under the supervision of the gardai, a representative of Jason Holdings Ltd. entered the house, smashed the toilet bowl and removed a 20 foot length of water pipe. A week later, without any warning, workmen from the company removed the roof slates. Despite the fact that the gardai were called and in fact took the names of some of the workmen, no charges were brought against Jason Holdings Ltd. Tommy also pointed out that repeated offers of rent had been refused by the landlords.

### A tragic case

Mr. Bradley, barrister for the company, claimed that by their presence in the house the squatters were preventing Jason Holdings Ltd. from developing the site. "We know that this company can't get planning permission and in fact was refused a demolition order in

January", retorted Tommy Walker. Mr. Bradley admitting that this was true informed the court that the company wished to renovate — not demolish the building. Obviously it was their sheer enthusiasm to make the house habitable that made them decide to take the roof off the place. Certainly if renovating means smashing toilet bowls and ripping pipes off walls then Jason Holdings are doing a marvellous job. And then of course you must have a demolition order before you can renovate a building.

The judge was visibly embarrassed by the justification for the squatters case. Justice is not the law, however, and there was no question — as he carefully pointed out — that the squatters had any rights in the case. The law, as usual was totally on the side of the property owner. "This is a tragic case", said the judge, as he issued an order to throw the squatters out onto the street.

We demand: — that these people be put before profit; that the interests of the homeless be put before those of the speculators.

That the corporation find proper alternative accommodation in the area for these families.

That the corporation prosecute Jason Holdings Ltd., for damage caused to the property.

We also demand: — that the interests of the local community be put above those of city and state bureaucracies.

That housing legislation and city planning have as their priority the survival and development of local urban communities rather than the amelioration of big business interests.

An immediate stay on all planning permission for office development.

An emergency housing programme to meet the needs of the homeless in the area, including compulsory acquisition of all sites available for that purpose.

These demands are made while recognising that any society based on private property and idolising the concept of private ownership will never satisfy human needs. To satisfy the needs of all society must be reorganised so that it no longer serves the needs of a privileged few. In such a society the means of production, goods and wealth will be owned by the people.

# THE PRISON WITHIN

Two men now held in the Curragh Camp are so afraid for their lives that they prefer to spend 23 hours a day in solitary confinement rather than mix with other prisoners. The men, Simon O'Donnell and Hugh Meenan, were transferred there from Portlaoise Prison nearly three months ago. This move was an attempt by the Prison authorities to disrupt and wreck the recently formed Portlaoise Prisoners' Union — both men had played a major part in organising other prisoners.

A few weeks after their arrival at the Curragh, both men, for no apparent reason, were viciously beaten by about twenty other prisoners. After the men had been rescued by a number of military guards they were taken to the medical centre at the other end of the compound to have their wounds treated. As they waited for a doctor to arrive, Sean Mac Stiofan followed by approximately thirty other Provisional prisoners approached them again. While Mac Stiofan shouted for the guards "to get these bastards out of here before we kill them" the other men once again knocked Meenan to the ground and as he lay there they savagely kicked him in the head and body. After being rescued for the second time, both men were taken to the commandant's office to save them from further beatings.

The commandant, whose name the guards refuse to give, told them that he had no special facilities where they could be held, nor could he guarantee them adequate protection. They were faced with the alternatives of either risking their lives with the other prisoners or voluntarily going into solitary confinement. They had no choice.

Meenan, who had earlier been refused parole when his wife was seriously ill, had not had a visitor for six weeks prior to our interview with him. His only contact is one hour a day when both he and O'Donnell run the gauntlet through other prisoners to a small compound, ten yards by fifteen yards, where they are safe to walk about.

At no stage were either of the men told by the Provisionals why they were being singled out for this treatment.

The chairman of the Fianna Fail visiting committee told Meenan and O'Donnell that he would submit a strong recommendation that they be transferred to Mountjoy. The recommendation was ignored. After the general election, the Coalition Committee submitted a similar recommendation. Again the application was refused.

Both men believe that Superintendent Crowe of the Department of Justice is responsible for these refusals. This appears to be their punishment for daring to organise prisoners to agitate for better conditions.

Ironically the Irish Civil Rights Association, a Provisional front, held a protest at the Curragh on Sunday, May 20th "to draw attention to the vile conditions being imposed on political prisoners in the Glasshouse Military Detention Camp". The I.C.R.A. also points out that "most of the petty cruelties serve no other purpose than to break the spirit of the detained men".

Perhaps the I.C.R.A. will now join the Saoirse Committee, which has taken up the case of these two men, and put an end to their unjust treatment at the hands of other prisoners. Saoirse is also demanding that both men be transferred to Mountjoy immediately, before they become completely disorientated by their enforced isolation.

The real criminals in this society are not all of the people who populate the prisons across the state, but those people who have stolen the wealth of the world from the people.

— Angela Davis

● Demonstrators clash with gardai during the recent protest at the Curragh.



## ...UNLESS THERE IS SOMETHING TO HIDE?

In a recent speech to the Cork Branch of the Prison Officers' Association Mr. Cooney, the Minister for Justice, claimed that prisoner's unions had been formed by a small group of men who were coercing and intimidating other prisoners, in the style of Mafia-bosses! He alleged that those responsible for forming the unions were mainly more violent prisoners serving long term sentences who had nothing to lose, and then went on to say that "prisoners who disagreed with their point of view were beaten up and a number had been attacked with razors". On May 6th on Radio Eireann Mr. O'Donovan, the governor of Portlaoise Prison, to which Cooney was referring denied the very existence of such a union.

It is nonsense — and Cooney knows it — to say that prisoners are being intimidated into joining the union. On May 8th a statement smuggled out of Portlaoise by the Prisoners' Union made ten demands for immediate and long-term improvements in conditions, including the provision of educational facilities, the abolition of dietary punishment and solitary confinement, and the replacement of visiting committees by committees comprising of social workers, sociologists and law students.



● Mr. Cooney, Minister for Justice.

The Union are also asking for an extension of recreational opportunities "the abolition of the present one hour a day shuffle in the human cage", and the introduction of an impartial parole board, with one third remission of sentence, as in Britain, instead of the present quarter. The statement adds that "we are all vowed to convict and expose the unconvicted criminals who are responsible for having the prison system the way it is".

The prisoners say that shortly after the formation of the Union, the Prison Authorities and the Visiting Committee put 79 men on bread and water for fifty-seven days. On another occasion, 15 men who were found banging their cell doors after a man had been sentenced to seventeen days dietary punishment

because of a fight, themselves lost all privileges for 14 days.

In his speech, Cooney pointed out that "prisoners have easy access to the Prison Governor and to the members of the Visiting Committee, to whom they can talk freely". Of what benefit is it to the prisoners to have such easy access to these people if their complaints are completely ignored?

Perhaps Mr. Cooney can explain why a father, who has only 15 days of his sentence left to serve, was refused parole when his child lost a hand in an accident; or why no action was taken against a warder who attempted to sexually assault two young offenders? Are these not legitimate complaints?

The Minister did admit, however, that "prisoners have legitimate views on general or particular aspects of the prison system and it was right that such views should be heard and considered". If he really believes this and is prepared to do something about it, then let him immediately set up a public inquiry into the conditions and facilities in the prisons in this country. This is one of the demands of the Prisoners' Union and there should be no reason why it should not be implemented right away — unless, of course, there is something to hide?

# Timpeall na h-Eireann

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An Boilsciú

"European price spiral will accelerate this year." "U.S. inflation pressures will become more acute in Autumn." "Inflation whirl from food prices." Cinnneidie atá feideáil chuile lá ar na nuachtáin laethúla, go háirithe ó chualgh muid isteach sa Chomhargadh. Foillsíodh tuarascáil de chuid Choimisiúin an Chomhphobail Eorpaigh ag tús na míosa seo caite inar dúradh nach dtiocfadh aon mhaolú ar an ardú seasamhach atá ag teacht ar phraghasanna in Eirinn an bhliain seo chugainn. Dúirt an tuarascáil gur mar gheall ar an méadú atá ag teacht ar phraghasanna na n-carraí a easpórtáiltear as Eirinn agus a dtionchar siúd ar phraghasanna baile, maron leis an ardú rialta ar phá na n-obrithe, is cúis leis an mboilsciú seo.

Sula bpléann muid an cheist sin nior mhiste súil a chaitheamh siar ar an méid a bhí le rá ag an oll-chairpíleach úd, Nicholas Leonard, ag tús na míosa seo caite agus é ag labhairt ar comhdháil bhliantúil an IMI i gCill Airne. Dar leis-sean go raibh an boilsciú go maith d'Eirinn i lathair na huairé. Dar leis — agus maithimid díbh ma dhéannan sibh gáire — gur dea-thionchar a bhí ag an mboilsciú ar eacnamaíocht na hEireann agus ar athdhá illeadh na maoiné náisiúnta. Is fuil an abairt sin a léamh athuair — Nicholas Leonard buartha faoi athdhá illeadh na maoiné náisiúnta Ach fan go fóill, bhí a thuilleadh le rá aige: Marach éileamh síorrai na gearrdchumann, bheadh an t-athdhá illeadh sin níos cóire. Ar ndó ní bheadh Poblachtach ar bith ag súil le leithscáid níos fearr ó phríomh iondái Fitzwilton, anois an mbeadh. Agus an méid sin ráite aige, thug an dia beidh le fios nar chuir an boilsciú isteach ach ar dhream beag amháin den Mheán Aicme. Maidir leis an bhfiomn-scéal go raibh leithéidí ná bpsinsceoirí



An Frog.



... Agus an Moncal.

seanaoise thíos leis an scéal, marar 'drug addicts nó alcoholics' iad, dar leis an bhfeair mór céanna, ní chuirfeadh an boilsciú isteach chor ar bith orthu.

**An Club Borpach**

Agus céard is cúis go príomhda leis an ardú atá tagaithe ar phraghasanna. An Comhargadh. Theip ar Rialtas na tíre seo teora a chur leis na hardaithe seo — ní hambáin gur theip orthu ach nach ndearna siad iarracht ro-mhór arian a chur leo — ní raibh uathu ach bheith páirteach i gClub na hEorpa.

Tháinig méadú de 11.9% ar phraghasanna bia i 1972. D'fhóillsigh ár Rialtas féin tuarascáil le deireannaí ina raibh siad sásta a admháil go mbeadh méadú nó ardú den chineál céanna i geist an bhliain seo, ainneoin gealltanas an Rialtais go mbeaifí VAT de luach an bhia i mí Mheán Fómhair. Leag an Ghluaiseacht Poblachtánach béim ar na cursaí seo ar fad le linn feachtas an oll-toghcáin, ach ba mhór le gnáth phobal na tíre i gcoitinne ar gheall lucht an rachmais dóibh. Ach le filleadh ar Nicholas Leonard agus a thuairimí siúd faoi chúrsaí airgeadais, nior mhiste súil a chaitheamh ar rason na bpraghasanna in áirdeanna éagsúla ar fud na tíre.

	B.A.C.	Beal Feirste	Doire
‡ punt tae	p 9‡	p 8‡	p 9‡
	28‡	21‡	20
punt íme			
(tá méadú 1‡p le teacht ar phunt íme sa Phoblacht ó lár na míosa seo chugainn)			
pionta bainne	5	5‡	6
2 pht. siúcire	10	9	9‡
1 pt. sírlíon	70	£1.00	£1.00
1 pt. mínce	60	42	46
isbíní, pt.	30	29	28
aran (buillín mhor)	13‡	10‡	11‡
sicín	65	75	70
1 pt. baguin chuil	62	50	44

Fatai agus mairgíne a bhéas ag an ngnáth-bhean tí feasta is doigh.

**Frog nó Moncal**

Faoin am a bhéas an páipéir seo i gceol beidh uachtarán nua againn — cé gur ar éigin a síreodh an chuid is mó againn go bhfuil athrú ar bith ar siúl. Ach an méid sin ráite nior mhiste rud beag a rá faoin mó

Meiriceánach toghchána-íochta a bhí in úsáid ag an dá dhream, go háirithe lucht leanúna an Uasal Childers . . . Cheapadh duine ar bith gur leor an féin-cháineadh agus an caitheamh anuas ar Fhianna Fáil, cás a n-iarthóir siúd nach raibh oiread agus focal Gaeilge ar a thoil aige, ach nior airigh Childers féin aon cheo . . . chuir sé comhairle ar mhuintir na Gaeltachta faoi chúrsaí cultúrtha.

tir an iarthair — be chéart dóibh bheith bitoch do Dhia, agus d'Fhianna Fáil ar ndó, go raibh saol suaimhneach ciún acu ina bhfásach siúd. Dar le Childers go raibh aon domhan thiar in éad leo. Ní raibh aon chur amach aige is cosúil ar an domhan theoir. Tharla achrann beag ina champa siúd nuair a d'aistrigh duine éigin fogra Bhoibbe Molloy agus Johnny Geoghagan dó ina raibh an tagairt cháiliúil ud d'á athair is do na Dubhchrónaigh.

Thug an fear seo gan Ghaeilge cuairt ar Ghaeltacht Thír Chonaill . . . Ní altacht a chuir an chuart seo air ar ndó, ainneoin gur i nGaeilge a labhair fúrnóir na ndaoine le linn an chruinnithe. Bhain an Moncal Mór tairbhe as an ócáid le horáid ceathrú uair a chloig a thabhairt (as Bearla) do

muintir na Gaeltachta faoi chúrsaí cultúrtha. Ar eagla go gceapadh Poblachtóir ar bith go raibh an frog eile, Tomas hUigín, á mholadh againn — rud nach ndéanfadh aon Phoblachtóir agus iad ar leaba a bháis fiú — ní le rá ina thaobh ach gur iarthóir Fhine Gael agus Dream an Lucht Oibre (dream a theip ar shóisialaigh na tíre nuair a chuardar i gComhairleas leis an dream eile) é. Is fear é a chuir iachall (?) ar Mhíchéal O Laoire agus Conchúr Crús O Briain, dul ar son ardán le lucht na léinte gorma — dream a chuir iachall ar Chonchur a sheasamh maidir le "saoirse cainte" má bhí a leithéid riamh aige, a threigint ar mhaith leis an "dul chun cinn". Marach dóchas ar gcuspóir féinigh, chuirfeadh a leithéid droch mhisneach orainn.

## AN COISTE IDIR GHAELTACHTA

AG cruinnio den choiste idir Ghaeltachta i Montpellier ar an 13ú Bealtaine socraíodh go gcuirfidh seminar ar siúl i gComamara darbh teideal "Mairtín O Cadhain — Poblachtánach". Beidh an seminar faoi chomaoiú ghluaiseacht na Poblachta ach beidh sé oscailte don phobal — cos mhuintir na haite ach go háirithe. Deánfar dian-scrúdú ar shaothar agus ar Fhealsúnacht Uí-Chadhain agus ar a phaimpleid chliúiteach "Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge": "Gluaiseacht ar Strac", go speisialta. Socraíodh fosta go gcuirfidh seminar in-mheanach ar siúl do Ghaeilgeoirí na Gluaiseachta ar an 8ú Iúil i

- mBaile atha Cliath. Ag an seminar seo déanfar mion-scrúdú ar,
  - a) Moltai n hArd Fheise (1973) agus Polasáí Gaeilge na Gluaiseachta.
  - b) Staid na Gaeilge sa Ghluaiseacht.
  - c) Goidé atá le déanamh le Gaeilge a chur chun tosaigh sa Ghluaiseacht fré chéile.
- Is féidir breis eolas a fháil faoi an dá seminar fíor-thabachtach seo ó Pascal Mac Aodhain, (Runai an Choiste Idir Ghaeltachta) 48 Sraid Mhor Sheoirse Thuait, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

# notes AND comments

## watergate - waterloo?

The one surprising thing about the present fuss about Watergate is the present fuss. What is everyone shocked about? Surely no one believed the story that Nixon knew nothing about how his advisers and fund raisers went about their jobs. Anyone who was taken in by the sickening guff of the recent heartsearing television appearance of "Tricky Dick" is a congenital idiot. The U.S. is not only one of the wealthiest most technologically advanced nations in the world, it is also one of the poorest (for the poor) and one of the most corrupt.

Part of the philosophy of the free enterprise system is that of the battle to the strongest and the weakest to the wall. This creed covers quite naturally the vicious acquisition of wealth and power by whatever means possible. Poor Mr. Nixon has simply brought the system to its logical conclusion — that's all. For anyone to criticise him without as the same fighting the whole system which accepts such behaviour as part of the blessings of the "Free World" is to be more hypocritical than any of the Watergate accused. For Congressmen who staunchly supported the rape of Vietnam, the invasion of Cuba, the vile ramifications of the CIA, to go all moralistic and impeach Nixon is probably the sickest aspect of the whole affair.



"Tricky Dicky" Nixon.

## civil rights cards

The Central Citizens Advice Bureau of Sinn Fein has been informed by the Commissioner of the Gardaí that it has been decided to display a Civil Rights card in all police stations in future.

The Advice Bureau first made the request for such a card to be displayed in all police stations in January of 1972. The then Minister for Justice, Mr. Des O'Malley, refused the request and stated in his reply that the present system was quite adequate. He also refused similar requests from Labour T.D's, David Thornley and John O'Connell, during question time in the Dail. Some weeks ago the Advice Bureau made the request again to the present Minister for Justice when he met a deputation at Leinster House.

This long overdue concession is obviously very welcome. It is to be hoped that the card, when displayed, will be in a prominent position in the station and that it will be obligatory of the Gardaí to bring it to the attention of all arrested persons, reading it to those who are unable to read. Otherwise it will be of little or no use.

## helping the poor?

The St. Vincent de Paul Society recently sold over 13 acres of land in the Glasnevin area of Dublin to Philip Kelly and Co. The company plan to build luxury houses on the land, part of which was used as playing fields by nearby schools.

The sale of the land has angered local tenants because as one of them said, "in doing this deal, the Society has pulled the recreational facilities out from under 1,500 boys at the schools". Parents of children at the schools and some of the past pupils are

considering organising a petition against the development of the land. Attempts will also be made to try and block planning permission for the site.

Mr. Robert Cashman, president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, said that the money realised from the sale would enable them to tackle new projects for the relief of the poor. Surely Mr. Cashman must realise that selling land to property developers is totally opposed to the interests of the poor of whom he speaks. The most effective way of helping the poor of Dublin with its chronic housing shortage, would be to build inexpensive housing on part of the land and to use the remainder to provide badly needed playing facilities for the children of the area. This would be of much greater long term value for the poor of the city than could ever be achieved by distributing 1400,000.

## clann na heireann statement

Clann Na hEireann, the Republican Socialist Emigrants' Association in Britain, in a statement from the Ard Coiste, have explained the organisation's reasons for their recent disaffiliation from the Anti-Internment League. The statement explains that the decision has been taken following a long period of dissatisfaction over the development of ALL, particularly since the League's last annual conference.

"At its formation", the statement continues "the League performed the vital and necessary function of uniting most Irish immigrant organisations and many sympathetic British ones behind two basic demands; the ending of internment and the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. It was a true united front in that people of widely divergent political beliefs sank their differences and joined forces to combat the increasing repression of British Imperialism in the Six Counties. Thus united, all the constituent organisations and individuals achieved an impact far in excess of what would have been possible had each group remained in isolation.

"Unfortunately, this state of affairs did not last. Efforts were made to narrow the base of ALL. They were gradually successful. By the time of the last annual conference, the League had changed its character. A total revolutionary commitment in general was demanded from the membership. It ceased to function as a broad based united front organisation and became as it still remains, a solidarity campaign.

"We are disquieted with the AIL pivots around this point. We fully realise that there is nothing wrong with a solidarity campaign as such, but, because it necessarily demands a higher degree of political consciousness than do united front alliances, the following it commands is necessarily much stronger.

"In our view what is needed is a movement to which anyone who opposes internment and the British Military presence in Ireland, can belong. The sacrifice of such a movement in favour of a narrower campaign is, at the present time, both incorrect and dangerous. At this time — a time of increasing repression of Republicans on both sides of the Irish Sea — it is essential that large sections of the British Labour Movement be mobilised behind simple demands to oppose British Imperialism in Ireland.

"Clann Na hEireann believes that the AIL, by its composition and nature, is incapable of winning the support of the British working class. Without this vital support, we cannot, no headway can be made in this country.

"The AIL started off with an impressive collection of trade unionists within its ranks. It has lost them principally through the strident immaturities of ultra-leftists. The AIL can not, in its present state, present any serious threat in the battle to sway British public opinion. Its position is, we feel, irreconcilable and consequently we have no alternative but to withdraw.

"In short, Clann Na hEireann believes that the AIL has radically departed from its initial terms of reference. Its influence on the British working class is either nil or, worse, actually damaging to the Irish cause. It now seems to us that the vitally important work of opposing internment and the British military occupation of Ireland can be carried on more effectively outside its ranks than in them. This decision should not be taken as implying any hostility to the AIL or any of its constituent organisations. Our disagreements have reached a point where it is no longer possible to remain a constituent part of the AIL, but to it and its constituent organisations we will maintain the same fraternal relations we have with all organisations struggling in support of the Irish people."

## worker participation

The Common Market countries are committed to a programme of "Worker Participation" in industry. This may explain the recent utterances on that subject by both Michael O'Leary and Edward Heath. While O'Leary intends to have the representatives elected from the shop floor, Heath proposes that he should be appointed by the trade union members. Don't get it wrong! It's not that either is really all that interested in the workers — this is an attempt by the European Commission to buy off any support that industrial militants may have.

The Ministers concerned hope that this liberal piece of legislation will drastically reduce the number of strikes which currently cut profits by millions of pounds each year. The trade unions are happy because they wrongly believe that their presence on the boards of directors will be of some benefit to their members. Unfortunately it will be a case of one voice among many, as the trade union representatives will be greatly outnumbered by the company directors. The industrialists and multi-national corporations are satisfied because they see it as a great opportunity to increase profits.

This gesture must be recognised for what it is — an attempt to weaken the bargaining power of the unions by conning them into believing that they will have an effective voice in the running of industry. The I.C.T.U. must, in the interests of its members, resist this legislation and refuse to participate. Trade Unions must demand full control of industry by the people and refuse to settle for anything less.



Michael O'Leary T.D.

## land speculation

Land speculation by property developers is one of the main reasons for the high cost of private houses at the present time and also accounts for the deplorable shortage of local authority housing. Despite this, a report on land speculation by a committee headed by Mr. Justice Kenny still shows no sign of being made public.

The Kenny Committee, which was set up two years ago, was supposed to report in April of last year. A number of three month extensions were granted and it now appears that the findings of the Committee are being considered by a Government sub-committee. So while the Government sit around discussing the document, the housing shortage becomes more acute as young families are forced to live with in-laws, in severely overcrowded conditions.



Some of the luckier ones.

A suggestion has been put forward in Dublin that all available building land should be given over to private developers, who would sell the completed houses to the Corporation. This suggestion must be opposed at all costs as it will lead to exorbitant rents which few people will be able to afford. Any houses built by the developers would be sold to the local authority at highly inflated prices.

The solution to the problem is quite simple. The Government must end land speculation by nationalising all building land and by declaring a housing emergency. Nationalisation of the building industry is another measure which would greatly reduce the cost of housing by excluding the speculators and developers, who use the suffering of people as a means of making huge profits.

## new cumann for kildare

A new Cumann of Sinn Fein has been formed in the Prosperous area of Kildare. The Cumann will be called after Wolfe Tone. Tone is of course, buried at Bodenstein which is within the Cumann area.

Speaking at the meeting, Tony Heffernan, Ard Rúnal Sinn Fein, said that the establishment of a cumann in this area represented a major breakthrough. "It is hoped that this new Cumann will co-operate with the other Cumann in Kildare and Offaly to build a really strong organisation in these counties".

"The success or failure of the Cumann will depend on you the members", he said. "For Republicans, politics is no casual past-time or passing hobby. We are in Sinn Fein because we believe that the only solution to the problems of the Irish people lies in the establishment of an All Ireland Socialist Republic. We all realise that this is not going to be achieved without a fierce struggle but we demand from all members a level of commitment and activity which will make this objective a realistic proposition in the coming years".

Paddy McGrath of Prosperous was elected chairman of the Cumann. Paddy Gorey, Rathangan is Secretary and Eddie Dowdall and Jimmy Molloy are Treasurers.

## dublin housing draw

This month 200 fortunate families moved into houses and flats which they had "won" in the Dublin Corporation's newly-weds Housing Draw. The draw takes place every two years. Some of the "newly-weds" have been married for some years, which just goes to show how much the Corporation are out of touch with the actual housing situation in the City.

While we are pleased for these young families, we must point out that plays such as this are used by City Hall bureaucrats to stifle any militancy among the homeless of Dublin. Young couples, afraid to endanger their position on the housing list, wait anxiously to see if their luck is in. The thousands of less fortunate families who don't get housed on this occasion will live on in the hope that they may get accommodation in the near future. Then again, they might be lucky in the next draw in two years' time.

This is another example of how the Corporation, assisted by the Government juggle with housing allocations to try to disguise the enormity of the problem. It's about time that they stopped using such tactics and solved the problem in the only way possible — by building more houses.

# A little Ulster in the Middle East

"To create a little Ulster in the Middle East" — so Lord Balfour summed up his intention in 1917 when, in the "Balfour Declaration" he made the first ambiguous statement of the Western power's determination to set up a "Jewish national homeland" in Palestine. More than half a century later the Palestinian people are suffering from the success of the Western Plan. Driven from their homes to make way for wave after wave of Jewish immigrants; hundreds of thousands live in vast, sprawling refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon; barely tolerated by their "host" governments and an embarrassment to all those who seek a "détente" in the middle east. Driven in on themselves, in increasing desperation, they strike out now in organisations like "Black September" against any symbol of the power which oppresses them and when they do, are denounced as "terrorists and adventurists" by those who know little and care nothing about the horrific past which has shaped their consciousness and the bleak future which, without dramatic action, seems to face them.

## Devastating tactics

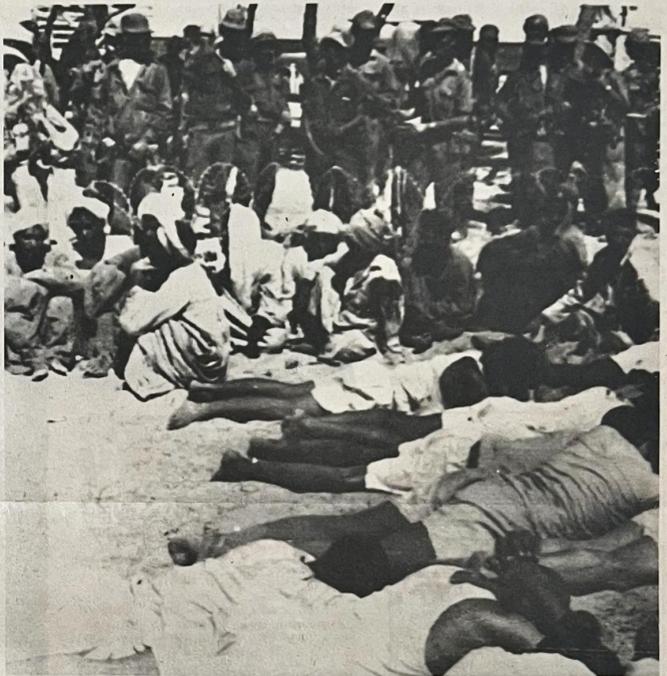
Three years after the Balfour declaration, in 1920, the League of Nations placed Palestine under a British mandate. Immediately, Jewish immigrations rocketed. The immigrants, protected by British forces began to squeeze the Arabs out of jobs — and out of the available housing. For the next three decades, despite Arab general strikes and riots in protest, the immigrants continued to surge into Palestine. Many were fleeing from anti-Semitic persecution in Europe. This suited the Western powers well, who preferred to export the problem to the middle-east rather than stand up to Nazism in Europe. By the beginning of 1948 Jews who had formed only three per cent of the Palestine population at the beginning of the century had reached the figure of almost 50 per cent. Overtly and covertly supported by the West, they launched a war to clear the Palestine Arabs out of their own country. Their tactics were simple, direct and literally, devastating. In the village of Deir Yassin, for example, every man, woman and child found was massacred and the houses blown up. Six-hundred thousand Arabs fled to neighbouring states. They are still there.

Meanwhile, Israel has prospered. — Its Jewish population has increased fourfold to over 2½ million. Western commentators consistently describe its progress as "miraculous". It is nothing of the sort. Its economic advances, like its military prowess is based on massive injections of Western money. America alone has poured in nine-million-million dollars in the last twenty-five years. West Germany pays gigantic "reparations" for the Hitler atrocities. The result is that Israel can afford to be the most militarised state on earth with 420,000 men and women under arms.

Meanwhile, in the refugee camps, vast enclaves of simmering unrest, the guerillas organise themselves to fight in the only way a force bereft of a meaningful outside support can. They are hampered by right-wing Arab regimes like that of Hussein in Jordan, who are more interested in maintaining a modus vivendi with Britain and America than in pursuing the real interests of the Arab masses. They are hampered by the capitalist propaganda machine which misrepresents the situation in a way every socialist and republican will readily recognise. Israelis who massacre Arabs are "security forces"; Arabs who strike back are "terrorists" or "men of violence". Television programmes depict guerillas with guns as blood-thirsty gangsters, while the parade in Jerusalem celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Israel regime—five miles of tanks and guided-missiles with Mirage Jets flying in Star of David formation overhead — is presented as a jolly "Mardi Gras" procession. Arab leaders like Arafat and Hawatneh are treated as sinister killers, while the one-eyed gangster Dayan, soaked in innocent Arab blood has become a familiar, friendly telly-personality in the late-night chat shows.

The war in the middle-east is not over. It has hardly begun. It will continue until the Arab people of Palestine can once again live in their own country. As that war continues, in whatever form and whatever reservations we might have about tactics used, no socialist or republican can be neutral. We stand shoulder to shoulder with the Arab people!

● Arab guerillas being held for questioning by Israeli soldiers.



## Ring road not in people's interest



● British Army bulldozers being used to clear the way for the ring road. Local workers refused to do the work when the people objected to the scheme.

The Belfast Command Staff Ogalag Na hEireann in keeping with our policy of at all times defending the interests of Working-Class people wish to make the following statement:

The Belfast Ring Road Plan is being forced upon the working-class areas of Belfast against the wishes of all local democratic opinion.

The Ring Road scheme is part of the Belfast Transport Plan which was given its final approval by the former Minister of Development, Bill Craig. Community associations from all areas affected by the Ring Road have completely rejected the Belfast Transport Plan. At the Public Inquiry into the Belfast Urban Plan the Markets Redevelopment Association and Sandy Row Redevelopment Association made detailed comprehensive objections to the Ring Road scheme on behalf of their own areas and on behalf of the working-class areas of Belfast as a whole.

A look at the particular firms involved in the latest extension of the M 2 motorway — which will feed the Ring Road from the North — reveals the type of pressure on the Tory Whitelaw regime to ensure that the Ring Road proceeds in spite of the opinion or interest of local people.

A total of over £12,000 to the Conservative Party and its allied support groups has been donated by the following firms involved in road works in the 6 Counties.

Associated Portland Cement whose Maghermourne quarry supplied the M 2 extension:  
DONATION £5,000; YEAR ENDING 31/12/71;

RECIPIENT, British United Industrialists. DONATION £2,000; YEAR ENDING 31/12/71; RECIPIENT, Common Cause.

Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons, the main contractors on the M 2 extension:

DONATION £2,290; YEAR ENDING 31/10/71; RECIPIENT, Conservative Party.

Torchwell Holding the parent company of McAlpines: DONATION £1,000; YEAR ENDING 31/10/71; RECIPIENT, N.W. Industrialists Council.

Trafalgar House Investments whose subsidiary, Cementation (N.I.) Ltd., built the bridges and piled foundations on the M 2. Cementation Ltd. is favourite for the contract on the Ring Road:

DONATION £2,100; YEAR ENDING 30/9/72; RECIPIENT, Economic League.

It is in the interests of such companies that such extravagant schemes as the Ring Road and Tower Block housing go ahead.

Democratic legal objections to the Ring Road scheme submitted by the Republican Clubs were suppressed by Roy Bradford under the Special Powers Act.

The Ring Road will run through New Lodge, Lower Shankhill, Unity Flats, Lower Falls, Sandy Row, Ormeau Road/Markets area, Dee Street and Short Strand/Ballymacarett district. Every major working-class area of Belfast will have the motor monstrosity ruin normal life — already overcrowded and underprivileged areas. In order to make way for the motorway thousands of homes have been demolished and to clear a path, working-class families piled on top of one another in tower and slab blocks because valuable housing lands is being sacrificed for the Ring Road scheme.

Recal alternatives to the Belfast Transport Plan have not been considered by the English planners, Travers Morgan, who drew up the scheme.

Lord Grimthorpe, a director of McAlpine Ltd., stated at the opening of the M 2 that: "the motorway was an indication that in spite of destruction, the Secretary of State and the residents of the 6 counties were looking ahead to times of peaceful construction". English Lords Windesham and Grimthorpe do not speak for the residents of the working-class areas in the path of the Ring Road.

Irish Republican Army Intelligence Units have already built up dossiers of information on the companies and the names of various directors who will most likely be involved in the construction of this Ring Road.

The Belfast Command Staff wish to make it absolutely clear that the Irish Republican Army, acting in their capacity as the Army of the people, will give every assistance to the people's organisations which are attempting to prevent the implementation of this anti-working-class plan.

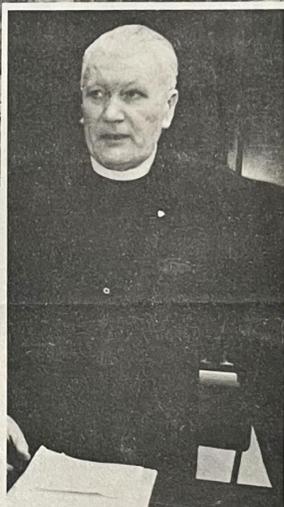
# REPUBLICANS TO CONTEST ELECTIONS

## As power struggle develops within the S.D.L.P.

The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein have decided to contest the coming Assembly Elections on June 28. Approximately 20 candidates in more than half of the constituencies will present the Republican programme.

Once again our candidates have accepted the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association pledge NOT to take their seats until internment has ended and all forms of repressive legislation repealed. The S.D.L.P. still refuses to stand by "the men behind the wire" and the people who are continuing with the civil disobedience campaign by withholding rents and rates.

Much criticism has been directed at the SDLP who claim to lead the anti-unionist population for their connivance with Mr. Whitelaw in trying to smash the people's opposition to oppression. The effects of this desertion though have set up what a well-informed observer has described as "intolerable strains within the Party". Three factions have emerged centred around John



● Father Padraig Murphy.

Hume and leading members of the Executive, Paddy Devlin and some of the more principled members of the SDLP and finally Gerry Fitt who now appears to be almost totally isolated from the Party he helped to form along with Jim Callaghan former British Labour Party Home Secretary.

### Hume's grip tightens

Fitt and Devlin both shrewd politicians are known to be concerned at the dropping of the anti-internment policy and the attempts being made by the Hume clique to seize control of the SDLP in the interests of the Roman Catholic middle class. The appointment of new secretary John Duffy (theoretician of the defunct National Democratic Party) is understood to have tightened the grip of Hume on party policy. Like Hume, Duffy is an outspoken supporter of the European Economic Union and was active in selling the idea to the farming community while secretary of the Ulster Farmers' Union. There is also clear evidence of close ties between Hume and leading Roman Catholic clerics such as Canon Murphy of Lower Falls fame. Such a powerful line-up has increased the isolation of the genuine left elements. As the Fitt/Devlin power base is in the ghetto areas of Belfast it would appear likely that they will

Republican policy is geared towards the goal of a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic, all candidates will be stressing this objective. Our demands include the total withdrawal of British military and political control from the Six County area on an early specified date, a renouncing of all claims to sovereignty over any part of Irish territory and the payment of economic compensation to the working class so that their living standards, such as they are, should not be adversely effected.

### Seize every opportunity

Fighting these elections is another weapon in the armoury of the Republican Movement, it is neither a return to the old abstentionist policy nor does it imply a recognition of the right of Britain to interfere in Irish affairs. We are firmly committed to establishing the sort of Ireland desired by Pearse and Connolly where only the people will be lords and masters. To achieve this it is imperative that as many as possible in the North understand the secular socialist and separatist nature of our programme. We must therefore seize every opportunity to spell out the true nature of republicanism which rejects sectarianism and seeks to win our freedom through the people of no property.

## Ireland 'a magnet'

The following is a translation of a report which appeared in the Milan paper 'L'Espresso': "Ireland beats Sardinia 2-0. It's not the result of a football match, but of the fight between the IDA — Industrial Development Agency of Ireland — and the specialised Italian Credit Agencies to attract foreign firms willing to invest. The choice for some time now has been increasingly Ireland: a few months ago Alcan Aluminium, and recently Hamon and Katz, who make pharmaceuticals, have diverted their dollars towards Ireland. In the case of Hamon and Katz it's a question of 12 million dollars, just for a start!

"In the last few years more than 450 firms, mostly English, American and German, have opened branches in Ireland. What's the big attraction towards the green island? The reasons are financial. The conditions the island offers are very attractive. Premises ready to buy or rent at very low prices; grants; and above all complete tax exemption for 15 years on profits derived from exports and partial exemption for successive years until 1990. In practice it means that the firm receives a contribution equivalent to 70 per cent of the cost of the plant. As well there's the low cost of labour — 700 lire per hour against 1,900 in Italy."

"No wonder investing in Ireland has become more profitable even for Italian firms."

## National Commemoration Committee BODENSTOWN 1973 Annual WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION

Sunday, June 17.

Parade assembles at 2.30p.m.

Speaker: Liam McMillen, Belfast

Chairman: Tomas Mac Giolla

No flags, other than those carried by the official Colour Parties, will be carried. Organisations wishing to participate under their own banners should inform the Secretary, National Commemoration Committee, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, to facilitate the organisation of the parade.

Stewards should be in the assembly field at 12 noon.

A Special Train will leave Heuston Station at 12.45 p.m. Depart Sallins 18.45. Return Fares: 55p. Children 30p (under 16).

CEILI MANSION HOUSE 9 — 1a.m.



JUNE 17