

# the **United Irishman**

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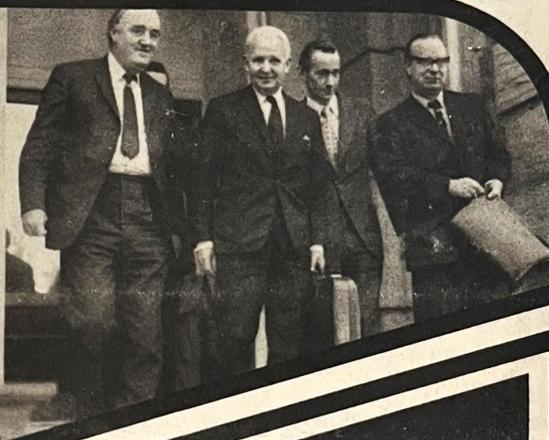
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## Assembly Smokescreen

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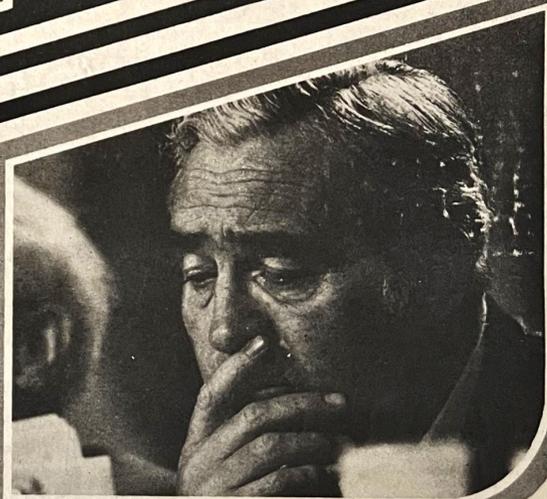
## The road to defeat

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## The junior partner

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# The Fenian St. Lesson

Mr. James Tully, Minister for Local Government, has allowed the demolition of No. 15 and No. 16 Fenian Street, Dublin "as they were considered unfit for human habitation and were not capable of being made fit at a reasonable cost". His decision was as a result of a statutory appeal from Jason Holdings Ltd. under the Housing Act, 1969.



## FARM FORUM

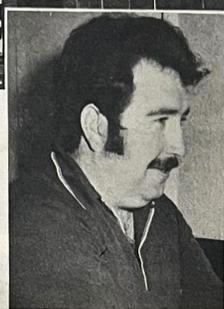
Land speculation seriously threatens the life of the Gaeltacht, said a recent press release from Conradh na Gaeltige. Nothing new perhaps to hear that another small farming community, an Irish-speaking community, is to be wiped off the face of the map by the speculators in their search for increased profits.

But in this instance there are some nasty rumours circulating. Reports come trickling in that some of the men involved in speculation in the area of An Bearná and An Spideal are "well-in". Indeed, one of those involved was a member of the last government, which claimed to be committed to the restoration of the Irish language in its official policy statement. It appears that we will be hearing much more about this in the coming weeks.

Last year the ACC made a record profit of £250,000 after tax was paid. The Chairman, Mr. Brendan Coslidge, told the A.C.M. that the recently concluded World Bank loan would be a "substantial advantage to the small and medium scale family farmer". However, the Farming Independent of May 20th pointed out that "the interest rate to borrowers will be higher than those obtainable through normal channels". The rate is 9 1/2 per cent and other strings are also attached.

James O'Keefe, ICMSA President, speaking at his association's last A.G.M., stated: "Irish banking institutions, along with the government needs to develop a social conscience". This could be done by making long-term, low interest loans, available exclusively to working farmers who need them most. There is no justification for the ACC — a government agency — making such an enormous profit at the farmers' expense.

Seamus Costello, Sinn Féin member of Wicklow County Committee of Agriculture, recently returned from a farmers' protest rally in France. According to La Monde, over 50,000 farmers participated in the two-day protest which took the form of parades from various parts of France ending up in the huge rally on the Larzac plateau. The protest was organised against the French government's plan to increase the size of their military base at Larzac, in the south of France, to three times its present size. This proposal of the French government will mean the eviction of 103 small farmers from the area. The military base in question has been used on several occasions in the past to train British soldiers before they are sent to Ireland.



● Andy Smith.



● Elizabeth McManus.

The provision of office blocks in place of the two houses will therefore proceed. Jason has proved that vandalism can overcome statute.

Nine months before the Minister's decision an inspector from Dublin Corporation had declared the buildings habitable and refused a demolition order. Three months before the decision an inspection of the houses carried out by an architect for Mr. Fergus O'Brien, T.D., showed that the houses were in a sound condition. And this inspection had followed the removal of the roofs by Jason to force three families on to the streets.

The architect, Mrs. Elizabeth McManus, who carried out this inspection subsequently brought a District Court Summons under the terms of the Housing Act, 1969, against Jason. Jason, however, made it a condition in agreeing to provide accommodation for the families living on the street outside Fenian Street houses that the summons be withdrawn.

The summons was withdrawn on the intervention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Garrett Fitzgerald, who was acting as a mediator between Jason and Mr. Andy Smith representing the families. Dr. Fitzgerald agreed with the architect who brought the summons that concrete evidence existed of the illegality (under the 1969 Act) of the actions of the development company.

However, in the interests of the families on the street, the summons should be withdrawn. All this happened in the middle of September. Within days (on September 21, it now transpires) Mr. Tully had granted Jason the demolition order: two houses judged habitable by a Corporation Inspector in January were now in the words of the Minister "not capable of being made fit at a reasonable cost".

The lesson is clear: Companies like Jason who want to replace perfectly good living accommodation with office blocks will receive planning approval from the Minister provided they do sufficient damage to the living accommodation.

Although the demolition order was made on September 21, Mr. Tully did not announce his decision until October 29.

## Depressing!

British Army authorities concerned at the drop in recruiting figures have tried to enlist education authorities and schools in campaigns to stress the attractions of military life to school children. But the response has not been good. Figures published by the British Ministry of Defence last month shows that the number of adults and young soldiers enlisting in August was 13 per cent below that of 1972. In the first three months of 1973, according to the figures, recruitment dropped by nearly half.

School leavers have always provided a steady flow of recruits to the Army. However recent surveys conducted among them show that a major factor in dissuading them from joining is the thought of a lengthy tour in Northern Ireland. Special recruiting displays, exhibitions and jamborees for which students were given half days off school have failed to improve the situation. In north-east England the recruitment campaign has been counter-productive.

An anti-recruitment campaign has been mounted by the South Shields Trades Union Council. Full support for the campaign has already been

pledged by the Northumberland College of Education Students Union, the Tyneside Rank and File group of socialist teachers, Newcastle International Marxist Group, Newcastle International Socialists, Tyneside Anti-Internment League, Tyneside Socialist Womens Action Group, Northern Counties College of Education Socialist Society and the Newcastle University Socialist Society.

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# LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

## Paying lip service to the working class needs

The Minister for Industry and Commerce, Justin Keating, was said by political commentators to have won an important victory over Noel Browne and his comrades, at the annual conference of the Labour Party in Cork.

What Keating achieved was not a victory for Labour. It was the public humiliation of a great movement and the betrayal of the Irish working class. What he achieved was a victory — for the Parliamentary Labour Party over the rank-and-file, and no-one who considers himself or herself to be of the Left can take pride or pleasure in that.

### Junior partner

Justin Keating won the party conference from Noel Browne's principled approach to the mining issue. Browne had called for nationalisation, for public ownership of a resource and the right to exploit it and a resolution, carefully confused by the conference's standing orders committee, urged that this should be a condition of Labour's remaining in the Coalition government.

Keating explained, like a patient schoolmaster dealing with recalcitrant but basically tameable children, that Labour was the junior partner in Coalition, that if it wanted anything at all it had to accept the conservatism of Fine Gael and that if it tried to get more than a minimum of concessions Labour would find itself back on the Opposition benches.

### Major issue

It is difficult to remember in recent Irish history an occasion on which any member of any party's leadership spelled out in such damaging detail that party's weakness and vulnerability. It is impossible to imagine what value the process could have had for the Labour Party, although it served the leadership well by stifling demands it considered extreme.

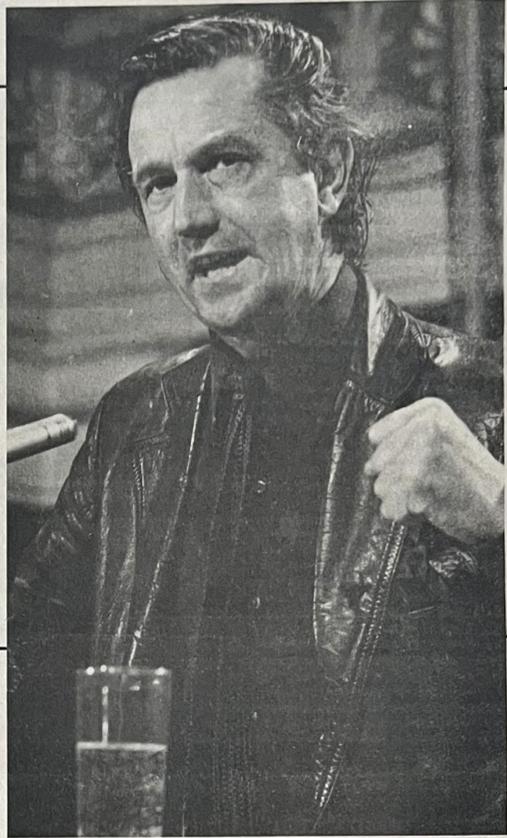
Mining was the major issue at

Labour's conference and Keating's was the major speech. It would have been a piece of brilliant oratory, if all that was at stake was an academic debate with Browne, Pat Carroll and the Left. As it was, there was a bigger prize — not only for Labour but for the people of Ireland.

And as he told the delegates that the choice was simply one of accepting the measure prepared by the Fine Gael Minister for Finance, Richie Ryan, or putting Flanna Fail back into office, Keating was being deceptive, if not downright dishonest. What would happen if, instead of accepting either Browne's or Keating's view, the Party demanded more than Ryan was offering? The delegates were not



● Justin Keating: calling for a minimum of concessions.



● Noel Browne: A principled approach to the mining issue.

told if an effort had been made to get more.

Mining may have been the major issue in the conference on which the rank-and-file was betrayed. It was far from being the only one. The Minister for Local Government, Jimmy Tully, who has more than a passing interest in mines, gave a generalised, almost meaningless speech on housing; poverty, to abolish which Labour is at least nominally pledged, was given a half-hour's airing and no real attention.

### Art of the possible

On prices, Keating claimed he had done as much as could be done and would take power to do more if that should be necessary. Presumably, if the senior partners in Coalition, right-wing Fine Gael, allow him to do so. If not, another Labour conference will have to be held that the time for action is not yet, that politics (in the fall-safe cliché) is the art of the possible.

Northern affairs were scarcely discussed. The conference spent more time deciding that it would not hear speakers on the Offences

Against the State Act than they might have spent debating the issue. There were vague and general promises of prison reform.

The conference represented not only a defeat for the Left but the fullness of the defeat for the labour movement in Labour's choice of Coalition. The Republican Movement has pointed out frequently that we are not now operating in conditions favourable to revolutionary change or radical reform. One of the lines of defence against a worsening of those conditions would have been a strong, independent, determined Labour Party. The Labour leadership has shifted ground, is no longer behind the class barricade on the side of the workers.

But the Left cannot and must not rest. The Republican Movement has prepared for the establishment of a revolutionary organisation, principled, disciplined and prepared for conflict with our class enemies. We now repeat our call to those members of the Labour Party who have been betrayed: unite with the revolutionary party of socialist republicanism in the struggle that demand unity, strength, principle and loyalty.

## TWO BILLION POUNDS...

Two billion pounds is a lot of money. It is a figure often mentioned in the past few weeks as the value of ore deposits at Navan, Co. Meath. This two billion, however, represents only a tiny proportion of the wealth generating capacity of the ore beneath the ground at Navan.

The production cycle of a metal is divided into three distinct stages:

1. Extraction of ore from the ground.
2. Transportation to a smelter where it is refined.

3. Use of the refined metal in a moulding or chemical process to make goods which are bought over the shop counter.

The first stage is the only one which will occur in this country. It will account for an estimated 5 per cent of the total wealth generating capacity of the deposits and it is from this 5 per cent that the exchequer, through any tax or royalty imposition by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, will benefit.

The 95 per cent generating second and third stages will occur outside the country. Tara have announced that "long term contracts have been arranged for the sale of concentrates to European smelters".

The only benefit to the economy will result from any jobs provided in shipment of the ore which, according to Tara is to be made "over 25 miles of rail from the mine to a port facility to be constructed at Mornington at the mouth of the River Boyne".

# eagarfhocal

## The sell-outs

Principles are cheap and parliamentary power, it seems, is all important. In Cork last month the Labour Party sold its principles and finally abdicated all claim to the leadership of the working-class movement in Ireland. Brendan Corish, leader of the party, admitted to the Conference that Labour Ministers were totally subservient to the wishes of Fine Gael, the senior partner in the Coalition. But the political contortionists in the Cabinet are determined to retain this semblance of power, irrespective of the cost to the Irish people.

The bankruptcy of the Labour leadership as a socialist force was most apparent during the debate on the country's mineral resources. It was all too easy at the party conference

in Wexford in 1972 to call for Nationalisation without compensation. But now that Labour is compromised in a Coalition with the Blueshirts, Justin Keating, one time "revolutionary and Marxist", called it an unrealistic demand. And it is an unrealistic demand. Unrealistic for a party which has betrayed the working-class for the price of a few Ministries.

The Conference was controlled in such a way as to smother political debate on practically all the major resolutions on the agenda. Many potentially controversial issues were either "referred back" or simply ignored by the "platform". Those elements who called for the implementation of socialist policies in government were sneered at and labelled wreckers and "enemies of the party". And so Labour has well and truly been integrated into the backbenches of Fine Gael.

Many left wing members of the Labour Party must now be sadly disillusioned with the sell-out of the working-class by the very people who claim to protect their interests. They must also see that they have no alternative but to build a movement free of Labour's rotten core of careerist politicians, a movement committed to fight for socialist policies.

The Republican Movement is the only organisation committed to fight in the interests of the working-class people of Ireland. We call on all those left-wing elements still within the ranks of the Labour Party to reject that organisation and help us to build the only revolutionary force capable of defeating Imperialism and establishing the Socialist Republic.

While the Labour Party in the 26 counties has abandoned its socialism for the spoils of office, it appears that their Northern counterparts, the S.D.L.P., are prepared to abandon every plank of the platform they were elected on before they even gain places on the Executive.

The abandonment of the internees was merely the first step along the road to collaboration for the S.D.L.P. Faulkner's terms for a coalition are stiff. The Unionists want any partners in coalition to accept Whitelaw's Constitution Act, abandon any involvement whatsoever in extra-parliamentary tactics such as rent and rates strikes, support the security forces and accept collective responsibility in government. Already the S.D.L.P. has shown its willingness to support a "new" police force — a suitably reformed R.U.C. Already the S.D.L.P. has abandoned the rent and rates strikes and the men in Long Kesh. Men who reneged on a pledge to the internees are hardly likely to stall over acceptance of the new Constitution and what De Valera used to refer to as "empty constitutional formula".

Why are the S.D.L.P. members playing Faulkner's game? The reason is, strangely enough, that they don't believe the coalition Executive is going to get off the ground. But, when it falters, they want to be able to run to Willie Whitelaw, Assembly Ring-Master, and let him see that it isn't their fault. The hope then is that he will crack his whip in the direction of the Unionists and bring them to heel.

But it is clear that the S.D.L.P., like the Labour Party, measures its victories in terms of seats won, public offices gained, praise received from the representatives of the ruling class. Such victories neither help nor interest the working-class. More and more people are coming to realise that they must rely on themselves alone, as a class, if they are to achieve health, security and national self-respect in a Socialist Republic.

# U.S. CLUBS' ROLE

The Second Annual Convention of the Irish Republican Clubs in the United States and Canada was held in New York City on Saturday and Sunday, 13/14th October.

Guest of honour at the Convention was Mr. Sean O Ciannaith, International Secretary of the Irish Republican Movement, who addressed the attendance on the political issues at stake in Ireland.

"We need the Protestant workers on the side of the revolutionary struggle. If we don't win them we don't win a united socialist Ireland. If we are to win their support it must be more than a passive support. We've got to win their complete involvement in the whole Irish struggle and every facet of that struggle — economic, social and political. We must therefore, in the formulation of our policies, remain within reach of the Protestant workers so that we may be able to bring them along the revolutionary road with us."

Denis Cassin, full time organiser in the USA and Canada, outlined the progress made by the Irish Republican Clubs in the past year and their function in North America. "I think it important to ask ourselves why the Irish Republican Clubs exist. We support the ongoing revolution in Ireland. As the official Republican Movement is the vanguard party of the revolution in Ireland, we support that organisation and its socialist policies and tactical programme developed through years of revolutionary struggle, which will lead the Irish people to achieve the revolution and free themselves from the twin yokes of imperialism and capitalism."



● A section of the audience attending the Second Annual Convention of U.S. Republican Clubs in New York.

Dr. Marie Bradshaw, New York, spoke to the Convention regarding the vital role of the Irish Republican Clubs in informing opinion in America as to the true facts of the situation in Ireland and providing support for the policies of the Irish Republican Movement.

Dr. Bradshaw was re-elected President of the Irish Republican Clubs. Vice-Presidents are Liam Kelly, New York and Patrick Wells, New Jersey. Elected also are Edward Gaherty and Nora Buckley, General Secretaries; Eileen Sheerin and Edward O'Higgins, Treasurers; Denis Cassin and Patrick Purcell, Public Relations Officers.

## Hugh McKiernan

The Republican Movement expresses its sincerest sympathy to the wife and family of Hugh McKiernan who died recently in California. Hugh who did much to help the Republican Movement was active in the trade union movement during all his working life. He suffered for his socialist principles during the McCarthy era but he stuck to his belief in the "Men of No Property".



### HELP WANTED

**SAMTAIN**

It is perfectly possible that the Northern Ireland Assembly will work. Indeed it is more than possible. The signs are that by the March deadline an Executive representative of the Faulkner Unionists, the SDLP and the Alliance Party will be in operation.

If things do work out like that there will be a chorus of hosannas from every British politician and newspaper columnist. The impression will be given that decency, decorum, moderation, etc., have finally triumphed as a result of the superb statesman-like qualities of Faulkner, Fitt, Napier and the rest. This, of course, will be some distance away from the truth.

In the first place, let us dispose of the widespread illusion that there is some formidable difficulty in the way of an Executive being formed. There is not. We have pointed out before that there is no essential contradiction between the interests represented by the SDLP on the one hand and the Faulkner Unionists and the Alliance on the other. All of them are basically in favour of the British blueprint for the future of Ireland — that is, they are in favour of limited reforms in the North, so as to integrate the Catholic middle-class while stopping short of real democracy; and closer ties between the North and South as a preliminary to federation.

The "difficulties" which have occupied so much newsprint in the last few months do not involve antagonistic principles; they involve a argument about packaging, each side wanting the agreement wrapped up so as to please its supporters. For example: Fitt and Hume will want the very minor changes which will come in the RUC emphasised and exaggerated. Faulkner and Bradford will want the fact that the RUC remains the North's police force to be stressed.

Almost certainly there has been argument too about which boys will get which jobs. They are all very strong on things like that.

But all these are minor stumbling-blocks. Real difficulties would only arise if parties of differing, firm principles were involved. The parties involved in the Assembly negotiations have no principles at all. Which makes things so much easier.

The truth is that the formation of the Assembly Executive will make very little difference. The "power-sharing" aspect is more apparent than real, since it is not at all clear what "power" the Executive will have. In the initial stages at least it is likely to have less real power than,



● The S.D.L.P. leadership: Executive jobs for the boys?



# The Assembly smokescreen

● Ian Paisley leaves the Assembly looking as if he's caught a cold in the draughty chamber.

say, Donegal County Council. Power will be doled out to the Assembly and its Executive precisely to the extent that it shows itself willing to and capable of doing what Britain wants.

It will be able to do nothing about the behaviour of the "security forces". It will be able to do nothing about civil rights. It will not even be allowed to talk about the national question. It will have no control over

investment, and will therefore be powerless to influence economic trends. And so on.

What the Assembly is doing is creating a smokescreen behind which repression and exploitation can continue as before.

It is a snare and a delusion. The Assembly can certainly work. But it cannot work for the ordinary people. The people, as always, will have to do that for themselves.

## COUNCIL COME — BACK

Two Republican Club Councillors, Frankie Donnelly and Gerry McElhatton, who were deprived of their right to represent the people who elected them are to stand for re-election. They are determined to use this opportunity to expose the total lack of democracy in the Six Counties and the opportunism of the S.D.L.P.

The S.D.L.P. was voted out of office by the S.D.L.P. which is now hoping to strengthen its own position on the Council in the forthcoming by-election. To justify their actions the S.D.L.P. Councillors claim that a vacant seat is only of value to the Unionists — the suggestion being that Republicans are wrong to refuse to take their seats until interment ends.

The S.D.L.P., remember, was one of the groups which pledged in August, 1971, not to take part in operating any system of government in the Six Counties. And now that more people than ever, including women and children, are being held in Long Kesh, that pledge has been conveniently broken.

### Basic Right

In Cookstown, Republican Councillor Gerry Mc Elhatton lost his seat because the Clerk of the Council, a local Unionist hack, denied receiving his declaration of office and refused to notify him of meetings.

In a statement which he read to the Council, Gerry accused the members of "denying the people the right to choose their own representatives". Those people who had voted for him had done so because they supported his position on internment. Because of their opposition to repression, they themselves were now being denied one of their basic rights.

The Republican Movement is opposed to the continuation of the old "Orange and Green" type politics. We call on the people of Magherafelt and Cookstown to reject sectarianism in all its forms and to unite in their own class interests. Both candidates will keep their pledge to the internees. They will be the only candidates in the field with a programme geared to the needs of all workers, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

# O'CONNOR — COMRADE OF PLANT

Joe O'Connor was buried in the family grave at Brusna, Co. Kerry. The coffin was draped with the tricolour and starry-plough flags. The Republican Movement was represented by Cathal Goulding, Sean Garland, Mick Ryan and Padraig Yeates. The oration was given by Eamonn Smullen, Clann Na hEireann and the National Union of Railwaymen were also represented.

Joe O'Connor was a revolutionary. In youth he joined the Irish Republican Army and took part in the struggle against the fascist "Blue Shirts" and in the '39 campaign. In 1942 Joe faced trial with his friend and

comrade George Plant before the Military Court at Collins Barracks. They were on trial for their lives because that court could pass only one sentence and that was the sentence of death.

That court was specially set up to try Joe O'Connor and George Plant — a court of military officers whom Gerry Boland, then Minister for Justice, did not even pretend had legal qualifications of any kind. It was simply an instrument of terror to be used by the Authorities against people like Plant and O'Connor.

Joe survived the trial — his friend and comrade George Plant was sentenced to death

and shot by firing-squad. Although found not guilty, Joe was sent to the Curragh where he was held for several years — without charge or trial.

### Socialist

Association with Plant — an active socialist from a Protestant family — added a new dimension to Joe's revolutionary activity. Despite the almost certain knowledge that he would face the firing squad, Plant explained socialist principles to Joe. He explained in scientific terms why it is necessary to make a revolution in Ireland. Joe began to see the true nature of British Im-

perialism's grip on Ireland and how to break that hold.

On his release from internment Joe was determined to work for socialism. His first attempts earned him six months in jail when a document which mentioned socialism and the I.R.A. in the same sentence, was found in his possession. On his release from prison, despairing of a move to the left in the Movement at that time, he joined "The Irish Workers' League" with several other Republicans. This did not involve any change in his fundamental loyalty to Republicanism; it was simply another pledge offered to the people's cause in Ireland.

Joe was forced to emigrate to Britain where he became active in the "National Union of Railwaymen". He also joined the Communist Party and was active on its London District Committee and also its "International committee". A sincere Republican and a dedicated revolutionary, he recognised the difference between the British Working class and British Imperialism between the exploited and those who exploit.

Never forgetting his own experience before a "kangaroo" court of military officers, Joe opposed all repressive legislation, both North and South. This sincere

revolutionary attended all demonstrations against British repression in Ireland.

Eamonn Smullen in his oration said, "We should go from this graveside pledged to work for a people's Ireland, a people's Republic. We should leave here pledged to work against repression in all its forms".

"We are burying a revolutionary here today and it is fitting that someone should proclaim his revolutionary faith from his graveside. I had the privilege of knowing Joe and of working politically with him over a long number of years. I have tried to express his revolutionary faith here and I am sure that he would wish such a statement to be his last farewell".



● Young Provisionals show courage, but this is not enough.

In Derry last month 4,000 people marched on the fifth anniversary of the day when Craig exposed the vicious, sectarian nature of the six-county Orange state. Much has happened in the five blood stained years since those few hundred demonstrators were beaten into the ground by the bigoted thugs of the R.U.C. Over eight hundred people have died, thousands more have been injured or maimed for life, hundreds of men, women and children have been dragged from their homes, interrogated, tortured and incarcerated, without charge or trial, in the hell-hole called Long Kesh. And what has been gained from the deaths, terror and destruction?

The S.D.L.P. wheel, deal and connive with Whitelaw, Heath and Faulkner to take the first tottering steps towards a federal "solution". The Provisionals continue their bombing campaign in the mistaken belief that you can blow British Imperialism out of existence. And still the homeless go without homes, the unemployed go without jobs, the internees are still interned and the political prisoners still remain in prison, and over all the native and foreign capitalists still exploit the people, North and South.

In 1970 at the time of the "split", those people who were later to become the Provisional leadership made a number of demands of the Republican Movement.

- They demanded that the Republican Movement abandon all socialist policies. And since that time they have declared that they are fighting for a Democratic Socialist Republic.
- They demanded an end to all agitation in the twenty-six counties in the belief that the puppets in power would support their fight. And since that time they have borne the full brunt of the most vicious, repressive legislation, "blown" through the Dail by those very same people. And they now recognise the need to struggle on a thirty-two county basis.
- They demanded that Republicans should refuse to recognise the puppet parliaments at Stormont and Leinster House, the institutions of the state and the right of the British Government to meddle in Irish affairs. And since that time they have negotiated with Whitelaw and ignored the lessons of Irish history.
- They refused to use the institutions of the State to expose and defeat those institutions, and to guarantee the survival of the Republican Movement. And now, after hundreds of sincere young people have thrown away years of their lives by refusing to recognise the courts, some Provisionals have been told to do just that to fight for the very existence of their movement.

It is imperative that young rank-and-file Provisionals who risk their lives daily in the name of "Republicanism" should be very clear about what they want and how they hope to achieve it. If they fail to do so now then they will surely find that they are on the road to defeat.

In an article on the "split" in the June 1971 edition of the United Irishman Sean Garland wrote, "over the past years there were two roads open to the Republican Movement. One road led to despair, disillusionment, isolation and ultimate defeat: a brave road and one trod by countless men and women of many generations but without ever achieving the freedom and emancipation of the Irish people. The other road we have chosen opened up all the possibilities of organising and building a determined, conscious revolutionary movement, North and South, which in turn will organise the mass of the Irish people, the working class, and will lead them in a political and armed struggle to achieve the Irish Revolution."

To achieve that revolution it is necessary to understand what Connolly, Tone, Lator and many other revolutionaries saw as the Republican ideal and the tactics to be used in the struggle.

The Provisionals believe that it is possible to build a national movement which will defeat British Imperialism and unite Ireland and that afterwards we can begin to talk about the kind of Ireland it should be — whether it should be a socialist state and, if so, what brand of "socialism" would be best.

# IN THE

# NAME

# OF

# REPUBLICANISM

# Why Larkin failed with the Protestant workers

"Let's make sure we get something out of this for the working-class people", Independent Loyalist Hugh Smyth told the Northern "Assembly" last month. He was instinctively expressing, however vaguely, the class consciousness which has always hall-marked dissident Unionist groups. One of the tragedies of the North is that that consciousness has never been fully brought to fruition.

One of the reasons it has never come to fruition is that there has never existed an anti-Unionist grouping within the "Loyalist" section of the working class sufficiently clear in its objectives, sufficiently free from sectarian association, to make meaningful common cause with the working-class breakaways from Unionism. The most famous breakaway group, and the one in which greatest hopes reposed was the Independent Orange Order, which flourished in the first decade of this century.

## No lasting impact

The 100, as it was called, was an expression of Protestant working-class discontent with official Orange leadership. At its inception its leaders were in no way "soft" on the Home Rule question. If anything, they were more fierce than the official Order in their denunciation of Popery. But in the process of elaborating a political programme in opposition to that of the Unionist Party, gradually and inexorably they were driven to oppose Unionism as such.

By 1905, by which time the 100 had more than seventy lodges in the North, the "Magheramore Manifesto", written by Lindsay Crawford, called on both Protestant and Catholic workers to renounce sectarianism, "to reconsider

We, on the other hand, believe that unless we fight for socialism at the same time as we fight for self-determination and against imperialism, it is impossible to defeat imperialism. In other words, the fight for socialism is part of the struggle against Britain, not something to be decided after the anti-imperial struggle is over. The national struggle and the class struggle must go together.

At Bodenstown this year the Provisionals condemned sectarianism. And yet the continuation of their bombing campaign is one of the main factors in the heightening of sectarian tensions and the constant shadow of a sectarian holocaust which haunts every working class ghetto in the Six-Counties. Make no mistake about it, if that situation does arise then of one thing only can you be sure and that is that the Craigs, Paisleys, Faulkners and Humes will be sitting safely on the sidelines ready to pick up the pieces.

The Provisional leadership continue with their economic bombing campaign, a campaign, they say, designed to end British rule in Ireland and bring about EIRE NUA (NEW IRELAND). A new Ireland which may be built on the dead and dismembered bodies of innocent people, Catholic and Protestant. Because that, in the last analysis, will be the end result of senseless, sectarian strife. And when we say that we don't mean that the average young 'Provo' is sectarian. We do mean that continuation of their present strategy, could, and quite probably will, unleash armed sectarian madness. The workers have everything to lose. Only the imperialists appearing to play the peacemaker stand to gain.

The bombing campaign not only destroys the bosses factories, it destroys worker's jobs. When a bomb goes off the hardest hit are those who lose their jobs. The owners, after all, will in due course get full compensation. Moreover, because of the nature of that campaign it puts the life of the civilian population at risk. And the horror which results from some of these blasts only draws the people further into the arms of the snivelling opportunist politicians. Offensive guerrilla activity, especially urban bombing, as a tactic does not flow from the mass struggle of the people. And in many respects it is a substitute for mass struggle.

You cannot win a socialist republic, in which the people of Ireland control the wealth and resources of the country, by setting sections of the working class at each others throats and refusing to practice the basic tenet of uniting the common people and defending them. It takes a revolution to win a socialist republic. It takes a revolutionary movement to be the vanguard of the people's struggle. And you cannot build your revolutionary movement and work for revolution when the workers class are involved in a terrifying religious war.

And if you are not fighting in the people's struggle to end the economic rule of Britain, you are not really fighting for Irish independence. The only way to fight against economic imperialism is to build a movement of working class people fighting for working class control of the economy. If the workers don't control the economy then British Imperialism will. There is no one else. The Irish capitalist class tried for years to control its own economy, but in the end had to rush back into the arms of the Empire, via the Free Trade Agreement.

If you are fighting against imperialism in the North, even waging an armed struggle against it, and not at the same time fighting for worker's control in the South then, no matter how hard you fight, no matter how much bravery you show, you cannot and will not defeat the imperial power. That is what is now appearing in the Provisionals.

They are waging a war against the physical representatives of British Imperialism — the British Army. While they are doing this with considerable energy and courage, they still do not see the need to fight along class lines. Because what they are doing nothing which challenges the right of the puppet politicians who sell the wealth of Ireland to the highest bidder. And unless you do that then you are not fighting in the interests of the majority of the Irish people.

It has all happened before. Irish history always repeats itself. The energy and dedication of Irish youth has always been diverted from the real issue — the economic domination of Ireland — by the middle class politicians who have grown rich on it.

The overwhelming majority of the active Northern Provisionals are working class; that is certainly true in Derry and Belfast as the people know. We say to them: think about it, think what happened to the men who, motivated by the same feelings as yourselves, fought in the War of Independence. Is it not true that their struggle and sacrifice was used by tricksters and traitors who ended up on top?

That did not come about because the I.R.A. in those days was stupid, or because Griffith and de Valera, etc., were better operators. It came about because those involved did not understand the necessity to base themselves on class politics, to continue to pursue the struggle for workers' power, even as the national revolution was going on. That is the single most important lesson of Irish history this century. All of us, no matter what organisation we are in, ignore it at our peril.

We for our part will continue to build the revolutionary movement to unite the Irish people, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, for a people's struggle against the twin evils of Imperialism and Capitalism which have beset the Irish people for hundreds of years. The socialist republic is the only answer in building a "NEW IRELAND".

their position and in their common trials unite on a basis of nationality." In the 1900 General Election candidates supported by the 100 won seats from the Unionists in Belfast, North Tyrone and North Antrim.

The question to be asked is: how come this seemingly well-rooted and growing organisation had disappeared within a few years, leaving scarcely a trace? After all, it was at the beginning of 1907 that Jim Larkin arrived in Belfast and began marshalling the troops in Belfast for class-battles to come.

Larkin's famous strike involving Catholic and Protestant workers and even R.I.C. men, reached its height in July 1907. It was supported by the 100. Tom Sloan, Independent Unionist M.P. for South Belfast and Crawford spoke at strike meetings. Here we had the leaders of the Protestant and Catholic working class united in action in a situation so serious for the Government of the day that troops had to be shipped in from Scotland. Yet no lasting impact was made on Northern politics. To understand why we have to look at what was happening in the camp of the Home Rulers.

Belfast's leading Home Ruler was "Wee" Joe Devlin. Initially he gave grudging support to the strike, but once the Catholic Clergy and Catholic business community had made it clear that this was the wrong time to play, he altered his stance. He insisted: "I have never spoken to Mr. Larkin in my life but once, as I have never received a communication from Mr. Larkin or anyone connected with the strike during its progress, before it commenced or after it ended".

## Militant trade unionism

This desertion might have had a different effect if Larkin had conducted any political struggle against Devlin. But he had not. Larkin did not believe in "politics". He had not consciously set about building a political movement at all, except in the vague sense of ultimately capturing power through militant trade unionism. Thus, as the strike finally came to an end in September, Devlin was not challenged as, once again, he wrapped the sectarian straight jacket around the ghettos of the city. Clearly, Home Rule still meant Rome Rule. Clearly, Home Rule had nothing to offer Protestant workers.

In his capacity as a trade union organiser Larkin was well able to win the loyalty of Protestant workers — despite the fact that he was in favour of Irish Independence. But he could not break down the Protestant workers' opposition to Independence as such, unless he detached — or at least was seen to be striving to

detach — the Catholic workers, already believers in independence to a man, from the clerical conservatism represented by Joe Devlin. Once the radical content of "Independence" was smothered, the only distinguishing feature remaining was conservative, Catholic nationalism — a feature which tended not only to be repugnant to Protestants anyway but, an added bonus for the unionist bosses to validate all prior warnings about the treacherous intent of those who had been promising to preach to Protestants.

## State of flux

Between 1905 and 1907 the 100, having begun as a vague expression of working class resentment against a well-heeled leadership, moved towards a separatist position, but came up against the fact that the seemingly unchallenged leaders of the separatist movement were steeped in clerical conservatism. The spark from the Orange-Unionist machine had led straight up Joe Devlin's garden path. Those who supported the 100 began to draw back into the fold. After 1907 membership declined sharply. By the end of 1908 it was no longer a meaningful force.

For Republicans, the most crucial concern is the importance of building an organisation clearly differentiated from latter-day Devlinism. The vague stirring of class consciousness articulated by Hugh Smyth and others would be repelled utterly by anything tainted with the politics of national capitalism. It was never more necessary than now to assert firmly the secular, socialist basis of Republicanism.

Over the next few years the "loyalist" groups will be in a state of flux. There will be splits, mergers and splits again as the various locally based groups search for a programme which meets their needs. Some, no doubt will move to the right. The reported link-up between some Antrim groups and the National Front may be an omen.

But others will move left, realising that the fierce loyalty which Protestant workers have traditionally given to leaders of a different class was never really reciprocated. There have been signs, some more publicised than others, of this happening.

It is our job to ensure that as and when it happens, there is a revolutionary organisation, fighting consistently against Catholic as well as Protestant sectarianism, to which all workers can give their allegiance.



# Prisoners' Roll Call

## LONG KESH: SENTENCED PRISONERS

Eddie Magee, 4 years  
 Gerald Burns, 5 years  
 Frank McGrady, 4 years  
 Peter Monaghan, 6 years  
 Frank Quinn, 4 years  
 Brendan Mackin, 12 years  
 Sean Bunting, 5 years  
 Frank Weir, 10 years  
 Pat O'Hare, 7 years  
 Mick Mallon, 7 years  
 Artie Maguire, 8 years  
 Jim Goodman, 8 years  
 John Madden, 3 years  
 Gerry Loughlin, 12 years  
 Tony McShane, life  
 John J. McAuley, 5 years  
 Micky Donnelly, 5 years  
 Noel Deagan, 5 years  
 Paul Hensworth, 2 years  
 Thomas Power, 12 years  
 George McNally, 6 years  
 Peter McFarlane, 6 years  
 Sean Hanna, 5 years  
 Sam Mathews, 3 years  
 Leo Davis, 3 years  
 Pat Maxwell, 3 years  
 Mick Gilmore, 2 years  
 Danny McWaline, 3 years  
 Roger Torney, 3 years  
 Joe Cush, 1 year  
 Anthony Smyth, 7 years  
 Gerald Campbell, 3 years  
 James Grimley, 3 years  
 Sean Curry, 6 years  
 Timothy Smyth, 3 years  
 Gerald Smyth, 3 years  
 George Simpson, 2 years  
 Eamonn Burns, 2 years  
 Emmanuel McQuillan, 3 years  
 Brendan Harrison, 2 years  
 Terence McGarry, 3 years  
 Frank Gallagher, 2 years  
 Sean Colhour, 5 years  
 Brendan Turley, 5 years  
 Jim McVeigh, 5 years  
 Jim McLaughlin, 5 years



## LONG KESH: REMAND PRISONERS

D. Russell  
 H. Torney  
 R. Elliman  
 J. Logue  
 P. J. Valliday  
 E. McQuillan  
 D. Conlon  
 L. Johnson  
 H. Doherty  
 B. Trainor  
 S. Goodman  
 P. Neeson  
 P. Mullan  
 R. Gurrin  
 L. McAnoy  
 T. Cosgrove  
 G. Duffy  
 P. McDaid  
 G. O'Neill  
 J. Magill  
 C. Mulvenna  
 P. McKeegan  
 T. Morgan  
 G. Hearty  
 S. Magee  
 D. Lagan  
 B. Maguire  
 G. Dickey  
 J. McCaughy  
 F. O'Neill  
 B. O'Hagan  
 J. McQuade  
 M. Smith  
 J. Carey  
 M. O'Hagan  
 K. Brady  
 P. Breen  
 G. Duffy  
 R. McNally  
 C. Toman  
 J. Shanks.



## ENGLAND:

Noel Jenkinson, 30 years  
 Pat O'Sullivan, 7 years  
 Conor Lynch, 7 years  
 Joe Farrington, 4 years  
 Jim Flynn, 2 years  
 Michael Duignan, 3½ years



## MOUNTJOY

Ronnie Deehan, 4 years  
 Roland Giles, 6 years  
 David Gibson, 18 months  
 Damien Friel, 18 months  
 Bernadette Maxwell, 18 months



• RITA O'HARE.

Fifty-one extradition orders have been accepted by the southern gardal from the northern Royal Ulster Constabulary this year. The notoriety of the RUC is already widespread and documented and need not be further commented on here. That the southern gardal are co-operating with them comes as a surprise to no-one. The offences with which people are sought in connection with the extradition orders are all political.

The offences are being treated as criminal, and the gardal and RUC say the extradition orders are being enforced as purely inter-police arrangements, which is the norm in the pursuit of "criminals" throughout the world.

Who are these "criminals", and what have they done? Why are the guards so anxious to protect this community from them? Let us look at one case, that of Rita O'Hare. She is married with three children.

In August 1971, her husband Gerry, then a member of the People's Democracy, was interned in Long Kesh. While he was in that hell hole, Rita was shot by a British soldier one night near her Andersontown home. She suffered bullet-wounds in the head, back and stomach. She nearly died.

### Unable to speak

As she lay on her hospital bed, unable to speak, she was questioned by the RUC. Then she was transferred to Musgrave Military Hospital and there charged with the attempted murder of a British soldier. From Musgrave she was sent to Armagh prison where she lay paralysed and in a critical condition for some months.

Her husband was meantime released to look after their children. After a great public outcry Rita was released on bail and turned up in court to answer the charges against her. The court was held in camera. Not even her husband was allowed in with her. She smelled a rat. Several of them — and jumped ball, coming across the border for sanctuary.

While she was here her husband was given a six-month sentence in the North for riotous behaviour. When he had finished his sentence he came South to join her. He was no sooner here, than she was arrested on the strength of

# THE CASE OF RITA O'HARE



• Garret FitzGerald: Compromise with Faulkner on extradition.

an extradition warrant. She was lifted outside a supermarket and held for eight hours before anyone was allowed to see her in Cabinteely Police Station. There was an open sewer in her prison cell.

She was brought before a District Court and the case was hastily dropped when a naive judge asked where was the signature of the Minister for Justice on this political extradition warrant. The guards refused to continue as they did not want to say publicly that this was a purely criminal warrant, and an inter-police collaboration pact.

Before she appeared in the court again, her husband was arrested in the South and given a six-month jail sentence for being a member of the IRA. While he was in jail and on hunger strike, Rita appeared at Bray District Court, and was there identified by the RUC man who had questioned her as she lay near death in hospital. The RUC man, who was personally escorted south by the guards, and treated to lunch, admitted in court that he identified her as Rita O'Hare, in her hospital bed, even though her face and head were swathed in bandages and tubes were coming from her nose. His evidence was accepted. The case was adjourned again, to decide whether the same warrant could be legally enforced on two different occasions.

On Friday, October 28th, the case was again adjourned because the Justice had had a heart attack, and it is scheduled for re-hearing on Nov. 23rd. The guard who arrested Rita said that he would never allow himself to be used for such a case again. "I'm only doing my job", he told her. Some job, North and South the O'Hares have been hunted and jailed. Ironically, it was the Northern authorities who released Gerry O'Hare to look after the three children while their mother was in jail. When Rita was arrested in the South, her husband was in jail and nobody gave a damn who looked after her children. But then they can jail children here at the age of seven.

# Punishment — nothing else

There are approx. 1,300 people at present in prison in the 26-Counties. Of these, less than 45 are women and the rest men. The vast majority of prisoners are from deprived backgrounds, many are illiterate and a prison officer has admitted that in his opinion most of them are in need of psychiatric treatment of some kind. Anyone who has ever been in prison or who has mixed with ex-prisoners knows that these things are true. They are not the woolly ideas of liberal do-gooders. It is not essential that one in any way condones the crimes of which prisoners have been convicted to be convinced that the socio-economic and educational background of the majority of the prisoners must, in some way contribute to their

situation. This is not "being soft on criminals", it is facing incontrovertible facts.

It has been stated by the P.R.O. for I.C.R.A., that all but people convicted in the Special Courts receive fair trials. This is to completely ignore the facts of every day life in the Dublin District Courts. It is to ignore the pitifully inadequate free legal aid service and the sometimes criminal neglect of some of the legal people operating the service. It is to deliberately ignore the attitude of Justices to working-class defendants who are not legally represented, and to pretend that the personal prejudices of Justices do not have a bad effect on their abilities to dispense justice fairly. While not denying that those who go through the farce of a trial in the Special Courts certainly do not receive justice, it still cannot be denied that most of the people, in the lower income group, who come before the District Court do not receive a fair trial either. It is hard to understand why some people feel that it is impossible to agitate on behalf of all who are at the mercy of what is called the judicial process. Champions of course, of course, they should be. The people is taken automatically as a denigration of another group.

The condition of ordinary prisoners in Dublin, Cork, Portlaoise and Limerick has recently been exposed by the U.C.D. Study Group, an independent group with no particular axe to grind. They have found that prisons in the State are places of punishment and nothing else. It is possible, of course, that this is what the people want them to be. If that is so then they should be honest and say so. The lip-service that is paid to the idea of rehabilitating prisoners in the Act of 1947 should be scrapped. It is not much, God knows, but if it were implemented to the letter the situation of prisoners would be improved enormously.

Of course some day some enlightened soul may decide that there is more than one way of punishing those who transgress the peoples' laws. Someone may come to realise that the people locked behind walls are not only unable to help themselves but are of no particular use to society either. In fact such punishment will almost certainly make them permanently anti-social. There is an urgent need for a more enlightened outlook on the whole subject of prisons. While Republicans are already fighting this cause, there is no doubt that much more could be done.



# I.R.A. SPEAKS

The Irish people have been presented with some wild and some carefully designed distortions of the current situation. The object is to create confusion. Out of this confusion, the proponents of distortion expect to see a "solution" to the so-called Irish question emerge.

The middle-class politicians of the Six Counties are working towards the production of an executive — an amalgamation of their forces, uniting old Unionists of the Faulknerite brand with the new Unionists of Alliance and the S.D.L.P.

This is logical. The interests of Unionists, Alliance and S.D.L.P. groups are separated only by artificial barriers of sectarianism. But it is deceitful and wrong to suggest that this middle-class trinity would provide an administration dedicated to the interests of the working people of Ireland.

The middle-class alliance, specifically proposed by Britain and supported by the Cosgrave government in Dublin, would hold power for and on behalf of the elite which was served by the old Orange regime. Modifications would be slight — paying lip-service to the real needs of the people of the Six Counties but making no radical change to allow the working-class to control its destiny.

The S.D.L.P. has come into the open by acknowledging that it shares its basic philosophy, the grabbing of power, with the successors of Brookeborough and Crag. In the South, the Labour Party has come into the open by acknowledging that it is subservient to the anti-working class Cosgrave regime.

## SELFISH DEMANDS

Labour's betrayal of Irish workers was made clear at the party's annual conference in Cork. No one can doubt now where Labour stands. Its Ministers more attached to Fine Gael than ever a Fine Gael backbencher was; its policies tied, its rank-and-file shackled to the meanest, most selfish demands of big business and big farmers.

Labour has sold out on mines, is selling out on price control, will sell out on a national wage agreement, has failed to set in motion a campaign to end poverty and allows building speculators to continue their blood-sucking

# Betrayal can be overcome



• U.D.A. on the march . . . will the future uncover the face of sectarianism?

# NO SECTARIAN

activities at the expense of the Irish working-class.

Labour Ministers with their Fine Gael masters try to convince us that our history is irrelevant, our language useless, our cultural identity of no consequence. This, too, is logical. For the Cosgraves, the Costellos, the FitzGerald and O'Briens would lead us back into closer and deeper subservience to Britain, to capital and to international gamblers with the lives of our people.

While they subtly continue to sell, the Provisionals continue to talk of "victory", hoping that if they shout loud enough victory will become reality and all problems will disappear. To many dedicated young Provisionals, political argument and political action are matters of indifference. What matters is that military victory can be achieved, now.

## ARTIFICIAL DIVIDE

In present circumstances — and we speak strictly of present circumstances — military victory is impossible without the active participation of a conscious working class. The current phase of the struggle calls for a well-planned, well-executed political response.

One, most tragic result of the changing situation has been the growth of murderous sectarianism of which defenceless workers are most often the victims. We believe that the boundaries that divide Catholic and Protestant worker are as artificial as the boundary that divides our country. But if, as some fear, the forces of sectarian reaction should be unleashed on the workers of the Six Counties, the I.R.A. will engage in defence and retaliation, of workers, as it has done until now when the source of attack was the unformed thugs of British Imperialism.

The Republican Movement is convinced that sectarianism can be eliminated, must be eliminated if our aims are to be achieved, that middle-class "solutions" and the betrayal of workers can be overcome. But it must be done, judging the temper of the time, by engaging in a planned, strategically directed struggle aimed at uniting the Irish working-class and, in this unity, the country in a socialist republic of 32 counties.



## Join the Republican Movement

I Wish to Join the Republican Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

### LEINSTER:

ARD OIFIG,  
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.

TOM CONNOLLY,  
1 Templemichael Terrace,  
Longford.

Louth:  
DONNCHA MacRAGHNAILL,  
6 Lourdes Square, Drogheda.

### MUNSTER:

JACK LYNCH,  
Carberry, Earlswood Estate,  
Togher Road, Cork.

SEAN O'CEALLAIGH,  
113 An Ce, Portlairge.  
BARRY DOYLE,  
43 St. Ita's Street,  
St. Mary's Park, Limerick.

### CONNAUGHT:

P. KILCULLEN,  
Kilmore, Ballina, Co. Mayo.

KEVIN CUNNINGHAM,  
5 New Docks, Galway.

MAUREEN Mac LOUGHLIN,  
Drumrane, Ballinamore,  
Co. Leitrim.

FRANCES GREHAN,  
The Crescent, Boyle,  
Co. Roscommon.

JEAN MANNION,  
Connolly Pk., Tubbercurry,  
Co. Sligo.

### ULSTER:

KITTY O'KANE,  
14 Ton Street, Belfast.

SEAMUS Mac RUAIRI,  
Anaglaire, Co. Donegal.

### BRITAIN:

CLANN NA HEIREANN

London:  
Secretary, 318 Lillie Road,  
Fulham, London S.W.6.

Midlands:  
SEAMUS COLLINS,  
48 Houghton Road,  
Handsworth, Birmingham.

Leeds:  
Christopher Butler,  
Joe McCann Cumann,  
4 Spring Hill Terrace,  
Commercial Street, Tadcaster,  
Yorkshire.

Wales:  
BRIAN WILKINSON,  
48 Gaer Park Avenue,  
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Wales.

Scotland:  
3 South Exchange Court,  
77 Queen Street, Glasgow,  
G1 3DA.

### NORTH AMERICA:

IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS,  
37/76 64th St., Woodside, N.Y.  
11377 (212) 651-5844.

## LINKS

The Belfast Command Staff wish to dispel rumours which have been circulating through the Press and Television of a link-up between the Irish Republican Army and a section of the U.D.A. Stories concerning this link-up and also concerning an exchange of weapons can be traced to one single source, Major R. Sampson, who is a British Army P.R.O. based in the Europa Hotel.

The object of these statements appears to be the discrediting of the Irish Republican Army in the eyes of our supporters and to link us with the past or possibly future activities of sectarian organizations.

The I.R.A. wish to make it clear that we have had at no time in the past and will not have at any time in the future, any links with sectarian organizations.

It is a well known fact that there are certain internal differences within Loyalist organizations and that great numbers of people within the Protestant community are searching for political alternatives which reflect their class needs. British Military Intelligence and its undercover agents have been exploiting these differences and using them as a cover for sectarian killings and the murder of Loyalist leaders. Major Sampson's recent statements from the U.C.A. and his counter-statements from the U.V.F. suggest that these mysterious killings are likely to continue.

Our position in all this remains the same as it always has been. We reject sectarianism in all its forms. We never have had nor never will have links with any sectarian organization. We shall continue to work to bring together all sections of the working-class people and to expose their enemies both from within and without.

# Timpeall na h-Eireann

# agus suil thar lear

Cé go séanann an lucht bainistíochta é, tá glactha leis ag na h-oiribí go bhfuil deireadh tobann i ndán do Celtic Plastics Teoranta sa gCeathrú Rua. Níl ach blian slánaithe ag an gcomhlacht a bunaíodh ag tionnscloiri ón Ghearmáin i gcomhar le Gaeltarra Eireann. Tá an foireann (a sheas ag 125) laghdaithe go 75 anois.

Níl sé soiléir fé láthair cad tá i ndán don chomhlacht. Ach tá rafla an-láidir go bhfuil sé beartaite na dóirse a dhúnadh sa gCeathrú Rua agus an gnó a ath-oscailt, b'fhéidir faoi ainm eile, i mBaile Atha Cliath.

Más fíor é seo buille báis a bheidh ann do aon dóchas go bhfuil láirreacht ar bith ag baint le ráitísí lucht Rialtais nó Gaeltarra go bhfuil suim acu fostaíocht a chur ar fáil sna Gaeltachtaí.

Tá beagnach leath mhíliúin púnt caite ag Gaeltarra mar dhéantais do lucht Celtic Plastics. Leath mhíliúin caite le sruth de réir dealramh — sruth a sroisfidh pócaí stiúrthóirí an comhlachta.

Seisear atá ar bord Celtic Plastics — Louis P. Smith, Baile Atha Cliath; Peter Zucht, An Ghearmáin; Joseph Parsons, Gaillinnh; Dermot P. Whelan, Aerphort na Sionnaine; Fintan Tallon, Baile Atha Cliath agus David W. Prentice, Dún Laoire. In ainmneacha Smith agus Prentice atá 14,798 des na scarannaí. Is le Gaeltarra Eireann 5,200 eile.

Tuigtear gurb é an tUasal Tallon is mó atá i bhfabhar an comhlucht a athbhunú i mBaile Atha Cliath. Ollamh le h-ecnamaíocht i gColáiste na Iollscoile (UCD) i mBaile Atha Cliath é Louis P. Smith. Tá siad beirt, Tallon agus Smith, mar stiúrthóirí ar chomhlucht dar teideal Irish Efficiency Centre Ltd.

Má tharláinn go n-athraittear Celtic Plastics go Baile Atha Cliath níl amhras an ach go mbeidh cursaí éifeachtais go mór i gceist.

Ni ach corr dhuine a cheisteoidh scéal an leath mhíliúin a ghlacadh i deontaisí gan post lán aimsireach amháin fágtha dá bharr sa Ceathrú Rua.

## Íascaireacht

Tá cumann cosanta na n-iascairí, an National Fishermen's Defence Association, ag iarraidh áiteamh ar rialtas na 26 Condae "athraithe bunúsacha" a dhéanamh ar an dlí a bhaineann le teorann íascaireachta na tíre a chosaint. Siad na príomhí pointí a dhéanann an NFDA ná gur chóir go n-ardófaí na pionóis a bheadh le n-íoc ag tráláirí ón íasacht a thagann laistigh den teorann agus go mbeadh na bun línte cinnithe go soléir.

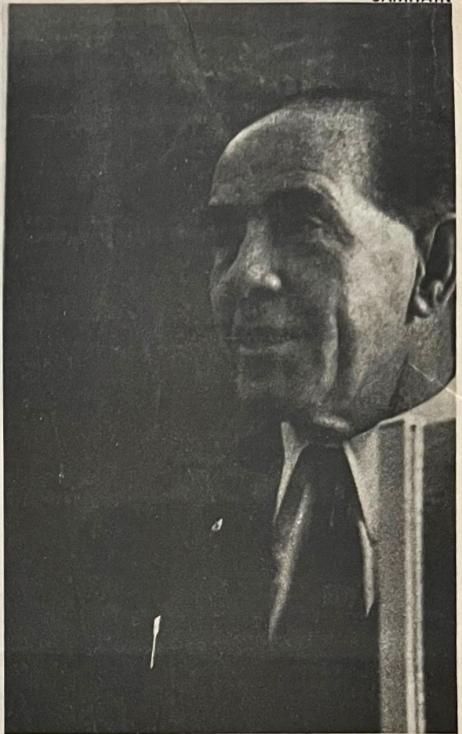
## Merger

Tá cainteanna ar siúl i láthair na h-uaire idir Comhar Chumann Íascairí an Daingin agus Comhar Cumann Forbartha Chorca Dhuibhne i gCiarraí. Merger atá i gceist idir íascairí an baile mór agus na feirmeoirí ó thiar.

JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND an teideal atá ar leabhar a foilsíodh ag lár na míosa seo caite ag an Cobden Trust, Londain. Tuairisc atá ann ar staidéar dhá bhliain a rinneadh ar imeachtaí na cúiteanna sa Tuaisceart.

Teaspúineann sé go bhfuil fianaise

● Nach deas an greim a bheadh ag Clann Tully ar an gComhlacht. Agus nach deas an greim ag an gComhlacht ar Clann Tully.



láidir le cruthú nach bhfuil cothrom na féinne, nó gar dhó, le fáil ag an mionlucht sna 6 Condae in ainneoin bolscaireacht Whitelaw.

Mar shampla tá cur síos ar 300 duine ar 1250 cúiseanna a tháinig roimh an Belfast City Commissions idir Eanáir agus Meitheamh na bliana seo. Seo: leathdh 59% de Protastúnaigh ar bannaí i gcomparáid de Protastúnaigh ar Caiticigh. I gcás cúiseanna a bhain le seilbh airm cuireadh an cúis is lú, seilbh gan ceadáinas, i gcomhábh 36% de Protastúnaigh a ghabhadh. Níor tharla seo ach i gcás 15% de na Caiticigh a ghabhadh.

Deireann na h-udair, Tom Hadden agus Paddy Hillyard, beirt léachtóirí Ollscoile, go bhfuil cúis gearáin dáiríre ag an mionlucht. Cár chualamar é sin cheana? Deireann freisin nach mbeidh muinín ag an mionlucht san coras dlí go dtí go dtiocfaidh athrú bunúsach ar meon agus ar phearsana lucht riatha an choras. Seans maith go dtarlóidh sin.

## Scup

Buille in aghaidh éinne a cheapann gur féidir athrú go soisialachas a dhéanamh tré modhanna 'daonfhálathach' amháin abea briseadh Allende i Chile. Buille fé leith in aghaidh an port is deireanaí atá ag an Páirtí Chumannaigh sa bhFrainc é. Tá na Cumannaigh le fada ag cáineadh

son dream atá ar chlé an Popular Front. Tá an Páirtí ag moladh buntáití an 'ballot box' amháin don lucht leanúna atá acu sa tír sin.

Tugann lucht an chlé 'revisionism' air — ní leor adeir siad bheith ag brath ar an coras vótála le h-aghaidh réabhlóide: caithfeair uirlisí cosanta a sholáthar freisin.

Mhéadaigh ar mhéachaint argóint na frith-revisionists le déanaí nuair a foilsíodh scúp, a léirigh meon rialtais na Fraince ar cursaí 'slándála', ar páipéar den teideal ROUGE. Sliochtanna as leabhrán traenála ar modhanna troda in aghaidh 'subversives' a bhí ann. "Ullmhúchán le haghaidh cogadh catharda" an minú a ghlac ROUGE as pleán na Roinne Cosanta.

Modhanna polaiticiúla, eacnamaíochta, síceolaíochta agus míleata atá molta ag na cinnirí slándála in éadan éinne a chorraíonn mí-shuaimhneas — ceardcumannaigh, soisialaigh agus eile. Ach má tá greim daingean faighte ag 'subversives' i gceantair níl molta ach cursa amháin. Ní féidir greim d'fháil ar cheantar mar seo, a deireann an leabhrán, gan ionradh míleata a dhéanamh agus ide fulteach a dhéileadh amach ó dheas agus ó chlé.

● Níl ceacht Kitson cailte orthu. Agus tá ceachtanna eile le teacht. "Joint Directive on Military Interrogation in

Internal Security Operations Overseas" ceann des na foillseacháin is déanaí le teacht ó Rialtas Shasana. "Successful interrogation calls for a psychological attack on the subject" d'réir an foillseacháin seo. Agus chun é d'fháil moltar modhanna atá in úsáid acu féin sna Sé Condae — an corp a bhriúeadh ar drús agus ansin ionsaí a dhéanamh ar an aigne. An Joint Services Interrogation School a d'ullmhaigh an leabhar.

Beidh an Joint Directive in úsáid go forleathan sa Tuaisceart de réir dealramh. Ainneoin Strasbourg tá spás dhá n-ullmhú i Campa Magilligan, Doire, le h-aghaidh breis is míle duine a choimeád fé ghas. Deireann lucht síofa an Directive go bhfuil siad fé chomhoisín as eolas a fuarthas on Gréig, Spáinn, Portaingéal, an Turc agus na Stáit Aontaithe. Aitníonn ciaróg ciaróg eile gan dabht. Agus beidh teicníc na ciarógaí le n-úsáid ar na guinea pigs a líonfaidh Magilligan.

## Ciaróigíní

Agus tá ciaróigíní de shaghas ag aithní ciaróigíní eile sa Deisceart. On Uaimh cloisimid go bhfuil Bainisteor Pearsanra nua le ceapadh ag Tara Mines. Tuairimid gur dlúil leis an comhlacht go nglacfaidh comharsa béal dorais dúinn leis an-post.

'Sé atá i gceist againn ná an fear atá i gceannas cursaí anois ag 6 Plás Gardnar — Frank Carolán, runaí cunta an Federation of Rural Workers.

Agus ní h-aon ionadh gur tairiscíodh an post do oifigeach an F.R.W. — Jimmy Tully's Union mar a tugtar air. Tá éiríthe go geal idir an comhlacht agus an ceard cumann go dtí seo. Bheadh sé mí nádúrtha dá mbeadh a mhalairt de scéal ann. Léigh ar aghaidh, led thoil!

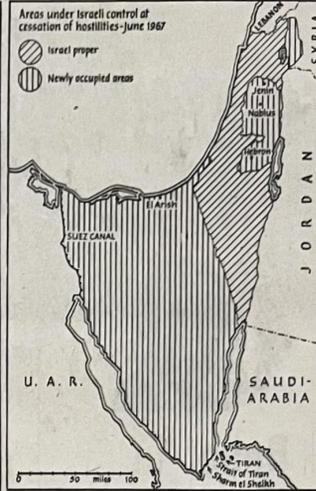
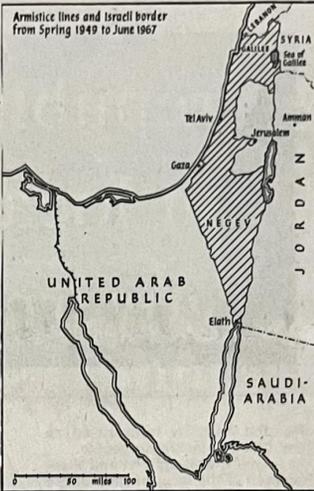
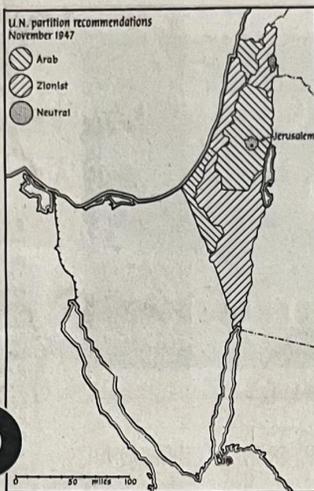
I gcainteanna (na bac le conspóidí) idir an comhlacht agus a lucht oibre go dtí seo b'iad James Tully no Frank Carolan a bhí mar urlabraithe don Ceardcumann. Le sé mí anuas, ó toghadh James Tully mar Aire Rialtas Aitiúil, 's'é Frank an príomh urlabhar. Tá Frank pósta ar iníon James Tully.

Mar urlabharí an comhlachta bíonn Tully eile, John, atá mar runaí ar Tara Mines. Mac le James Tully ísua John Tully. Éiríonn sé casta ach tá ruda amháin soléir. Má ghlacann Frank Carolan le Bainisteoireacht Pearsanra i Tara nach deas an greim a bheadh ag Clann Tully ar an gComhlacht. Agus nach deas an greim a bheadh ag an gcomhlacht ar Chlann Tully.



● Cruinnlu taobh amuigh de Magilligan i 1972 roimh a dhulnadh.

# The Middle East conflict...



# WHO ARE THE LOSERS?

By the time this gets into print the fourth war between Israel and the Arabs may well be over. Or it may still be dragging on, kept going by arms supplied from the United States and the Soviet Union to their respective clients.

And that is just the point which this war has finally brought home. They are clients, not friends or even allies. That is the reality, in hard-nosed terms of world diplomacy. On the local level, the greatest casualty is the cause of the Palestinians expelled from their land at the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. And this cause, of course, has up to now been the crux of enmity between Israel and the Arab world.

At that time, some two million Palestinian Arabs were uprooted and moved to other Arab countries, mainly Jordan and Lebanon. There they have been living since, most of them in dismal refugee camps where nothing is nourished except a festering hatred of Israel and everything it stands for.

The Arab states have made little effort to integrate their Palestinian brethren into their societies, and have instead cynically used their plight as an emotive argument against Israel.

It has for some time been obvious that the Palestinian cause was a lost one as far as Arab nations were concerned. Jordan went to the brink of civil war to curb their activities, Syria crushed them physically and Lebanon created a buffer zone in the south beyond which they were not tolerated, thus preventing them from striking into Israel.

But the lip-service to the Palestinian cause was still mouthed, and it was only in the heat of the current war that the mask was allowed to slip.

Egypt's and Syria's stated purpose was to regain the territories lost in the 1967 six day war, or enough of them to force Israel to come to peace terms on the basis of those boundaries in exchange for recognised frontiers, i.e. the recognition of Israel as a state.

Nothing, but nothing, has been said about restoring the land of Palestine to its displaced owners.

If there is a cease-fire leading to genuine peace talks the Palestinian question will undoubtedly be included, but it will not this time be the main issue, and it will not be allowed to stand in the way of a settlement if the parties otherwise desire to reach an accommodation.

All indications are that Egypt and Syria started the war this time. Since 1967 they have said they would abide by the United Nations resolution 242 which calls for the withdrawal by Israel to the pre six day war boundaries in return for a peace agreement that in effect recognises the existence of the state of Israel.

But Israel has refused to accept that resolution, and has ever since been dragging its feet and stymied diplomatic efforts to resolve the deadlock. At the same time the Arab territories occupied there have been systematically colonized by Israel in an effort to make the situation irreversible.

While third world nations have taken an in-

creasing interest — more and more have broken relations with Israel — the main powers that could bring leverage to bear have shown less and less interest.

To Sadat and Assad it must have looked as if international opinion really thought that the problem would go away, that once Israel had consolidated their 1967 gains the Arab states would gradually come to accept the situation and be too humiliated by that defeat to try any military adventure.

So they struck, with the limited objectives of restoring their national pride and gaining enough territory to be in a bargaining position.

Whatever happens now the first objective was achieved in the early days of the first objective was an embargo on oil supplies to a world beset by an energy crisis has brought a semblance of unity to the Arab world, and may to an extent counterbalance recent Israeli military gains when, or if, the parties reach the conference table.

Apart from the rather alarming arrogance and expansionist tendencies shown in the last few years, Israel's main, and overriding concern is to be recognised by its neighbours and not feel threatened by annihilation.

Arab pride restored, a peace treaty could, in theory, make Israel give back most of the occupied territories if she felt she had got secure terms.

Only a few million Palestinians would be the losers.

# The Chilean conflict...

The outbreak of war between Israel and the Arab states has overshadowed events in Chile. This must have come as a welcome relief to the new military junta in that country, and its United States allies. The storm of protest and condemnation which met the coup has rapidly subsided and with it the only defence Chilean working class militants, and foreign political refugees in the country, enjoy at the moment. The eye-witness accounts speak for themselves.

John Barnes of "Newsweek" (hardly a revolutionary journal) wrote of what he saw in Santiago's city morgue: "One hundred and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the ground floor, awaiting identification by family members. Upstairs, I passed through a swing door and there in a dimly lit corridor lay at least 50 bodies, squeezed one against the other, their heads propped up against the wall. They were all naked."

"Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machine-gunned in the body. Their chests had been slit open and sown together in what presumably

had been a pro-forma autopsy. They were all young and, judging by the roughness of their hands, all from the working class. A couple of them were girls, distinguished among the massed bodies only by the curves of their breasts".

## Pools of blood

In the shanty towns the killings have been wholesale. Every adult male in one "poblacion" had been killed. Resistance is met with total retaliation. On the day of the coup, "Ten high-school students were marched from their school, their hands over their heads, after a brief skirmish with carabineros. They were forced to lie face down on the ground, and a policeman walked the line of prone youngsters, spraying them with machine gun fire".

Another report tells of curfews and "Mop-up squads": "In the morning, passersby find huge pools of blood on the sidewalks, or corpses covered with newspapers. . . . Slum dwellers fished 45 bodies out of the Rio Mapocho not far from Pudahuel Airport, and in Santiago itself several bodies piled up against a bridge over the Mapocho.

# The atrocities continue

"A U.N. official who was looking for the body of a Bolivian student counted 180 fresh bodies in the morgue, including five children. The head of the registry department has even complained that his clerks are so busy identifying dead bodies that they have no time for issuing marriage licences".

What is still worse is that this terror is continuing. Only now the killings become more

selective. "Leftists who cut their hair, took off their ties, and went meekly to work two weeks ago are beginning to disappear. Workers who led union actions in the factory and tended their machines with their heads down for a week after the coup are beginning to be arrested". The C.U.T. (Central Unica de Trabajadores — United Federation of Workers) has been outlawed as well as left

political parties. One of its leading figures and Allende's Minister for Labour, Jorge Godoy has been captured, and so badly tortured that he is reported to have attempted suicide. Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party is to be tried for treason, and so on.

## Death trap

One of the worst aspects of the massacres has been the ruthlessness with which the junta tracks down foreign leftists who fled their Latin American dictatorships to find sanctuary in Chile. Chile has been turned, in one act, from an asylum into a trap. Yet, apart from the Swedish and, to some extent, the Mexican embassies these refugees are being denied refuge by any of the embassies in Chile.

Today the only Latin American state with any vestiges of democracy left is Argentina. Here too a crisis point is rapidly approaching, repression appears very much on the cards. One fact that should not escape Irish socialists is that Buenos Aires possesses an Irish embassy. We must make it a priority to establish that in the event of a military coup the embassy



will provide asylum for political activists threatened with repression. This is one positive step we can take after the Chilean disaster. Another is to set up, as quickly as possible, the machinery to launch a campaign against the military butchers who now rule Chile and offer all aid and protection possible to their victims and opponents.

# republicans in local government

8. NOEL COLLINS



## Belief in Mass Movement

With nearly 3,000 unemployed the social problems facing the people of Newry are enormous. In a town which "boasts" one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe, Republican Clubs Councillor Noel Collins has found that practically every problem he tackles is in some way related to this.

With the other members of the local Republican Clubs, Noel is now trying to organise the workers in their trade unions to mount a campaign to demand their basic rights. "Unemployment and the exploitation of the workers are twin evils of the same economic system. Our task must be to organise both the workers and the unemployed in a common fight to win short term demands such as the right to work and the right to a decent wage. In the long term we must show them that they must smash the system which exploits them."

Industrialists need a pool of labour to guarantee their own profits. They take advantage of the cheap labour mentality which unemployment creates. Men are afraid to demand higher wages because they themselves see that the workers are divided. If one man loses a job there are always six more ready to fill it. That's why it is so important for us to point out to the workers the need to get involved in the unions to defend their own rights.

Newry, like every other area in the six-counties, suffers from constant repression by the British Army. After each political arrest, Noel does everything possible to ensure that those arrested do not

suffer the brutality inflicted on so many other unfortunate people.

As a Civil Rights activist and Vice-Chairman of the local branch of the C.R.A., he believes that the mass of the people must be involved in agitating for their basic democratic rights.

Since August 1971 Noel has been in the forefront of the anti-internment campaign in the Newry area. He sees internment as an attempt by British Imperialism to smash the resistance of the people and as such it is one campaign which must be won. Knowing that this can only be achieved by mass protest, he has consistently called for united action by all groups opposed to internment. His own personal commitment, like that of other Republican Clubs Councillors, is evident in his refusal to take his seat in the Newry and Mourne District Council until the last political hostage is released.

Despite his non attendance at Council meetings Noel Collins can still successfully represent the people in all the issues affecting them. This is clear from the number of people who bring their problems to him. Unemployment, housing, working conditions, repression and the lack of recreational facilities are foremost among the problems he is tackling on behalf of his constituents.

As a representative of the people Councillor Collins is pledged to work with them to fight the many injustices of the present system. To do this it is necessary to educate and organise the mass of the people. In his own words, "the people of Newry have shown their hatred of injustice on numerous protests against internment. Newry is faced with many problems which are a direct result of the economic system. Together we can organise and educate ourselves and move forward to remove all injustices and eventually give the wealth back to the people who create it".

9. FRANCIE O'DONOGHUE



## Opposed Clones School Plan

Since his election to Carrickmacross U.D.C. in 1967, Francie O'Donoghue has been involved in all issues affecting the people he represents. Apart from being Vice-Chairman of the Council, he holds a similar position on Co. Monaghan Council of Trade Unions and is an active shop steward with the Irish Shoe and Leather Workers' Union. On the cultural side he is a member of Comhaltas Ceoiltoiri Eireann and was chairman of the Ulster Fleadh Ceoil this year.

### Secular education

He has continuously campaigned on the housing issue, both in the Council chamber and on the streets. In 1968 he and two other members of the local cumann were each fined £50 or six months in jail in default for housing a family in an unoccupied house in the town. The fines are still unpaid. On the same issue Francie has been demanding the abolition of ground rent and the introduction of controls on the letting of flats.

As the Council's representative on

the Co. Monaghan Vocational Education Committee, he played a leading part in opposing a "mini-comprehensive" school for Clones. The proposal would have had the effect of eliminating democratic control of technical education and placed it in the hands of the clergy. He is a strong advocate of an integrated, secular education system. Francie believes that the 1930 Education Act is about to be scrapped and replaced by legislation which would give equal representation on Vocational Education Committees to managers of schools outside of the that education system. "This measure, if and when it is introduced, will have to be vigorously opposed," he says, "unless there is at least a reciprocal arrangement".

### Pollution

The local cumann has also been very involved on other issues such as play facilities for children, the provision of pedestrian crossings and the question of pollution. The campaign for more and better facilities met with limited success. In the drive against pollution in the area all possible help was given to organisations such as An Taisce, the Trout Angler's and Coarse Fishermen's Associations. Francie has used every opportunity at Council meetings to highlight this scourge and to condemn those responsible.

### Extradition

But he does not confine himself to issues in the local area. The Council recently passed a motion from Councillor O'Donoghue, calling on the Coalition to hold a public inquiry into the Littlejohn Affair. Just last month he succeeded in getting unanimous support for a motion condemning extradition.

On the Trades Council he has constantly tried to win support for more active participation of rank-and-file members within their unions. He recognises the importance of the Trade Union Movement as a means of raising the class consciousness of the ordinary workers. "Through our involvement in local issues", he says, "we are able to show the workers that the Republican Movement is the only organisation with their interests at heart and the only party with a radical, alternative programme".

# EXPLOITING A THIRD OF LABOUR FORCE

For a while there, with all those noble sentiments on equal pay being voiced by official speakers, it seemed as

If Irish women workers were actually going to be handed over what's owed them by Government, employers and

trade unions, all repentant for exploiting one third of the labour force at half the wage-rate of the rest.

Last month the Equal Pay Commissioner made his decision on the first claim put to him under the terms of the National Wage Agreement — a very polite, very apologetic NO to the women confectioners now earning about 70 per cent of their male colleagues' wages.

Mr. John Maher, the Commissioner appointed at the recommendation of the Employer Labour Conference, explained very carefully that it wasn't really his fault, but the fault of the Equal Pay Clause in the Agreement. The trouble was that the Irish Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers Union had put

the claim in for women in the whole industry, instead of isolating a few women who could be clearly seen to do the same work as men.

### Tough luck

In general, women confectioners just don't do the same work as men, so poor Mr. Maher had to turn them down. But there's a solution to all this, he adds brightly, and that is a magical technique called "job evaluation". If all workers will just sit back and let somebody decide how valuable everybody's job is (to whom? to the employer making the profit?) we'll all know exactly what pay we should get and the matter will be nicely settled.

Since, in general, women

workers don't do the same work as men in any industry, the rejection of the women confectioners puts paid to any hope women may have had of achieving higher pay across the board. Any hope of fighting equal pay one firm at a time will be resolutely dashed by the employers who can convincingly threaten a close down if their costs increase beyond their competitors.

What Mr. Maher has effectively said to women is "You're not getting equal pay because most of you don't do work that men do. The fact that you don't do the same work because you don't get the same opportunities or training is your tough luck. But if you'll just let your employer decide how important the work you

do is to him, we'll have a clear idea of how much you should get paid. And some of you might even be worth as much as some men.

If the unions had the courage, their clear reply to Mr. Maher would be "No worker ever got anywhere by letting the employer decide how much he or she is worth. Until such time as the people control the industries and the profit, and can distribute the wealth of production evenly, workers must demand the pay they require, and fight for it with united strength."

It's up to women workers now to see that their unions take this position and reject Mr. Maher's solution. The only way equal pay will be achieved is if women fight for it, and men support that fight.

