32 GOUNTIES IN STRUGGLE

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HULL '76: UNITY IN STRUGGLE

AMAZING PLOTps3

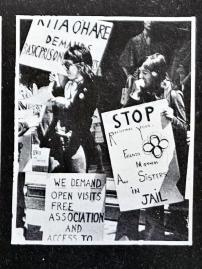
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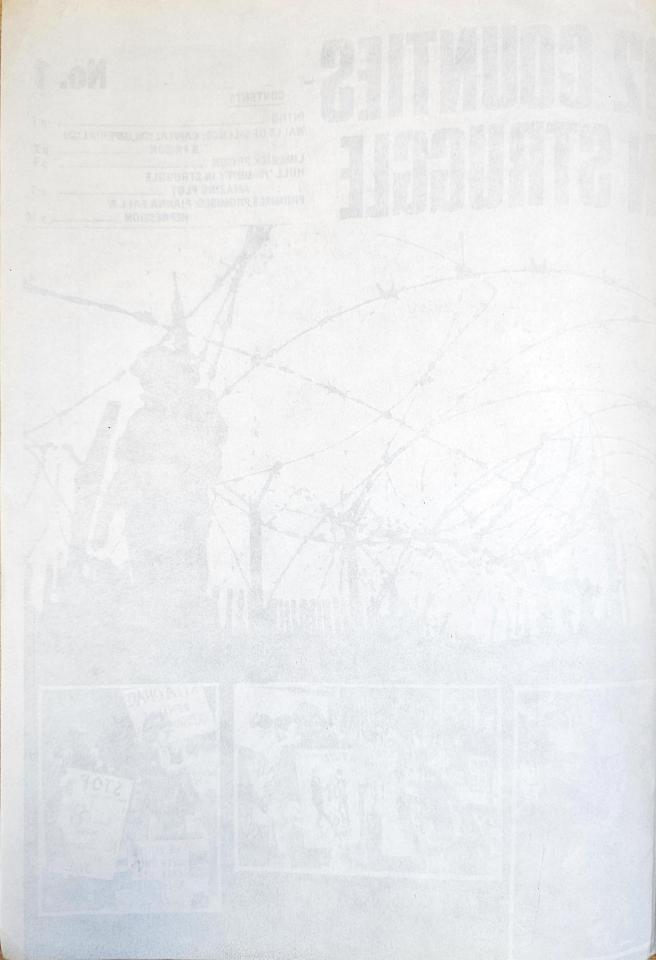
REPRESSION p 10













We are writing this bulletin in support of the struggle of the Irish people, and against the domination of their country in all its 32 counties. We are writing in support of all the different ways in which working women and men in Ireland are fighting against oppression and for better conditions.

We would like to show the situation in Ireland from the point of view of the exploited and oppressed: workers in the factory, the fishing boat and the home; the unemployed; travelling people; those who are imprisoned, censored, beaten and tortured, shot at and tear gassed, detained without trial, pushed into concrete ghettoes, denied the right to fish their ow waters or keep their own culture. All those who hold out even a spark of resistance—and meet brutality and repression in one form or another.

We are writing against the British State, which has no right to be in Ireland at all, except to defend its own system and the profits of the capitalist class. We support ALL those who are fighting against the British occupation of the 6 Counties.

We will support all efforts by the Irish people to build unity through their many different struggles, unity against capitalism and against imperialism. We believe that the people of Ireland can and will win their own liberation.

We want to produce a bulletin which will be a real help to people trying to organise and fight.

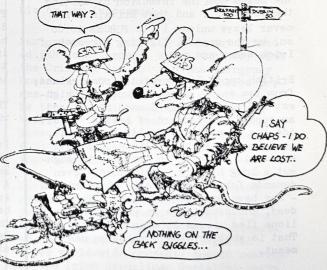
To help organise discussion and support in clubs and pubs, colleges and workplaces, wherever people meet. To provoke solidarity, unity and action.

And to help people fight the effects of imperialism in our own country, England. Because imperialism is not just an "Irish problem" that stays over the water. It is a big, big problem for the exploited and oppressed here.

For Irish people in England, who will find themselves used as cheap labour, harassed, imprisoned, deported and ridiculed as long as Ireland remains unfree.

For Welsh, Scottish, Indian and West Indian, Pakistani, Phillipino, Portugese and Spanish, all those for whom Britains imperialist history brings a special suffering, an exceptional need to fight.

And for English people, who will never, ever have the power to make lasting changes in their own lives as long as they permit, in their own name, the special exploitation and oppression of others.



The bulletin is being produced by two different organisations and other individuals, working together. We would like it to be used by others as well.

We are not a political party, and we do not have rich friends. If "32 Counties in Struggle" is to work, it will depend on your support. We want replies, comments, criticisms and ideas on any articles we have written; and we would like contributions - articles, stories, songs, drawings, anything which will help people organise and fight.

If you or your organisation would like to help sell the bulletin or produce

it, or if you would like to know more about what we are doing, get in touch. Either speak to the comrade you buy it from, or write.

And if you would like our help, we will do our best, wherever you are living or working. We may be able to put you in touch with others who are looking for people to work with; certainly we can help you get information, films, slides, speakers and posters.

WORD PLAY

I

Take away the sign & (man) from the sign of for prison,

Add to it *(probability) that makes the word (nation)

Take the head-particle from the sign & for misfortune:

That gives the word & (fidelity),
Additite sign: 4 for man (standing) to the sign. A for

That gives the wood Ma(quality).

Take away the bamboo top 44 from the sign it for prison,

That gives you A (dragon).

n

People who come out of prison can build up the country.

Misfortune is a test of people's fidelity.

Those who protest at injustice are people of true merits
When the prison-doors are opened, the real dragon
will fly out.

HO CHI MINH

WALLS OF SILENCE

capitalism

imperialism

— prisons

Ireland is important to imperialism - to NATO, the U.S.A., the E.E.C., and particularly to Britain. If one thing stands out clear as the war drags on, it is this: that the ruling class has neither the means nor the intention of uniting the country... and that Britain will never leave unless it is FORCED to do so, by the united, fighting strength of Irish women and men.

British capitalism profits from Ireland; from low wages, unemployment, the highest inflation in the Common Market and an appalling standard of living. To divide the country, to divide the people, that is how the capitalist class have kept hold of power in Ireland. Throughout a long history, resistance — even demands for the most basic civil rights — has been met with brutality. Thousands dead, thousands more in prison, and millions fled abroad in search of jobs. That is what British domination has meant.

Queen Elizabrit's visit gives us just another reminder of the facts. Waving her wand at the upturned faces of selected loyalists and unionists... never seeing a single street of Belfast or Derry... the message came over loud and clear. The army is here to stay. As long as the armed struggle continues, and then beyond.

The ripples and waves set up by British domination affect the whole country, not just the North. They spread back into Britain as well as to the 26 Counties, blocking the path of all struggles for a better future.

This first issue of 32 Counties in Struggle is mainly about prisons.

Prisons are a vital weapon for the capitalist class. Behind walls of stone and silence there is a private world. A world of brutality and arbitrary cruelty. A world where people, human beings, have no rights. A world where those who are fighting for freedom become "criminals"... and where "criminals" are worse than animals.

Behind the walls of silence lies capitalism with all the trimmings stripped away. In each and every capitalist country - repression knows no borders.

Even to knock a tiny little hole in the wall is a real threat to the State. Our aim is to do just that. To show some of the effects of British imperialism inside the prisons of Ireland and England.



THE 6 COUNTIES:

The creation of "Ulster" in the 1920's, and its maintenance as "part of Britain", would never have been possible without the most exceptional and repressive laws. The Special Powers Act has allowed practices that are outlawed elsewhere, such as internment without trial, to flourish.

Under its shadow, torture and techniques of sensory deprivation have become widespread; Britain has met international condemnation, highlighted by cases in the European Court and the International Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

After a long struggle, internment was ended in 1975, only to be replaced by a more complex system of 'provisional detention'. A massive campaign of arrests was carried out during Queen Elizabrit's visit; the number of political prisoners has continued to grow to over 2,000, of which 100 are women in Armagh Prison.

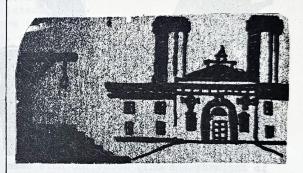
After a long hunger strike in 1972, POL-ITICAL STATUS was won... but since March 1976 this has been denied. Beginning with Kieron Nugent, hundreds of prisoners have joined the struggle to win back political status. They are the object of daily brutality and violence, segregated like in the notorious H Block of Long Kesh. Refusing to wear prison clothes, they are naked in their cells, denied the right to meet each other, frequently put in solitary; they are allowed nothing to read except the Bible, are not allowed to use their

bed during the day, and so on. They are suffering constant harassment and pressure to make them renounce the demand to be recognised as political prisoners. Prisoners are further demanding their right to be recognised as PRISONERS OF WAR, according to recent international agreements signed under the auspices of the Red Cross in Geneva, with the basic human rights that are given to such prisoners.

THE 26 COUNTIES:

From the very start, the capitalist State in the South has had to prop itself up with laws and repression sometimes even worse than those in the North.

In 1972, the Curragh concentration camp was opened under army supervision. The 1939 Offences Against the State Act was reintroduced, bringing in the Special



Criminal Court, a tribunal without benefit of jury, before which the accused has the impossible task of 'proving' his or her innocence.

Last year, the Dublin government extended its legal arsenal still further, with the Criminal Law Act and the Emergency Powers Act. They extend many police powers to the Army, and allow prisoners to be tried in Irish courts for supposed 'offences' in the North or in Britain. These laws allow the State to do away with the process of extradition and all its safeguards.

There have been many well-documented cases of torture and brutality. The death sentences passed on Noel and Marie Murray, based on statements extracted under torture and later commuted after world-wide protest; the 40 members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party tortured during enquiries into a train hold-up; the dozens of Sinn Fein, memb-

bed during the day, and so on. They are

ers, like Tom O'Connor, badly beaten by the Special Branch. All these cases are backed up by the Association for Legal Justice, a body of Irish Jurists.

BRITAIN:

In Britain itself, exceptional and undemocratic laws have been introduced, with little opposition. Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, over 3000 people have been detained in 3 years, almost 100 have been deported without any trial, often when their homes are



in England; and only about 100 have been charged with any offence, hardly any of them having any connection with terrorism.

Under the P.T.A., Irish and English citizens are intimidated from exercising their democratic rights. For example, although people travelling to Ireland have no legal need to produce documents, anyone who refuses to do so, and to cooperate with extensive interrogation, is liable to be detained.

Over 100 Irish political prisoners are held in British jails. The deplorable conditions have been shown up by a number of deaths; Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg on hunger strike, and Noel Jenkinson in mysterious circumstances which have never met the full light of day.



Whatever you think of the situation in Ireland, it must be clear that Irish political prisoners are being treated in FLAGRANT VIOLATION of:

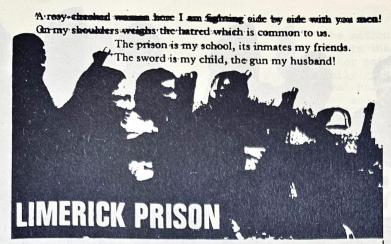
- The World Declaration of Human Rights 1948.
- The European Convention of Human Rights 1950.
- The Red Cross Convention of 1949 on the protection of individuals in international conflicts.
- The Rights of War laid down in the Geneva Conventions.
- The Helsinki Agreements of August 1975.

If our articles can help give people the information and the confidence to demand that these matters be raised, and to join in the struggle against repression, then they have succeeded.



The law and the legal symbol in which imprisonment plays a consist role; is not merely an experience of class interest. Restort, it is mechanism by which the ment powerful group within the raling class improves into vice property of the class as a winds, and educates the masser.

Responsibility for this article is our own, but we acknowledge the use of information from publications of the Comite Irlande, Paris.



Limerick prison is over 150 years cld. It is a prison for both men and women. The following notes on conditions for women and girls in the female wing were compiled from information from released prisoners. This was made possible by Civil Rights Day organised by Trinity College Branch of the Irish Civil Rights Association.

Women in Limerick Prison include both remand and convicted prisoners, and women tried by the ordinary courts as well as by the Special Criminal Court. It is worth noting some differences in treatment. Among the prisoners last year was a woman who admitted hiring a man to bomb a dance hall as part of a property feud between competing operators.

Because she claimed that the bombing was not political, it is worth remarking that she served only a year of her five year sentence, and was paroled seven times.

On the other hand, parole was strictly forbidden to other prisoners, even to wives or mothers of children.

IN GENERAL THERE IS NO HOSTILITY BETWEEN POLIT-

ICAL AND NON-POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Girls of 15, 16 and 17 years old are held in Limerick prison for offences such as shoplifting a jumper valued at £1.90 or loitering with intent. For these girls there is no Welfare Officer, no social worker, nothing. They are treated as hardened criminals. Many of them can not read and write.

Two girls of the Travelling People were released for only 24 hours to attend the funeral of their father who had committed suicide. Returning sobbing they were threatened with punishment if they did not stop crying.

These girls are made to wear a prison uniform, -1930's dresses of green and navy - to distinguish remand from convicted. Tranquillisers are dispensed to the girls to keep them quiet. Many of these girls break down when locked up from 7.30pm. to 8.30am, in cells with no visits and no occupation at all. If they protest, male screws are brought in. They are put into a PADDED GREEN CANVAS CELL and forcibly injected while male screws are holding them down. This has been recounted directly by a released prisoner.

There is no heating in Limerick Prison. The furnace broke down last year and has not been repaired since. It is freezing all winter. Water coming down the walls. No alternative heating is provided. In fact the prison was condemned in 1948.

Visits are permitted only with certain members of the direct family. Not all relatives are allowed in. There is no visitors waiting room. Elderly visitors have to stand up to an hour in the street in the rain and wind. For women political prisoners, visits must be received in a tiny packing case with holes punched in a perspex screen.

In the case of Rita O'Hare her children aged 8 and 10 were banned from visiting her because they cried and tried to get into the box to touch and kiss her.

Prisoners are transferred without notice between Mountjoy and Limerick.
Mothers can come from Cork to visit a daughter in Limerick and then find she is in Dublin. Prisoners have been transferred after receiving letters from parents to say they are visiting the prison.

There is no occupation or activity whatsoever for the women in the prison. Women and girl prisoners are locked into small cells for 16 hours a day with only a bed, table, chair and chamber pot.

"It's like being an animal at the zoo... there are screws peering at you through peephcles every minute of the day".

IS LIMERICK PRISON FOR WOMEN, FOR HUMAN BEINGS, FOR CITIZENS WITH RIGHTS, OR IS IT FOR ANIMALS?



There are almost a hundred Irish political prisoners in British jails, and many, many more in both parts of divided Ireland. They suffer special oppression and discrimination. We support their fight for political status and return to Ireland.

But the struggles of political prisoners are just one face of another struggle, the struggle of ALL prisoners in the hands of the capitalist State for decent treatment. This struggle demands the unity of all prisoners, Irish and English, black and white.

It goes on all over the world, in Iran, Italy, Chile, the USSR... in all the countries where capitalism uses prisons to cement up the cracks in its system. It is a struggle to break down the wall of secrecy that currounds capitalist prisons. It is a struggle for prisoners to be recognised as human beings, as citizens who will not accept to be denied their most elementary rights.

For us, we believe that the struggles of prisoners play an important part in any movement for liberation and socialism. In the words of James Connolly, the great revolutionary murd-

ered in a British jail - NO PEOPLE WILL EVER BE FREE THAT PERMIT PRISONS TO BE USED AS A WEAPON OF SECRET REP-RESSION BY A STALL RULING CLASS.

Between August 51st. and September 5th. 1976, a massive rebellion was organised by prisoners at Hull - Irish, English and other nationalities. The prison was literally destroyed, torm apart by the bare hands of the prisoners.

Some time ago the Sun ran a front page story about an 'amazing plot' to hang IRA bombers in their cells by hardened prisoners in Gartree prison. Here are some extracts from a letter smuggled out by a long term prisoner. Who concocted this 'amazing plot'? We leave you to judge.

That article in the Sun on March 29th. is total lies. I read it here with other prisoners - one of whom was in Gartree with me and Hugh Feeney - and we were all very angry and felt both frustrated and insulted...

We here are all on Category A, all doing long sentences. So I guess we are what the Home Office calls hardened criminals - we know of no plot in any jail throughout the country aimed at any prisoner, be they Irish or whatever... Hugh Feeney was well liked throughout the prison... this liking and RES-PECT started before any of us met Hugh Feeney because he was in the prison hospital for 5 months on. hunger strike along with his comrades G. Kelly and the Price sisters, and their struggle was a major political issue then, involving a direct confrontation with Jenkins (the man who controls this whole fucking shithouse they call the British Prison Industry) ... it is extremely likely the whole jail would have erupted if Hugh Feeney had been murdered ...

Incidentally, it was and still is the screws and the authorities who



hate the Irish prisoners. Lots of screws go from Britain to Ireland and do a six month stint at Long Kesh and other Irish prisons, they return like conquering heroes to their mates and generally try to stir up as much trouble as they can...

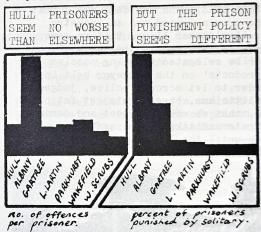
Only once did any prisoner show any dislike or anything other than ordinary friendliness and prison Solidarity towards Hugh Feeney. That was the day after the Birmingham bombs when one of our number made coffee during a break. gave us all a cup - but left Hugh out. We realised why, and all of us put our cups down. The fellow got the message, and walked away. Later on, we made more coffee, called him over, gave everyone a cup and offered him one. He took it. We talked about the Birmingham bombs the. We felt exactly the same, fucking sickened, but it was not down to Hugh or anybody. We feel particularly vulnerable when bombs go off which are directed at ordinary working people, precisely because we can do absolutely nothing, not even a phone call to make sure it's not our friends or relatives.

But we know more than anyone what it's like to be in prison and don't take liberties with people (especially who are doing long sentences). Don't believe a word of that shit in the Sun. There are people here now who never bothered about the Irish prisoners one way or another who on reading the Sun article make a point of publicly expressing solidarity and fellow prisoner spirit with them.

The action was sparked off by a beating in the segregation unit, "yet another act of organised thuggery in the daily grind of doing bird". But the real reasons lie in the daily monotony and exploitation of work, the petty harassment and the brutality that goes on in every prison.

PROP, a prisoners struggle organisation, and released prisoners, have made public accounts of the riot - most of our information has come from those sources.

But it was no accident that this riot started at Hull. The Sunday Times reported "... an analysis of the official prison statistics seems to suggest that the overall prison regime in Hull is considerably harsher than in any other top security prison in the country. As the table shows, more than 40% of the prisoners at Hull in 1975 were put in "cellular confinement" during the year, 10 times as many men proportionately as Wormwood Scrubs."



Times

Sunday

The incident of Artie Clifford was the spark, the straw that broke the camel's back. He was dragged out of his cell and beaten up by two scews, but another prisoner, a cleaner in the segregation unit was watching. The news went around the prison, and a hundred prisoners gathered to see the governor and demand that A. Clifford be removed from the seg unit. By 9 o'clock, the whole main block was under prisoner control, offices were opened up and files and documents collected.

As the files were read, the mood of everyone changed very quickly to at first shocked disbelief, then rapidly to a quiet fury. Here are some examples:

"He associates with 'A' and they spend a lot of time in each others cells, no doubt scheming and plotting. This foursome must be kept under observation at all times. They are all good 43b (solitary) material".

"'B' is a professional criminal and a dangerous psychopath. He is bitter and has a biting wit which he employs against staff at every opportunity.

He has served two years of an 18 year sentence and will be 60 by the time he is due for release, by which time he should be a cabbage."

Even those who had previously felt that the system was 'fair', 'straight' etc. had their illusions expelled when they read these files.

For 3 days the prison was occupied. Each day the prisoners gathered on the roof and shouted down information about conditions and demands... that the prison system was an industry trading in our lives, that we were here to tell people that we would never be relegated to being passive 'products' on the conveyor belt in order to let screws, police, judges, politicians, bureaucrats get fat off us, that we would protest and demonstrate and take action again and again until the last prison in Britain is shut forever.



Also, we mentioned about the work we were forced to do for a few pence a week, making furniture for prisons in Iran, and asked the media and people standing there, is this what we've come to? Supplying everything to kill and torture and imprison people all

over the world. We all screamed for a while, 'FUCK THE SHAH OF IRAN, FUCK THE SHAH OF IRAN'.



The Hull prisoners hadn't wanted a riot, they wanted a public inquiry, their rooftop banner said so. They knew that they would be made to suffer, and they were right. At a public inquiry organised by PROP, many prisoners gave statements telling of extreme brutality. Here are the words of Paul Hill, a republican prisoner from Belfast:

"The beatings... not a feeling of fear as such, but a feeling of despair knowing each of us were totally helpless. I heard the screws work their way along my landing one at a time, cons were battered to breakfast and battered back again... I was opened up, grabbed by the hair and dragged along the landing.

I was kicked and punched about the body the whole way up the landing by screws who screamed and yelled as if they hated me more than anything in this world. I was in a ball to protect my face, head and privates, so they lifted me by the hair and dipped my face in a tray of jam. I was then beaten back down to my cell and dumped on the floor. A few minutes later they came back again and said byebyes."



The prisoners f: Hull were split up around the country, isolated in solitary, lost many years remission on charges up to and i uding 'attempted murder'.

hebression will be when

The Home Office has a e all in its power to play down the out, to give an impression of public accountability and 'fair play', blaming events on a few 'trouble makers', publishing reports, bribing prisoners by giving back some of the remission they should never have lost in the first place.

But we must not allow ourselves to be conned. None of this window dressing even slightly alters the facts of what is going on inside our country's prisons. That is there for all of us to see.



THE PRISON POPULATION IN 1960 WAS 28,094.
IN 1965 IT WAS 31,074.

THIS YEAR IT WAS

41,728.



An excellent account of Hull 76 has been published by Prop. We will forward any requests for this pamphlet, from which most of the information in our article is taken.



Such solidarity in action between political prisoners and other cons should be an example to all of us who are lucky enough to be still on the outside. Here are some things you could do:

- * INFORM YOURSELF about what is going on. Ask us for more information, or write to the addresses at the back.
- * ORGANISE DISCUSSION among your friends, in your club, at work. We can help you get speakers and films.
- * WRITE to the press, religious and political representatives; support all calls for independent inquiries. Demand that changes be IMPLEMENTED, not just talked about.
- * SUPPORT any meetings or demonstrations about prisoners. Tell us what is going on in your area and we will help spread the word.
- * HELP US sell this bulletin and organise meetings in support of prisoners. Send us articles or letters.

PROMISES, PROMISES.

FIANNA FAIL & REPRESSION

In June, the Coalition Government in the 26 Counties was swept out of office. Fianna Fail took over the reins of the State, with the biggest majority ever. Big promises were made at election time... prosperity for the masses, an end to repressive laws, and more.

So car tax has been ended. But for the exploited and oppressed people, nothing much has changed. Wage controls are still there; inflation goes on; unemployment shows no signs of disappearing; the war continues and so does repression.

Selected representatives of the Press were allowed into the prisons for the first time in 4 years, and dutifully reported that there is no problem.

And look at the struggle it took to bring about even this mockery of an investigation. A hunger strike to the point of death in Portlaoise; demands for an independent inquiry by clerics, local councils, trade union bodies, journalists, the Irish Civil Rights Association and the Irish Council for Civil Liberties; demonstrations and pickets by the Prisoners Rights Organisation and the Prisoners Committee; and many more.

We do not believe that real changes in the lives of the people and an end to repression will ever come through the ballot box. They will only come when women and men learn how to struggle in order to get power themselves, directly.

Concessions will have to be wrung from the State by the people. We do not agree with those who sit back and wait for Fianna Fail to get on with the job.

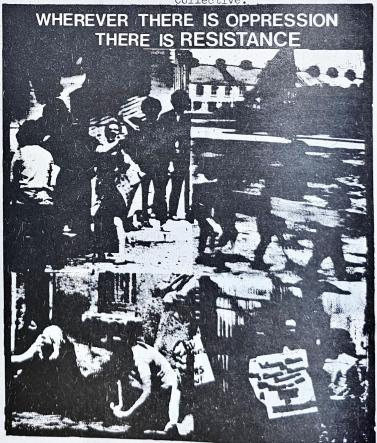
Fianna Fail has been in power for 35 of the last 45 years. In that time, over a million men and women have been forced to emigrate; From 1953 to 1973, the number of workers on the land fell by over 40%; and Fianna Fail brought in the Offences Against the State Act which is still being used today, as well as many other repressive and anti-democratic laws.

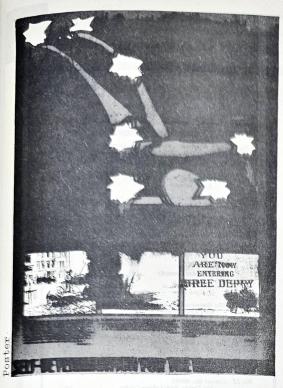
Repression will be used by Fianna Fail, to prop up its own fragile capit alist State. It will be used against those who are fighting to free the country; it will be used against those who fight for better conditions, as in the recent use of the Army against striking hospital maintenance workers. It must be opposed by all who value liberty.

The fight for an independent inquiry into prison conditions in the 26 Counties must go on; not a whitewash behind closed doors, but an inquiry asswerable to those who have fought for it.

This demand should be raised in every club, organisation and society where Irish people meet.

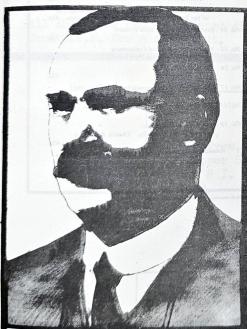
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OF THE PUTURE.



the bourgeois press and to inflame the working class mind to fever heat upon questions outside the range of their own class interests. War, religion, race, language, political reform, patriousm-all serve in the hands of the possessing class as counter-riving. counter-irritants. JAMES COMBIGILLY



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It comes out every two months, single copies 40p, yearly subscription £2, back numbers 50p.

Send cheques, postal orders or money orders to: The Ripening of Time, M. Mc.Bride, 5, Henrietta St., Dublin 1, Ireland.

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Enquiries and orders: please write to:

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Rising Free, 5, Henrietta St.,
182, Upper Street, Dublin 1,
London N 1. Ireland.
England.

32 COUNTIES IN STRUGGLE.

In No. 2 we hope to focus on emigration. To look at why people leave Ireland; and the conditions that Irish people live and work under, in England and elsewhere.

We would be pleased to discuss and receive contributions from people who have experience on these questions. Please write.

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