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FIGHT REPRESSION



AN BILLE UM CHIONTAÍ IN ACHAIDH AN STAÍT (LEASU),
1972
OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1972

BILL

entitled

AN ACT TO AMEND AND EXTEND THE OFFENCES
AGAINST THE STATE ACTS, 1939 AND 1940.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE OIREACHTAS AS FOLLOWS:

1.—In this Act "the Act of 1939" means the Offences against the State Act, 1939.

2.—(a) Every member of the Garda Síochána—

(i) who is liable to be charged with an offence which is scheduled in the Schedule to the Act of 1939 is being or was committed at any place.

(ii) has reasonable grounds for believing that any person whom he finds at or near the place at the time of the commission of the offence soon afterwards knows or saw at that time, of its commission,

(c) informs the person of his belief.

(b) the member may demand a statement from the person and an account of his receipt of the information or refuses to give the information or gives information in his false or misleading, he shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

3.—(1) (a) Any statement made orally, in writing or otherwise, or any conduct, by an accused person implying or leading to a reasonable inference that he was at a material time a member of an unlawful organisation shall, in proceedings under section 21 of the Act of 1939, be evidence that he was then such a member.

(b) In paragraph (a) of this subsection "conduct" includes omission by the accused person to deny published reports that he was a member of an unlawful organisation, but the fact of such denial shall not by itself be conclusive.

FIGHT IT NOW

YOU MAY HAVE NO TO-MORROW

DO SINN FEIN Ard Comhairle Statement FIGHT REPRESSION

The new Amendment of the Offences Against the State Act Bill is the most serious assault on democratic rights in the whole of Ireland. Fianna Fail's timing in bringing it in is not by chance; Jack Lynch has just returned from talks with Heath - talks which fine-tune the details of the British Government's White Paper on the North.

Part of the new deal, on which Heath has insisted is a crack down on the political and democratic movements who would oppose this new deal with Imperialism, the pretext of crushing the Provisionals, an attack is being made on the very essence of democracy and civil rights.

And this from a party which still includes in its cabinet Jim Gibbons, and as a respected member of its ranks Charlie Haughey, two men who were both deeply implicated in the financing, setting up and original direction of the Provisionals before and at the time of the Arms Trial. Now Fianna Fail sees that the Provisionals have served their purpose; their last use is to be the pretext for a major assault on the rights of every Irish citizen, trade unionist, farmer or political activist.

Any statement made orally, in writing or otherwise, or any conduct, by an accused person implying or leading to a reasonable inference that he was at a material time a member of an unlawful organisation shall, in proceedings under SECTION 21 of the Act of 1939, be evidence that he was then such a member.

This new Bill has not come about out of nowhere. It follows a long line of repressive events and follows a pattern in which a police state is being made a reality here - a police state more embracing than Greece or the Unionist regime in the North which Lynch has hypocritically condemned. For at the very same time as his government condemns the rights of the movement and the Special Powers Act, Jack Lynch presides over the imminent death of Sean MacStiofain and maintains a steadily increasing repression in the 26 Counties.

First of all came the silencing of RTE under the famous s.31 directive, which was meant to prevent all radically dissenting opinion from being voiced on the public media. Republicans are banned - even from discussing the pollution of Dublin Bay - while fascists like Craig and Imperialists like Heath can utter whatever blood-curdling threats they like against a mainly defenceless population in the North.

Nor does Fianna Fail stand idly by. Jack Lynch then proceeded to abolish the right of a jury trial by sending up Special Criminal Courts whose record of conviction is second to none. Fianna Fail's motto is "better nine innocent men should suffer than that one guilty man should go free". And those who are guilty are guilty of standing by their fellow countrymen and resisting British tyranny and Fianna Fail's own attacks on democracy.

Then came the Prisons Bill, passed with the support of the Parliamentary Labour Party which allowed the keeping of men in military custody in the Curragh Concentration Camp and elsewhere. Conditions in this camp have been described as far worse than the Long Walk Concentration Camp which Fianna Fail has stigmatised at Strabough! The hypocrites!

Where an officer of the Garda Síochána, not below the rank of Chief Superintendent, in giving evidence in proceedings relating to an offence under the said Section 21, states that he believes that the accused was at a material time a member of an unlawful organisation, the statement shall be evidence that he was then such a member.

And now more recently, in an effort to

DEFEND RIGHTS: MacGiolla

A Press Conference at Sinn Fein H.Q., 30 Plas Gardnar, Dublin, attended by President, Tomas MacGiolla, Des O'Hagan of the Republican Clubs Executive and Sean O'Connell, Sinn Fein P.R.O., called for a broad based movement to protect civil rights and democracy in the 26 Counties.

Obituaries

It is with deepest regret that we announce the death under tragic circumstances of Tom Finner, who was secretary of the South O'Hanlon Republican Club, Melbourne, Australia. Although his involvement with the movement was comparatively short, he displayed outstanding organising ability and devoted all of his spare time, his energy and his intelligence to the furthering of the movement's aims and objectives. He will be sadly missed by all the officers and members in Melbourne and elsewhere in Australia. The

turn a public television into a government propaganda bureau. Fianna Fail has dismissed the entire RTE authority because they would not bow to its will. They have jailed a journalist whose crime it is that he stood out for freedom of speech and the right of the ordinary people of Ireland to be informed of what is happening in their country. But Fianna Fail do not think that people should be informed: Fianna Fail think that people should not know about their concentration camps or their collaboration with the British Butcher, Edward Heath, or their hypocrisy in stabbing the people of the North in the back while proclaiming themselves 'republicans' (with a small 'r', of course).

The new Bill puts all their other actions in the shade. Under this proposed "law", an accused person must prove himself innocent. And can Jack Lynch himself prove to the satisfaction of a Fianna Fail judge that he has nothing to do with the Provisionals. Charles Haughey and Jim Gibbons can't. The whole basis of the legal system is being overthrown by this provision.

Further rules of evidence are changed to allow the Chief Superst, who is intended to be evidence capable of convicting. In other words, the judicial powers which under the Constitution of the 26-Counties are reserved to judges are now placed in the hands of Police Officers. This is the reality of a Police State.

On conviction on indictment, to a fine not exceeding £1,000 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or to both such fine and imprisonment.

More, if a man is called a member of an unlawful organisation and does not deny it (he may not have read the accusation) this is evidence against him; but any denial is not evidence for him. In other words, Fianna Fail wants to have its cake and eat it.

But the worst thing of all is that this new Bill will work retrospectively: acts of unlawful membership of organisations alleged to have been committed any time in the past will, if this Bill becomes law, be tried by the new rules of evidence which will throw all known law and are contradictory to the very constitution which Fianna Fail claims to uphold.

However, the last and most insidious part of this Bill is the creation of an offence for those who register protest against the undemocratic court procedures. They too will be sent to jail, for one year if they agree to be tried by a District Justice or five years if they presume to want a trial.

Now is the time for people to resist this Bill before it becomes law when resistance itself will be unlawful. It is for the Labour and democratic movement, especially the trade unions to assert themselves and defeat this Bill in the same way as the people were able to defeat the Criminal Justice Bill. Pressure must be brought on the Parliamentary Labour Party, which voted for the Prisons Bill, to stand up this time and be counted against repression.

The ordinary people must do this now for it is the ordinary people's rights which are under attack.

You must do it now for it is YOUR rights and YOUR freedom which are in danger.

"In exercise of the powers conferred on me by Section 31 of the Broadcasting Authority Act 1960 I, Gerard Collins, T.D., Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, hereby direct you to refrain from broadcasting a matter of a religious class, i.e. a matter that could be calculated to promote the aims or activities of any organisation which engages in, promotes, encourages or advocates the attainment of any particular objective by violent means".

leadership of the Movement in Ireland also wish to express their deepest sympathy to Tony's relatives, and to acknowledge the great contribution which he made to the struggle for Irish Freedom. Sympathy is also extended to the family of John Joe Martin, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim. John Joe was interned in the Curragh in the 40's and remained an active Republican until he was removed to Cherry Orchard Hospital, Dublin, recently where he died in late November. At this he do go raibh a-namh.



Clann na h-Eireann Pickets at Oxford Debate.

Edentubber Commemoration

Desie O'Hagan, speaking at the annual commemoration in Edentubber on November 5th, said that the Republican Movement was the only party in which the working-class could really be assured that their interests would be protected.

He joined with the memory of those who died at Edentubber the names of Joe McCann, Tricia McKay, John Pat Mullan and Hugh Herron. Republicans who had more recently given their lives for the cause of a socialist republic.

He said: "It is notable, it is tragic that the people who flocked from the South into Derry on the occasion of the service for the Derry dead made little or no comment when two citizens from the Shankill Road, two Irishmen, were shot down by British troops. But we in the Republican Movement take this opportunity to state that these were Irishmen and that therefore they are as dear to us as any other who died at the hands of foreign troops. We shall not forget them."



Des O'Hagan

REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY

"At this time it is tragically regrettable that it is necessary to outline once again the true nature of the republican philosophy because sadly for many it has become identified with terrorism or with Roman Catholicism or simply with violence and therefore we in the republican tradition must make our position absolutely clear.

"We fully support and will give every aid to the working class to defend itself from any and all attacks by the ruling class. At this point in time it is essential that every member of the Movement should be fully aware of where we are going; there is no room for anyone who is not prepared to work at understanding the party's position and committed to developing the revolutionary consciousness of the working-class. This is a task for all the members and cannot be left to any group within the party."

Wanted

The management of The United Irishman would be grateful for the following issues of the U.I. which are needed to complete the office files: 1966 - January and December. 1967 - January, February, April, May, August, November, December. 1967 - Feb., March, April, July, August, Sept., Nov. 1968 - January. 1967 - 1971 - April, August.

Prisoners on hunger strike

Men on hunger strike, in Belfast and Portlaoise, have been drawing attention to the inhuman conditions in jails, north and south; to the repression and deprivation which not only preceded but follows any conflict, real or imagined, with the authorities.

In Belfast, 26 men, including members of the Irish Republican Movement, went on strike after a vicious attack on 40 members of the movement who took part in a peaceful protest about the refusal of compassionate parole to one man and about conditions on November 8th.

In Portlaoise, 89 prisoners, who have not been jailed for political offences, went on strike after an equally cowardly and savage attack on them taking part in a similar demonstration.

A leading member of the Republican Movement in Crumlin Road reports: "We took action on 8th November because there was no answer to our case by the authorities and they refused to rescind their decision on John Madden, aged 59, who had applied for parole to attend his sister's funeral.

At 10.45 p.m. several hundred troops rushed a Wing. There were only 40 of us and we went back quietly to our cells as the troops were equipped with automatic weapons, gas guns, rubber bullet guns, shields and batons. To stop demands for one little human right, Whitelaw was prepared to use the British Army in their hundreds.

To punish us for daring to highlight the rottenness of the authorities we have lost a political prisoner right won by our recent hunger strike, that of receiving a weekly food parcel.

We were already drawing up a document, much of it based on Saoleise material for prison reform, to be circulated all over the prison. These demands will now, we hope, be part of agreed demands by all political prisoners, including the loyalists who refused to lock up on November 8th.

For making similar demands, the 89 prisoners in Portlaoise were subjected to the same kind of treatment. Hundreds of gardai were drafted into the town, Free State soldiers in full riot gear were waiting outside the prison and they

NOLLAIG

Oppose Extradition

Attempts are being made to extradite Republicans from the 26 Counties. Michael Willis, a member of the Republican Movement, is at present facing this threat. To resist and defeat this threat costs money.

All donations may be sent to the Michael Willis Defence Fund, C/o 30 Plas Gardnar, Baile Atha Cliath.

We regret...

Having to omit reports of Cumann and Club activities due to pressure of space. Full reports will be carried next month.

Result of draw

Countess Markievicz Republican Club, Dunganon, Tyrone: 1st Prize, £50 - Mrs. M. McCullin, 19 Mullaighmore, Dunganon, 2nd Prize, Bot. Whiskey and Bot. Sherry - Tracey Donaghy, 100 Donaghmore Rd., Dunganon, 3rd Prize, Large Champagne - Damien Kerr, 51 Newell Rd., Dunganon, 4th Prize, Table Lamp and Rug - P. G. McQuaid, Donaghmore, 5th Prize, Dunganon, 5th Prize, Pair of Sheets and Trolley Set - Gerry Curry, 28 Braehead, Dunganon, 6th Prize, Cash Hantle - William Ross, Sloan St., Dunganon.

HEADQUARTERS BUILDING FUND

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I enclose cheque P.O. for £..... for the Headquarters Building Fund.

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INDUSTRIAL FRONT

DUNLOP STRIKE IN WATERFORD

Employees at the Waterford factory of Dunlops have just completed their (9th) week of a strike against redundancies. The strike came against a background of six hundred redundancies in the immediate Waterford area over the last 12 months, amongst which were the closure of such established firms as Denny's Meat Factory, Anco Furniture and Crokers Printing Works. If the closures of the past year were accepted relatively quietly the opposite is the case with the Dunlop workers. They realised that a reduction in the number of workers now, will be followed by complete closure later. Their fight has now become much more than a strike. It is a test of strength between the workers right to work on the one hand and the ascendancy of private enterprise, mergers and rationalisation on the other hand.

The factory, which produces casual footwear and bedroom slippers for the home market, was in the 1960's bought by Dunlop from Irish Rubber Products Ltd. Through the years the workers have done all that was asked of them and have never been in dispute with management. Each year has shown substantial profits and this Dunlop factory, right up

to the strike, continued to make profits. Yet the management's thanks is to serve redundancy notice on 21 of its workers. The first indication of trouble came earlier in the year when the manager, who had been with the firm since its opening in 1965, left. However, workers were assured by head office in Cork that there was plenty of work in hand and that there was no question of a cutback in production. Shortly afterwards the workers' union were notified of the redundancies.

6,000 redundant

The reasons for these redundancies can be seen more easily on examination of the Dunlop Empire, who recently merged with the Italian giants, "Pirelli". Over the past 12 months, 6,000 workers of the Dunlop group of companies have been made redundant. "Pirelli" who have 51 per cent controlling interest in the merger, have, over the same period, made only 860 of their workers redundant. It is likely that further redundancies will occur in

Cork, which incidentally got a grant of nearly £1,000,000 from the Industrial Development Authority, while Tyresoles of Waterford must also be in danger, considering the continual inroads "Pirelli" are beginning to make in the market.

In contrast to other strikes, this one tends to gain momentum as the weeks go by. Local trade unionists run ballad sessions on their behalf and a concert for the strikers recently packed the Town Hall. Weekly collections are now carried out at nearly all factories in Waterford. But most important of all, the determination of the strikers to win this dispute is not wavering. At a time when they are waiting for the "go-ahead" for an "all out strike" from Congress, it is imperative that every encouragement be given them in their fight. The backbone of the wave of redundancies now sweeping the country must be broken, and a lesson must be taught to managements everywhere, that nothing can change the worker's right to work.

Government action to stop speculation in land is long overdue. Unless such legislation is introduced immediately it will be too late to do anything. The problem is increasing constantly and almost every corner of Ireland is affected. Resistance to speculation is being organised in several areas and in one case already the small farmer led resistance against John Sisk and Co. at Orammore, Co. Galway has won the battle. Orammore will only be the first battle in a nationwide war against speculation if the government refuses to act.

● The simple demand for an extension of the Beef Incentive Scheme to include the first two cows in participating herds has been rejected by the Department of Agriculture. In their letter to the Minister, Mr. Gibbons, demanding the extension to the scheme, the Small Farmers' Defence Association pointed out that two cows mean a high percentage of a small farmer's herd while it meant almost nothing to the farmer with 30 to 40 cows. The IFA's silence on the issue and their agitation against the reduction of the grants for those with more than 30 cows, shows exactly where the interests of the IFA rest.

The reasons given by the Minister for not conceding to the demands would be laughable if the situation were not so tragic. The excuses given that the inclusion of the first two cows would mean an increase of £3 million in the cost of the scheme and that people who are not farmers might qualify for the grants. His first reason can be dismissed when we think of the proposals to increase the salaries of all T.D.'s; it is also the fact exposed by Michael Browner in the Irish Times, that 37 Beef Producers receive an average of £1,837 each annually in beef grants.

The Minister's second reason for rejecting the demand can be overcome if his Department insist on a written declaration by a farmer similar to that required of dairy farmers.

● A full investigation into the functioning of agricultural co-operatives throughout the whole country is well overdue. It has been apparent for a long time that most of them have been co-operatives only in name and in many cases they have become a racket for the big man. All cumann should see if this is the case in their own area. If so, report your finding to this column.

● Following publicity received by a land league in the Ballaghaderreen area of Co. Roscommon, Mr. Flanagan, Minister for Lands, has been reported in the national newspapers as speaking at a meeting in Ballaghaderreen. Mr. Flanagan is quoted as stating that no farmers will be forced off the land due to the EEC and that there is not enough land available to give small farmers in need of land, a viable farm of approx. 40 acres.

According to Dr. Scully, of the Department of Agriculture, speaking in Galway recently, all agricultural grants for farmers who are termed non-viable will be abolished. Surely this means that many small farmers will be forced to leave farming.

Mr. Flanagan's statement that there is not enough land to give to smaller farmers in need must be recognised for what it is. The Duke of Devonshire has a total of 16,000 acres in counties Cork and Waterford. Lieutenant Commander Cooper of Markee Castle, Collooney, Co. Sligo has approx. 1,000 acres; at Eyrecourt, Co. Galway, T. H. Burns (Lisbeg Estate Co.) has 1,206 acres; in Waterford, Lord Waterford has 5,386 acres (2,939 acres of this is mountain and plantation land, the remainder is good land). John A. Farr, the Tory M.P., has two estates in County Sligo in addition to his land in Britain and Rhodesia which totals 12,000 acres in addition to his numerous business interests. Yet Mr. Flanagan states that there is no land available. Mr. Flanagan has again shown his brilliance at mis-quoting the truth.

FARM FORUM

NOT ENOUGH LAND?!

Brittain's workers win through...

George C. V. Brittain is a Unionist. For many years now he has had a reputation for reactionary ideas that has been borne out in his politics and his idea of how a factory should be run. For 25 years the management of the Brittain group of car assembly plants in Dublin have operated a "House Agreement" through which the management could carry out summary sackings at an hour's notice, disregard the very existence of the shop floor stewards' committees, and move workers employed in their groups from plants as far apart as East Wall and the Naas Road. The management have used this agreement to keep wages and working conditions at the plant static. On no less than 88 occasions in the last year negotiations to revise the agreement have failed because the management refused to accept shop floor representatives at the negotiating table.

In October the patience of the men finally boiled over when the management refused to revise a bonus scheme that had been operating at the same rates for six years. 750 workers came out on strike to demand a new agreement, new bonus rates, and a say in negotiations. The management have, since then, attempted to break the strike by the lowest of tactics — issuing false statements of settlement and a return to work, issuing dismissal notices, calling in the gardai to break up pickets on the Long Mile plant, and even accusing workers of intimidating fellow strikers to keep them out.

But by far the worst tactic resorted to was related to insurance cards and tax forms to ensure their families were denied tax rebates and social benefits to help make ends meet.

But the works committee ensured that the morale of the men remained high with its realisation of the need for constant involvement by the men themselves in picketing, collections and other fund raising activities and also by its realisation of the need to



● Brittain worker injured by Gardai.

contact other workers, especially dockers and car workers, on both sides of the Irish Sea, to ensure the effective blocking of supplies to Brittain. It was these activities which forced Brittain, firstly to accept members of the strike committee at the negotiating table, and finally to withdraw the dismissal notices and capitulate on the one hour's notice clause. The workers at Brittain have won a significant, though partial victory.

It is essential now that they see their gains are pressed home in negotiation. The only way to do this is to ensure that the Works Committee that has done such a fine job of welding them together in the course of the strike is given the recognition it deserves in the final agreement. The creation of a respected and effective shop floor committee is the most important gain of the strike, and should be recognised as such.

Inisfree potteries

Cumann Countess Markievicz Sinn Fein, Sligo repeated their demand for a public inquiry into the closure of the Sligo Inisfree Potteries factory.

The factory was forced to close down following the withdrawal of all grants by the I.D.A. Previously the IDA had commissioned the Chairman of British Allied Potteries to carry out an investigation into the concern. It was no surprise when he advised the withdrawal of grants as British Allied were the principal business opponents of the Sligo company. Inisfree was just one of three factories to close recently in the Sligo area. The premises at Fragero Optical Ltd., one of the other recent Sligo closures was recently sold at a public auction to a non-producing company — Westward Garages of Strokestown — with IDA approval, do doubt. The factory was sold for £27,000 although it is understood that £44,000 was given in government grants to Fragero. Still west of the Shannon, this time in Roscommon town, the un-occupied premises of VIDOR closed down over two years ago due to the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, has apparently been pitted by the IDA. An 'advance factory' has been built across the road from it.

eagarthoca

Reality of fear

There are some who still claim that the mindless bombing, widespread terror and daily sectarian murder in the Six Counties are an unfortunate but necessary part of the much vaunted National Liberation struggle.

The reality is different. Possibly in the comfortable homes of Raheny, Malahide and Rathcoole the sound of sectarian gunfire is muted by the clinking brandy glasses and the jovial laughter of the successful businessmen calculating the investment potential of the bombed sites of Derry and Belfast.

Unfortunately the working class interned in the ghettos of Ballymurphy, the Falls, Shankill, and Creggan cannot venture out at night to join in these celebrations. The reality is, a war time black-out brightened only by the Republican clubs efforts to help the people to light up their own streets. Streets which after dusk are deserted except for the constantly circling, menacing British Army Saladins. There is a real fear of a brutal rush of soldiers into the small homes, the vicious smashing, searches or the swinging boots and rifle butts.

The Royal Anglians in the Lower Falls, the Paras in St. Peter's School, Whitecroft, the Green Jackets at Mulhousa Street, the Green Howards in 'Silver City', the Fusiliers in the Grand Central Hotel, Royal Avenue all have been indicted in numerous sworn statements for harassment, brutality and grievous bodily harm. Certainly there have been solemn enquiries, Hunt, Cameron, Scarman, Compton and Widgery, this past three years have been punctuated with whitewashing tribunals. Still the British Army terror campaign continues its sole purpose to destroy the will of the people, to seek out their solutions to the Six County problem.

But the fear which prevents the workers of the city's ghettos from travelling at night which has led to thousands of barred doors and terror stricken families now also stems from the growing sectarian hatred and murder. One hundred people have lost their lives at the hands of psychopathic, sectarian killers. It seems that no one has the power to end this bloody carnage, certainly the British Army have confessed that they can do nothing to save innocent people from these madmen.

The Republican movement again and again has argued that every sectarian act is a blow struck against the working class, a step away from the Socialist Republic. It is clearly, therefore, in the interest of every worker to demand within his trade union branch that the Trade Union Movement take every possible step to end this sickening campaign. It is also the immediate duty of the I.C.T.U. to provide a firm, honest lead by organising workers into anti-sectarian groups who could patrol the most threatened areas.

ORGANISE AND RESIST NOW

The people are on the streets again. Trade unionists, housewives, journalists, students, marching because they recognise the unmasked face of intolerable repression. As citizens of the Twenty-Six Counties they have become experts in recognising repression, for the un-Free State was born, weaned and built on it.

Generation after generation of Irish politicians has placed the stamp of repression on generation after generation of the Irish people. The Public Order Act has been followed by the Offences Against the State Act, by the Forcible Entry Act, by the Prisons' Act . . . the list is long; the intentions of every Free State Government have been the same.

Special tribunals, military tribunals, special courts and trial without jury. The replacement of civil law and the closure of the offices of political opponents. These are familiar - the apparatus of fascism.

The Criminal Justice Bill aborted; its savage roots were thrown aside, but not forgotten. The Offences Against the State Amendment Bill revives many of the measures of that other monster with the same hideous determination to grind down the men and women of this country with still more lasting effect.

The Criminal Justice Bill was set aside in ignominy because the people took to the streets. Because the trade unions, the great organisations that bear the names and marks of Connolly and Larkin, said it should not pass.

Trade unionists, the homeless, the poor, the deprived: they knew the Bill was directed at them, at their rights and their future. They see the same thing now, more clearly than if the Fianna Fall government were to write in lettering as high as its Ard-Fheis posters: You shall have no tomorrow. Fianna Fail cannot succeed because Fianna Fail opposes the people. Only by organisation and agitation in the heart of the working class, in the interests of the working class and in the tradition of liberation will we succeed. The call is for organisation and resistance. Now.

Politics and your child

Education is one of the most important aspects of revolution. In terms of education, the most important years of a child's life are from the time it is born until the age of eight. During this period, the child learns to talk, reason, understand and form relationships. Since many of the urban working class children are born into families suffering under bad housing conditions, financial insecurity, unemployment and other social problems typical of working class life in Dublin, they receive far less educational advantages on a very basic level than the middle class child.

Progressive educationists have always held, and recent research has proved this to be true, that intelligence ability is largely acquired. The child is more or less intelligent according to his family, background and the social and educational experiences he receives before his formal schooling.

Aside from the material and psychological problems that face any young family today, children of the 1970's are more conditioned to accept the present society's status quo and ruling class with all the injustices done by them. Television, radio and all media rarely give the socialist side of any problem. Films, plays and children's series always use middle class situations, middle class children and middle class parents.

Even when the child gets to school, the text books are full of that same family simpering their smug way through life with not a care in the world except their new car, brown gravy and the whitest wash.

Class barriers

For the urban working-class child, trapped in a block of flats or a housing estate with no proper playing facilities and parents who cannot afford too much time to read, talk or play with them, class barriers are defined very early.

The total inadequacy of pre-school playgroups, nursery groups and supervised play areas means that many working class children are classified as educationally sub-normal before they reach national school.

National schools are under a form of administration in which the parish priest has a big say in the employment of teachers, which means that parents have little power in the type of teacher or education that will influence their child for six hours a day for the next nine years.

The average number of children in a working class national school classroom is 43; numbers in middle class schools are as low as 25 pupils per class, they also have far less corporal punishment and a lower turnover of teachers. Learning through educational play, the best way for any child, can only be done in small classes where pupils can receive individual attention. Large classes automatically result in a teacher impose severe disciplines on pupils only to have some quiet moment in the long day.

An unhappy place

It's inevitable that working class children regard school, as their parents did before them, as an unhappy place that they are legally obliged to attend until 14. Children moulded in this way by their lives, outside school and by the school's indoctrination have little chance to develop a constructive political consciousness and instead of directing their hostility and frustration to the capitalist society which keeps them down, direct hostility to their own peer group and society in general. The results are juvenile delinquency, skinheads, and gang warfare.

The following table gives some example of the class differences concerning juvenile delinquency. It was researched by 'Care' (campaign for the care of the deprived child).

The Republican Movement makes these demands as an immediate priority:

1 Co-educational creative comprehensive schooling in local areas, run by a board of six, including two parents, two educationalists and two pupils.

2 That these schools, primary and secondary, be open all through the year and be used by the community to their fullest extent.

3 That adult education be set up



P. Faulkner, Minister for Education.

immediately on a more comprehensive basis than at present in all schools in all areas. Schools should further be open to any members of the community where artists, craftsmen and anyone with teaching ability be granted facilities to teach.

4 The ultimate abolition of examinations and the demand that work in school is assessed over a long period and not dependent on two weeks of swotting.

5 That television be available to all schools and that the educational programmes presented have the approval of a board of parents.

6 That pre-school playgroups, nurseries and supervised play areas be established immediately, particularly in working class areas.

The need for pre-school playgroups, nurseries and supervised play areas in built-up corporation and suburban housing areas is vital. The high incidence of mental stress in areas like Ballymun, etc., is caused by the social isolation of women and children without proper recreational facilities. Playgroups organised by the mothers in the local community would give more time for mothers to participate in community activities and help to lessen the strain on

children who are forced to play in confined areas like flats which increases the isolation and alienation of the mother.

While defining these demands and making them clear to local communities through tenants associations, parent school movements and students unions; Sinn Fein must demand the abolition of class barriers between universities and technical colleges.

This breakdown can be achieved by demanding that the organiser of project work be appointed through the Union of Students in Ireland. For instance: no project should be given to a group of students unless it can be developed and used. So, that the class of architects who design a playground for Ballymun coordinate with the apprentice craftsmen in technical colleges and are subsidised by the local authority to build that playground. There is a wealth of untapped idealism and enthusiasm amongst these young people which should be directed for the benefit of both community and students.

Liberate the children

Supporting parents and children's rights on a local level and defending their educational demands is of primary importance to the movement. It can be done through active involvement in community and tenants' organisation, learning centres, pre-school playgroups and adult education facilities.

No man can call himself a revolutionary or socialist if he is prepared to defend the rights of women and children in the home. The mother, denied equal rights in education, law, employment and the home, is incapable of educating the child toward a socialist consciousness and self-expression and against society's indoctrination, since she is oppressed. The family is a microcosm of society, if women and children are oppressed in a socialist family, then a socialist society cannot develop because we are ignoring the basis of our society, the family. Through radical reform of the parents we can revolutionise and liberate the children.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP (I)

	Professional Employer Manager	Salaried, Employer non-manual	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled or unskilled Manual
No. of households (1966) ...	63,383	158,449	93,057	95,273
Av. No. of persons (1956-66) ...	4.03	4.04	4.47	4.53
Av. Disposable household income ...	£32.18	£18.93	£20.94	£16.35
No. of children in Industrial Schools, Reformatories (1968) (2) ...	20	171	169	514
No. per 10,000 households	3.2	10.3	17.5	53.9

Internment: 'I've no objection' - O'Malley

IN THE MAN ENGLANDS BEEN WAITING FOR 'I'M GOING TO SUCCEED WHERE STRONGBOW FAILED, HENRY III FAILED, ELIZABETH FAILED GINKEL FAILED: BAGENAL FAILED, CROMWELL FAILED, ESSEX FAILED: JUDGE JEFFERIES FAILED: GEORGE III FAILED: MARLBOROUGH FAILED, BISHOP MURLIARTY FAILED, CARDINAL CULLEN FAILED: WILLIAM OF ORANGE FAILED, CASTLEBAGH FAILED: PITT FAILED, SALISBURY FAILED, MARXWELL FAILED: LLOYD GEORGE FAILED: LORD FRENCH FAILED: MCCREADY FAILED: HAMAR GREENWOOD FAILED: THE BLACK AND TANS' FAILED: OSGORVE FAILED: THE FREE STATE ARMY FAILED: THE SPECIAL BRANCH FAILED: THE R.I.C FAILED: THE R.I.C FAILED: CRAIG FAILED: DE VALERA FAILED: FAULKNER FAILED: PARAS FAILED: JACK NINCH FAILED AN UNCLE TOM COBLEY AN AN', UNCLE TOM COBLEY AN' ALL!

FITZ

DESSIE THE GIANT KILLER

SUPPORT IN AMERICA GROWS



S. O Clonnith being presented with a cheque for the Irish Republican Prisoners by members of the Mellows/Goss

Thousands of Irish and American people heard Seamas O Tuathail, the well-known Dublin journalist, speak on the "background to what is happening in Ireland to-day", during his recent two month fund-raising tour of North American cities. The tour, which raised several thousand dollars in aid of the Irish political prisoners' dependents was organised by the Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada with head offices in the Woodside area of New York.

Seamas O Tuathail finalised his tour by appearing for two hours on the nationwide David Siskind T.V. show. Mr. O Tuathail said that what is needed to break the present spiral of struggle is the release of internees and all political prisoners in Northern Ireland. "The release of prisoners, however, will only restore the status quo position prior to August 9th, 1971. If one wants to make political progress in the North, minimal demands must be gained and the second main demand is the ending of the Special Powers Act because it is this Act which epitomises all the repressive powers in existence in Northern Ireland.

"Abolition of the Special Powers Act", said O Tuathail, "is essential to achieve political normality in the North. If a man cannot stand up and say 'I'm a Republican, I don't like the price of butter, it's too dear', then he cannot be expected to work in a political context with Unionists in Ireland. If that right is established and guaranteed then at last the conditions in which violence and sectarianism can be ended are brought about".

Throughout his tour people requested information to start or join Irish Republican Clubs and several new areas were opened up to sales of The United Irishman. New clubs were formed in Poughkeepsie and Troy in New York State; and in St. Catharines and Toronto in Ontario, Canada. A nationwide appeal for funds to help the Irish freedom struggle was launched during the tour and donations should be sent to "Irish Republican Clubs", U.S.A. and Canada, 37-76 64th Street, Woodside, New York 11377.

The Sinn Fein International Affairs Bureau, which was established earlier this year, organised two very successful European tours during November. Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein, spent two weeks in Scandinavia at the invitation of the Irlandsgruppen, Oslo and the Nord Irlandsgruppen, Stockholm, both of which have given such great support during the past year to the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland. Important new contacts were made among political parties and revolutionary groups which should greatly strengthen existing support and the nucleus of a new support group was set up in Helsinki.

Mr. Mac Giolla got widespread publicity on press, radio, and television for his attacks on Mr. Whitelaw's use of British Army murder squads in the North to terrorise the population into whatever solution Heath has. The effect of his expose in Sweden can best be judged by the fact that the British Embassy in Stockholm issued a denial that such a group as the S.A.S. exists or ever has existed in Northern Ireland. He also exposed the neo-colonial nature of the 26 County state, saying that Ireland in the E.E.C. would prove to be a 3rd World time bomb under the table of the Imperialists of Europe.

Teach-ins

Tony Heffernan, Joint General Secretary of Sinn Fein, spent three weeks in Germany, Austria and Holland, during which he addressed teach-ins on the situation in Ireland at Bremen, Hamburg, Göttingen, Bonn, Köln, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Erlburg, Munich, Innsbruck, Vienna and Linz. At these, he explained the difference between the actions and policies of the Republican Movement and the Provisional Alliance, outlining how widespread popular struggle had been gradually diverted into sectarian and purely military channels leading to division and confusion among the mass of the people. He also pointed out the opposition of Republicans and Socialists to the neo-colonial state in the South, saying:

"We are not asking the Protestant people to join the biggest sectarian state which exists in the South and which is controlled and manipulated in the interests of big business. We are asking them to join with us in establishing a secular, socialist and democratic Republic for all Ireland where the working class would own and control the wealth they produce".

Support groups have now been established in four German cities and many political groups in Germany and Austria have committed themselves to a position of support for the policies and objectives of the Republican Movement. Similar tours of other European countries, notably France and Italy, are being organised for the coming year.

*Sinn Fein
President
and Gen.
Sec. tour
Europe*



Tony Heffernan.

JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland. We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic. We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators. We place the rights of the common man before the right of property. We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

UNITE TO FIGHT

I wish to join the Republican Movement

NAME

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Leopard
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THE MYTH OF FULL EMPLOYMENT

We are now barely into the winter of 1972/73, and already the numbers of registered unemployed is almost at the crisis peak of last January with 69,700 out of work in the 26 Counties and another 38,000 jobless in the Six County area: roughly 7% of the working population, the highest unemployment rate in Europe.

These are not statistics the Government is anxious to draw attention to, especially as we are now exactly ten years on from the establishment of that famous body which promised full employment in Ireland by 1980. In 1963, the Government set up the National Industrial Economic Council to prepare a report on the principles to be applied for the development of the national economy and the maintenance of full employment. The N.I.E.C. was an important development of the "Lemass miracle era", an era epitomised by the modern businessman's approach and a complete reversal of the economic nationalism of early Fianna Fail governments. The Lemass ideology was a response to the reality of international economic developments, which had made isolated capitalist development an impossibility.

To achieve acceptance of this apparent betrayal of the traditional Republican aspirations of the majority of our people, the Government pursued a policy of involving the trade union movement and the employers' organisations in what seemed to be a partnership of interests, and which thus became the new 'national interest'.

The N.I.E.C. report, spelled out in the "Work For All — 1980" pamphlet, pointed out that it would be necessary to create 16,000 new jobs every year up until 1980, or a growth rate of 5½% per annum, if the national objective of full employment was to be achieved. The method favoured was again a development of the Lemass philosophy, veering away from the strong tendency toward nationalised industrial development of our natural resources, and turning instead to a dependence on entrepreneurial talent, and foreign control of industry. As the "Work For All" pamphlet put it: "The economic facts of life in a market economy demand that profit is recognised as the proper reward for taking risks, and as an important source of money for expansion. More enterprise might also be en-

couraged by opening as many fields as possible to private initiative".

The report went on to emphasise the need for "joint consultation between management and workers, to sort out the things that diminish efficiency and to agree on ways to eliminate them, is essential to making our industry competitive".

Since Lemass launched his miracle in the late 50s, the Irish taxpayers have paid millions of pounds in industrial grants, provided tax concessions and bonuses for foreign industrialists, offered training facilities, subsidised transport and service to achieve the full employment objective, a fulfilment of the simple principle that every Irish person have a right to earn his living in his country. What have we achieved in fact?

Entering 1973, the year of the E.E.C., the Industrial Development Authority is estimating that we will have 17,000 redundancies over the next five years in the manufacturing industries alone, an annual job loss of 3,400.

This does not take into account the numbers who will be put out of work in other sectors of the economy, such as tourism, transport distribution. The Quarterly Economic Commentary predicts that over the next five years about 25,000 will leave agriculture to seek work in industry, an average of 5,000 each year. Added to this, we have the problem of school leavers, or as the Q.E.C. states: "each year the number of new entrants to the labour force exceeds the number of retirements from it by 10,000 . . ."

On a purely mathematical basis, Irish industry would have to produce a minimum of 19,000 to 20,000 jobs a year to employ all those who need work. The Industrial Development Authority at its most optimistic suggests that they expect to "create" 55,000 jobs by 1978, or 11,000 each year. Even at this, they are well short of the N.I.E.C. stipulations of 16,000 new jobs annually to reach full employment by 1980.

But now that we are safely in the E.E.C., the Government is starting a rapid backtrack on the "55,000 new jobs" we heard much about before the Referendum. Recently Mr. Michael Killeen, head of the I.D.A., was quoted in the Irish Times as saying that "troubles in the North" are likely to discourage the foreign investors needed. As for our national

growth rate, in the last two years it came to about 6% — almost half the N.I.E.C. recommended rate of 5% per annum.

And despite the harmonious co-operation envisaged by the N.I.E.C. report between management and labour, and the emphasis on "market economy" and "private initiative", the Irish Congress of Trade Unions was compelled to pass the following resolution at its annual conference last year:

"Conference views with concern the continuation of heavy unemployment and deplores the failure of the Government to make plans to solve the problem. It calls upon the Government to introduce positive measures for the purpose of ensuring a progressive reduction in the numbers unemployed and declares that any policy for stable growth in the economy with increased employment must include the extension of public ownership. It calls on the executive council to play an active role in seeking solutions to this fundamental problem and directs that it seek the active support and co-operation of the trade union movement in its struggles on behalf of the unemployed".

So a decade of unrestricted free enterprise and private initiative has not only failed to solve our unemployment problem, but has accelerated the decline in agricultural employment; and handed over the main sources of wealth in this country to international financial institutions far removed from any national control. It left us so weakened that our entry into the E.E.C. was inevitable, and brought about a political change so fundamental that even Garret Fitzgerald, that champion of the E.E.C., was forced to express some alarm last month in the Dail at the amount of political power we were presenting to Brussels.

We have signed away our right to develop public industries without the express consent and control of the Brussels bureaucracy. Yet an examination of the development of state and semi-state bodies during the years of our limited independence since 1921 indicates that in terms of social desirability, public bodies achieved far more than the entrepreneurial interest during the last decade. C.I.E. provides em-

THE FIC



ployment for over 20,000 workers and a national transport service to some of the most remote regions of the country.

The E.S.B. gives work to over 11,000, Bord na Mona to 5,500, Aer Lingus, 5,500; Irish Sugar Company and Erin Foods, 3,500; smaller bodies employ what amounts to a substantial segment of those in unemployment, when totalled. The livelihood of 57,000 workers is insured by 21 public enterprises in the service sphere.

But the service sphere is not the source of major economic growth and due to the policy of encouraging free enterprise which has prevailed

FIGHT AGAINST REDUNDANCIES



Mr. Larry Malone, chairman of the Republican Industrial Development Section, speaking at a meeting in Gardiner Place, to consider redundancy trends, said:

"It is the responsibility of the strongest and most secure sections of Irish workers to fight redundancies. It is unrealistic to expect isolated groups of workers, with their factory or company faced with closure, to carry the full brunt of resistance to international financial institutions.

"The capitalist is most vulnerable where he is achieving large profit margins and not where he is pruning the weak economic links. A national campaign centrally co-ordinated by the leadership of the trade union movement is required to organise any real resistance, and this should not be left to small groups of unemployed and frequently demoralised workers.

"Imaginative and effective tactics must be used and the full support and co-operation of international workers' organisations should be sought where necessary. Sit-ins, work-ins, work-to-rule, stoppages, factory occupation, marches and every weapon available must be employed to win this struggle. The establishment of workers' co-operatives while frequently a useful tactic will not provide a panacea for all factory closures. The co-op, once established, is immediately subjected to all the same economic forces of the system as any private enterprise.

"The causes of unemployment are political, as well as economic, and the permanence of mass unemployment in Ireland is a direct result of our domination by imperialism,

and the Government policies of meek colonial submission.

"All the mass media politicians and Establishment institutions proclaim grave concern while they support the system that makes unemployment, emigration, and national poverty inevitable. The trade union movement has been too ready to accept the philosophy and norms of an outdated economic system, and has avoided a confrontation with the real enemies of the working class in both parts of Ireland.

"When the multi-national corporations decide upon a rationalisation plan for a particular industry, or series of industries, the national frontiers of states provide no safeguard against their ruthless onslaught. The Six County border, or the intense loyalty of Orange bigots, did not confine redundancies in the textile industry to the 26 Counties.

"Working class people in all parts of Ireland have been victims of unemployment, and have a common interest in fighting to achieve full employment, or full sustenance from the fruits of modern technology. In the Ireland of the 70s, that fight is anti-imperialist, since our native gombreen classes are now only the managers or rubber-stamps for our foreign exploiters.

"Republicans must now alert the Irish people to the terrible reality of who really owns Ireland, and in whose interest the profits are made. We have paid very dearly for the limited number of jobs created by international companies. And we will pay again, in redundancy payments, and social welfare benefits, when they have moved on. Until Irish workers finally call a halt and assert their strength".

UNION RESPONSIBILITY

In a class-structured and property-owning society, with its privileges and inequality, any suggestion that workers and employers had common objectives was a delusion and a snare, said Mr. Matt Merrigan, district secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union.

Mr. Merrigan, opening the union's annual weekend school at Skerries, Co. Dublin, said that "this schizophrenic approach" was now being put before the Labour Party by sections of the leadership in the Coalition Government proposition.

He said that a Coalition of socialists with "the conservative, boss-oriented Fine Gael", could only

Workers and employers interests opposed

Another question was "the divorce of the official union structure from the members", by reason of this supra-national stratification, leading to the erosion of democracy within the movement.

With the growing tendency to centralise decision-making in Brussels, national institutions and structures would consequently become impotent and progressively divorced from the local pressures and influences that were formerly brought to bear in a functional and democratic way. "The bureaucrat, remote and inaccessible, will dominate the scene".

PROBLEM FOR TRADE UNIONS

"... there is a lot of money being spent in research today on how to get a set of laws which would absolve the multi-national companies from national responsibilities and control, which they find is inhibiting them. This is active. I know of three research projects; whether it is to be done through the United States, whether they are proposing something by way of legislation, they want to get away from national control because national controls are inhibiting to their growth as a world entity; it's gotten that far".

— Charles Levinson, general secretary of the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Unions, Geneva; speaking in Dublin in November, 1969, at a seminar on "Multi-National Companies and Conglomerates: the Problems for Trade Unions".

so disastrously for the past decade and more, our semi-state manufacturing industries employ only 7,000 people, representing about 3½% of all those employed in manufacturing in Ireland, 70% of manufacturing industry is controlled by foreign companies. The manufacturing industries which generate economic growth are almost totally in the hands of private capitalists and, increasing in the hands of foreign multi-national companies.

The objective of full employment in Ireland is not the concern of the foreign multi-national profiteers. Capital chases the highest profit

margin, and always gravitates to the centre of industrial activity, not to the periphery. The failure of the Lemass miracle was as inevitable as the failure of de Valera's native capitalist policies; it was not so much a failure as a myth from the start. Only an Ireland controlled by the working class can build a society in which all of our people can benefit from the wealth derived from the proper and full use of our resources.

If imperialism continues to flourish without restriction in Ireland, neither in 1980 nor ever can we expect to provide a livelihood for every Irish person who wishes to live in Ireland.

emasculate and retard the development of a socialist consciousness amongst the working and lower middle classes and lead to a dangerous situation where there could be a "neo-fascist coup".

"On the extreme chauvinist wing of the Provisional I.R.A. and Fianna Fail there are many who would qualify for the role of Fuehrer", he added.

FREE UNIONS

The issues facing free trade unions in the last quarter of this century were becoming essentially political, Mr. Merrigan said. Some of the questions that arose were: the increasing interference of the State in trade unions and industrial relations affairs, and the compounding of this interference by the participation of this and other countries in the E.E.C.

HOUSING

FOR PROFIT OR PEOPLE

The root of the urgent problem of housing in Ireland is in the policy of a free enterprise system which holds that housing is a matter of investment, rather than an essential social service. And the key issue in all investment is the interest rate on money borrowed; the whole housing problem is bedevilled by the crippling rate of 9 per cent compound interest charged by financial concerns on long-term loans.

The other major factor is the involvement, especially over the past few years, of land speculators' outbidding one another for the available land. The parasitic activity of the speculators accounts for the major part of the 40 per cent increase in new house prices in Dublin between 1965-70. (The National Prices Commission puts the increase at 76.8 per cent between 1967-72, which would indicate an exceptionally steep rise between 1970-72.)

Speculators, frequently foreign, have put the price of land far beyond the reach of ordinary families, who have nowhere else to turn but to the financial concerns for a long-term loan, with the impossible additional burden of heavy interest. Public housing concerns have met similar problems: once having acquired the area at an inflated price, they then must borrow the money at high interest and pay the private profiteers to get houses built. Local government figures state that 68 per cent of all local authority expenditure on housing (amounting to £12 million out of £17.5 million in 1970-71) was collected by private interests.

Republican demands

The situation clearly calls for a revolutionary transfer of the nation's wealth to the people, enabling real democratic control to be realised. Comhairle Ceannair Atha Cliath housing study group has drafted a comprehensive policy on housing and an analysis of what action should be taken. Some of the demands we would put forward for immediate short-term planning are:

- (1) The removal of finance from the hands of private commercial interests and the establishment of a National Housing Fund to finance housing programmes at nominal interest rates and

to extend loans to citizens wishing to purchase their own homes.

- (2) The establishment of the Local Authority as the sole dealer in building land and the establishment of a ceiling price for land based on its current agricultural value. This would have the effect of eliminating speculation, reducing the cost of houses, and enabling the local authority to decide where building should take place.

- (3) The declaration of a housing emergency in Dublin City and the promotion of a special crash housing programme.

- (4) A ban on the demolition of sound houses or conversion of living accommodation while a crisis exists. All building and development must be directed into existing cleared sites.

- (5) The acquisition as temporary accommodation for families on the waiting list of all untenanted dwellings in the urban area which are structurally sound, whether owned by private interests, the state, semi-state bodies or local authorities.

Flat tenants

- (6) Legislation to give tenants of furnished and unfurnished rooms and flats security of tenure and fair rent, including a statutory scale of rents and minimum conditions of maintenance; a neutral tribunal with power to grant or refuse permission to landlords to evict tenants or to raise rents, and an immediate and total end to all discrimination against prospective tenants.

- (7) The establishment of a special points system to be used in drawing up priority lists for housing.

- (8) Drafting of a new policy toward caravan dwellers. We recognise that the demand for caravan accommodation reflects a need for proper housing accommodation. People on caravan sites must accordingly be regarded as being eligible for council houses. We would press, pending the provision of proper housing accommodation for caravan dwellers, for council bye-laws to regulate the space allocation per caravan, sanitation,

service facilities, recreational facilities for children; a statutory scale of rents. Councils should acquire sites by compulsory purchase and phase out the use of caravans, as permanent dwellings and where appropriate, to phase out the use as tourist accommodation centres.

- (9) The relegation to a later date of the financing of arterial roads and other grandiose government schemes while money is needed to build homes.

Houses completed by Dublin Corporation and Private Enterprise

1971-72	
Corporation	978
Private	995
Total	1,973

Dublin Corporation Assessment of Housing Needs 1967 to 1971 (four years)

Total number of dwellings required	34,000
(Corporation 19,558, Private 14,442)	
Total number of dwellings provided by Corporation	6,085
Total number of dwellings provided by Private Enterprise	5,424
Total	10,509

Number of dwellings short of estimated requirements of City ... 23,500
 Note:- Private builders built extensively in County Dublin and in Co. Kildare.

THE STINK OF CAPITALISM

Pollution is a serious political issue, directly linked to the ownership and control of business, the maintenance of amenities and the health and security of the working people of Ireland.

While one dragon of international good-timers wants to turn Ireland into the Budlins of Europe, another gang, because it wants easy access for its profitable muck, would like to turn the country into a chemical cesspool.

Pfizer, the company that doesn't care if it poisons the Lee and the citizens of Conk, was welcomed here by Jack Lynch; its coming blessed as evidence that the multi-national corporations found the 26-County State a suitable site for their investments.

The coming of Pfizer was no such thing. It was stated that Pfizer had been refused permission by the American authorities to expand its plant in Connecticut if it did not also provide for the disposal of its waste. The anti-pollution machinery cost money — so Pfizer moved to Ireland where the government did not demand such an expensive guard against pollution.

What Pfizer can do to the Lee, Gulf Oil can do to the whole southwest coastline. Remember Gulf Oil? — the company that took Jack Lynch to Tokyo (and back) for the right to base an oil terminal at Whiddy Island. Now,

there is to be an oil refinery in Bantry Bay as well.

But oil is one of the greatest sources of marine pollution in the world. However they may try to convince the people that spills can be controlled, the public relations officers of the oil companies know they are telling lies. Booms won't work in the choppy waters of our coast and the detergents sometimes used for dispersal cause more difficulties than they solve. These are the two methods they say they will use to control spills.

The poisoning of people or destroying their livelihood (by damaging the sea and killing its fish) are nothing new to the multi-national corporations. Destruction of the atmosphere in which people live is part of their profit.

Multi-national corporations have proved their intentions by shifting dangerous plant from the United States to South American countries, where employment is needed and restrictions are few and where governments are open to the bullying tactics of businessmen who threaten to go elsewhere if their conditions are not met.

What the multi-national corporations have done in South America — refusing to employ modern aids for Brazilian miners stricken with diseases that could be avoided, allowing poisonous material to enter rivers and the sea, thus endangering the lives of the citizens — the same multi-

national corporations are prepared to do in Ireland.

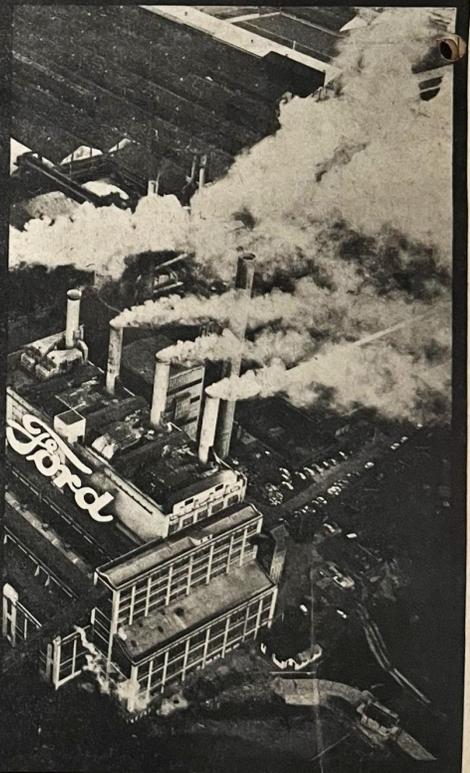
The government of Union Jack Lynch and his lack-lustre cronies is not prepared to budge an inch to defend the people of this country from the fate which American legislators will not tolerate for their countrymen.

As in other areas, Lynch and company are prepared to submit to the power of money and the profit-seeking men who invest it. In this case, the evidence of Lynch's spinelessness is there for all to see and will be there in even greater degree for more of the people of this country to see and suffer as the months pass.

The Republican Movement is determined that the operations of the multi-national corporations will be exposed. The movement is determined to fight them, by every action that lies within its power — in the organisation and education of the working-class people of Ireland and in agitation to defend their interests to the utmost.

Next month in the United Irishman, the first of a series of articles on pollution will be published. Its author is Dr. John de Courcy Ireland, the socialist authority on marine affairs. His contribution will be followed by others from scientists who will explain the precise nature of the problem and the necessity to control it.

Republicans resist pollution and the businesses that profit by poisoning the people.



NOLLAIG

The Very Advantageous Tax came into operation on November 1st, just as Colley said it would, and in spite of the usual deputations and representations from the Consumers' Association, the Irish Housewives' Association, the Irish Countrywomen's Association — all of whom pointed out politely that it was a most unjust tax, very advantageous for profiteers and very crippling on housewives. They were told just as politely by Colley that he would consider their objections carefully, etc. End of protest.

An even louder protest was put up by the retailers' association — R.G.D.A.T.A. — but now that it's all over, and V.A.T. is accomplished, you can't help but suspect that the public row between Colley and the retail grocers was nothing but a nicely calculated charade, designed to show the housewife that it wasn't the grocers' fault if prices went up, since they warned us all in advance that they would. Colley in his role as Elected Public Representative had only to insist that this was nonsense, and any housewife who noticed prices rising had just to come and tell him — he'd see to those nasty grocers, so he would.

The housewife watching this little drama enacted for her benefit knew from the start, of course, that once V.A.T. was a fact, she had no hope of getting anything done about price increases. Neither Colley nor his colleague in Industry and Commerce, Lalor, have made any attempt to "watchdog" prices in the months leading up to V.A.T., which is when most grocers began levelling up their prices. Neither have they any comprehensive checking system now: the Department of Finance has hired about 100 checkers for a temporary period of six weeks to trot around looking at prices, a microscopic police force for the 38,000 retail grocers in the 26 Counties.

Colley, of course, admitted from the start that the onus for watching prices fell on the housewife. In other words, it's up to the woman with a family trying to stretch the weekly wages to do the Government's work for them.

"Non-political"

The housewife could always join one of these organisations that set itself up to speak on her behalf. The Housewives and the Countrywomen make a special point of the fact that they're "non-political"; so does the Consumers' Association. What this means is that while they send a lady-like group over to Leinster House to tell the Minister he is really very bold to put on such naughty taxes, they won't take any action — so much as one demonstration, a single picket — to actually stop the Minister doing it. That would be political. The Minister — indeed, every Minister — is always delighted to meet them. He only wishes every group who oppose him were so meek and untroublesome.

So what the housewife does instead is nothing, pinching a bit more here, skipping a bit more there, and hoping in the end that a halfpence one way or the other won't make much difference. But unfortunately that is exactly where the Value Added Tax — or any other tax on food — does make the difference. V.A.T. is merely supposed to replace Turnover Tax, which amounted to 5 per cent of the price of the item on the shelf.

VERY ADVANTAGEOUS TAX (for profiteers)

Since we exchanged L.S.D. for Decimal Currency, however, the lowest coin we have is the halfpence, which is 5 per cent of 10p. On every item priced at less than 10p, to which 1/2p is added in tax, the housewife is paying more than 5 per cent.

The average housewife buys quite a few items in that category. One-quarter pound of tea at 8 1/2p becomes 9p with V.A.T.; a tin of beans at 9p becomes 9 1/2p with V.A.T.; baby foods at 4 1/2p a jar become 5p with V.A.T., and a mother with a baby might easily buy eight or ten jars in a week.

It adds up. The lower the wages, the more it adds up, because the Government's own statistical bureau admits that while families in the upper income brackets spend only 25 per cent of their money on food, families in the lowest income bracket spend almost 50 per cent of their income on food.

In other words, it is the working class families who are really paying this tax, and when all the halfpence are totalled, they're paying it at far more than the prescribed 5 per cent. Not that even that can be justified, since any tax which falls equally on rich and poor is necessarily evil, unjust, and designed to further burden the weakest section of the community. And we can only hope to fight it when the housewives of this country decide they've had enough of the "non-political" outfits, and agree to take the political action that could stop the carefree Colleys in their tracks.

'An Alien Ideology'

Speaking on "An Alien Ideology" at the Malahide Conference of the Irish Humanist Association and the Teihhard Centre for the Future of Man, the vice-president of Sinn Féin, Mr. Derry Kelleher said: "that attacks on socialism — the so-called alien ideology — were initiated by the Taoiseach in 1969 when the homeless were being bated on the streets of Dublin, coincident with the attacks on the Civil Rights marchers in the North. Following the split in the Republican Movement, Mr. Ruairi O'Bradaigh and Mr. Joe Cahill followed the Fianna Fáil line in attacking Marxism. These attacks displayed ignorance of Ireland's socialist tradition and of William Thompson of West Cork, the forerunner of Marx. The speaker traced the growth of attacks on alien ideologies from Archbishop Troy's polemical against the French Revolution and the United Irishmen."

"Such attacks still find expression today", continued Mr. Kelleher, "in writings such as the 'Outline History of the Catholic Church', a textbook for Irish school-children, written by an English monarchist priest, and in

the posthumous attack on Pearce, Tolstoy and the Republican tradition, by Fr. Shaw in 'Studies' recently. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's interpretation of the French Revolution, however, coincides with that of Irish Republicanism in regarding it as a progressive factor in history. This was not the chauvinism of a Frenchman since Teilhard also welcomed the victory of the Chinese communist forces under Mao Tse Tung in 1948. The Teilhardian-Marxist view is also opposed to the pseudo-scientific distinction made by Cardinal Conway between evolution and revolution. There is, in fact, no such

distinction and the idea of "an inevitability of gradualness" is merely adduced to justify the predatory morality of E.E.C. Laissez Faire and to buttress the status quo, thus nullifying the hope for radical social change inaugurated by Vatican Council 2, and Pope John".

Mr. Kelleher then referred to the 1914-18 war when the workers comprising the confronting armies fraternised on Christmas 1914 but were driven back into their trenches by their officers at gunpoint. "Should they not have turned their guns on these officers rather than face the prospect of murdering one another in millions in the years to follow?"

In conclusion, Mr. Kelleher called upon Protestant and Catholic workers north and south to see their dilemma in this context — to unite against the common oppressor and claim the RIGHTS OF MAN remembering in Connolly's words that "Socialism is neither Protestant nor Catholic, Christian nor Free Thinker, Buddhist, Mohammedan nor Jew — it is only HUMAN".

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SEND A CHRISTMAS CARD TO THE PRISONERS

Republican Movement,
A. Wing,
Belfast Prison.

a chara,

I would like, on behalf of our members in the above residence, to thank through your columns the following organisations, Belfast Republican Clubs, South Derry committee, Maghera; Tyrone Republican Movement; Sinn Fein Head Office, Dublin; Belfast Welfare committee and all the others who helped us with subscriptions, handicraft materials, clothes, reading matter, etc.

I would like to thank those individuals who helped in the same manner, especially Kitty O'Kane, Belfast. The suffering that comes from imprisonment has been much lightened by the help we received. It is nice to know that people outside think about us, and that we won't be forgotten. Especially when some of the help is unexpected.

While there is
a lower class
I am in it;
while there is
a criminal element
I am of it;
and while there
is a soul in
prison I am
not free.

The scheme of Cumann and Clubs adopting prisoners is slowly getting under way; but we must thank those who have already taken the trouble.

Again, our sincere thanks to all concerned.

Is mise le meas,
Peter J. Monaghan
O. C. prisoners.

ALDRESHOT SENTENCES

NOEL JENKINSON,
BRISTOL PRISON,
30 YEARS.

MICHAEL DUIGNAN,
3½ YEARS.

FRANCIS KISSANE,
2 YEARS.



L. Mellows



Rory O'Connor

Fifty years ago on the 8th December, 1922, by order of the Free State Government, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett, Rory O'Connor and Joe McKelvey were executed by firing squad.

"The Republic lives, our deaths make that a certainty" — Liam Mellows on the morning of the 8th December, 1922.

That he spoke the truth is testified by the many attempts of successive Free State Governments since then, Fine Gael, Fianna Fail or Coalition, to kill the Republic. From its birth the Free State, like the 6 County State has had to rely on coercion, prisons, and executioners, to survive. It has failed to crush Republicanism and must surely fail with its latest attempt.



Dick Barrett



Joe McKelvey

These men are serving sentences ranging from 1 year to Life imprisonment.

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Fintan Lalor; Michael Davitt and The Irish Land League; Liam Mellows.

"CABHAIR"

Coiste Foirthint na bPhrionsunach Poblachtach

Please give as generously as you can to help the wives and dependents of interned men and of those on the run. These people face great hardships as a result of Britain's policy of repression, and we all have a duty to stand by them. Because of the large numbers who have subscribed so generously already, it is impossible to publish a full list of acknowledgements, but the committees will receipt all monies received.

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NAME
SEOLADH
MEID

DON'T FORGET THEIR DEPENDENTS — SUPPORT THE CHRISTMAS DAY COLLECTION

Down by the Curragh recently a few candid photographs were taken of a line of Irish lads pushing back women and children from the North with bayonet-tipped rifles. At least one of the lads hadn't got his heart in his work, for an officer was seen furiously shouting at him to put more steam into his stabbing. Private 'X' could not oblige. He had no stomach for bayoneting civilians, and he was sent, in disgrace, to the rear. "Not good soldier material," they probably commented over the whiskey glasses in the Officers' Mess later.

Only a couple of years ago a high-ranking Irish diplomat, Mr. Sean Ronan of the Department of Foreign Affairs, told the United Nations that armaments are "a waste of money and life, a shame and a blot on mankind".

Since then his bosses back home have been spending so lavishly on guns, tanks, CS gas, planes, rockets and uniforms, that they can hardly wait to extract more tax from the workers' pockets to pay for them.

Mr. Ronan, speaking on Ireland's behalf, is on record as saying that the squandering of resources in the arms race has cut into living standards and retarded economic and social programmes.

"Yet military expenditure prevails as a priority over sanity in most states", he said.

"Most states" was the term he used — but he certainly wasn't thinking of his own at the time. No diplomat would dare to call his own country's policies insane.

At the time, perhaps, Mr. Ronan could not have foreseen that his own government's spending on armaments was about to zoom up to the impressive figure of £26 million a year. Mr. Ronan would be laughed out of the United Nations if he went back just now and said the same things. Ireland is building up her military forces so fast that anyone might be tempted to think the politicians actually want a military dictatorship here.

Tons of C.S. gas

The bill for the Department of Defence jumped by almost £7 million since last year alone. The new "toys" bought for the admittedly under-employed and overweight officer class to play with include nearly 50 armoured cars, eight planes, many tons of CS gas — and more than 1,000 raw recruits.

Why all this new-found militarism in Ireland? Certainly not to defend the national territory (least of all, the national territory north of the Border). The so-called "Defence Forces" are, in fact, being slickly transformed into "Supplementary Police Forces" whose main use will be against the Irish people themselves.

Jack Lynch has long since realised that as long as he bowed the knee to foreign capital — in the form of U.S. and British commercial interests, Canadian mining companies, and so on — these countries won't have any reason to invade us. In fact, they'll probably defend us against anyone else who threatens invasion here, since Ireland has become, in effect, part of their own "property".

And Lynch knows that the biggest threat to his own position as a lackey of foreign capitalism must come, inevitably, from the exploited Irish people themselves — from the workers exploited by the foreign landowners and foreign companies, from those abused even more blatantly by native capitalists, from the Irish who believe that a nation should belong to the people of that nation.

What better strategy for Lynch, then, than to build up his own internal police force by changing the role of the "Defence Forces"? He can be subtle enough to imply that there is a threat from outside, by talking about "alien ideologies", but what he means is that he fears the rising anger of his own people, who have come to an awareness that he himself and his alien capitalist cronies are exploiting the country.

Lynch's "army"

Lynch has let the "alien ideology" of imperialistic capitalism take over the country, while ignoring the native and Republican philosophy of socialism.

The soldiers in Lynch's "army", frustrated through being kept idle and without any links with the people for years, have accepted readily enough the new equipment Lynch is spending so lavishly on. Few of them realise the role he intends them to play.

The first taste many of them got of this new role was at the Curragh recently, when recruits were asked to bayonet women and children — Irish women and children — if they tried to enter. Most of the ordinary soldiers showed they

BY WHOSE ORDERS?



had no stomach for this kind of dirty work, and their officers raged in fury at them.

Other soldiers have already been thrown into situations where citizens were demonstrating for civil rights, or protesting against Lynch's use of oppressive laws. The soldiers were ordered to use batons and CS gas — and even bullets and bayonets, if necessary — against their own people. This was hardly the kind of "man's life" that recruits thought they were going to get, according to the advertisements, by joining up.

If they don't obey orders unthinkingly, their officers will sneer: "Not good soldier material". The officers themselves take good care to avoid the dirty work. Nowhere is the class system epitomised so clearly as in the Irish Army. Special messes and bars for the officers, servants, special housing and a big salary. And, of course, you have to have "the right background", family and otherwise, before you can become a cadet.

The few officers who don't subscribe to the "Old Boy" network are sickened by it all. The most blatant evidence of the patronising policy of government and big business to the officer class, is the way officers who retire or leave can slip into well-paid jobs in the civil service or business — often as "P.R.O.s", a vaguely defined function that doesn't require any real work, just a smooth image.

Basic civil rights

Recently, however, the Irish Army's "Intelligence" department got worried about the extent to which the public were seeing through the whole phoney set-up — and about the low morale within the ranks themselves.

They sent out a memorandum (to officers only, naturally), giving them hints on how to portray a good "Army image" to pressmen. Only officers are allowed to speak to pressmen, of course. Privates are not supposed to be human — just pawns who can be used as long as they obey orders unquestioningly and don't think for themselves.

Those who direct the Irish Army are totally unprincipled, and ruthless in their anxiety to protect their own high-salaried positions. They have bought large stocks of CS gas — and ordered it to be used — even though Ireland has signed and ratified an international convention, the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which bans gas weapons. They have hypocritically built up CS gas stocks here, even though Jack Lynch criticised the widespread use of CS gas on the civilian population of the Six Counties by British troops and the R.U.C.

The "authorities" here have never dared to discuss the effects CS gas can have on the health of a civilian population — they ignore the scientific evidence which is available, even in Britain, on this matter.

In the back of his mind, Lynch fears that one day soon he will have a million and a half Northerners, Catholic and Protestant, no longer kept at a "safe distance" by the Border, but on his doorstep, clamouring for basic civil rights and protesting against exploitation by bosses. That is why he is building up his own self-protective forces now.

The aim is to stop any basic civil rights demand — whether for decent housing, fair rents, a just wage, or an end to exploitation of one form or another — by forcible repression.

Lynch does not trust his police alone — the gardai are often close enough to the ordinary people to know when a cause is just, and they may not regard it as part of their job to kill people in order to protect the profits of fat capitalists.

So he thinks that the military will be a more reliable — and effective repressive agency. On this he could yet take a disastrous tumble. The faceless Colonels could become drunk with their new equipment and their new power and — as happened in a number of well-known cases abroad — decide that they could do the job better than Jack. When that happens, there should be some interesting new faces in the Curragh concentration camp.

ON WHOSE BEHALF?



● British Paratrooper in Derry on Bloody Sunday when they murdered 13 people.

CRA CALL TO DEFEAT TERROR

ALDERSHOT:

MORE BRITISH JUSTICE

"No civilised society will tolerate such behaviour as you have been guilty of", said Mr. Justice Sebag Shaw. So the leering judge of Winchester sent Noel Jenkinson to prison for 30 years, Francis Kissane to prison for 2 years and Michael Duignan to prison for 3½ years for the bombing of Aldershot.

But Sebag Shaw forgets. No civilised society should tolerate the behaviour of British paratroops in Derry on January 30th..

But British ruling class society, represented by Heath, Widgery and Sebag Shaw, does. Whose justice? Whose shame?

The last few months have seen a situation developing in Northern Ireland which presents the Civil Rights Movement with an opportunity to broaden its base of support on an unprecedented scale. If the Movement is able to grasp the opportunity offered, it will be able to force Britain to end repression, introduce democracy and uproot sectarianism. But if it fails to broaden its base then the developing and broadening opposition to British Army terrorism will peter out and the undemocratic settlement on which that terrorism is based will be imposed on a confused and docile population.

I.C.T.U. document

The major policy statement of the I.C.T.U., published on the 10th November, rejected British military terrorism as well as the sectarian terrorism of the Provisional Alliance. It called for discussions among all groups which reject discrimination, and who accept the rights of persons to peacefully advocate political change including change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland. Such discussions, if they led to a wide agreement on the content of an acceptable Bill of civil and political rights for Northern Ireland, would represent a major breakthrough at the present time. It would force the British Government and opposition to spell out clearly the level of democracy they are prepared to concede to the North

and equally important it would again raise the Civil Rights question. From the purely sectional Catholic problem it is being portrayed as at present. While there is some woolly thinking in the I.C.T.U. document, it still represents a step in the right direction. Republicans in the trade union movement, North and South, should ensure that it is discussed and the best parts implemented.

The I.C.T.U. document represents to a fair degree trade union and Labour thinking, but opposition to aspects of British policy is spreading. In November such diverse groups as the S.D.L.P., the Alliance Party, the N.I.L.P., the A.L.J. and N.I.C.R.A. have condemned army harassment and the failure to provide protection against sectarian attack.

Representatives of the Shankill Road attended an International Tribunal to investigate army harassment since Operation Motorman. They gave evidence alongside N.I.C.R.A. of widespread army harassment of Protestant working class areas. The subsequent bickering should not blind us to the fact that there was a wide public agreement between the Independent Unionist councillor and Mrs. Stewart of N.I.C.R.A. on the degree of army harassment in Belfast. This was further borne out by the statement of sixty-five Roman Catholic priests from Belfast, who accused the army of widespread harassment and murder. The international pressure which could be

mounted by all these groups could soon force the British Government to end harassment if a measure of unity could be achieved to mount that pressure.

The blatant dishonesty of the British Government's intentions is daily becoming more apparent to the people of Northern Ireland. Westminster, however, hopes that the British Army terror and sectarian fears will ensure the minimum mass opposition to the final settlement next year.

Broadest unity

Republicans want to increase the degree of control which Irishmen rather than Englishmen have over the country. By introducing democracy and uprooting sectarianism the Civil Rights Movement can increase that control because at present British domination of the North is mainly maintained through the denial of democracy and the encouragement of sectarianism. In the short term the most immediate demands which should be concentrated upon are: the end of Internment in any form, a full and comprehensive Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland, and the immediate demilitarization of the North by the withdrawal of troops to barracks except where they are needed to prevent sectarian attacks. If the broadest unity can be built around these demands the basis will be laid for a brighter future for the people of the North than the one which faces them at present.

Cornal OLoingsigh, Cornal OMaille agus Cornal OCoileain

I dteannta gach rud eile, is sulmlúil breathnu ar an chineál dulne a chuireann seirbhís radio is teilifís na hÉireann i mbun go dolbh thar lear. Feach, mar shampla, na comhfhreagróirí a fostaíodh i Londain. Patrick Cosgrave, fear a d'fhág RTE le fonnadh don Pharlaimint Coimteach thall; John O'Sullivan, fear eile a thógadh a chuid "saineolaithe" ar chlaracha RTE as measc na n-iriseoirí is na bpolaitóirí ba cholmestail ba bhfeadfaí teach

orthu. Ba Éireannaigh de chineál eigin an bheirt sin, afach, fu murarbh easca é ailtin ar a nguathanna na ar a ndearcadh. An fear nua, Andrew Sheppard, fear a bhí ag obair roimhe seo san Manchester Evening News, Sasanach nach bhfuil fu foghru ainmneacha na tidil na hÉireann ar a tholl aige. An e gur mo le RTE a gcuid teagmhála le comhleacaithe Mr. Heath na an nuacht bheith scoirde ag a muintir féin?

Ta an Rialtas i mbun feachtas chun an mhuintir a chur faoi chois. Ar ndóig ní haon seala nua e sin againn — ach ta siad anois ag teacht amach go hoscailte leis an chineál ruda a bhí uathu a dheanamh i bhfad o shin — duine ar bith nach reitíonn leo a chiúnu na a chur i bpríosún. Sin e go bunúsach míniú bhriseadh Udaras RTE ar bhonn nar gheill siad don Aire O Coileain.

Ta ioroin airithe ag baint leis mar seala: thogh an Rialtas an tUdaras sin go curamach le go mbeadh dealramh an neamhspleachais air, ach go mbeadh na baill sasta comhoibrí leis an Rialtas — rud a bhí, de ghnáth. Ní ar bhriseadh na ndaoine airithe, ach ar an bpríosúnar nar choir go mbeadh an coras craoltaí faoi chúing an Rialtais mar sin in aon chor. Ceart go leor, bhí an dealramh ar an sceal gur thacaigh an tUdaras an fhoireann an t-am sin, (ar cheist agallamh Sheahín Mhic Stiofain) ach bhí oiread sin geilleadh agus culú deanta acu roimhe sin ar an Ordu faoi mhír 31 den Acht go

raibh se fanach acu anois bheith ag iarraidh a neamhspleachas a léiriú.

Ba chliste mar a rinneadh e i ndeireadh an sceil. Gabhadh Mac Stiofain agus gan d'fhianaise ina choinne (mar a leirigh an triall ina dhiaidh sin) ach agallamh RTE. Ansin briseadh an tUdaras de bharr an agallamha ceanna. Agus rinneadh an rud ceanna le Kevin O'Kelly — cuireadh i bpríosún e de bharr disbeagadh don Chuirf ach mar sin fein glacadh lena chuid fianaise (nar thug se go lom) mar chuid den chuis in aghaidh Mhic Stiofain.

Prionsabal le na cianta e ag iriseoirí nach dtugann siad fianaise as a leabhair notaí. An meid a fhoilsítear na a chraoita, ta sin poiblí, agus sheasodh iriseoirí leis; ach an reamh-ullmhúchán (ar nos an teip seo), is rud phribháideach e, idir iad agus na daoine a thug eolas faoi run no faoi phribhléid. Sin e an fáth gur dhiúltaigh O'Kelly a ra gur bh e Mac Stiofain na cuirte an fear ar an teip. Ta argoint ann nar choir do Phríomh-Stiurthoir RTE an

teip a thabhairt don chuirf, fíu — ach ar ndoig ní iriseoir e T. P. Hardiman, agus ní shamhlodh se aon cheangal éitea air fein sa seala.

Ba leir laithreach go ndeanfadh na hiriseoirí agoid — ní hamhain in RTE ach sa tír i gcoitinne. Ba leir freisin go gcaithfeadh an da Aire, an Mailleach agus O Coileain, beartas eigin a chur i gcrích, beartas a chaitheadh a bheith ní ba dheata fos na ar deineadh roimhe sin.

Cuid da bhfeadfad a tharlú na smachtu an phears — bheadh sin ag teacht leis an deardach is leira bheith ag an Rialtas i leith RTE, agus freisin ceann de na rudaí e a deantar go luath i ndaingliu cumhachtaí rialtais. Go deimhin, luadh i bpaipear amháin go mb'fheidir go raibh an Taoiseach ag smaoinreamh ar Chathal O Heachaidh mar Aire Cumarsaide.

Bheadh ar an Mailleach, de reir loighic a sheasaimh, diansmacht a bhu ar einne a thosaíonn ag dearnamh agoid e in aghaidh pholasáí an Rialtais as go amach. Is mor a

chabhroidh an Bill nua chun an Acht um Chionta in aghaidh an Stait a leasu is a leathnu leis an Mailleach sa mheid sin. Beidh imní mhór ar dhaoine faoin Bhille seo, bille a theann in aghaidh gach traidisiún díl sa chuid seo den domhan. Is e toradh an bhille go mbeadh ualach an chruithnais ar an te a chiontaítear — go mbeidh se measta ciontach no go gcruthódh se a mhalaírt.

Níl anseo ach dearg-Pheindlí, agus is mar sin a breathnófar air thar lear. Ta an tir ag sleamhnú go mall le tamall i dtreo an Fhaisisteachais, ach ta luas na titime ag meadu. Ní fada anois go nglacfaidh na hAiri role eile — an Cornal O Loingsigh, an Cornal O Maille, an Cornal O Coileain.

Agus is docha go nglacfaidh siad a gcuid saoire sa Ghréig, nuair a bheadh an mhuintir faoi chois ar fad acu.

Ní feidir linn ilgint doibh a leitheid a dheanamh. Caithefar na daoine a mhuscailt, anois no riamh.