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

SUCCESS?

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Outstanding republican victory

Francie Donnelly, Republican Club Councillor in Magherafelt Area "A" successfully retained his seat in the bye-election forced on the people by the S.D.L.P.

On a straight Republican ticket, emphasising the secular, socialist and separatist character of the programme Donnelly polled 1,900 odd first preference votes against the S.D.L.P.'s 2,100 and the D.U.P. 1,600. On the second count with the lower candidate eliminated, a massive 600 second preference

votes from the loyalists came to Donnelly and he was declared elected. A victory for the Republican programme. It would be premature to declare that the workers and small farmers of both religions have begun to see the importance of unity in opposition to the sectarian politics of the Unionists and the

S.D.L.P. but as pointed out at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis, it is a delicate sign that the Republican policy is preferable to a section of the Loyalist population than the old rigid religious politics. Delegates at the Ard Fheis from all over the country gave the Councillor a standing ovation and many speakers congratulated the

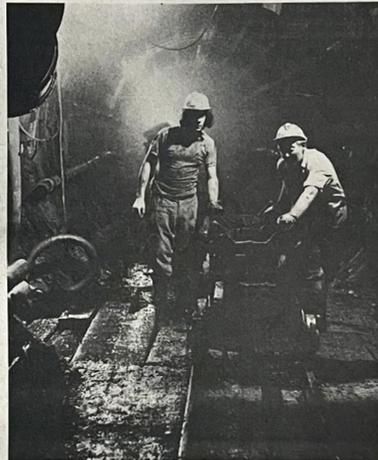
local clubs on the effort which had been put into a hotly contested election. Tomas Mac Giolla emphasised that Donnelly was elected at the time when the S.D.L.P. were doing their deal with Whitelaw and the Unionists. A fact which indicated that the people of South Derry were against a sell out on internment and civil rights.

New campaign on mines

The formation of a new broadly based organisation to ensure that the Irish people get the maximum benefits from the country's considerable mineral resources was announced recently in Dublin. The new organisation which includes trade unionists, technologists, academics, students and various shades of political opinion, issued a seven point policy statement shortly after its formation.

The organisation, the Resources Protection Campaign, believes that the government proposal to take a minority shareholding in Tara Mines, which has a gross metal value of 11,045,200,000 with estimated potential profits of 1486,817,000, will be of no real value to the Irish people and is essentially an exercise in political window dressing. Such measures will still leave control of the profits and the ultimate use of the wealth in the hands of the mining companies who have failed to establish the industries that are the natural off-shoots of these mines. The ownership of the mines rests with the people and the Government should retain the complete ownership of mineral rights and not hand these over to any private company. This requires that the Government should reactivate the state owned Mianraí Teoranta with the exclusive rights to exploit the valuable resources of this country in the interests of the people.

The greatest loss to Ireland however is the employment that could be created in the industries directly resulting from having a smelter here. Without such industries Ireland will get no significant long-term benefits from this vast wealth. In a few years time when the speculators have squeezed the last few pounds from the mines, we will be left with the unemployment and emigration problems that will, in a few years' time, appear in places such as Tyrnagh when all the ores are extracted. To counter this the Resources Protection Campaign is calling on the Government to establish a state owned smelter to process the total output of all Ireland's mines. The profits from the extraction and smelting processes could then be used to



establish industries to manufacture consumer goods from the raw metals. This stage in fact represents some 90 per cent of the total wealth generating capacity of the country's mineral wealth. This in itself would provide 1,000's of jobs within a few years.

Other demands of the new organisation are that all staff should be given the option of transferring to Mianraí Teoranta with the terms of employment being open to negotiation, and that a state mineral resources exploration company be set up to prospect for new deposits. But the Protection Resources Campaign by itself is not at present capable of forcing the Government to review their present policy. That can only be done with the active participation of all those who support its demands. For this reason the organisation has launched a campaign to recruit more members to help in making the Irish people more aware of the great wealth that is being stolen by the foreign speculators in co-operation with the Government. Membership forms can be obtained from the Resources Protection Campaign, 113 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2.

But as Mr. Pat Carroll of the Labour Party Administrative Council said recently in a speech at U.C.D. "... the inability of our political leaders to take decisive action to protect Ireland's natural resources will in time, be regarded as a case study in the failure of our political system".

JOHN COOKE

The Republican Movement expresses its sincerest sympathy to the wife, son and daughter of John Cooke who died on November 24th in Baginbun St. Hospital. John and his wife Peg kept open house for the lads on the run during the campaign of '56-'62, and

many a Republican received his first lessons in Socialism from John in the debates and arguments that used to go on into the small hours in that hospitable house in the Albert Walk, Bray. He lived to see the Movement take the decisive steps to the left, which he had so long advocated.

PATRICK DEMPSEY

Patrick Dempsey died suddenly on Friday, 23rd November. A founder member of Kildare Branch, National Waters Restoration League and former member of Cummann South O'Hanlon, Lixlip. Sadly missed by his parents and many friends.



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NOLLAIG

The formation of the Northern Ireland Executive was greeted with the biggest brouhaha of hallelujahs heard in the country since W. T. Cosgrave, father of Liam, "finally solved" the National Question in 1922. Comment in the British and Irish daily press ranged from the ecstatic to the hysterical.

But Republicans were not surprised. We said last month that there was no real difficulty in the way of an Executive being formed.

Faulkner wanted power at any price. As did the Alliance Party. And the S.D.L.P. have been panting for power like bitches in heat for some time now. Since the three parties have the combined integrity of an adder there was little likelihood of difference of principle preventing their coming together.

Of the three groups, only the S.D.L.P. has claimed to be against British Imperial power in Ireland. But the days when we took such claims seriously are long gone. S.D.L.P. pledges have a high degree of built-in obsolescence.

After the murder of Seamus Cusack and Desmond Beattie on July 8th, 1971, Hume, Fitt and the rest stood with their hands on their hearts and swore to high heaven that they would not re-enter parliamentary politics until an impartial enquiry was set up. But, as always, they were merely using the corpses of their constituents as political footballs.

When, a month later, the British Army murderers came rampaging into Catholic ghetto areas and dragged men off to torture and internment, Gerry Fitt appeared on television, throbbing with passion, to announce that the S.D.L.P. would not even talk about a return to normal politics until every man was released.

Only men with india-rubber spines could have contrived the contortions S.D.L.P. leaders have performed in the past two years.

The final manoeuvre into coalition under Faulkner should have come easily to them.

When you are as straight as a corkscrew one more twist matters little!

Now Gerry Fitt is deputy head of the cabal. Paddy Devlin is Minister of Housing, John Hume, Minister of Commerce and Ivan Cooper the man in charge of Community Relations.

Or, to put it another way — Paddy Devlin is the man who will tell you why you are homeless, John Hume the man who will explain unemployment and Ivan Cooper the man who will account for sectarianism. Paddy will have over-all responsibility for collecting rents — and rent arrears arising out of the Civil Disobedience Campaign which he himself helped to launch — a conundrum which even as acrobatic a logician as himself may find it difficult to solve.

Factory manager

Hume, a factory manager before he went in for professional bandwagon-jumping, will be dealing with problems such as redundancies and low wages — subjects on which factory managers are highly qualified experts.



● The S.D.L.P. demonstrate the flexibility of their spines at an anti-internment protest in 1972.

One
more
twist



● W. T. Cosgrave who "finally solved" the National Question in 1922 stands over his son, who has again "solved" it in the British interest.

Mr. Cooper, a Protestant who rendezvoused with a senior RUC officer at 2 a.m. outside a Catholic church (see October U.I.), is doubtless just the man to deal with sectarianism.

Perfect substitute

And, of course, Mr. Fitt, than whom there is no man in Ireland more practised in the fine arts of wheedling, wheeling and double-dealing, will chair meetings of the Cabinet when Brian is away. He will be a perfect substitute.

In order to formulate an adequate counter to the Assembly Executive it is necessary to understand the interests which are represented on it and why they have

come together at this particular time.

As we have pointed out in the past there is no longer any conflict between the interests of the Northern and the Southern, the Protestant and the Catholic ruling class. The flow of British investment into the South, together with the replacement of small locally-owned Northern business by branches of the big monopolies has meant that the two economies have converged. That convergence was reflected in the Lemass-O'Neill meetings and the various attempts since then to eliminate from the public life of each state those items which were repugnant to the leaders of the other.

This cosy coming-together of

Orange and Green Tories was disrupted by the refusal of Northern Catholic workers to wait for their civil rights until it was convenient for their masters to grant them. The result, as we all know, was the bloody chaos of the past five years.

The Stormont talks of the past six months have been attempts to get the Orange/Green Tory rapprochement back on course and back on schedule. It is regarded by Fitt and Faulkner as one item of the overall package — a Council of Ireland and, possibly, an All-Ireland Police Force are yet to come.

Thus they hope to make steady progress towards a federal Ireland in which two linked states would stand in similar, subservient relationship to Britain.

Radical alternative

The Tories have a coherent, thirty-two-county strategy. Our strategy must meet it at every point.

It is perfectly futile to imagine that Anti-Unionism, however militantly expressed, will be of any avail. What we must do is redouble our activities among the working-class in struggle and simultaneously demonstrate the link between the local grievance and the national sell-out. We can thus point to the need for a revolutionary movement operating north and south and offering all workers a meaningful, radical alternative to the groups which might at present have their allegiance.

The task is urgent. One of the greatest dangers, in the North especially, is that a people weary of war will simply opt for peace, any peace, and collapse into the arms of the establishment parties. It happened before. Cumann na nGael did not win out in 1922-23 because there was more enthusiasm for the terms of the Treaty. It won out because it offered peace to a people who were sick of war.

The Unionists, the S.D.L.P., the Alliance Party, every party at Westminster and in the Dail, and every National newspaper and T.V. network in these islands are presently engaged in a desperate propaganda effort to convince the people that the only possible alternatives are to accept the Assembly or to face civil war. This is not true. It is up to us to get it through to the people that the third alternative embodied in the secular, socialist philosophy of the Republican Movement is available. It is the only choice which makes sense for the working-class and which offers workers a way out of the bleak dilemma which the establishment offers.

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The real issues

The formation of an Executive in the North should have been a surprise to no-one. Time and again, we said that this would happen because there is no principled difference between the politics of the S.D.L.P. and those of the Unionists. They proved that, when they agreed to power sharing. And they proved it again when they issued a statement declaring that agreement had been reached on economic issues.

Many people see it as a victory. War weary and disillusioned with the increase in senseless sectarian murder during the past few months, they are anxious for a return to "normality". And that is what the Assembly is — an alternative to the violence of the Provisionals and the lunatic fringe of the fragmented

loyalist para-military organisations. But it is not a victory. It is in fact a defeat — a defeat for the workers of the Six-Counties who have suffered so much and gained so little.

And we will return to a "normal" situation — to the long queues of the unemployed, the low wages, the bad housing and no-housing. Little will change. The S.D.L.P. will now assist the Unionists to break the rents and rates strike and collect arrears. Gerry Fitt and Brian Faulkner will appear together in television to explain why there are not enough jobs and houses or why your increases are to be restricted.

And Heath will not inject the massive amount of capital necessary to make any radical changes. The British economy is falling apart and the main interest now is to protect her financial investments in Ireland — a fact which Whitelaw emphasised in Westminster. In a Federation of Britain and Ireland, the Humes, the Faulkners, the Cosgraves and the Corishes will do that for them. Only the workers in the 32 Counties will stand to lose.

The only way to defeat imperialism in Ireland, is to reject the Tories, both North and South, and to accept the secular, socialist philosophy of the Republican Movement as the only way to unite all of the workers in their common interests.

• • •

Whether the Assembly works or not one thing is certain, that body can do nothing to end the sectarian violence. While Fitt, Faulkner and Napier draw together the middle class of all denominations, in the cause of self-preservation, so all of them shed much of their old working class support.

The Orange militant is not fighting to give the official Unionists a majority on Britain's new executive. The Provisional Volunteers are not interested in furthering the political career of a Currie or Fitt. Both will continue to fight for what they believe in — and, if necessary, will turn on erstwhile leaders.

In short, the Assembly elections have failed to achieve one of their main objectives — an end to political violence. The fact is that political parties elected on the basis of sectarian politics cannot eradicate sectarianism from the northern community.

Yet Sectarianism can be defeated. From the struggles of the United Irishmen, through to Larkin's general strike in Belfast of 1907 and the great unemployment demonstrations of 1932 that has been proved time and time again. But the way to do it is not by electing "moderate" sectarian politicians.

As in the past, it is only by crossing the sectarian boundary and dealing with class problems and questions of basic democracy that we will make any progress. This year's Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein called for a commission to investigate sectarianism in detail and come up with some practical proposals to fight it. It also reaffirmed our belief in the fight for basic civil rights for all, and repeated its demand that the trade union movement, through I.C.T.U., assume its responsibilities as an organisation of the working class.

It is as socialists, and fellow workers that we can best appeal to Protestant workers at the present time. If we can prove by our actions at grass root level that we have the interests of all the common people at heart we can achieve a unity in the North that the S.D.L.P. and Unionists can never hope for.

Our men in Moscow

The largest World Congress of Peace Forces was held in Moscow from the 25th to 31st of October. Over three thousand delegates from 144 different nations attended, including representatives from most of the National Liberation Movements.

Sinn Fein were represented by President Tomas Mac Giolla, Director of Organisation Sean Garland and Director of Education Des O'Hagan. Apart from attending the plenary sessions which were formal meetings addressed by speakers from United Nations Organisations, the Sinn Fein delegates concentrated on the Commission on National Liberation against Colonialism and Racism. Intensive lobbying of the different

national delegations and non-governmental organisations was carried out.

Tomas Mac Giolla speaking to the Commission on the second day said that Ireland had been oppressed for many centuries by the greatest Imperialist power the world had seen, by that country in which capitalism was first built and reached its greatest heights, both by oppression of its own people and many other peoples and nations throughout the world. He continued, "we never surrendered — never ceased resistance and when at last, inspired by the teachings of the great Wolfe Tone and James Connolly, our people after five years of struggle were in sight of their objective, they had the cup of victory

dashed from their lips by British trickery and Irish treachery, following a successful counter revolution by the National bourgeoisie".

Mac Giolla stressed that James Connolly had warned the Irish people that the partition of Ireland would lead to a carnival of reaction. This has subsequently been proved right. The festering sore with which the Irish people had had to live for over fifty years had erupted in the past few years leading to the unleashing of a further reign of terror, torture, brutality and murder of our people by the forces of British Imperialism.

"As Partition was first tried in Ireland", Mac Giolla continued, "and later became an Imperialist weapon in other countries, so the neo-colonial system of indirect economic control and exploitation, laid down in the 1920's in Ireland, has become the prototype for use in those countries which have won their independence since World War II.

"The 26 County State in the South of Ireland has even less economic independence than the neo-colonial countries of Africa and South America. Our land and mineral resources and most of our industries are in the hands of Anglo-American and other foreign monopolies and multi-national companies".

Tomas Mac Giolla urged the delegates to support both the short and long-term Republican demands which called for the withdrawal of British troops and an end to all repression in Ireland.

His speech was warmly received by the multi-racial audience and interrupted with loud applause and references to Irish solidarity with the people of the socialist world and the peoples struggling for national liberation, peace and socialism.

Apart from the Mac Giolla speech a document outlining the nature of Imperialist control and exploitation in Ireland was submitted to the Commission. Through the good offices of the Soviet representatives printing facilities were provided and the document given to a hundred delegates.

Fraternal greetings and gifts were made to the Moscow University, the USSR-Irish Friendship Society (which has a half million members) and to the Moscow Trade Unions. Over a hundred packets of Republican literature including copies of the Proclamation, the U.I. and the Irish People were distributed to national delegations from all parts of the world.



Des O'Hagan, Tomas Mac Giolla and Sean Garland outside Moscow University.

WHAT MATTERS MOST?

On Sunday, November 4th, 1,500 people marched at Edentubber to commemorate the men who died there on the 11th of November 16 years ago. The oration was given by Mick Ryan.

Speaking at the spot where the men gave their lives Mick Ryan said, "we are here to pay tribute to Michael Waters, who came from this place and was to his comrades the symbol of the struggle in which we are engaged; to Paul Smith of Bessbrook, Oliver Craven of Newry, George Keegan of Enniscorthy and Patrick Parle of Wexford town.

Speaking about the decline in revolutionary potential in the past year and the part played in this by the counter revolutionary forces who failed to understand the meaning of the revolutionary struggle, Mick Ryan said "we must admit that, in times like these, it is difficult to measure progress, even when progress is real and, more important still, when it is moving in the right direction. We do not seek, as others do, a mystical leap into a republic, believing that that will solve all our problems, answer all our demands, meet all the needs of the Irish people. Mellow recognised this, even as he lay in jail waiting for the executioners from Cosgrave's firing squad. As he left the Four Courts, in defeat, Mellow told his comrades: "The workers were not with us". Now we recognise that we cannot achieve our aims if the people are not with us and we must continue to work, as we have been doing for the past decade, to build and maintain popular support for the short term gains as well as the long term objective of the Republican Movement.

"The way forward is clear, to those who have the will to see, to those who are not blinded by emotion and wild hopes of miraculous change, to those who are not tricked by the confidences of opportunist politicians. We have determined on our programme of education, agitation and organisation. We know that a united people can never be defeated. And, recognising this, we will continue the struggle, despite repression, misrepresentation and attempts to deflect our progress. We cannot set a time limit to the achievement of national liberation, of full freedom. But we say with certainty that all our history of struggle, from Tone to Edentubber, from the G.P.O. to the Falls, points to the road we have set before us, the Socialist Republic. And mark well the words of Connolly, 'It is not the extent of our march which matters most, but the direction in which we march'."



● Scene at Edentubber Commemoration.



● Looking up to Carson for inspiration.

The statement from the U.V.F. calling their "ceasefire" until January 1st was as confused a document as has emanated from the North in recent years. The confusion is symbolic of the inability of working-class Protestant organisations to resolve the contradiction between their "loyalism" and their working-class nature.

The U.V.F. statement said, in effect, that if the Official Unionist Party does not desist from "power sharing" with the Catholic middle-class, they, the U.V.F., will recommence attacks on the Catholic working-class. . . . It is a position as devoid of ordinary logic as it is of political sense.

In opposing the Official Unionist Party the U.V.F. is, to an extent, reflecting the instinctive discontent of the Protestant workers against the leadership of the Faulkners, the Bradfords and the McIvors. And it expresses that discontent by striking out against the "enemy" which Protestant workers have always been led to regard as a threat to their position — their Catholic fellow-workers.

It has to be recognised that the Protestant working-class IS in the process of losing something. The dismantling of the old Stormont apparatus has meant that Catholic and Protestant workers are likely henceforth to be equally exploited — a change from the situation in which

Protestant workers were slightly less exploited than Catholics. Thus a section of the Protestant workers see as a solution to their problems . . . a return to the old Stormont regime.

Despite all the socialist sounding statements which some of the loyalists organisations sometimes produce, that, when one studies them in depth, is the real end which they pursue — the pre-1968 situation.

On a number of occasions in the past Protestant para-military groups have launched themselves against the Catholic ghettos of the North — and have succeeded.

In 1886 Orange-Order murder squads provided the grisly dynamic which created the Unionist Party, secured the defeat of the first Home Rule Bill and set the future pattern of Northern politics.

In 1920-22 the "Holy War" launched by Craigavon in Belfast had the effect of terrorising the Catholic workers into sullen acceptance of the new Northern State. In 1935 Brookborough destroyed the non-sectarian unity of the 1932 unemployed demonstrations when the Unionist Party encouraged yet another pogrom against Catholics in West Belfast.

On all these occasions the pogromists won, or, to put it more accurately, their political masters won — because those actually carrying out the sectarian acts



Back to the old regime

were, of course, workers who, after the smoke and sulphur had cleared, returned to the mean houses and dead-end jobs which had maimed their minds in the first place.

This time there will be no such "victory". The crucial difference is that on the previous occasions the sectarian elements had the support of the decisive section of the Unionist establishment.

In 1886 and in 1920-22 the British establishment was enthusiastically in favour of the pogrom. In 1935 it was neutral and disinterested, leaving it to their junior partners in Belfast to put down the "rebellion" as they saw fit.

But not now. This time the U.V.F., the U.D.A., the U.F.F. and

all the other intertwined, overlapping fragments of loyalism are on their own. The British Tories have far better, far more solid allies — the Faulkner Unionists and the S.D.L.P. united firmly in a principled alliance. They have no need in 1973 of furtive gunmen in back alleys.

We agree that Faulkner has betrayed you. We always said that he would. But now you must think the implications of that through to its logical conclusion and join with us in the fight against ALL those who sell out the working-class, North and South, and to build a movement of Irish workers which will carry on, win real victories and establish a socialist state in Ireland.

BITTER PILL TO SWALLOW

The 10,000 Irish motor assembly workers were probably the first large group in the 26 Counties who realised what Free Trade and EEC membership was all about. They sensed that one word lay behind both moves — profit. And to make more profit the motor manufacturing giants, having surmounted protective tariff impediments, would rationalise the Irish motoring jobs out of existence.

That is why the late sixties saw massive anti-EEC demonstrations organised by the motor assembly workers. So impressive were these that the Flanna Fail Government sat up and took notice. Cognisance was taken of the concern of the motor men and the assembly industry received special attention in the Treaty of Accession to the E.E.C.

What is known as Protocol 7 was included. This would guarantee the maintenance of motor assembly job-levels until 1985. In the interim all efforts would be

made to consolidate the industry so that redundancies after 1985 would be kept to a minimum.

Motor assembly was the only industry for which such a special protocol was arranged. It was also the one first to be hit by entry to the E.E.C. Five months after entry it was announced that two assembly plants were to be closed. When the American multi-national, General Motors, admitted that they were intent on bringing operations at McCalmns Motors and Reg Armstrongs to a halt the new Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Justin Keating, conceded that the E.E.C. accession protocol guarantee had been circumvented.

He washed his hands of any responsibility, however, saying that his predecessor the Flanna Failor, Paddy Lalor, had been responsible. Demonstrations from the motor workers and threats from their Union leaders have so far failed to bring a promise from Keating that he intends undoing the damage of his predecessor.

Any hopes that he was even considering this were dashed in mid-November when British Leyland's plan to end production at their Kimmage Assembly Plant was exposed in the weekly, THE IRISH PEOPLE.

Like General Motors, British Leyland have a pill to offer the general public and the motor workers.

The General Motors pill is to be a components factory. Electrical harness, they tell us, is to be produced here and then exported for fitting to cars being assembled in Germany, Britain etc. (cars the assembly of which they are terminating here). Some pill. Some throat that will swallow it.

The doctors who prescribed these pills obviously have a very low opinion of the intelligence of Irish workers. It will take militancy to change that opinion. Militancy will also be necessary if the Government here are to be made realise that Irish workers dislike being duped by special protocols or whatever.

REPORT



● Malachy Mc Gurran, Tony Heffernan and Eoll O'Murchu on the platform.

the conquest of Ireland has meant the social and political servitude of the Irish masses, and therefore the re-conquest of Ireland must mean the social as well as the political independence from servitude of every man, woman and child in Ireland. the thing that matters most is not so much the extent of our march, but rather the direction in which we are marching.

James Connolly

THE CRIMINALS IN OUR SOCIETY

Mac Giolla calls for unity of left

The President of Sinn Féin, Tomas Mac Giolla in his address to the assembled delegates at the annual Ard Fheis which was held in the Liberty Hall, Dublin called on Britain to renounce all claims to sovereignty over Ireland and demanded that she announce her intention to withdraw her troops and administration and begin the necessary procedures to phase out on a planned timetable.

The short term demands were, he said, the ending of internment, torture and terror, withdrawal of troops from the streets, particularly from working-class areas, and the abolition of repressive legislation and the restoration of democracy and basic civil rights.

Referring to the victory of the Republican Club's candidate in the Magherafelt bye-election last week he pointed to the significant number of second preference votes which were received from loyalists by Francie Donnelly. There was great hope he said that such a pattern could emerge in the midst of bombings and killings that Sinn Féin would contest the local Government elections in the South in 1974 at a time when local democracy "down here" is being threatened with the same rationalisation process which had destroyed it in the North. It was vital, he said, that Sinn Féin was strongly represented in order to protect the interests of the common people against "the Bureaucrats."

The Irish workers had been betrayed by their political leaders in the North, the N.I.L.P. had lost the confidence of the workers and the S.D.L.P. had no roots in the Trade Union movement apart from small areas of Belfast. In the South the Labour Party had joined the coalition with Fine Gael, the class enemies of the workers whose roots in Fascism are bringing forth very dangerous fruits at the moment in the shape of more prisons, increased repression and greater police and army presence in our daily lives.

Sinn Féin, he went on, "in co-operation with other forces of the left, must try to fill the vacuum left by the defection of the Labour Parties from working-class politics. We must renew and intensify the struggles in which we have been engaged in the past on behalf of workers and small farmers. We must increase and develop our roots in the Trade Union movement and provide political leadership to workers to enable them to resist the attacks from the Multi-national companies, from the new imperialism of the E.C.C. and from the Fascist tendencies of the Fine Gael coalition."

On the question of the unity of the Irish people he said, "during the past decade while I have been president of Sinn Féin, we have spelled out quite clearly that to us victory meant the re-conquest of Ireland by her people."

Our determination to pursue the struggle until the forces of Imperialism and Capitalism were defeated led directly to the split in January of 1971 when those who had a narrower interpretation of Republicanism walked out of our Ard Fheis and were subsequently expelled from Sinn Féin.

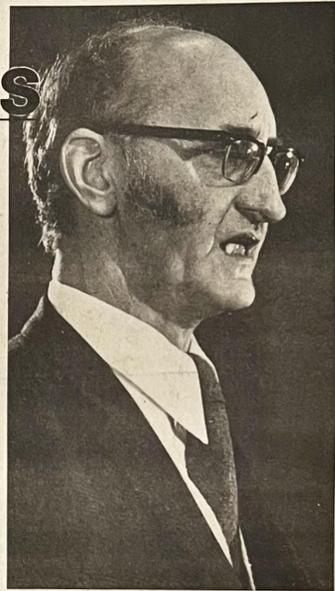
We rejected the concept of national unity as being simply a territorial question or one of co-operation between two Tory establishments and declared that to us as Republicans, National unity means unity of Catholic and Protestant and dissenter, unity of workers, farmers and men of no property in the struggle for the re-conquest of Ireland by her people."

Concluding he said, "We must above all, endeavour once again to unite the forces of the left. Structures must now be created within which different organisations or individuals can co-operate on a principled basis on issues which affect the working people of

for unity of left

any part of Ireland. Such structures must strictly exclude those who are more interested in mouthing slogans or scoring debating points than in doing solid work.

Unity of the forces of the left is the best, in fact the only real answer, to the coalitions of Dublin and Belfast. The splitters and divisive elements serve only the cause of Imperialism. Let us show unity of strength in the face of the enemy and we will find that working people throughout the country will respond by showing their willingness to engage in struggle against the forces of Imperialism and Capitalism. So let our slogan be 'Unite to Fight.'



● Tomas Mac Giolla delivering the Presidential address to the Ard Fheis.

THE PATH WE FOLLOW

Probably the liveliest debate of the Ard Fheis came during the discussions on the main political resolution, which reiterated

(a) That we are a Socialist Republican Organisation.

(b) That the struggle against Imperialism is nationwide; The N.I.L.M. (National Liberation Movement) concept and strategy remain the only sure way of uniting the mass of all working people to lead the fight against Imperialism;

(c) That the social and national struggle are one;

(d) That the struggle for resolution must be continued with the fight for reforms, leading the people to small victories, building their awareness on the issues that most face them;

(e) That we must build separate organisations for all these issues and relate them all to our organisation which must be made the vanguard giving leadership and direction on all these issues, leading people to the realisation that the whole corrupt apparatus, North and South, has to be swept away and replaced by socialism.

Amendments to the main resolution were proposed by delegates for Wicklow, Belfast, Donnybrook with perhaps the most controversial coming from the Donegal Comhairle Ceannair. Proposing the main resolution, Tomas Mac Giolla said that the



● Seamus Costello.

movements analysis of the methods of British Imperialism in Ireland was that they had been able to predict fairly accurately what strategies Britain would use. Corrective action where there were inadequacies, he said, were needed, and pointed to two areas where much had been said

but little done; the questions of the Irish language and sectarianism. Nevertheless he said the resolution was an assertion that the policies pursued for the last number of years were correct.

Proposing the amendment from the Donegal Comhairle

The resolution on justice — the police, Courts and prisons was proposed by Mairin De Burca of the Ard Comhairle and seconded by Des O'Hagan. It called for full comprehensive legal aid for all and for elected workers representatives to investigate charges from civilians against the police. It also called for an end to the political appointment of judges and that children under the age of fourteen years should be dealt with by elected representatives of the working-class. That children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years convicted of offences be separated at all times from adult prisoners. It called for more justices, of both sexes, to the juvenile courts and for the appointment of an ombudsman.

In the introduction to the resolution it was stated that the courts in a Capitalist state decide on the punishment for law-breakers. In the twenty-six counties the whole legal system is geared to the 18th century. Wigs and gowns are still worn, the language is unintelligible to most people, huge fees are charged for legal representation and an appallingly inadequate system of legal aid is granted. For instance free legal aid is granted to a person going for trial before a jury only when he has been returned for trial. He does not get legal aid in the district court where perhaps a competent solicitor could prove that a prime facie case had not been established and the charges dismissed.

Proposing the resolution, Mairin De Burca asked who are the real criminals in our society and drew a very clear distinction about who was really responsible for crime — the unequal system in which we live.

Des O'Hagan in seconding the resolution pointed to the repressive nature of the state and used as an example the interning of children in the British concentration camp of Long Kesh.

An amendment which was proposed by Seamus Costello of the Wicklow Comhairle

Ceannair, Johnny White said that he saw the national struggle in Ireland as part of the revolutionary struggle for socialism throughout the country. He told delegates that the primary intention of the amendment was to generate discussion on what he felt was a necessary point.

Terry Robson, seconding the amendment asked the proposers of the main resolution to bear in mind the dangers which faced the workers even within their own Trade Union movement. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions had, he said, been reported as attempting to expel the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers for refusing to accept the ruling of the Labour Court in a recent dispute.

The proposer of a resolution on sectarianism from the County Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs, Ronnie Bunting, suggested ways in which this problem could be tackled, calling amongst other things for the setting up of a working committee to carry out an in-depth study of sectarianism, its past, and its use as a political weapon of imperialism. This amendment was passed as a separate resolution.

The amendment from Donegal was defeated and the main resolution accepted by an overwhelming majority.

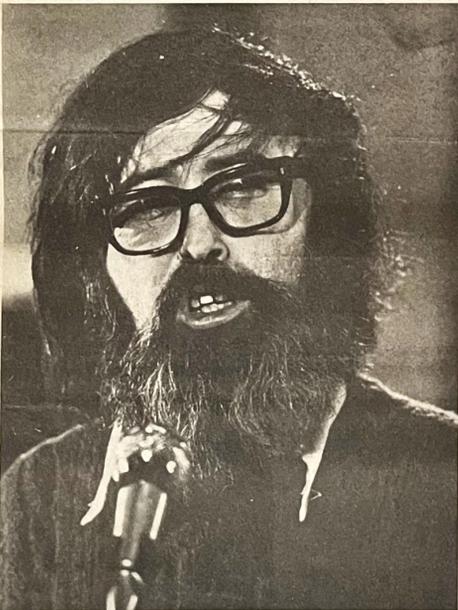
REAL FINALS OUR SOCIETY

Ceanntar declared that this Ard Fheis rejects the RUC as an acceptable police force. That we also reject any alternative police force which comes under the control of the Stormont assembly, Westminster, Leinster House or any combination of these parliaments. It called on the incoming Ard Comhairle to carry out an effective campaign of opposition to the RUC or its proposed alternative force. That the campaign of opposition should offer as an alternative the creation of a police force drawn from the ranks of Irish Trade Unionists, under radical Irish working-class leadership. The amendment along with the main resolution was accepted by the Ard Fheis.



● The delegates rise to give Tomas Mac Giolla a standing ovation.

REPORT ARD FHEIS



● Des O'Hagan on sectarianism.

Call for end to National Agreements

Workers warned of the dangers

The main resolution on economics which relates republican strategy and tactics to the field of finance said in the introduction that Sinn Fein reiterates its stand on economic affairs as laid down in the Ard Fheiseanna resolutions of 1971 and 1972 and pledges itself to intensify its opposition to economic imperialism in all its manifestations, from the obvious oppressions of the bankers, monopolists and their servants within the so-called European Economic Community, to the more subtle actions of their local agents within Ireland who actively encourage the domination of our island's economy by monopolies.

The resolution also warned workers of the attempts by Capitalism to undermine their demands for a greater share of the wealth by offering social contracts and social partnership. In four separate paragraphs it advised workers on the different forms of social contract which management has been using in a spurious attempt

to reduce the effectiveness of the workers' struggle.

A delegate from the University College Galway Republican Club spoke on the deficiencies of devaluing the pound as an answer to the question of raising workers' standards of living but because of the shortage of time and volume of business to be dealt with, it was not pursued any further.

The resolution which was proposed by Eoin O'Murchu recognised that the Irish nation must develop its own resources and natural advantages in such a manner that the profits accruing from production throughout Ireland will be ploughed back into the island economy and not exported to foreign shores by foreign capitalists who currently operate and control Irish industry.

In noting the defiance of planning permission by buildings in the areas of Tallaght and Ashbourne, the resolution called for a halt to the expansion of the greater Dublin area because of the present abuses.

structures, i.e., the National Social and Economic Council, the Employer-Labour Conference and the Northern Ireland Development Authorities.

"In the Class struggle, organised labour has thus been relegated to the position of policeman".

The Ard Fheis supported the call being made in the trade unions for reform of traditional structures which tend to divide workers on a craft vs. general unions, or white vs. blue collar basis. They also called for support of women and juvenile workers in their fight for decent wages and conditions.

All of these demands could only be met by "a stronger and more unified labour movement".

Eamonn Smullen, Director of Economic Affairs moved the adoption of the resolution, stating that only a strong and politically conscious trade union movement could form an effective base on which to build a programme to reclaim the nations resources. A Dublin delegate and trade unionist in seconding the resolution said that for far too long Sinn Fein, which claimed to be the party of the working class, had lacked a definite and coherent policy of support for the trade union movement. This resolution now gives the organisation that policy.



● Marin De Burca speaking on justice.

PRISONERS' ROLE CALL

LONG KESH: PRISONERS SENTENCED

Eddie Magee, 4 years
Gerald Burns, 5 years
Frank McGrady, 4 years
Peter Monaghan, 6 years
Frank Quin, 4 years
Brendan Mackin, 12 years
Sean Bunting, 5 years
Frank Weir, 10 years
Pat O'Hare, 7 years
Mick Mallon, 7 years

Artie Maguire, 8 years
Jim Goodman, 8 years
John Madden, 3 years
Gerry Loughlin, 12 years
Tony McShane, life
John J. McAuley, 5 years
Micky Donnelly, 5 years
Noel Deagan, 5 years
Paul Hensworth, 2 years
Thomas Power, 12 years
George McNally, 6 years
Peter McFarlane, 3 years
Sean Hanna, 5 years
Sam Mathews, 3 years
Leo Davis, 3 years
Pat Maxwell, 2 years
Mick Gilmore, 2 years
Danny McIlwaine, 3 years

Roger Torney, 3 years
Joe Cush, 1 year
Anthony Smyth, 7 years
Gerald Campbell, 3 years
James Grimley, 3 years
Sean Curry, 6 years
Timothy Smyth, 3 years
Gerald Smyth, 3 years
George Simpson, 2 years
Eamonn Burns, 2 years
Emmanuel McQuillan, 3 years
Brendan Harrison, 2 years
Terence McGarry, 3 years
Frank Gallagher, 2 years
Sean Colhoun, 5 years
Brendan Turley, 5 years
Jim McVeigh, 5 years
Jim McLaughlin, 5 years

LONG KESH: REMAND PRISONERS

D. Russell
H. Torney
R. Elliman
J. Logue
P. J. Valliday
E. McQuillan
D. Conlon
L. Johnson
H. Doherty
B. Trainor
S. Goodman
P. Neeson

P. Mullan
R. Gurrán
L. McAnoy
G. Duffy
P. McDaid
G. O'Neill
J. Magill
C. Mulvenna
P. McKeegan
T. Morgan
G. Healy
S. Magee
D. Lagan
B. Maguire

G. Dickey
J. McCaughy
F. O'Neill
B. O'Hagan
J. McQuade
M. Smith
J. Carey
M. O'Hagan
K. Brady
P. Breen
G. Duffy
R. McNally
C. Toman
J. Shanks

Kesh Republicans

condemn treatment of young offenders

Young prisoners convicted of civil crimes are being "treated like dirt" and assaulted by prison officers for the slightest reasons. This allegation is made in the latest edition of *An Eochair*, the monthly paper which is totally written by Republican prisoners in Long Kesh — both sentenced and interned.

The young prisoners aged between 17 and 20 are being used by the authorities to do all of the dirty jobs around the Camp. The slightest misdemeanour is rewarded with a sharp blow from a prison officer. One officer when questioned about this practice said that "an odd thump doesn't do them any harm".

As soon as a young prisoner arrives at the camp he is stripped of his dignity and self respect by

having his hair hacked off. He is then taken off to Cage 14, where his so-called "character training" begins.

This "training" does nothing to alter the young persons attitude to society, nor does it even attempt to teach him that he is anything more than a beast of burden or a general scivvy. When moving around the compound they must walk in Indian file and are not allowed to talk. The penalty for breaking the rule is a few days in solitary confinement on a starvation diet.

Although the regulations stipulate that young offenders should only work a 40 hour week they are forced to work an average of sixty or seventy hours. And the type of jobs that they are given, such as cooking

and emptying bins, could hardly be classed as a genuine attempt at rehabilitation.

All existing legislation about the treatment of young offenders is being completely ignored. And because of the total lack of publicity about their plight the Authorities now believe that they can just do as they please. And they do just that.

No attempts are made to provide even the most basic of academic education and despite the fact that some of these lads are serving sentences of seven or eight years, there are no facilities to teach them trades to help them to re-adjust to society on their release. And since no political capital can be made from their plight, the politicians are quite prepared to allow this Dickensian exploitation to continue.

Through "*An Eochair*", Republican prisoners are demanding that these young offenders be removed from the concentration camp to a centre more suited to their needs where training and guidance can be given by a trained staff with a genuine interest in them.

"*An Eochair*" itself represents a remarkable achievement by the Republicans held in Long Kesh. It gives their views on the political events of the day, as seen from the prison cell and the barbed wire cage. All of the articles have to be smuggled out to the liaison group on the outside who are responsible for the layout and distribution. The emergence of this paper only emphasises that British repression doesn't break the spirit but makes those who suffer most more determined to analyse it and to smash the very system it represents.

All profits from the sale of the paper are used to finance the prisoners co-op in Long Kesh. It is important that the co-op continues production to maintain the morale of the men. Copies of "*An Eochair*" and goods from the co-op can be obtained from Kitty O'Kane, 14 Ton Street, Belfast. The products from the co-op are of the highest possible quality and are splendid mementoes of the current phase of the struggle in Ireland.



DON'T FORGET

Our movement makes very high demands of the membership; an active member has a fairly good expectation of seeing the inside of a prison. Many of our people have spent years behind the bars or behind the wire.

Most people love life, love company, love freedom — a personal life, the company of personal friends, women and men and personal freedom. The importance of all this is not understood by people who have it; who have never lost it.

You run in and out many doors in the course of a day, open them and bang them behind you with your mind on other things. But have you ever thought of a door locked against you, its opening and closing a matter of another person's will. That is the most simple fact about imprisonment — the hours behind the door.

When interned it is usually in a concentration camp, in a hut full of people, never alone, but with the same scene and the same faces day after day, month after month, perhaps year after year.

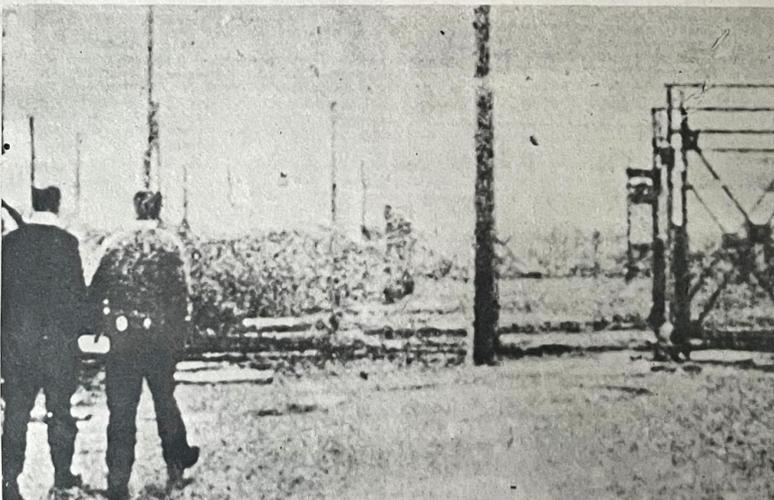
In Ireland our people may be in prison with their friends. But any prison is a place of strain, enemies watching, searching and endeavouring to undermine the prisoner's morale.

Prison is a time of terrible boredom for most prisoners, for the majority of prisoners. Life passes in a rush outside; I have not the time to do this or that or write a letter. In prison time drags, even if the prisoner embarks on an ambitious programme of study or handicrafts.

In Britain our prisoners are particularly isolated. They live in a hostile atmosphere because almost all the staff are ex-service and tend to hold the prisoner responsible for the killing of anyone wearing a uniform. The prisoners in a British prison have seldom an understanding of an Irish point-of-view.

All prisoners welcome this time of year because of the extra mail and cards it often brings. A letter or a card is a high point in the boredom of prison life. If you feel unable to write to our people in prison, then at least send a card with a message and perhaps your name and address, or your town.

Cards at Christmas bring happiness to our comrades in prison.



● A photograph taken inside Long Kesh and reproduced from "*An Eochair*".

TURN YOUR SORROW INTO ANGER

LEICESTER Noel Jenkinson, 30 years	STAFFORD JAIL Joe Farrington, 4 years	PORTLAOISHE Ronnie Deehan, 4 years Roland Giles, 6 years David Gibson 18 months Damien Friel 18 months
HULL, YORKSHIRE Pat O'Sullivan, 7 years	WINSIN GREEN, BIRMINGHAM Jim Flynn, 2 years	
WAKEFIELD, YORKSHIRE Conor Lynch, 7 years	ALBANY, ISLE OF WIGHT Michael Duignan, 3½ years	MOUNTJOY Bernadette Maxwell, 18 months

Free all
Political Hostages



● Relatives protest outside Winchester Crown Court after the conviction of the "Belfast Nine".

The savage who beat 7 year old Maria Colwell to death got eight years; Dolours Price, Marion Price and the other defendants in the Winchester bomb trial got two life sentences and twenty years apiece. All they damaged was property — and the government's pride.

The trial triggered a veritable orgasm of publicity, especially in the British Press. Headlines told melodramatically of "the dolly-bird bombers", the "terror girls" and other such sellable nonsense. But few papers analysed, or even mentioned, the real implications of the story which unfolded.

Detective Inspector George Mould who had been in charge of the investigation, calmly admitted in evidence that he had ordered an assault on Dolours Price and that her fingerprints had been taken without her permission and without the requisite magistrates' warrant having been obtained.

At a press conference after the trial, Commander Huntley,

head of the Scotland Yard Bomb Squad said, that "unorthodox methods" such as this were necessary in such cases and that such methods would have to be used again.

In other words, the police are saying, publicly and without inhibition, that in cases involving Irish political offenders, anything goes. The fact that they can do this without eliciting even a squeak of protest from the commentators in either Britain or Ireland is a measure of the extent to which the erosion of civil liberty is now accepted.

The position of the Republican Movement in relation to the bombing of English cities is clear. We are against it because it makes it more difficult to dispel the anti-Irish prejudices of many British workers and because it does not materially advance the struggle of Irish workers.

But that does not mean that we are insensitive to the motives which inspired Dolours Price and the others. As between Peter Rawlinson, the Tory Attorney General, who prosecuted them and the defendants in the Winchester dock, we are not neutral. Rawlinson is a member of the government which bombed Dublin for political reasons. He is not against bombing. He is merely against bombing which he adjudges not to serve his party's interests.

Republicans everywhere will join with others in demanding that the Winchester defendants and all other political prisoners in English and Irish jails are forthwith released.

Erosion of civil liberty is now accepted

Dear Comrades,

I am writing to you from the fortress which is Leicester prison where at the moment I am imprisoned.

I know that my victimisation is not unique, that the way I was framed has many parallels in the long and bitter history of England's conquest of Ireland. All corrupt and oppressive regimes have sought to use victims and scapegoats for their own ends. The activities of the British Government, with its use of agents, provocateurs and planted evidence as in my own case, can best be compared to Nazi Germany. My trial was every bit as farcical as that of the trial for the Reichstag fire. Truth played no part in it, it was solely a propagandist exercise on behalf of the ruling classes.

I have been a Socialist for all my adult life. The struggle for Socialism is the only struggle which will free both the Irish and the British working class. The

campaign on my behalf should be seen as part of that struggle and not as an end in itself or as a diversion from the main issue. I have complete confidence in my comrades in the Prisoners' Aid Committee and would like to thank them for the work they have done and are doing on my behalf and for the help they have given to my wife. It is a great encouragement to me to know that I am not forgotten, that there are friends outside who are concerned about the injustice I have suffered. Although I am innocent, I know that the British ruling classes have never been concerned with justice but only with vengeance.

I ask all who read this to remember how precarious their freedom is as long as British Imperialism goes unchecked. Fight for the freedom of Ireland by joining yourselves to the only class which has never betrayed Ireland — the Irish working class.

Venceremos, Noel.

Noel Jenkinson is serving a life sentence in the top security wing of Leicester Prison. When he was sentenced at Winchester Crown Court on November 14, 1972, Judge Sebag Shaw, who recently "distinguished" himself at the trial of the "Belfast Nine", recommended that he serve at least 30 years.

On June 18 Noel was refused leave to appeal against the conviction by three judges who thought that a charge of "conspiracy to commit a public mischief by training men in the use of arms with the aim of bringing about by violence a political end, a United Ireland", which was later dropped, did not prejudice his trial. The charge suggested that Noel was a member of the I.R.A. At no stage during the trial was it proved that Noel had ever been a member of the I.R.A. and at the end of the farce, Sebag Shaw directed the jury to find him not guilty on this charge.

But the damage had already been done. The jury had already heard that Noel had Republican literature in his home and that he was a committed socialist dedicated to the overthrow of British imperialism in Ireland. This in itself was enough to convince them that he was the type of person who JUST MIGHT be responsible for the Aldershot bombings. And in the end that proved to be enough. Jenkinson was convicted on the Aldershot bombing because Detective Inspector Smith claimed to have found a receipt from an Aldershot shop in Noel's flat, dated the day before the explosion. It was the only evidence to connect him with Aldershot. Three months later it was proved that this receipt belonged to Smith himself. Three months later he suddenly remembered that this was a receipt which his son had got for the purchase of a radiator seal in Aldershot and which he had "accidentally" dropped in Noel's flat, in London. The evidence was later accepted as inadmissible. But again the jury had heard evidence which had no bearing on the case at all, or as in this case, had been planted by the police themselves. And because that evidence was planted in the minds of the jury by the forces of "law and order", Noel Jenkinson is now condemned to spend at least thirty years in jail. He is even being denied the basic right of appeal.

Noel Jenkinson showed his tremendous courage in a letter he wrote from prison. We reprint that letter in full as an incentive to all dedicated revolutionaries and as an indication of the type of commitment that is needed in this struggle.

The Prisoners Aid Committee which helps all Irish political prisoners in English jails has recently produced a pamphlet outlining the case against Jenkinson. The pamphlet costs 10p and can be obtained from the P.A.C., 318 Little Road, London S.W. 6 All the proceeds from the sale will be used to fight Noel's case at the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The estimated cost of the case will be £2,000 and the P.A.C. is appealing to everyone to "turn your sorrow into anger and help free Noel Jenkinson".



SLUGTHA SA CHAMHAOIR CHEILTEACH

Celtic Plastics Slugtha sa Chamhaoir Cheilteach
Tá Celtic Plastics briste ar deireadh thiar. Más ábhar iontais é seo do dhaoine áirithe i mBaile Átha Cliath ní h-amhlaidh do na daoine a bhí ag obair sa mhonarca seo ar an gCeathru Rua.

Bhí fhios ag na h-oibríthe sé mhí ó shin go raibh rud éigin cearr. Bhráith siad boladh an bháis ar an rud. In ionad lion na bpostanna a bheith ag méadú, is amhlaidh a thoshaigh daoine ag fágáil na monarchan le bháir easpa muiníne agus dóchais. Ní raibh ach trí scór fanta ann ar deireadh thiar.

Tá dochar mór deanta sa Ghaeltacht de bháir na h-oibre seo. Má tá an dochar sin le leigheas, má táthar le cinntiú nach dtarlóidh a leithréid arís, caithfidh a fhios a bheith ag na h-oibríthe ceard tá ag tairlú sa ghnó. Caithfidh siad a bheith páirteach i riaradh na monarchan, caithfidh cearta agus freagarthacht a bheith acu i ngach rud a bhaineann leis an obair. Tá's fhios againn ó shampla Crannac san Uaimh céard is féidir a dhéanamh.

Ní fiú bheith ag caitheamh anuas ar úinéirí C.P. Níl iontu ach lucht gnó le cuspóir simplí amháin — oiread a bhaint as an ngnó dóibh féin agus is féidir. Ní féidir a bheith ag súil lena mhalairt uathu siúd. Déanann cuid acu siúd níos mó uaireanta as monarca a dhúndadh ná mar a dheimníd as é a choinnéall ag obair. Chonaicamar céard a thárla i Hammond Lane le déanaí agus cé'n fáth.

Ní féidir scaoilteadh chomh bog céanna le Gaeltarra Eireann sa chás seo. Is Comhlucht leath-Stáit é. Is é leas an phobail a aon-chúram. Is léir anois go raibh fhios ag Gaeltarra le fada go raibh C. P. i dtrioblóid. Ach ní dheachaigh siad i gcomhairle leis na h-oibríthe. Níor choinnigh siad eolas leo. Níor inis siad an fhírinne dóibh. Bhí siad féin agus na h-úinéirí in aon 'Band of Hope' amháin ag ligint orthu go dtí an noiméad deiridh go mbeadh gach rud ceart.

Ar nós Hammond Lane, ar nós na Monarchana Gluaiseant áta ag dunadh as éadan, coinnítear na h-oibríthe faoi neall aineolais. Is geall le comhcheilg é i gcónaí idir na fostóirí agus an IDA nó Gaeltarra. Ar éigin a bhaint na Ceardchumann puinn níos fearr, ag leibhéal náisiúnta ar aon nós; is gaire iad go minic do na h-úinéirí ná dá mbaill féin.

'Sé easpa an colais an rud áta le brath i gcásanna mar seo i gcónaí. Ní bhíonn sna h-oibríthe ach cuid den treallamh. Ní mar dhaoine a bhítear ag deileáil leo ach mar mheasainí. Caithfidh sé bheith de cheart ag oibríthe a bheith páirteach sa ghnó agus eolas a bheith acu faoin ghnó. Ní leor ráflai dóibh. Ní fiú morán é an tAire O'Leary a bheith ag gátaireacht faoi 'daonfhlaithias tionscalaioch'. Cuireadh sé i bhfeidhm é as seo amach i ngnó Gaeltarra, mar thús. Sin, nó éirí as bheith ag caint faoi. Ní bheathóidh na briathra na h-oibríthe C.P.

File og agus sean Easpag

SAFARI le Brian O Maoileoin, Síorséal agus Dill. £1.05.
Oilithreach faoin a nam féin agus faoi anam a mhuintir atá sa chnusaacht dánta seo ag file óg as Béal Feirsde. Tá idir fhíochta an-phreasanta agus poiblí ann. Tá traidisiún an-fhada ag an bhfilíocht poiblí i nGaeilge agus i mBearla na hEireann. Bhainfeadh filí ó cheardaithe an dáin dírigigh go dtí Austin Clarke taineamh sa seo.

DON EASPAG MORIARTY

Hell is not hot enough nor eternity long enough to punish the Fenians

Ní heol domh
céacu
bhí tú beag
nó mór
nó céacu
ba bhinne
ná téada ag labhairt
nó ba shrannadh muc
do ghlór;

ach dar liom

bheadh ifreann
buan go leor
agus dian go leor
ag aon neach beo

ag aon Fhíniú
ná aon Chromail,

ag aon Hidléarach mhór;

agus fiú
ag áireamh achasán
do rachit'
anuas ar fhearaibh chróga
seasca 'seacht,
creidim fós gur leor
fad ifrin
's a phian

agat féin.



Bh'fuil dearmad deanta ar an Citizen Army?

Bh'fuil dearmad deant ar an Citizen Army?

Trí scór bliain ó shin, le linn frithdhúndadh mór 1913-1914, tháinig an Irish Citizen Army ar an bhód. Ba é a ghnó ar dtús ná cosaint a thabhairt do na h-oibríthe agú dá muintir ar ionsaithe fuilteacha na bhfostóirí agus na bpóilíní, agus saoire chruinnithe agus cagraithe a chaomhnú, le linn an Gheimhridh fhada sin.

Ní fada go raibh cuspóirí níos leithne agus níos reabhlóidí ag an Arm. Ní gan chúis a mbeabhráimid cothrom an bhunaithe sin do dhaoine, mar tá cuspóirí an Airm sin cóir agus riachtanach go fóill: "neamhspleachas na hEireann — bunaithe ar an lucht oibre — cearta an phobail do sheilbh na tíre." Is beag rud bunúsach a d'athraigh le trí scór bliain; tá na manái céanna a bhfógáir fós.

Is suntasach an ní é go bhfuil neamh-

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YOU SHOULD JOIN

The Irish Citizen Army.

BECAUSE It pledges its members to work for, organise for, drill for and fight for an Independent Ireland.

BECAUSE It places its reliance upon the only class that never betrayed Ireland—the Irish Working Class.

BECAUSE Having a definite aim to work for there is no fear of it being paralysed in the moment of action by divisions in its Executive Body.

BECAUSE It teaches that "the sole right of ownership of Ireland is vested in the people of Ireland, and that that full right of ownership may, and ought to be, enforced by any and all means that God hath put within the power of man."

BECAUSE It works in harmony with the Labour and true National Movements and thus embraces all that makes for Social Welfare and National Dignity.

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aird iomlán déanta ag chuile ghrúpa den ocaid seo. Déarfadh siad bhféidir go bhfuil siad rú-chruógach. B'á chuma sin muna mbeadh san Arm seo ach cuid den stair. Ach ní h-amhlaidh áta. Is ró-léir go bhfuil gá níos na riamh sa tír le leithéid an Airm seo chun oibríthe a thabhairt le chéile agus a chosaint ó thuaidh, i gcoimeán an aicme a scoilt iad ar bhonn seicteach len iad a choinnéall lag agus deighilte.

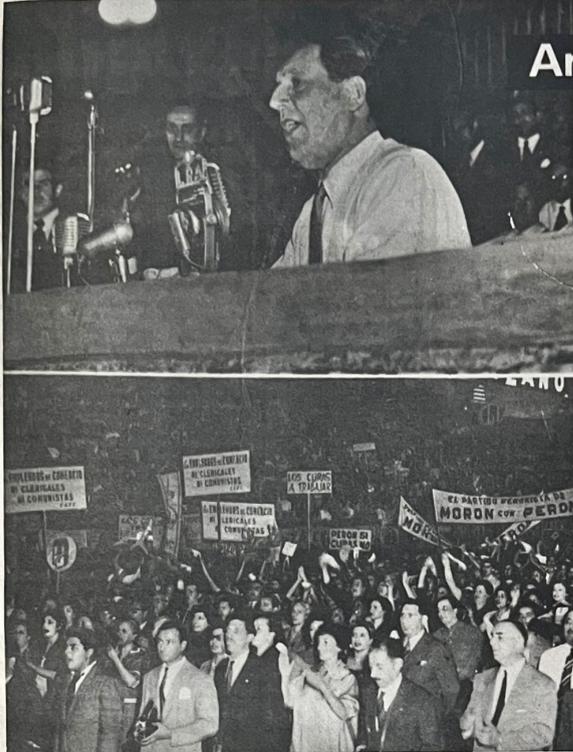
Agus tá gá leis freisin chun cur in aghaidh ídú shaoirse na ndaoine i ngeiníthe éagsúla den saoil: ní gá mar shampla ach an córas dlí san dá chuid den oiléan a scrúdú le seo a thuisint — más féidir a rá go bhfuil córas dlí fágtha chor ar bith seachas imtheorannu agus sarúl Cheannphoirt na nGardai.

AN SUP

Ach cá bhfuil an chinnreach? Tá na ceardchumann ar a ndícheall ag troid le chéile faoi phingíní breise agus ag tabhairt tacaíocht don chóras áta ina láimh mharbh ar bheatha na tíre, idir chomhaontaithe ná agus cíle. Tá Páirtí an Lucht Oibre ina dhreancaid ar mhada Fine Gaelach an chaipitil; tá a chuid cheannairí ar nós na mbanbh ag iarraidh teacht ar chiocha nó na cránach, agus na gnath-bhailí idir bheith meallta agus éadóchasach.

Ní gan chúis mar sin áta dearmad deanta d'ócáid bhunaithe an Airm seo agus a chuspóirí. An rud is lú a theastaíonn ón Lucht Oibre agus ó na Ceardchumann faoi láthair ná coisias nó rud ar bith ar nós an Irish Citizen Army a mbeabhródh a leithéid dóibh.

Argentina



● Peron addressing a mass meeting in 1954 during his last term of office.

The Peron myth is blown

The myth of Peron as the saviour of Argentina and of his return as a significant victory for the Left is well and truly exploded. What is astonishing is that if ever could have gained currency. While in office last, from 1945 to the middle fifties he instituted some social reforms to cement his own base and raised real wages, at least for a while. But even by the end of his term the last gain had been more than wiped out.

His real claim to fame is that he in the years immediately following the Nazi holocaust in the second World War could emerge in Argentina and masquerade as its saviour. For he and his fellow officers had been strongly pro-German during that war, and his nationalism and populism was only a peace-time version, so to speak, of Hitler's and Mussolini's fascism.

The achievements were based on Argentina's economic gains during the war, and these were quickly swallowed up by the initial wage rises and the buying, rather than expropriation, of foreign-owned interests in the country.

He also created an enormous and costly State and military apparatus as a constant drain on a weak economy. In the end he turned around and tried to court foreign capital again, but by then it was too late. They would have none of him, and instead the military toppled him and in the end took over themselves.

He began by disbanding the party that elected him to power, the Partido Laborista, and then emasculated the trade union federation, CGT, by stripping it of the right to elect its own officers or to conduct collective bargaining.

Strikes were declared a crime against the State, if not approved by the Government, and punishable as treason. Even so there were a wave of major strikes, and they were ruthlessly put down, by conscripting strikers into the Army, arresting hundreds and dismissing thousands of the striking workers.

With blatant military rule the Left had grown much stronger since Peron was exiled and the military invited him back this time to stimulate the economy and to tame the Left.

How a large element of the Left could have thought there was any future for socialism under Peron passes understanding. The only explanation must be that most of the Peronist Youth are too young to have known and read the lessons of Peron's first regime and that, as in so many other places.

They were quickly disabused. Peron's Government of National Reconstruction, already under Dr. Campora, put a ban on the publication of statements from the Left-wing guerrilla organisations.

Already Peron is again courting foreign investment, and he said last month that "I pledge not to change in the slightest the economic direction the country is taking".

His words and actions are clear enough. If more were needed it is enough to look north to Chile and what happened with Allende's genuine attempt at working with progressive bourgeoisie forces.

Peron's return may indeed be a blessing in disguise. It may force the Left, looking over its shoulder at Chile, to face the real issues of oppression, and not just go by the all too easy opposition to a military dictatorship, or the simple-minded belief that opposing foreign influence is a substitute for a policy designed to give power to the people.

Guiné-Bissau

The real struggle begins



The revolutionary struggle in Portuguese Guiné-Bissau began in earnest in September 1963, when six Africans, led by Amílcar Cabral, formed the African Independence Party of Guiné and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). They got together to break the grip of the Portuguese, who had ruled and exploited this small Gold Coast colony for 500 years.

The need for a revolution was obvious. The 800,000 strong African population was existing in pathetic conditions. The Portuguese had a virtual monopoly on all trade, 50,000 families were forced to produce groundnuts for export at fixed prices, which were totally inadequate to meet their needs. This cultivation of crops for export severely cut into the domestic food supply, with a resulting increase in malnutrition, disease and death.

In 1954 there was only one doctor for every 100,000 members of the African population. An average of 600 babies in every 1,000 died in the first year of life and yet the Portuguese said that the colony "could not afford" to spend more on improving the health service. But in the Bissau hospital, which catered mainly for whites, there were seven doctors, four nurses and sixteen assistant nurses. There was only one secondary school in the whole of the country and 60 per cent of the pupils were white. The rest were the children of "assimilados", the name given to Africans who are supposedly equal to whites. But "assimilados" only represent 1/2 per cent of the black population, and have very few rights at all.



● Amílcar Cabral (on the right) visits members of the PAIGC on the Southern Front, shortly after the successful completion of a military operation.

Under the iron rule of the Portuguese fascist, Salazar, no gatherings, no debates and no political demonstrations were allowed — much less organised political parties. Given this lack of democracy and the conditions of the vast majority of the people, which even the Portuguese Inspector General of Colonies said "were in some ways worse than slavery", Guiné was ready for a revolution.

On August 3rd, 1959, Bissau dock workers began a strike for higher wages. They were shot back to work by the police with the loss of fifty lives. After this the whole situation suddenly sharpened. On Saturday 19th September the PAIGC declared "to fight Portugal by all of the means at its disposal, including war". But this was not simply a national struggle. In speech shortly after this decision was taken, Amílcar Cabral who was later slain by the Portuguese, declared, "we want to be masters of our destiny and that's not simply a question of having African ministers. What we need is that our work, our riches, should belong to all of us, to the people who labour to create this wealth. If we make this war only to chase out the Portuguese, then it's not worth the trouble. Yes, we make it to chase out the Portuguese, but also so that nobody shall exploit us, neither white men nor

blackmen".

In the ten years since 1963 when the armed struggle started, the PAIGC has liberated three-quarters of the country and recently declared the new republic of Guiné-Bissau. Not only have the revolutionary forces succeeded in humiliating the 30,000 strong Portuguese army but have also managed to make enormous improvements in the lives of the people.

Today in the liberated areas of Guiné-Bissau, there are over 200 primary schools and new centres to train teachers have been established. There are now over 60 doctors working in the new republic and a massive programme to train more doctors, nurses, technicians and other specialists has been implemented.

The real struggle in Guiné-Bissau is only beginning — enormous advances have been made in the last few years, but there is still a long way to go. However, the morale of the people is high following the decision by 53 countries to recognise the new republic. The struggle of the PAIGC and the people of Guiné-Bissau, and the courage, determination and self-sacrifice of men such as Amílcar Cabral, has shown what people of vision can do.

Widowed since 1968, Mrs. Browne has spent almost every day of it at her pensioner's cottage window. With nothing to interest her inside her sparse home, she finds small consolation in watching life float past her front door, with very little of it ever stopping and paying her a visit.

Overweight because of kidney ailments, she finds considerable difficulty in moving around the tiny rooms. Like most of her generation, she treasures the old, the memorable and the antiquated. A living-room full of family pictures; her father, unsmiling and stiff, wearing his Sunday suit, stares down from a blackened, heavily framed photograph on the wall. "Worked hard for anything he had", she said. "Never had to rely on anyone." Things have changed for Mrs. Browne: with so few relatives left, she has to rely on the few who care.

An ancient radio blares out. Jimmy Young's tortuous voice screams across the ten-foot room. She doesn't hear or comprehend, her hearing is weak, but the sound gives some comfort. Loneliness fills the room; it envelops the house. I have to shout to make her understand. She continually stares out of the window. The room is cold, freezing. She doesn't have a fire, tries to "save it for the night". She wears a coat donated by a local charity. "The man from the National Assistance (Social Security) told me that I wasn't entitled to a clothing grant." She isn't aware of her rights. The local bureaucracy are becoming notorious; they are jealously guarding the public purse: for whom?

She moves with awkward steps towards the kitchen, fills the kettle and makes a pot of tea. Fond of milk, I fill the cup. She buys half a pint each day and I have just poured almost one-third of her daily ration into the cup. She doesn't complain and would probably have preferred to do without rather than mention what is clearly an embarrassment to her. She has to economise, she can't afford to do otherwise.

Asked how she lives from day to day, she just shakes her head. "I like to listen to the radio but I would love to have a TV." I had just noticed, the corner was bare. She went on. "We used to have one when Eddie was alive but it broke down and we couldn't afford to have it repaired." (Since this interview, Mrs. Browne has been given a television set by a sympathiser, but how she will be able to afford the cost of the licence we do not know.)

"Each year at Christmas, the St. Vincent de Paul give me a bag of coal and last year we got an extra £10, but it didn't last very long." She meant the £10 which the Tory Government gave as a "Christmas Bonus". Mrs. Browne was able to buy a small chicken with it, but has only been able to manage scraps of meat for her dinner ever since. The one good thing about a stew, she told me, is that it lasts almost for days. She never thought to ask if Ted Heath had Irish stew every day for a week.

Guardin the public purse— for whom?

Clothing is her main problem. "Not that I worry about styles," she said, "but all my old clothes are practically worn out. They all cost so much." She remembers the days when cheap clothes could be purchased at the pawnbrokers. "We used to get good clothes in Barr's (Pawnbrokers)." Nowadays she couldn't even afford to pay the fare down from Creggan in the buses to look for clothing, never mind actually buying the stuff.

In August 1971 she joined the rent strikers in protest against interment. In July 1972 the authorities caught up with her and withdrew her pension book, afterwards issuing her with another. On top of her rent, they took another two pounds to pay off the "arrears". Mrs. Browne now

receives the sum total of £5.75 per week to feed, clothe, heat and light her home. After deductions for heating, lighting, cooking and the insurance which she refused to give up, she is left with the princely sum of just under three pounds to feed and clothe her.

The drabness of her existence; the chilling loneliness of her sparsely furnished home; the empty larder; the dark and vacant fireplace; the seat beside the window, all make up the story of Irish working-class pensioners today. Forgotten and forsaken, Mrs. Browne is not simply one person in a remote, almost hidden part of Derry; she represents old people throughout the country who day after day and night after lonely night are forced to

sit and stare at youthful life rushing past their front gates.

The heartache of loneliness and the intolerable degradation of low pension allowances are symptoms of a system which has neither time nor care for the unfortunates of our society. The old-age pensioners must begin now to campaign for increases which are linked to the real cost of living. They must demand that the ICTU begin the fight by calling on workers to take part in a national one-day stoppage to show their solidarity as the prelude to a consistent and continuous campaign to force the Tory governments to act. Mrs. Browne must be brought back into the community; the only way to achieve this is to give her a living standard which is at least the equivalent of her neighbours.



● One of the many pensioners who suffer at the hands of the State.

SINN FEIN AND FARMERS



Following a lively discussion at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis the main resolution on agriculture was passed by an overwhelming majority of the delegates.

The resolution called for urgent action on land speculation, the re-organisation of the agricultural advisory service, the nationalisation of the feed compound industry under farmer/worker control and for immediate action against the multi-national food corporations.

Speaking on the resolution Liam De Paor of Cork said that as a result of the activities of ranchers, both native and foreign, who bought up land in anticipation of entry into the E.E.C., land prices had doubled in the past two years. "People like John Mulcahy", he said, "are now paying up to £1,000 per acre for land".

The situation on the land is deteriorating rapidly. Foreigners now own over 100,000 acres of land and between 1966-1970 the number of farms over 100 acres increased from 24,000 to 30,000. As a result of this working farmers are unable to expand their holdings and are being forced off the land. Between 1960 and 1970 alone, over 60,000 small farmers were forced to leave their holdings and unless action is taken now

150,000 more will be joining them in Britain.

Owen Kirk from Monaghan in seconding the motion criticised the government for their lack of action against the speculators and called for farms to be limited to 100 arable acres and the expropriation of all large estates. The setting up of a democratically controlled Land Board (in place of the Land Commission) with the sole right to buy, sell or rent land which would then be allocated to farmers on a points systems or long term leases — only radical measures such as this, said Mr. Kirk, could safeguard the interests of the small farmers.

Other delegates condemned the leadership of the I.F.A. for their support for entry into the E.E.C. and pointed out that many branches, already disillusioned with our membership of that community, had called for Ireland's withdrawal. Although farm incomes have increased by 64 per cent since the Farm Survey in 1968-1969, the average farm income is still only £1,100.

Another speaker on the motion pointed out that the I.F.A. ranchers pay no income

tax, as do their farm labourers and had even refused to pay the pittance awarded under the National Wage Agreement. Yet these same people will continue to receive vast subsidies at the taxpayers expense. Time and again speakers emphasised the class nature of the struggle and the unity of interests shared by industrial workers and working farmers. They are both exploited by the multi-national food corporations, the banks and all other interests motivated by the search for profits.

One delegate pointed out that the jobs of thousands of workers in the Sugar Company and Bacon Industry are being threatened by the falling production of sugar beet and pigs, because farmers no longer found it economic to carry on production. He went on to explain that the continuing export of beef cattle not only causes further redundancies in the meat industry but deprives the Irish people of 6,000 potential jobs.

During this debate it was clear that Sinn Fein is the only organisation in the country with a comprehensive policy geared to the needs of the working farmer.

Owing to lack of space 'Republicans in local Government' has been held over to next month.