

# 1975

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHÉ

EANAIR (JANUARY) 1975 • XXXIII.1 • 8p. (30c.)

## United Irishman

These are the  
**ISSUES . . .**

- Employment
- Resources
- Farming
- Peace

This is the  
**POLICY . . .**

The Republican Movement is a party of the people. It stands for the men and women of no property. It fights for no religion, but against all exploitation and foreign control. It believes that all of Ireland should be controlled by the Irish working class. It rejects the idea that there can be real freedom in any part of our country as long as there are any who live in want, who are unemployed, who fear discrimination or who are crushed and degraded by their work.

The Republican Movement stands for the nationalisation of Building Societies and Banks and the establishment of a national housing fund to provide decent housing at reasonable rents.

It demands the nationalisation of our oil and mineral wealth as the beginning of a great industrial revolution which will wipe out unemployment, develop full welfare services and provide a new and creative life for all our children.

The Republican Movement wants peace in Ireland. A peace

within which the people can come to grips with the problem of taking over their own lives in all senses.

It demands the withdrawal of the British army and an end to the gross exploitation of the people in any part of Ireland.

This is but a part of the progressive policy which the Republican Movement will develop in the coming year.

The Republican Movement is being joined by men and women of all creeds and of none. Your place is among them.

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All above prices include postage for Ireland and Britain only. Cheques and P.O.s should be made payable to P. Yeats.

We regret having to withdraw the order list for Long Kesh goods. We hope to provide an alternative list shortly, which will also include material made by political prisoners in Portlaoise.

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Considerable media coverage has been given to the formation of a group known as the Irish Republican Socialist Party headed by ex-Sinn Fein Bray Councillor, Seamus Costello. It has been suggested that there have been massive numbers leaving the Republican Movement to join this new organisation.

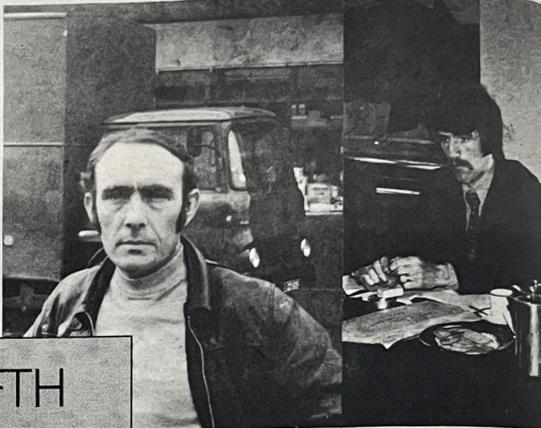
In fact the IRSP have deliberately pursued a policy of promoting confusion by issuing bogus statements in the names of either dismissed members of the Republican Movement or lapsed branches, particularly in the North. The Ard Chomhairle has received statements of support from areas which, according to the press, notably Brian Trench of Hibernia, had disaffiliated.

The prisoners in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Belfast and Portlaoise, the Executives of Wicklow, Donegal, Derry City, Nth. Munster and Belfast and County Antrim, all of whom have been subjected to misrepresentation have declared their allegiance to the policies of the Republican Movement and the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Fein.

It is clear now that the Provisionals were a right wing split from the Republican Movement, they are now balanced by an ultra-left, instant revolutionary organisation, the members of which have forgotten the fundamental premise on which Republicanism was founded, the unity of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

The political development and prospective unity of the IRSP will depend on the extent to which such diverse and personally ambitious characters as Costello and Bernadette McAlliskey can stomach the gangster elements and the factionalists who dominate the "rank and file". One would imagine that this would be brief unless foreign aid is received. There are sufficient ultra-left, manic organisations in Europe and the USA to ensure them of some support.

# I.R.S.P. SPLIT EXPLAINED



## FIFTH ELECTION

Councillor Bernie McDonagh (left) and Kevin Smith who are included on the short-list for nomination as Republican Club candidates for Belfast Constituencies in the forthcoming Convention elections.

Councillor McDonagh is bracketed with Councillor Jim Sullivan and Eddie Keenan for West Belfast. Kevin Smith is teamed towards South Antrim. Seamus Lynch is the likely contender for North Belfast and South Belfast will also be contested.

Although no date has yet been set for the elections no time is being lost in gearing the Republican machine for the contest.

Meetings in the other Northern constituencies are being held to select candidates and to co-ordinate plans. The Convention will be the fifth round of elections (not including by-elections) contested by the Republican Clubs in less than two years.

The forthcoming elections for the Convention in the Six Counties will be contested by the Republican Clubs. Four constituencies in the greater Belfast area are to be contested as a result of a decision taken at the annual general meeting of the County Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs and plans for other areas in the North will emerge from meetings to be held in the various constituencies.

A statement issued after the Antrim Executive meeting said the decision taken by the Belfast membership was a direct response to the recent initiatives for peace and progress in the community. It continued, "by taking seats, the Republican Movement is defending the right of the working class to have representation by those who have not abandoned the Civil Rights campaign and the fight for real democracy in the Convention."

The statement goes on to demand "a serious response from the Secretary of State" and adds that "if the British Government is genuinely concerned with peace and stability in this community it should end Internment immediately, repeal the Emergency Provisions Act and pass a Bill of Rights. This type of response from Mr. Rees would do far more to end violence than the military initiatives normally utilised by the British."

The Convention Election campaign and future Republican activity in the North will be co-ordinated from full time Executive Offices being established in Belfast. The Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle decision to establish this headquarters has been widely welcomed because apart from elections, it will give much impetus to the organisation and extension of Republican Clubs throughout the North. Sub-offices in other centres may also be established.

Organisation of the new structure is being undertaken by Malachy McGurran, Republican Clubs organiser in the North. He is being assisted by Sean O'Connell of the Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle. Both point out that, while the establishment of the Executive offices will boost the forthcoming election campaign, the main aim of the step is to improve liaison and co-ordination among the Clubs and extend Republican political awareness throughout the North.

## CABHAIR

Irish Republican Prisoners Defence and Aid Fund

30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1

Funds Urgently Needed for:

Republican Prisoners Welfare

Legal Aid

Aid for their Dependents

Noel Jenkinson Strasbourg Appeal

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED

The following are the prize winners in the CABHAIR Draw in aid of the Irish Republican Prisoners Defence & Aid Fund held at 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin on the 28th December.

- 1st Prize: Mick McKenna, Lemaculla, Ballinode, Co. Monaghan.
- 2nd Prize: Phyllis McKenny, Ardee, Co. Louth.
- 3rd Prize: Theresa Coffey, Caherogan, Athlone, Co. Galway.
- 4th Prize: Thomas Walsh, 19 Kearney Avenue, Kearney, New Jersey, USA.
- 5th Prize: J. Devitt, London, England.

The Cabhair Committee wish to thank all those who helped make the draw a great success and look forward to their continued support for the families of Irish Republican prisoners during the coming year.

OPEN THE GATES

**LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS**  
 E. Trainor, 8 years  
 M. Doherty, 1 year  
 D. Russell, 6 years  
 M. Torney, 6 years  
 E. Burns, 2 years  
 G. McNally, 6 years  
 J. Goodman, 8 years  
 R. Curran, 2 years  
 F. Quinn, 4 years  
 G. Loughlin, 12 years  
 E. McQuillan, 2 years  
 D. McLwaine, 2 1/2 years  
 F. Weir, 10 years  
 J. J. McAuley, 5 years  
 T. McGarry, 3 years  
 P. O'Hare, 7 years  
 M. Mallon, 7 years  
 M. Donnelly, 5 years  
 B. Macklin, 12 years  
 S. Curry, 4 years  
 T. Smith, 3 years  
 P. McFarlane, 6 years  
 R. O'Hagan, 7 years  
 C. Toman, 2 years  
 G. Campbell, 3 years  
 J. Shanley, 17 years  
 G. Duff, Life  
 J. Grimley, 3 years  
 J. Magel, 2 years  
 B. Turley, 5 years  
 S. McVeigh, 5 years  
 J. McLaughlin, 5 years  
 M. O'Hagan, 7 years  
 G. Heatley, 5 years  
 S. Colhoun, 5 years

P. J. Monaghan, 6 years  
 S. Magee, 10 years  
 A. Caslin, Life  
 J. McCathery, 8 years  
 D. Lagan, 4 years  
 F. Fogarty, 1 1/2 years  
 K. Higgins, 6 years  
 C. Wisdom, 6 years  
 L. McAnoy, life  
 B. McDermott, 15 months

**LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS**  
 M. Lambert  
 J. Kearney  
 J. O'Neill  
 T. Russell  
 A. Clarke  
 V. Flanagan  
 K. McLoughlin  
 C. Waterson  
 J. Smith  
 F. O'Connor  
 J. Clarke  
 C. Brady  
 T. McDermott  
 J. Higgins  
 P. Griffin  
 P. Smith  
 T. A. Breen  
 A. McDonagh  
 B. Toal  
 S. Hannon  
 R. Steinhon

**LONG KESH DETAINED**  
 James McLaughlin  
 D. O'Hagan

**REMAND, CRUMLIN ROAD, BELFAST**  
 L. Carr  
 J. McGuinness  
 R. Hassan  
 A. Reading  
 L. O'Reilly  
 W. Campbell  
 T. McDonald  
 L. Lynch  
 B. Biewart  
 D. Knecker  
 J. Tamey  
 J. Magee  
 J. McCann  
 E. Meek  
 D. McGeough

**ENGLAND:**  
 Noel Jenkinson, 30 years  
 Bob Gallagher, 6 years  
 Michael Egan, 4 years

**PORTLAISE:**  
 Ronnie Deehan, 4 years  
 Roland Giles, 6 years  
 John O'Neill, 5 years  
 Ray Lynch, 5 years  
 John McCarian, 18 months  
 John Murphy, 18 months

NOW!



# I.R.A. call for renewal of peoples' struggle

The following statement was received for publication from the Army Council of The Irish Republican Army through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and signed J. J. McGarrity, Runal.

"In May 1972 the IRA ceased all aggressive military action and declared its intention of acting only in a defensive or retaliatory role against repressive forces in future. This was a restatement of the role outlined by the Irish Republican Army in 1969 and from which it had deviated after the introduction of internment in 1971. The policy of defence and retaliation is still the current policy of the IRA and is unaffected by the decisions of other groups.

"Throughout the 1960's the Irish Republican Army had emphasised that its role as the Vanguard of Revolution was to unite people in struggle and that in the particular circumstances of the North a purely military campaign would be divisive and counter revolutionary. It was for this reason that the Army Council recognised that the formation of the Provisionals and their determination to embark on a bombing campaign, was the greatest menace facing

Revolutionary Republicans. Their fears and forecasts of the disasters which would flow from such a campaign have been only too accurately borne out. The potential for revolution which existed up to late 1970 in both North and South, has been smashed and the people have been slowly beaten into the ground in a manner which the British could never have done. The vast international support which the Irish struggle had up to that time has been bombed out of existence. The floodgates of repression and reaction have been opened up and the sectarian forces, which had been discredited, are once more dominant over a hopelessly divided working class. In 1974 the aid of the British working class was spurned and they were bombed into the arms of the Tories and fascist National Front.

"For the past few years the Irish Republican Army has exerted every possible pressure to call off their bombing campaign and give the people a chance to participate in the struggle against British Imperialism. The Army Council therefore welcomes the Truce called by the Provisionals. It is only

the fascist and reactionary forces throughout Ireland and Britain who do not welcome it. They are now worried and confused because their greatest ally, the bombing campaign, is gone.

"All the Irish participants in the conflict in the North both Loyalists and Republicans, have now ended aggressive military action. If there is to be an end to violent conflict the British forces must also end their aggression. We therefore call on all left wing political organisations and all trade unions, tenant and community associations and other organisations of the people throughout Ireland and in Britain to exert the maximum pressure on the British Government to respond to the unilateral actions on the Irish side. The minimum response expected is immediate release of all internees and withdrawal of troops to barracks. This beginning would lay the groundwork for ending military conflict. The conditions would then exist for rebuilding the struggle of the people which was so tragically broken. The people are asking for peace so that they can then renew the fight for justice."

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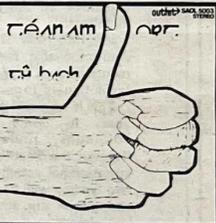
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# United Irishman

## FORWARD

In retrospect 1974 can be seen as the year in which the Republican Movement consolidated its claim to be the only party capable of representing the Irish working class in the North or South.

Our performance in elections, while leaving much to be desired, demonstrated particularly in North East Cork, that there is a growing awareness that Republican politics are the politics of the Future. The substantial vote obtained in the North in the face of Provisional abstentionism, SDLP sectarianism and Unionist hatred reminds us that we have not only survived the disastrous past five years but are now in the position to increase our support among the people.

One notable victory which others have claimed must not go unrecorded. It was the Belfast and County Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs which led the successful fight against the Belfast Ring Road. The working class of the Falls and Shankill desperate for homes can be grateful that so much energy was expended on this issue by our members.

Internationally thanks to the Anti-Imperialist Festival we are recognised as a serious socialist revolutionary organisation.

This is no small gain and in the years to come our foreign comrades, united with us through the Festival and similar international activity of the past two years, will be a source of strength in our struggle against Imperialism.

We have also worked successfully in housing, farming and industry recognising that Republicanism stands with the people at the point where their need is greatest.

It must be remembered that what we have achieved was done in face of repression, imprisonment, discrimination and conscious misrepresentation of our objectives. This is not self-praise but a necessary recognition of our past so as to better understand where we now stand.

Having assessed our position truthfully we must plan for the future. For it is only through deliberate rational planning that we can become the party attracting the best of the working class and the intellectuals.

Our immediate need is to intensify education within our own ranks, ensuring that there are none who remain even in partial ignorance of our goal who later can say, this was not my aim. An educated conscious dedicated organisation will not appeal to the romantic, the egotistical or the revolutionary gad flys. It will appeal to those determined to win a 32 County Socialist Republic.

We must intensify our activity in every sphere of the struggle against Imperialism aware that while history is on our side that only we can ensure final victory.

Born Boston, 1890, E. G. Flynn, when still only a teenager, was one of twenty-six delegates at an IWW convention in 1907, controlling seventy votes. She was destined to win the same reputation as Mother Jones. She boasted six generations of Irish rebels in her family and kinship with George Bernard Shaw on her mother's side. She was a soapbox orator in New York City at seventeen, and during her years with the IWW became known as "the red flame" and "the Joan of Arc of the working class". She was one of the four leaders who first adopted the task of establishing the IWW as a revolutionary union.

Between 1907 and 1916 the IWW conducted about 30 major free speech fights of up to six months duration. One of the most notable took place at Fresno in 1910. Under the leadership of Little, the fruit workers of that area instigated a campaign of agitation and free speech, against the low wages and poor conditions.

## WOMEN OF THEIR TIME

Before long Fresno's prison cells were filled with militant Wobblies, lecturing their guards on the class struggle and singing their famous songs of class conflict. Conditions in women's cells were as deplorable as those in men's. Gurley Flynn, the heroine of many free speech battles, wrote a vivid description of her ordeal.

The great strike of January 1912 in Lawrence saw spinners, weavers, spoolers and other workers swarming to the streets in spontaneous protest adop-

• Even today it is "better to starve fighting than to starve working".



# H.Q. FUND IS A MUST

Something in the order of £2,000 was subscribed to the Building Fund for the Movement's Gardiner Place headquarters in 1974. While the Movement is greatly appreciative of the generosity of the contributors of this amount it must be pointed out that if any real progress is to be made in developing our headquarters and sympathisers during 1975.

There is little point in saying that the Movement should have all types of services unless an effort to provide money to supply the accommodation to house them is forthcoming. And unless the response, particularly from branches of the Movement itself, improves vastly this talk will never be turned into action. The space is available at Gardiner Place, let us develop it.

Consider what is possible. A fully stocked reference library equipped with research facilities, in particular material on economics, up to date statistics and a comprehensive filing system. This could also be the headquarters of the Education Department with storage facilities of audio visual aids and facilities for the preparation of educational lectures and tapes. The head office must be more than simply the head office of the Dublin Sinn Fein. It must be the powerhouse of national revolutionary activity co-ordinating, evaluating and directing all the many facets of political activity.

The guiding principles of our organisation are education, agitation and organisation; our headquarters must be a centre for education, agitation and organisation to live up to its potential. The basic requirement for revolution is education and the primer of education is the printed word. A

# REBEL GIRL GURLEY FLYNN!

ting the cry "Better to starve fighting them than to starve working!" Elizabeth, Big Bill Hayward and other well-known Wobblies went straight to Lawrence to organise the strikers who were, by the middle of January, beginning to lose enthusiasm in such cold weather. However, the shock of militia men hosing them with icy cold water in sub-zero temperatures united the workers again and probably saved the strike.

The interesting thing about the Lawrence strike was the way the workers responded on an ethnic basis. When they struck it was as if the great American melting pot had suddenly boiled over, for they represented at least twenty-five different nationalities. Gurley Flynn, the "red-flame", who played a prominent part in the strike, estimated that only 8 per cent of the strikers were born in the United States. The end of January brought the imprisonment of three important Wobblies. Elizabeth, along with Hayward, Trautmann and Heslewood launched a campaign for them, and formed a defence committee. Her anarchist lover, Carlo Tresca, was also prominent in the campaign to free the three men. Tresca, an Italian-born writer who came to the United States in 1904, lived with Gurley for thirteen years. Later he became a leader of the Anti-Fascist Alliance and was mysteriously assassinated on the street in New York City in 1943.

On January 27th, 1913, 800 workers at the Doherty Silk Mill, Patterson walked out in

protest against some unjustified firings. Within a month the strike had hit the whole town. Over 25,000 workers idle and 300 mills closed; the employers were in a fighting mood. Therefore, in February the police arrested three IWW organisers, Gurley Flynn, her lover Carlo Tresca and Patrick L. Quinlan, of the Socialist Party, at a mass meeting. Mayor McBride of Patterson defended the arrests by maintaining that Patterson was invoking "the ancient right of cities to rid themselves of undesirables" but it was difficult to prove anything against the trio at this stage and they were released on six month's bail. The strike lasted through the summer, at the end of which Gurley and her lover were sentenced to from two to seven years. They were later acquitted.

At the end of 1913 began the important policy conflict. What was the purpose of the IWW? Was it simply a platform for soapbox orators in the Far West? If so it could manage with a minimum of control. If it existed to found revolutionary industrial unions, as its pioneers had foreseen in 1905, it would have to accept more internal discipline. The problem sprang in part from the contrasting philosophies of the anarchists and syndicalist factions of the movement. Anarchists like Carlo Tresca and James Rowan resisted any sort of political control in principle. They were decentralisers.

One of the main opponents to these was Gurley Flynn, who as a syndicalist, like Hayward and Ettor and the majority of the General



● Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Executive Board, were centralisers who favoured greater control from headquarters to prevent the IWW dissipating its energy on fruitless free speech fights and propaganda battles.

Frank Little and other extreme decentralisers felt IWW policy should include wrecking and sabotage as well as go-slows and strikes. In the pamphlet on sabotage, Gurley Flynn defined it as "the withdrawal of efficiency... either to slacken up and interfere with the quantity, or to botch in your skill and interfere with the quality, of capitalist production... Sabotage is not physical violence, sabotage is an internal, industrial process... it is

simply another form of coercion."

Before Joe Hill's execution Gurley Flynn played a leading role in all the activities to free him. In gratitude Hill dedicated his song The Rebel Girl to her.

In 1916/17 public opinion began to sway against the IWW. The leadership ordered all members to submit to arrest. They did so. The idea that the IWW should resist arrest had been expounded most forcefully by Gurley Flynn and Joseph Ettor. But they had been expelled from the IWW by the GEB for lack of solidarity in 1916. Because of the expulsion Gurley was released soon after her next arrest. She raised 5,000 dollars in a few weeks from women alone for a defence fund.

Finally, on April 1, 1918, there appeared in the huge white marble Federal courtroom in Chicago 101 members of the IWW charged with sabotage and conspiracy to obstruct the war. The trial, which lasted five months, was at that time the longest criminal trial in American legal history. Though 101 defendants were at the bar, it was an organisation, indeed, a philosophy, that was being prosecuted.

Elizabeth escaped prosecution during all these trials, because of no longer being part of what was known as "Bolshevism American-style". She was greatly influenced by the Russian Revolution, but like many Wobblies, hesitated to join a political party, and did not finally throw in her lot with the Communist Party until 1937.

● Send all donations to Padraig Mac Callag.

party without its own printing facilities is a party without a voice. Our print shop at the moment comprises of a small, dark, ill-equipped room too cramped to print adequate amounts of literature. New printing presses, and room for storage and collation must be provided. Added to this the screen printing section which has already achieved very high standards with limited facilities must be expanded. The only thing we cannot print is money and for that we rely on you.

The basic essentials have been mentioned but the space is available for the provision of lecture halls, meeting rooms, recreational facilities, a cafeteria and, of course, a greatly expanded UI book shop.

But all of these will remain only a pipe dream unless the money is provided. Cumalinn, clubs, individuals can make the dreams real if they put their shoulders to the wheel. The provision of finance for the headquarters building fund should be on the agenda at every meeting of every Cumann and Club. What are you planning to do this month? Have you any ideas which could be utilised?

The main part of the cash required will have to come from functions, raffles and collections organised by the Movement. To date individual contributions have been the source of a considerable part of the amount subscribed.

Contributions received during the month were:

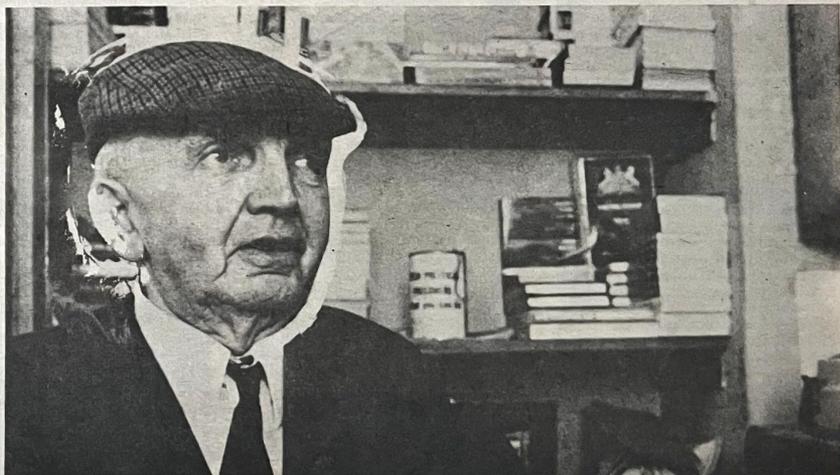
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Subscriptions should be forwarded to Padraig Mac Callag, Sinn Féin Headquarters Fund, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.



On July 28th, 1937, King George VI of England came to Belfast on a State visit. His arrival was heralded by the I.R.A. with the famous 'Bonfire on the Border', when the Customs Huts all along the length of the 'Border' were burned to the ground in simultaneous actions in the early hours of that morning. This operation was commemorated in a ballad by Brian O'Higgins (Brian na Banban), a rousing ballad which for many years was sung with relish at Republican functions throughout the country.

Earlier in the same month, the Republican Monument in Milltown Cemetery had been severely damaged in an early morning explosion, the second such bomb attack on the Republican Plot. The ghoul of Belfast Unionism were on the prowl again. Croppies, lie down!

About this time I became a member of the Fianna, on the advice of friends who felt that this was the best introduction to Republican activism for one who had lingered so long on the threshold. This was the first step into a new way of life which was to last the best part of ten years.

Fianna Eireann was founded some sixty years ago by Liam Mellows and Countess Markievicz (the Red Countess) as a Republican Scout Movement which would offset the anglicising influence of the British Scouting Organisations. Their primary aims were the promotion of Irish culture, language, history, games and pastimes, and the fostering of the spirit of Republicanism, and the desire for the achievement of that free Society in which alone these things could prosper.

The response of the Youth of Ireland of that time was tremendous, and in a few short months units of the Fianna were marching, drilling and camping in all parts of the country. When, a few years later, the Irish Volunteers were formed, hundreds of trained Fianna officers were available to assist in the initial tasks of organisation. In the Easter Rising, and in the Tan and Civil Wars which followed, the Fianna played a conspicuous part, many giving their lives for the Cause they had adopted in their earlier formative years.

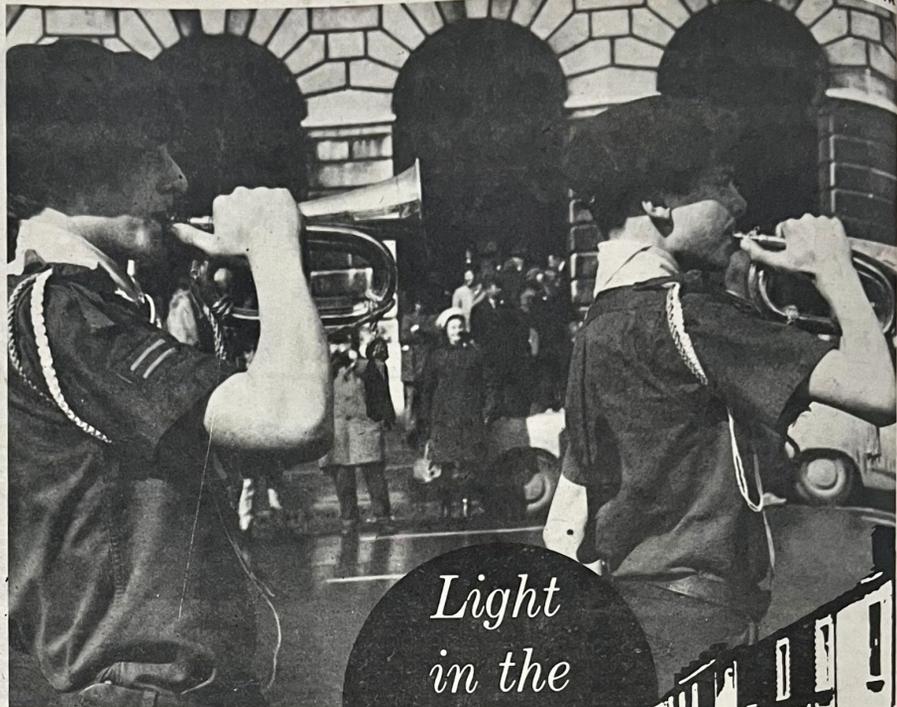
Since, in N.E. Ulster, the Fianna was, as it still is, a proscribed organisation, and Fianna members had to face the possibility of arrest and imprisonment along with their older comrades of the I.R.A., only youths of sixteen years and over were, with some exceptions, admitted to membership. Many of them indeed were destined to wear the felon's cap.

In the autumn, I was appointed O/C of the Joe McKelvey-Sluagh, and with Sean Morrissey, my very capable Adjutant, soon became deeply involved with training, parades, lecturing, recruiting, publicity and social activities. In November I was admitted to the Recruits Class of the I.R.A., and after due preparation passed out for the special parade of Declaration.

"I promise to promote and foster the aims and objects of Oglagh na h-Eireann to the best of my knowledge and ability, and to obey all orders issued to me by my superior officers."

This was the declaration taken by every man on entering the ranks of the I.R.A. from the Recruits Class. Here was no bloodthirsty oath, invoking Almighty God as its Awful Witness, binding men by the fear of death, and threatening dire penalties on those who might fall by the wayside. Instead, here was a simple act of faith in, and loyalty to, the Irish Republican Army, binding on the individual only so long as he chose to remain a member.

No man was ever forced into membership of the I.R.A.; no man could ever be so forced. Neither was any unwilling man ever compelled to retain his membership, once he had decided to sever his connection



## Light in the Black North

with the Movement. Compulsion of course there existed; that compulsion which acts on a man from within himself; that compulsion which, arising from a deep, perhaps instinctive understanding and appreciation of his country's condition, impels him to take the plunge into a new, completely different life which can offer to those who embrace it only the certain prospect of hardship, persecution, calumny, the hostility, maybe, of his own family and friends, imprisonment, ill-treatment, ending, in some cases, as it did in the Forties, with a lonely death on the scaffold, or before a firing-squad.

As compensation, the Volunteer has the deep, lasting satisfaction and peace of mind of the man who now lives and acts in accordance with his strong convictions, the man who not only believes in and desires Freedom, but consciously and deliberately commits himself, his future prospects, his very life itself in the struggle to realise his Dream.

The young man who, believing and recognising the need of his People for Freedom, fails to act and live according to that belief, is already a tragic failure. He whose

“Here was no bloodthirsty oath, invoking Almighty, God as its Awful Witness, binding men by the fear of death, and threatening direct penalties on those who might fall by the wayside.”

eyes have beheld the beckoning Spirit of Freedom, and deliberately turns his back on it, is indeed to be pitied.

Since Sean and I were both members of 'E' Company, our work for the Fianna was not allowed to suffer. We were generally able to arrange Fianna affairs so as not to interfere with Army business, which of course had priority.

A clash between Fianna and armed police in Milltown Cemetery on Sunday, December 12th, was my first experience of the excitement and danger which form a normal part of the life of an active Republican.

The annual commemoration of the murder in 1922 by the Free State of four I.R.A. leaders held prisoner in Mountjoy, was traditionally regarded as a Fianna event. This

was principally because of early Fianna associations with Liam Mellows, the first National Organiser of Na Fianna, and one of the four Progressive Republican martyrs affectionately remembered in verse and prose as Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe.

To Milltown Cemetery then on that December afternoon we made our way, quietly and inconspicuously, and gathered in our respective units on the paths about 150 yards from the Republican Monument. Then, at a signal from the adjutant-in-charge, we paraded and drilled for some minutes in preparation for the march-off to the graveside. As we executed the shouted commands of the District Officer, a group of three men advanced from a nearby path, and stood watching us for some moments. Then one of them stepped forward and shouted: "Stop this seditious behaviour at once". No one paid the slightest attention to him. The drilling continued.

The Detective-Inspector tried again: "This is highly illegal. I demand that you stop it". He might just as well have announced that it was going to rain, for all the notice we took of him or his remarks. Realising that talk in such circumstances was so much wasted breath, the detective turned on his heel and hurried from the cemetery, followed by his two companions, while the Fianna parade, flag flying, and headed by Pat McCotter, District O/C, marched to the Republican Plot. There the traditional ceremony of Republican Commemorations was carried out; following the oration a bugler played the "Last Post". Standing facing the Falls Road end of the cemetery, I could see the main entrance about 300 yards from the spot where we were gathered. Suddenly, the main gates burst open, and a flood of uniformed men erupted into the graveyard and, spreading out on

both sides, flowed like a fast-coming tide over paths and graves alike. Webley revolvers clutched in their hands.

No one at the graveside moved, not a word was spoken, not a head turned until the final notes of the bugler's salute died away in the cold, quiet air. Then the O/C shouted: "Parade, dismiss!". By this time the police were within 50 yards of us and, waving their revolvers threateningly and shouting demands to surrender, were advancing across the whole width of the cemetery. Perhaps under the mistaken impression that we were armed, they were not advancing as rapidly as they had done when they first appeared, and showed no great inclination to come

“On the order 'Dismiss!' we broke ranks and made for the side walls. Some began to shout 'Stand! Stand!' and a hail of missiles in the general direction of the police forces caused them to hesitate.”

to close quarters with this large gathering of youths and men.

On the order "Dismiss!" we executed a smart right turn, broke ranks and made for the side walls. Some began to shout "Stand! Stand!", and a hail of missiles, stones and turves in the general direction of the police forces caused them to hesitate. A certain amount of confusion ensued, with some climbing the walls to safety, others pelting the police with whatever came to hand, and many more uncertain whether the call to stand had been an official order. When the question was put to Pat McCotter, then halfway over the wall, where the De La Salle Brothers were pulling Fianna lads to safety, his reply was terse: "Get to hell out of here".

Gathering some of the McKelvey

# Bonfires on the border for King George of England

lads, Sean Morrissey and I raced down the lower half of the cemetery, easily out-pacing the lumbering police, climbed the low wall, and dropped into the Bog Meadows. Squelching and splashing our way thro' mud and water, we came out to safety in the streets about half-a-mile from the cemetery wall.

Our losses had been remarkably low, considering the circumstances and the large number of the Fianna involved. Six had been captured and were later sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to six months' hard labour. No one of our unit was among those arrested. One of our lads had indeed been captured, but a quick-witted woman onlooker stepped forward and cried: "Here, that's my son, let him go; he just came up to pray at his father's grave". Rather surprisingly, the constable fell for the trick and released the boy, muttering something about keeping a closer watch on her son.

The early months of 1938 were fully occupied with training classes and parades. The classes were usually held in the homes of Republican sympathisers who were not directly connected with any organisation. As Company Finance Officer, I was now charged with the task of raising funds, which were used almost as fast as we earned them, to procure small quantities of arms, often by purchase from British soldiers.

Busy as we were with organisation, training, intelligence and fund raising activities yet, all in all, these were rather quiet days. The storms were still to come. Indeed, there were no incidents of note until after Easter when a series of mysterious explosions stirred the humdrum lives of the Volunteers. Two of them wrecked the British Army Recruiting offices in Donegal and Alfred Streets. Later it became known that these strange events were not the work of the I.R.A., but had been caused by a small group of men acting unofficially. Republican intelligence was eventually able to identify and arrest the men responsible for this private campaign.

Joe Doherty continues with his personal recollections of the '30's; his entry into Fianna Breann and his gradual development as a Republican. Many of our readers will know of the role that Joe Doherty played in the '40's as a senior member of the Republican Movement prior to his imprisonment.

Future articles will recall the tur-

Having learned the whereabouts of the unofficial arms dump, and being assured that the explosive materials could be quite safely handled by women, senior officers, arranged with Cumann na mBan to have the stuff collected and returned to Army control. To Bridie Dolan's lot it fell to pick up the materials in the unofficial dump, and on the Saturday afternoon she went to the house to carry out her task. As she knelt on the floor of the little back room, transferring the articles from a carton to her bag, a terrific explosion occurred, inflicting terrible injuries on Bridie. With both hands blown off at the wrists, and the sight of both eyes destroyed, as well as other grievous wounds, Bridie's life was at first despaired of, but after a few days it became clear that Bridie would live.

The man chiefly responsible for the unofficial operations whose main outcome was the tragic maiming of Bridie Dolan, was afterwards sentenced to exile. Some years later he was permitted to return to Belfast and resume his normal life in the community. For Bridie Dolan, however, there was no reprieve from her almost unbearable handicaps, and although a fund was set up to provide for her care and attention, nothing could ever wipe out the consequences of that Leeson Street explosion, or restore to her the normal healthy life which was her right.

It is quite natural and right for Irish workers to hate and detest British Power in Ireland, British economic control in Ireland, British military presence in Ireland, and to campaign for their removal.

It is quite unnatural and wrong to transfer that hate and detestation to the British working-class, to their homes, to their factories, to their places of recreation. This self-defeating policy serves only the interests of middle-class nationalism which, itself, is not concerned with the plight of the Irish working-class, except in so far as that class can be used to further their own reactionary designs.

The disastrous policy of bombing the British mainland can have the following consequences. It can result in transferring sectarian strife to the cities of Britain. It can lead to the repression of large sections of the Irish people resident in Britain. It can provide the British Establishment with the opportunity and the means of applying repressive measures to their own working-class and the excuse to retain this hateful legislation on the Statute Book. But, most significant and most serious of all possible consequences, it can bring out the alienation of the British working-class, and destroy the basis for that

*It is quite natural and right for Irish workers to hate and detest British Power in Ireland and British military presence in Ireland.*

support and sympathy which the cause of Irish Liberty has always enjoyed among the British masses.

The Bombing Campaign, whether carried out in the North of Ireland or in Britain is a Campaign of Alienation. It is a Campaign of Hate carried out against people rather than against the system, aimed at

bulence of the '40's and the developments which culminated in the bombing campaign in Britain. There are many similarities between that period and the present confusion which exists in the minds of many of our people.

Joe Doherty's path to Republican Socialism was through those difficult years; his experiences recounted here should help the uncertain to decide.

# Memories of the Fianna and the batons of the R.U.C.

the working-class rather than at the Establishment.

It has succeeded in widening the existing chasm between the workers of the North of Ireland. It can achieve only the same ignoble end in Britain.

The massacre serves only to delay the ultimate, complete and absolute unity of all workers of whatever sect — in the long term, democracy's only safeguard.

In October '38, a mass meeting of Republican organisations was held to protest against continued detention of Republican prisoners in Crumlin Gaol. All units of the I.R.A., in the Belfast area were mobilised for this big event, and thousands of people, mainly from the Falls district, joined with the Volunteers, Fianna and Cumann na mBan to make it one of the largest demonstrations in years.

At that particular time, the Council for Civil Liberties was carrying out an investigation into the conditions of political life in Northern Ireland. The Belfast Republican leaders decided to take advantage of the presence of members of that Council, and determined to give them a demonstration of the lack of freedom in the North by holding this mass meeting.

The demonstration of protest was expected to draw down the usual ban on meetings which, according to the Special Powers Act, were likely to lead to a breach of the peace. However, no action whatever was taken to proclaim the meeting, or to interfere with it in any way, and on the appointed Sunday afternoon we gathered at the junction of Alma Street and the Falls Road, each company occupying the position previously assigned to it, prepared for the trouble we considered inevitable. Prior to the commencement of the demonstration, our O/C circulated among us with the following instruction: — "Our orders are that we must provoke a baton-charge. Short of attacking the police, we will do anything calculated to achieve this. We must have a baton-charge."

The meeting began. Speaker after speaker came forward on the platform where the Tricolour floated proudly and defiantly in the light autumn breeze, and attacked the Northern Tories and the British Connection with the most inflammatory speeches heard on the streets of Belfast for many a long day. The strong force of police present in the vicinity made no attempt whatever to interfere with the course of the meeting, or to restrain the speakers, even when

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they themselves were the targets of bitter, though well-deserved attacks.

Nothing but the truth was spoken from the platform on that afternoon, the truth was more than sufficient, but it was a rare experience for Republicans to hear these words spoken without having to withstand a vicious attack by heavily armed police. They too had had their orders — whatever happened, however 'seditions' the speeches, the demonstration was to be allowed to continue without interruption, and so prove to the world in general, and to the Council of Civil Liberties in particular, that civil and political liberty did, in fact, exist in Belfast.

After more than two hours of unrestrained speech-making, the meeting came to an end. Then about 1,500 of us surged into the roadway and, linking arms marched about ten abreast down the Falls Road, singing Republican songs and ballads, while the police walked quietly along the pavements, striving to keep up with the leading sections of the procession. Still nothing happened, and eventually we reached Hastings Street R.U.C. barracks. There we massed on the roadway and pavements, and gave them the "Soldier's Song", which was good for a baton-charge in any other normally abnormal time. Still no reaction from the police. But, as we finished with the words "we'll chant a soldier's song", a hail of stones shattered the front windows of the barracks. A few moments later the police poured through the double-doors, batons drawn, and made straight for us.

Next morning, the "Irish News" carried banner headlines: "Wild scenes at Protest meeting". "Baton-charges on the Falls Road".

Our object had been achieved — we had won our baton-charge!

On a November day in County Donegal, a heavy explosion wrecked a small house in Castlefinn and caused the deaths of three I.R.A. officers. They were J. J. Kelly, Jimmy Joe Reynolds, and Charlie McCafferty. The first two men were killed outright while McCafferty died later from his severe injuries. To the uninitiated, like me, this tragedy was something of a mystery, and many of us wondered why large quantities of explosives were being handled and assembled in such an out-of-the-way place. The events of January, now only two months away, were to make clear to us that these three men were the first I.R.A. casualties in a new fight for Freedom.

Of course, since the summer, a certain amount of tension and feeling of expectation had built up within the Republican ranks, a feeling that a crisis was coming in

*There we massed on the roadway and pavements, and gave them the "Soldier's Song", which was good for a baton-charge in any other normally abnormal time.*

which the I.R.A. either by choice, or through sheer necessity, would be impelled to action.

The European crisis of September-October, culminating in the Munich Agreement, had brought the world to the brink of war from which the unprepared Government and people of Britain had recoiled with an almost audible shudder; a conflict between market-grabbing Imperialist Powers, and one in which the Republican Movement would have no part, except on its own terms, and with its own interests and objectives in mind. From the obvious and hardly-concealed preparations for War in Europe, the I.R.A. Executive drew its own conclusions and speeded its own plans for direct action against British rule and the British connection in Ireland.



# RMS

For farmers in the 6 Counties, 1975 promises to be just as bleak and probably worse than 1974. Whether you are Catholic or Protestant makes no difference, the policies laid down for you by the EEC and the British government will prove fatal for the majority. For the minority, namely the big farmers, the coming year will prove another step in the right direction and again religion makes no difference.

Agriculture will remain the largest single industry in the 6 Counties during 1975. At present 53,000 people are employed in agriculture and the

average farm size is only 50 acres, half the average size for England. Half of the 6 County farms produce only 20 per cent of the total agricultural output and their income is below the minimum Agricultural wage. Only 10 per cent of Northern cereals are home produced and pigs and poultry production (65 per cent of the total output) are therefore dependent on imported cereals (90 per cent) and on export markets.

Northern farmers are represented at Brussels by a British Minister for Agriculture. Britain and Germany favour a cheap food policy (Britain imports two-thirds of its food while the North exports two-thirds) while Britain and France favour high cereal prices to help their own farmers while 90 per cent of the cereals are imported into the north.

Britain and the EEC also favour large farms while the majority of northern farms would be classified as TRANSITIONAL under the EEC Directive 159 and so will be phased out of existence with typical EEC tactics of reduced grants for pig producers and none for poultry producers.

Northern farmers also suffer from the British connection. British based multi-national food-processing plants cream off the profits from milk while dairy farmers pay for expensive calves (with depressed calf prices) and dairy ration.

A group of 15 feed farms — mainly British based monopolies like Unilever and Rand, Mons & McDougal, Ltd. control the Northern market and make vast profits at the farmers expense. Ranks (Irl.) Ltd. — a subsidiary of Rand, Mons and McDougal made a profit of £1.7 millions in 1973 — an increase of almost half a million pounds over the previous year.

In the year commencing May 1972 the price of feeding stuffs rose by 50 per cent — one of the many benefits the SDLP, the Ulster Farmers Union and the Unionist Party did not tell farmers about prior to '72. The other major cost of production is fertilisers which increased in price by 25 per cent during 1973. 80 per cent of the market is controlled by Richardsons, a subsidiary of ICI — the British based multi-national chemical company.

Store cattle producers are in dire economic straits, while meat, allowed to rot in a massive beef mountain and while butchers make profits of £80 plus per beast killed. The EEC has meant no bonanza for Northern farmers because Germany and Britain encouraged the EEC to import 900,000 tons of cheap Argentinian and Urugayan beef while store cattle are unsaleable at half last years prices. Northern farmers urged to change from dairying to beef, with incentives, are now being told to change back as the advice has proved disastrous. A Republican Manifesto for Northern Agriculture would —

1. Break the connection with Britain which only guarantees that the interests of 6 Co. Farmers are ignored while the interests of large British Cereal Growers are promoted — to the detriment of Northern pig and poultry industry.
2. As feedstuffs and fertilisers are the two major costs of production in northern agriculture and as thousands of cattle will starve to death this winter and next spring unless radical measures are taken — we demand that the fertiliser and feedstuff industry be nationalised under farmer/worker control and that fertilisers be made available on credit at cost price for early grass and feedstuffs also be available at cost price to feed stock over the winter/spring.
3. That farmers withdraw support from the Ulster Farmers Union which favours only the minority of ranchers and landlord and also withdraw their support from the SDLP and the Unionist Party which also were in support of EEC membership.
4. That the food processing industry be nationalised under Farmer/state control thus enabling farmers to receive a decent price while consumers could buy cheaper food.
5. That pending total withdrawal from the EEC, we reject Directive 159 of the EEC as being unsuited to the majority of farmers in the 6 Counties and we call for improved grants for small holders to develop their farms.
6. To implement these objectives we call for the development of a genuine non-sectarian farmers organisation in the North which will represent the interests of ordinary working farmers.



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Focus on...

# MEDICAL TREATMENT FREE TO ALL

Hungary is a small country situated in Central-Eastern Europe. Its situation — at the historical junction of Eastern and Western Europe, as well as Mediterranean and Turkish influences — is the major factor which has determined its complex history. Today it has a population of ten million people, two millions of whom live in the capital, Budapest, which is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe.

The Hungarians have a long and proud history of struggling to build their own independent nation. The Magyars are regarded as having been the original and main ethnic influence in the Hungarians. They first appeared in Hungary in 895 having been driven from their former homeland in the Ural mountains. They became christianized in the 9th Century and proceeded to build up all the trappings of a medieval feudal state. Between 1200 and 1700 Hungary was a turbulent country — invaded and occupied by the Mongols and then several times by the Turks. Peasant wars occurred frequently as the peasants struggled to free themselves from the oppression and starvation visited on them by the feudal nobility. Several times armies levied by the nobles to fight against the Turks turned on the nobles themselves showing an emerging class consciousness and laying the seeds of a revolutionary tradition which has survived in one form or another to the present day.

Hungary was eventually incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian empire around the year 1700. It was in reality a colony of Austria and there were many parallels between its situation and that of Ireland at the same time. The development of industry was aborted, national language and culture were eroded and its people were used as cannon fodder for the armies of the Austria-Hungarian empire. Modern Hungarian history began in 1848 when a great nationalist and democratic movement arose. A war of independence was fought but did not succeed although the nationalist won some concessions.

Austria-Hungary fought on the side of Germany in the first world war and fell apart in the chaos following its defeat. Hungary became a bourgeois republic in November 1918. The new Government instituted some reforms but was unable to break decisively with the old system — for example it could not reform the unjust and antiquated land system or solve the problems of hunger and unemployment which followed the war.



● A worker receives medicare.

As a result, the workers taking the example of the Bolshevik revolution, seized power on 21st March, 1919 and, led by the Hungarian Communist Party, attempted to build a socialist state. The attempt lasted 133 days and was crushed as a result of mistakes on the part of the government and a resurgence of right-wing nationalism which was fed by the reduction in size of the country as a result of the peace treaty of Trianon which ended World War 1.

The collapse of the socialist government was followed by a period of vicious oppression of all socialist, democratic and liberal ideas which lasted until liberation by the Soviet Army in April 1945. The period of fascist power was a time of dreadful hardship for the workers and peasants which resulted in mass unemployment and emigration. The fascist leader, Horthy, entered the war on the side of the Nazis and thereby condemned hundreds of thousands of his countrymen to useless slaughter. Massacres of national minorities — particularly Jews (the number of Jews fell from 600,000 to about 150,000) were carried out. After the war a coalition government of communists, socialists and liberals was set up. Following the elections of 1947 the Communists and

Social Democratic parties united and a socialist constitution was proclaimed in August 1949.

In the past twenty five years Hungary has become a modern industrialised country which guarantees a secure life and a continually increasing standard of living to its citizens. Heavy industry and coal-mines were nationalised in 1946 and this process continued until, by 1950, all enterprises employing more than 10 people became state owned. Metallurgical, machine, aluminium, chemical and electrical industries (among others) have been built up in socialist Hungary.

Hungarians pride themselves on their social services which are run exclusively by the state and paid for by an all-embracing social insurance scheme. All medical treatment is free and is of the highest quality — there is one doctor to every 400 people. Care of the aged is a major concern in Hungary as old people make up a higher proportion of the population than in most countries (due to a decreasing birth rate and increasing life expectancy). Forty-four per cent of the social service budget is spent on pensions.

The present socialist state in Hungary is the conclusion of hundreds of years of human struggle for dignity and freedom. The difficulties did not end with the assumption of power by the workers in 1949. For a while the leadership of the Hungarian Working Peoples Party fell under the control of a power-hungry group headed by Rakosi which imprisoned and executed innocent working people. This group was defeated and expelled from the HWSP and from power. The western press and bourgeois politicians tried to use these events to justify the counter-revolution in 1956. This attack on the working people was the last-ditch stand of the fascist and right-wing elements who tried to turn back the clock of history. They assassinated socialists and took over buildings and fired on workers killing many of them. The government asked for the intervention of Soviet Troops who assisted in defeating the counter-revolution. The former fascist leader, Horthy, by now safely exiled in Portugal called on the U.S. to invade Hungary. But the U.S. which had irresponsibly egged on the right-wing elements, realised that they would be faced by the whole socialist power of the workers of Eastern Europe and drew back at the last minute.

# The United WORLD



● Young Hungarian artists at work.

## Zion Means Hate



We are both Israeli-Jews who for some years now have worked and struggled for justice and against all forms of oppression in the territories controlled by the government of Israel. One of us, Uri Davis, is a Council member of the War Resisters' International, former Vice-Chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, and counts himself politically as a socialist revolutionary. The other, Israel Shahak, is the Chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, and counts himself politically as a liberal radical as understood in the USA.

We have both read with a sense of outrage the STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST of the War Resisters' League as adopted by the Executive Committee of the WRL at 2nd-3rd, 1974, as published in a pamphlet distributed by it. We believe this statement is one of the

most dishonest and harmful statements on the ME and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict recently published.

- We will criticise the above statement point by point:
1. Justification and Acceptance of Apartheid.  
One thing must be put clearly, the kibbutz so praised by the WRL is an apartheid institution, in fact the most apartheid institution in Israel. No Palestinian citizen of Israel can become a member of any kibbutz. This is because all the kibbutzim are situated on the lands of the Jewish National Fund, the single most important apartheid land-holding company in Israel, which for some reason is not mentioned by the WRL, and which constitutionally forbids any non-Jew (meaning in Israel first and foremost any Palestinian) to live, cultivate or lease any of its land holdings. Therefore, the members of the kibbutz are collectively the bosses and the exploiters of their Palestinian workers, whom they nevertheless hire as wage labourers in kibbutz-owned factories especially for the most dirty and unpleasant types of work.
  2. Recognition of the Existence of the State of Israel.  
The WRL insists that 'regardless of how Israel came into existence, it does now exist, and we believe that its existence must be recognised by the Arab states etc'. We are both agreed that the state is nothing other than an instrument to achieve specific aims. The social reality resides in the people. You are not asking the Arabs to

● Yasser Arafat heads PLO.

recognise the Israeli-Jewish people and live in peace with the Jewish population of Palestine. You are demanding that the Arab states should unconditionally recognise a state that is based on apartheid directed against Arabs. Does the WRL extend this demand universally? For example, should the state of Van Thieu, called South Vietnam, be recognised unconditionally by everybody, including the freedom fighters in Vietnam and the USA? Should the same right be extended to Chile dictatorship, regardless of how it came into existence?

3. The WRL Proposed Solution to the Palestinian Problem.  
The WRL supports the establishment of a Palestinian state in the context of its advocated solution to the ME conflict. It is stated that it is neither the WRL's role nor within its capacity to suggest whether such a Palestinian state should be created from the West Bank of the Jordan, now occupied by Israel, and Gaza, now also occupied by Israel, or from some other geographic arrangement'. We should first point out that it is, in our judgement, the indisputable right of the Palestinian to return to their ancestral homes in Palestine, irrespective of whether these homes are in the territories of Israel proper or in the post 1967 occupied territories. We also must point out to the WRL that we support this right even in the cases where the existing state of Israel has destroyed the homes, razed the cemeteries and violated the mosques in question. We recognise that in some cases the houses of the Palestinian are now occupied by Jews, let alone the innumerable cases where these have been destroyed. The right of the Palestinian whose house is occupied, or has been destroyed, to be given a human habitation as near to his ancestral home as possible is, in our opinion, unquestionable, and is superior to any right of sovereignty of any state. In this we are merely describing the situation in Israel, where in order to build sprawling metropolis and high-rise apartment quarters for exclusive Israeli-Jewish use, innumerable Palestinian villages and homes have been razed.

4. The WRL Doctrine of Collective and Inherited Guilt.  
The WRL confirms that Christians of the West, who for centuries have persecuted the Jews, have a direct obligation, out of the best in their own tradition, to join Moslems and Jews, in such an international presence'. This refers to the WRL proposal to establish a cordon of volunteers to constitute a moral guarantee of the territorial integrity of all the nations involved', and presumably in this way to protect, in the manner thought most effective by the WRL, the apartheid institutions of Israel. Also presumably, to prevent such Palestinians as may want to return to their ancestral homes from doing so. This horrible proposal is supported by a similarly horrible doctrine of inherited guilt which, however, is supposed to affect the Christians of the West only in the question of one particular instance: their persecution of the Jews. We should like to make it clear that we not only do not believe, but are engaged in a serious struggle against the doctrine of either collective or inherited guilt. In the name of those doctrines, the oppressive Israeli government destroys the houses of suspects and throws relatives and families, including babies, into the cold. In the name of this doctrine Jews were held 'guilty' by anti-semites, and especially by Nazis, for any sins that their ancestors or individual co-religionists may have committed. In the name of a parallel doctrine, the Zionists make all the Arabs or all the Palestinians guilty of any act committed by a single Arab or a single Palestinian organisation. The same doctrine was used in the USA to justify the subjection of the blacks. We should make it clear that we believe that guilt can be only individual guilt. We do not feel guilty, either collectively or ancestrally, for sins committed by Jews per se.

We want to conclude by reminding every person who cares for justice and peace in the Middle East, for it is our belief that no peace can be established on any foundation other than justice - to realise that one of the main supports for the continual policies of oppression and discrimination perpetrated against the Palestinian-Arabs, whether Israeli citizens or not, is the exploitation of guilt feelings of Christians pursued by the Zionists and supported thoughtlessly by organisations such as the WRL. In this sense the WRL is directly responsible for the daily exploitation, humiliation and discrimination suffered by the Palestinians under Israeli rule, because it refuses to condemn and to oppose this discrimination and oppression, or because it attempts to protect it by employing such ridiculous terms about Israel as a society 'in which the Arabs living within Israel have less than full citizenship'. We consider the employment of such double standards to be one of the main causes of the continuing war and suffering.

*This is an abstract of a letter to "Free Palestine" written by Uri Davis and Dr. Israel Shahak.*

# Resistance, consolidation and advance

The following is a part of a speech delivered by Tomas Mac Diarmada on the current economic state of the 26 Counties, at the Sean Russell Cumann, Dublin.

In the South it is important that ordinary men and women come to understand the lay-offs, redundancies and rising prices are not caused by some mysterious destiny which lies outside the control of human action. The reason for the crisis is simple. In Ireland agriculture, industry and service employment are controlled by private employers, whose aim is to make the maximum profit for themselves and in times of crisis to shift their money either into speculation in land or speculation in lending or in the last analysis to send their money abroad. This class which has no stake in Ireland has allowed the commanding heights in agriculture, namely the cooperatives to become monopolies increasingly controlled by British, American and Japanese interests. In manufacturing industry this class has two policies. Firstly, it invites foreign capital to set up assembly plants, divorced from any rational development of an Irish capital goods structure. Second by merger and take-over, aided by outside capital it concentrates industrial power in the hands of a small group of companies, penetrated and controlled by private banking system.

The name of this system is finance capital. There is no mystery about this crisis. The Irish private sector, which controls most jobs is in the hands of a small group of employers and financiers, linked by a web of directorships to banking, agriculture, industry and services. By definition, if Irish capitalism is thus locked to American and European monopoly capital, a crisis in Europe and North America will be a crisis for Ireland. The Irish Business class which threatens to put two hundred thousand men and women out of work and drive another hundred thousand from the land, continues to denounce countries where socialism has ensured that there is full employment, no inflation, that prices are actually reduced and where the social welfare of the workers in health, education and job opportunity is far beyond that enjoyed by the Irish people.

The Policy of the Republican Movement in 1975 is to fight this sabotage of the Irish Economy in three tactical stages. It urges the broadest possible united front of the labour and working class movement on a principled basis to execute the policies which must be adopted if 1975 is not to be another repetition of the miseries of 1957. These policies are resistance, consolidation and advance. The first tactic that of resistance, involves the conscious and disciplined support by Republicans of the policies of the ICTU on nationalisation of the banks, nationalisation of natural resources and of holding the employer class to the terms of the National Wage Agreements. The Republican Movement urges the adoption of Connolly's dictum to squeeze the employers in a time of expansion and in a time of recession to prudently guard the livelihood of workers by strengthening in trade union organisation. In practice this means the Republican Movement supports the policy of talks for a new national wage agreement and the defence of the lower paid workers from employers who are trying to avoid implementing existing agreements. In particular the private sector must be fought vigorously if it tries to carry out its policy of not implementing equal pay.

Republicans must also ensure that there is no repetition of old errors. To this end trade unionists who become unemployed should be organised not under the banner of an undifferentiated unemployed movement, but kept as members in good standing, of their trade unions and should agitate under the

protection and with the support of their unions.

The second task, that of consolidation must be based on the fact that the State sector long ridiculed and despised by the publicists and propagandists of the Irish gombreens should be expanded and strengthened. The success of Bord na Mona in marrying the productive skills of Irish workers to Ireland's natural resources serves as a model. The restrictions on road haulage imposed by the Common Market on C.I.E. shows how the interests of the Irish People in the state sector are obstructed.

The Republican Movement called on all principled groupings on the Left to agitate for the setting up of an Energy Supply Board with the ESB and Bord na Mona placed in control over the development of our oil and gas wealth as outlined in our book *The Great Oil & Gas Robbery*. Aer Lingus and C.I.E. must be encouraged with the assistance of the ESRI, the IIRS and other state bodies to develop new and diversified production activities. There has been no redundancy in state companies. The lesson is clear. The Irish Working Class needs more such companies.

Third tactic, the advance of working class interests, will involve a vigorous political campaign on four fronts.

Firstly, the IFA leadership which in reality represents the interests of about 15,000 ranchers must be exposed for its cynical manipulation of small farmer interests. The monopoly characteristics of Irish agriculture, the increasing involvement of the banking system and international capital in the food processing industries shows that for the ranchers agriculture is an industry, financed by the banks and international cartels and managed by a tiny group of entrepreneurs describing themselves as farmers. The Republican Movement sees this class, not as farmers, but as employers and financiers. The expropriation of this class and the nationalisation of ranchers was urged by Michael Davitt almost one hundred years ago. The Republican Movement welcomes the initiative of small farm groups who are studying the prospects of state and cooperative farming.

Secondly, the strategy of the Cosgrave Government which is to secure outright majority for Fine Gael by constituency gerrymandering is coupled with a determination to compromise the Labour Movement. The unprincipled alliance between Labour's social democratic ministers and the Fine Gael rancher and business class must not be allowed to drag down the rank and file of the Labour Party. The Labour Ministers and their allies in certain trade unions far from recognising the implications of the Cosgrave strategy have instead commenced a campaign of machine politics in an attempt to use the trade union movement to their own ends. These manipulations made discussions on united front tactics imperative between the principled parties and groupings of the left in Ireland and require the steadfast resistance by ordinary trade unionists against the machination of the Labour aristocrats.

Third, the campaign for state control of our natural resources involves on the one hand, active support by every Republican for the Resources Protection Campaign together with vigorous agitation for the nationalisation of the Town Gas Co's, the Kosangas/Calor cartel and the coal monopolies and their integration under the control of Bord na Mona and the E.S.B.

Fourth, the building industry and the banking system must be the targets of a broad campaign to withdraw them from the private sector as to place housing and credit in the hands of the State.



## Sinn Fein Platform



● Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtaran Sinn Fein



● Fenian St. squatters who were thrown onto the street.

# Women second class citizens

It would be incorrect to describe women in Ireland as second-class citizens since the effect of some legislation is that they are not recognised as citizens at all. The Constitution recognises "that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved". Despite this pious platitudes, thousands of women do not have a home or an income to allow them to perform their valuable contribution to the common good in dignity and independence. It is unlikely that equal pay will be in-

troduced in 1975 despite periodic promises, some positions in State Service are still barred to women, R.T.E. makes a sizeable proportion of its revenue from advertisements which depict women as cretins, there are no women on the Council of State, none in Ministerial positions or on juries. There is one woman judge and a minute number of women on Trade Union executives. Education continues for the most part on sexist lines and women continue to provide cheap labour in unorganised employment. Sinn Fein demands the introduction of

legislation to eliminate all legal sanctions against women before the end of this year. An immediate start could be made with the full implementation of the recommendations of the Council on the Status of Women. To eliminate sexist social attitudes, women themselves must organise and fight. To mark International Women's Year, Sinn Fein will issue posters illustrating some aspects of women's oppression, a booklet on the present condition of women in Ireland and hold a series of six lectures as part of the Wolfe Tone Week in June.

# Housing urgently needed

Mr. Fergus O'Brien T.D. called a special Press Conference on Friday last to outline drastic action planned to combat the problem of squatters and those with rent arrears. None of the press reports suggested that Mr. O'Brien outlined any course of action to deal with the acute housing shortage in the Dublin Corporation area. Mr. O'Brien is just the latest in a long line of public representatives who cannot or will not see that the only way to deal with squatters and other homeless people is to house them. That method is simple, painless and, with the people concerned, very popular.

Mr. O'Brien says that legal action will be taken against the "worst categories of the 761 squatters" and in "the most blatant cases of withheld rents". Will Mr. O'Brien tell the public exactly how many families this covers, how many children are involved and precisely what preliminary arrangements Dublin Corporation have made to otherwise house these families? It is hardly intended to dump them and their effects out on the

side of the road. Is it intended to put them into sub-standard housing and if so, where? What steps will be taken to look after mothers and children who suffer mental and physical illness from such housing conditions? It is not enough to tell us the frightful amount of money needy families are causing us by squatting or withholding rents, how much will it cost citizens to put their children into care and their mothers into psychiatric homes and will the Dublin Corporation take full and complete responsibility for the results of their actions.

We are expected to be shattered by the figure of £1½ million in outstanding arrears. If would, we are told, build 200 houses. In 1973, Dublin Corporation paid £15,193,000 in loan charges alone. According to Mr. O'Brien's figures this sum would provide 2,000 houses, a far more impressive figure in terms of the waiting list of the Dublin Corporation. If Dublin Corporation were to retain this sum in an emergency measure it could

house 2,000 families and evict none. Sinn Fein suggests this as a more humane alternative to the one proposed by Mr. O'Brien.

Squatting is a natural reaction to the anarchical system of the Dublin Corporation's Housing Department. It can only be effectively stopped, without imposing severe hardship, by taking immediate emergency measures to provide housing for those families in need now. Rent arrears will hardly be paid by people who have been evicted. The National Association of Tenants Organisation speaks for the majority of local authority tenants. It would be far more sensible for Mr. O'Brien to negotiate with that Organisation in an effort to clear arrears than to march in with bailiffs and police and create riots all over the City. I would remind Mr. O'Brien that the Minister for Justice responsible for introducing the Forcible Entry Bill specifically stated that it would not be used against the homeless. Is Mr. O'Brien less liberal than Mr. Desmond O'Malley?

# Education starved of money

Sinn Fein wishes to announce its support for the current Union of Students in Ireland campaign for increased funding of education at all levels.

In the present economic difficulty Education is being dealt with like any other non-essential item and is being cut-back in terms of grants to students and capital expenditure on buildings necessary to accommodate the students population.

One of the most glaring examples of the cut-back is the College of Commerce in Rathmines, Dublin, where virtually all courses have been checked or otherwise curtailed by a long standing lack of finance, space and suitable facilities.

With Social Welfare and the Hospital and general health services Education is one priority which no Irish Government should be allowed neglect. Nevertheless, this present Government, by forcing to a standstill vital funding provisions and expansion programmes are sacrificing the education of thousands in its attempt to muddle through the economic crisis created, in a large part, by its own blinkered economic prospects. In an Ireland rich in mineral wealth and with huge reserves of gas and oil it is simply a misstatement of fact to claim that we as a community cannot afford the best education possible for all our youth.

A Government which continues to cut back

in a scandalous fashion on finance for education and which increases actual hardship among the existing student population by its refusal to upvalue grants while at the same time handing out billions of pounds worth of mineral wealth to native and foreign big-business cannot claim to have any social conscience, not to mention a socialist one.

Sinn Fein feels that some form of statement from the Government on its intentions in the field of education is long overdue and supports the U.S.I. campaign in the knowledge that only such a campaign will force the Government into some form of dialogue with the community on the effects of its unspoken policy of cutbacks in education finance.

# GANNTANAS TITHE

## LE BLIANTA



## Comhairle na Gaeilge

Fualr Comhairle na Gaeilge bas go h-ollgíull an mí seo caite. Ach ba sholáir le blianta beaga anuas nach raibh brí riann ann. Mheas a lán daoine nuair a bunlaodh ag Flanna Fall é díreach tar eis toghchain na bliana 1969 nach raibh san rud ach modh ag Sean Ó Lonsigh chun a bhíochas a theaspaint do Noel Mulcahy agus cathaóirleacht rud elgín a thabhairt do. Duine on Irish Management Institute e Mulcahy a chaithe chuid mairbh de feachtas 1969 i gcaravan ceannaire Flanna Fall mar comhairleoir.

Is soláir on ralteas a eisloigh chun bails an Comhairle a thogairt go raibh ciall ag na daoine lonnraice a d'fhag e nuair a chonnaic siad nach raibh ach seafoid ann on ius. Ritheann an ralteas:

"Tionolladh an cruinnú deireannach de Chomhairle na Gaeilge De hAoine, 20ú Nollaig. Bhí ion ag comhaltai na Comhairle roimh-re Risteard Ó Riain Uas., T.D., Aire Airgeadais agus Aire na Seirbhíse Poblí agus Tomas Ó Donaill Uas., T. D. Aire na Gaeltachta. Ghabh na hAiri buíochas leo as ucht a dhíogralaí a chuidair i mbun oibre le cuig bliana anuas, agus as ucht bunmhótal a dheanamh faoi Udaras Gaeltachta agus Bord na Galige, go raibh glactha i bprionsabal leo.

"Ag gabhail buíochais do thar ceann na Comhairle duir an Cathaóirleach, Noel Ó Maoilchatha, go raibh an Chomhairle ag sùil go mbeadh an Bord Gaeilge agus an Udaras Gaeltachta a bhí a mbeartú ag teacht le molta na Comhairle. Gleasanna gan feidhm a bheadh iontu seo muna mbeadh leagan amach orthu agus acmhalnín agus cumhachtaí acu den chineál a míol an Chomhairle.

Bhí Comhairle na Gaeilge mí-shasta le cuid de na beartais a fograíodh i dtaca le feidhmú an pholais nua. Mar gheall ar sin ba mhaith leo a alteamh go laidir ar an Rialtas gan tuilleadh athruithe maidir le staid na Gaeilge a bheartú ach de thoradh ar feidhmú Bhord na Gaeilge agus ar an dtaighde ata ar siúl le tamall anuas.

Ghabh an Cathaóirleach, Noel Uas Ó Maoilchatha, Leas-Stiúrthoir, Foras Balaistíochta Éireann, buíochas lena chomhbhall agus scoir an Chomhairle ansin.

Nuair a bhagair Bardas Atha Cliath an dlí, pollín an baillín ar daoine ata i seilbh 'midleathach' tithe agus arasain sa príomh-chathair i dtús na míosa seachtóidh an cead uchráir i gceathair leantar ar sraideanna agus in eastaít na cathrach i rith 1975. Is cinnte go mbeidh cith den saghas ceanna ar siúl comh maith i gCorcaigh agus i mBeal Feirste.

I mBeal Feirste is gannntanas tithe a bhfuilidh an pobal amach ar na sraideanna. Ta an gannntanas ceanna ann le blianta anuas. Gannntanas a mhothaigh an pobal go forleathan idir Caitliceach agus Protastúnach. Fadhb uafasach nach feidir a reiteach gan feachtas forleatán fíochmhar.

Ach ní thíochfadh feachtas fuintach o phobal roinnte. Níor thuig an lanúin i loistín a dtuismitheoirí ar Bothar na bhFal go raibh an fadhb ceannann ceanna ag lanúin eile ar Bathar na Seanchille. Níor thuig siad nach mbeadh réiteach ar an sceal go seasfaid siad guala ar gualann lena chéile. Iad a thuig, ní raibh an deis acu go dtí gur las an Gluaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta an coimeall dochaís ins na seascaid.

Ach na suile a bhí da n-oscailt, dalladh iarís iad leis na buamal. Anois, os rud e go bhfuil faoiseamh o na buamí ag teacht, ta seans ana mhaith go mbeidh an rosc catha teach do gach clann' san ear arís agus daoine ata tinn de sheiteachas agus de pholaiteoirí seiteacha a scarteardh ana bhonnaibh fein.

Mas ar an ionnsaí a bheidh lucht Bheal Feirste is ar a gcosaint, de reir dealramh, a bheidh an pobal gan didean i mBaile Atha Cliath. O thuit an toin as an feachtas títhíochta i mBaile Atha Cliath i 1969 níl feabhas da laghad tagtha ar an sceal. Diriu aigeantai daoine i dtro an tuaiscirt le ndear bas 'theachtas' sin, is trua a radh. Ach díreoidh feachtas an Bhardais in aghaidh an "squatters" suim an phobal ar a bhfadhb sa príomh-chathair athuair. Spreagfaidh tuathanna na baillín daoine chun smaointe ar na fathanna a spreagann fir, mna agus leanaí seilbh midleathach a ghlacadh ar tithe agus arasain an bhárdaís.

Gannntanas tithe amháin is cuis leis. Níl an Bardas na an Rialtas sasta an dualgas a comhlíonadh agus na tithe a soláthar. Ní dheanfaid siad tada go mbeidh raic uafasach on pobal. Go dtí sin cuirfead dlí an stait ar einne a leannan an dlí nadurtha agus a glacann seilbh ar didean midleathach dona chlann toisc gan didean deathach a bheidh ar fail do. Ce seasfaidh leis na squatters nuair a cablfear amach ar na sraideanna iad, ce seasfaidh leis na mílte eile sa cathair ata gan didean? Ta se in am does na reabhlíodhí dul i mbun oibre.

Ceist eile a bheidh go fóir speisiul sa príomh chathair na an feachtas ata beartaithe ag an Bardas chun riaráiste chios a bhailiú. Ta an dlí, na pollín agus na baillín a bhagair acu sa chas seo freisin. An stailc cíos in aghaidh an coras Cíos Díofralach a bhí ar siúl go dtí Iar 1973 fe ndear an cuid is mó de na rialraístai.

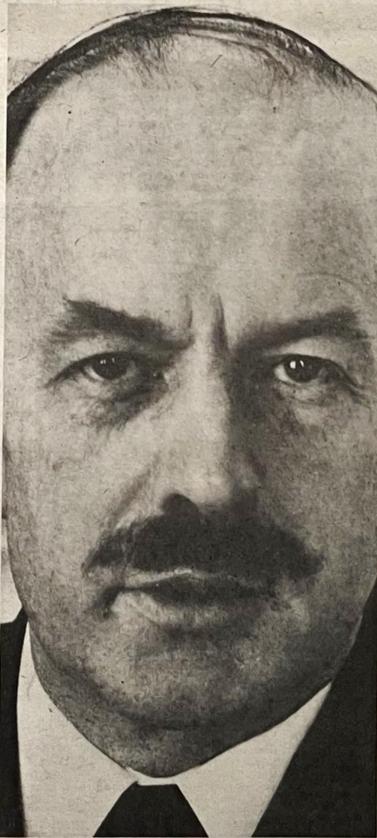
Ag am socráithe na stailce d'aontaíodh go dtabharfaí 2 bhlián chun riaráistai a ghlíonadh ach ta se soláir anois narbh lear san. Rud áit faoin feachtas seo ata bagraithe na tost NATO. Cumann Naisiúnta na dtíontait. De reir dealraimh níor bac an Bardas dul i gcomhairle leo chun réiteacht a lorg are an geist. Ta se cruthaithe cheana fein ag NATO go bhfuil neart i dtíontait na cathrach ach iad a eagra. Ach to gadh leis an neart sin a theorú.

### Riaráistai

Ta treor agus cosaint ag teastáil go gearr anois ag daoine ata i gcrúacais le riaráistai. Ba choir go dtiocfaidh an treor sin o NATO gan moill. Ní cheart don Lorcannach agus na cinnirí eile bheidh ag fanacht ar cuireadh o Halla na Cathrach. Teastáinn o NATO agus o gach einne eile comh maith leis an Bardas go nglanfaí suas na riaráistai. Agus is feidir e a dheanamh. Ach ma ta an Bardas gan comhairle léio a chur san aireamh agus dlí agus príosún a bhagair ar na tíontait bhí se in am do NATO a craobhscaoileadh go seasfaidh siad le na tíontait in aghaidh an dlí ceanna.

Ta dornan tíontait i gCorcaigh ag troid fos in aghaidh an ceannal títhíochta is measa da bhfachtas sa tír seo riann. Tar eis cath trí bliana agus dlí, cuirteanna agus, fiu, príosún foláingte ag na tíontait ta admháithe ag Bardas Chorcaí go gcosnóidh se 1300,000 are a laghad chun crot creat a chur ar na tithe a thog Sísks don bhárdaís i dtChoir, Baile an Aonaigh agus An Gleann.

Ta geallta ag Balaistíoir na Cathrach na cuirfidh se an dlí a thuilleadh ar na daoine a d'fhuiláing de bharr coirpocht an National Building Agency, Sísks, Delaney McVeigh & Pike, Pettits agus McCarthys, ma glanann siad a riaráistai agus mas bhíonn 'siad 'neat and clean and civilised' as seo amach. Ach ní bheidh stailceoirí Chorcaí sasta an tuaille a chaitheamh isteach go ndéanfar fóirsúrachain poblí faoi togail agus costas eastaít an NBA.



• Donal Ó Moráin, Cathaóirleach Udaras RTE agus Ceannasaí Ghael Linn, a bhí mar ball de Chomhairle na Gaeilge.



# Fear breá beathai Lardinois

Bhí an fear breá beathaithe sin Pierre Lardinois, Colmáisteir Talmhaíochta an Chomhargaidh, ar cuairt againn ag tus na míosa seo ar eagla go mbeadh se de mhíneach ag feirmeoirí beaga na tíre seo dochas a bhéith acu do 1975. Ar ndó is polaitéoir maithe e Lardinois agus d'eirigh leis gan morán a ra le linn na cuairte ach chuir se leis an ngrúaim a bhí ann cheana.

Leanfar leis an Farm "Modernisation" Scheme mar ata leagtha amach agus ní dheanfar cas ar leith d'fheirmeoirí beaga Iarthar na hÉireann. Leanfaidh an Chomhargadh lena phlean damanta chun 110,000 feirmeoirí a chur den talamh . . . est le Lardinois . . . "It is not a good policy to put good money into bad investment . . . It has been accepted by the EEC Council of Ministers that this is not good policy also."

Tugann an chuid dheilidh den abairt sin le fios go bhfuil an fear ata ag freastal ar an gComhairle "ar mhaithe" le feirmeoirí na hÉireann, Mark Clinton, ara son intinn le Lardinois. Ina dhiaidh sin is uile seisean ata mar Uachtarán an Chomhairle Airí Talmhaíochta an Chomhphoball go ceann se mhí agus dha bhfeadfal aiteamh air atbhreithnlu a dheanamh ar a sheasamh.

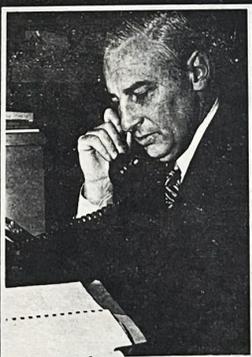
Nach aisteach mar a thagann aithre ar chursal — ta an feallaire mar fein, T. J. Maher, ag caint ar an bhfeirmeoir beag. Nach mall sa ia a d'aithn se go mbeldh dha drian dar bhfeirmeoirí dha mbriseadh mar gheall ar an gComhargadh. Ar ndó is ar mhaithe leis fein a dheannann an cat aithre sin cronan i geomal agus is ag teacht roimh iarracht ar bith a dheanfadh na feirmeoirí beaga chun iad fein a eagra dha ulreasa, ata se.

D'adhmhailh an t-uasal Lardinois gur feoil an fhadhb is mo ata ag an gComhphobal. Talmhaíochta go fóill. Ní fheadfal comhpholasaí don gcaoiréil a chur ar fail, aduir se, go dtí go socroth an Bhreatain an bhfanadh sí no an imeodh sí as an gComhargadh. Maidir leis an mairteoil, duir se go gcaifí deireadh a chur leis an geosc ar impoiréal mairteola o thiortha lasmuigh den Chomhargadh go luath, rud a ghoillfidh ar thairgeoirí anseo. Agus e ag caint air seo duir se nach impoiréal na feola a chruithaigh geircheim na mairteola ach breis tairgú na Chomhargadh. Ta thos agalgn go leir ce bhí ciontach sa mbreis tairgú sa sir seo — Flanna Fall, Fine Gael agus an IFA. Cuimhneodh T. J. air sin.

Mhair an County Donegal Railway i dTír Chonaill go 1959 in aindeoin gach bru o na forsaí eacnamaíochta e a chuir as. Ach fe dheireadh deirigh leis an dream cumhang aigeanta dobhrona e a dhruid mar a rinne siad le hiarran roid eile ar fud na tíre.

Ach ta tuar dochais on tuaisceart anois. Ta dream daoini ansin ag iarraidh iarranrod amhain de chuid an CDR a foscailt arís. Teann na hiarranroid seo frid na ceanntair is aille sa Tir seo — an Bearnas Mor, Gleann Fhinne Na Cealla Beaga, Dun Leitiche &c. Ba roid cumhanga iad (narrow gauge) agus aistíoch go leor ta morán de na staisiun na seasamh go fóill agus cuid mhaith den Rolling Stock slán sabhailte. Ca tuige sa diabhal nach dtiocfadh leis an Aire Tompar cumhacha Póter Barry (fo-dheis) leargas a fhail o cheann eigeán agus tabhairt faoi na roid seo a oscailt arís agus forbairt a dheanamh orthu. Nar bhren id do thurasoirí, mar sheirbhís tion-sclaíochta &c. Ta na mílte tonna eisc ag fagail na Cealla gach ia i lorráithe costacha.

Ta Gaeltacht Lar Thír Chonaill ag iarraidh eirigh ar a chosa — nar



## TUAR DOCHAIS I DTIR CHONAILL

mhaith an cuidiu acu an line ona Gleanntai go Srath an Urlair a oscailt?

Ta suil agam nach bhfuil Barry chomh tuibh is a bhí na hairí a thainig roimhe ach ta me amhrasach.

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**Pobal**

*gach re mi*

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Baile Átha Cliath 9.

# Clann fights against repressive laws

Clann na hEireann has been involved during the past few months in developing joint activities with other organisations putting forward principled policies on Ireland. Together with the Communist Party (London District) and a Committee of Trade Unionists in Support of Workers in Ireland a joint programme of activities has been worked out for the London area.

The first joint activity was the distribution of an open letter to delegates attending the Labour party conference calling on them to reject the bipartisan policies presented by Westminster since 1968. Many delegates assured the joint picket of their opposition to the present Labour adoption of repressive measures.

This was followed by a jointly sponsored meeting at Hammersmith Town Hall only days after the introduction of the emergency repressive legislation. The meeting, chaired by the Chairman of Hammersmith Trades Council (in his personal capacity), was well attended despite the attempt at intimidation embodied in the emergency legislation. It was addressed by Tom Durkin, a member of the CP and a leading member of UCATT, and John Leonard of Clann.

Then a large London meeting was organised in the Conway Hall on December 16th. Here a film was shown followed by speakers from each organisation. The Morning Star reporter, Chris Myant, gave a description of the events that were all too conveniently forgotten by the Fleet St. Press. He was followed by the Chairman of the Trade Union Committee, P. Brayshaw, who detailed the economic reports of the present situation and how it was the common interests of ordinary workers which would lead to common cause in Ireland and Britain.

Finally the Clann speaker outlined the political roots of the present crisis and the position of the Republican Movement, pointing out the principled opposition that the Movement had voiced to the Provisional bombing campaign for over 4 years not the crocodile tears of Westminster that forgot the deaths of Irish workers at the hands of the Army and how they had been instrumental, with their tame Dublin agents, in giving support to the rise of the Provisionals. Now it was Clann members being arrested after years of presenting total opposition to Provisional policies

All speakers pointed out the real purpose of the new laws putting them into the context of years of attack on progressive movements particularly on the British trade union movement with the present struggle over the Shrewsbury pickets still not resolved.

The packed meeting unanimously passed the following motion; "Believing that British Imperialism is responsible for the repression and exploitation carried out in the north of Ireland and also that it has produced the present situation of sectarian assassinations and bomb outrages, this meeting calls for the immediate end of Internment, the repeal of the Emergency Provisions Act and the passing of a Bill of Rights, the ending of military harassment of the working people of northern Ireland and the withdrawal of troops from the streets, pending their ultimate withdrawal.

## OIL COMPANY LEECHES

"The Great Irish Oil and Gas Robbery" recently published by Sinn Fein described how American oil imperialism operates in Ireland. Gus Hall in "The Energy Rip-Off: cause and cure" shows that the oil imperialists are as greedy and cunning at home as they are abroad.

The energy crisis of 1973, Hall argues, was the result not of the Arab oil embargo but of a policy adopted by the major American oil companies in 1964. The policy was very simple: "create shortages and use the shortages to hike prices".

This policy "included refusing to build any new oil refineries in the United States; phasing out older and smaller refineries by dismantling or simply closing them down; gradually cutting off the supply of fuel to the smaller, independent refineries, forcing them to sell out or close their doors; refusing to drill for new oil wells on U.S. soil; capping older oil wells and drilling new ones next to them because the government depletion allowance was higher on the new wells".

In this way, the Seven Thieves of oil imperialism created the oil "shortage". The Arab Oil embargo provided a convenient scapegoat. Hall shows that the shortage was the creation of the monopolies' propaganda machine and had no basis in fact: at the height of the "crisis" Saudi Arabian output was 8 per cent higher than the 1972 average and centralised U.S. petroleum stocks were 30 million barrels greater than in December 1972. While the "shortage" caused real suffering and hardship among working people throughout the west, the profits of the Seven Thieves rose by a massive 75 per cent in the last quarter of 1973 to ten billion dollars.

This gigantic robbery was carried out with the active assistance of the U.S. government. The grip of the Seven Thieves on American politics is reflected in the integration of business (Exxon, Mobil and Standard Oil), finance (Chase Manhattan Bank) and government (Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger).

Nelson Rockefeller's involvement in politics was inspired not by any lofty ideals but by a desire that U.S. Government policy should serve the interests of the oil

monopolies. Consequently, Rockefeller developed a special interest in foreign policy. In 1942, he was co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs; by a strange coincidence South America was then the main source of cheap oil for the U.S. In 1958, a bright young man on Rockefeller's staff was writing reports on international security which, with amazing accuracy, anticipated U.S. Foreign Policy. By 1968, the bright young man - Henry Kissinger - was officially dictating that policy. Today, the Rockefeller/Kissinger team is formally re-united at the centre of power in the United States. They serve "the bloated spider of finance capital - the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, etc. . . . "At their disposal they have vast resources of finance and the cumulative experience and expertise of U.S. military and espionage agencies. They will not hesitate to use them when American (i.e. monopoly capital) interests are threatened. Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and Chile reflect the Rockefeller/Kissinger line on foreign policy. Preparations for a new war have begun; the respected US news magazine "Business Week" recently reported that American armed forces had carried out war manoeuvres against an imaginary oil-producing country entitled "Petrolandia".

"With Capitalism", Gus Hall states, "we are dealing with an economic system that has served its historical purpose. It has outlived its usefulness. It has given birth to a class of corporate thieves who do anything and everything to perpetuate a set-up that makes it possible for them to continue their gigantic rip-offs".

Marxism, he concludes shows "that what is needed is a change in the corporate life-styles - a change from the life style of the leech to the life-style of a productive worker. What is needed is a change of system - from an old and eroding capitalism to a new and vigorous, full of promise Socialism". Against the power of the oil monopolies the working-class in Ireland have at their disposal a powerful weapon - Marxism, which is truly as Gus Hall says "a computer for victory".



## 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.

Further information available to prospective members at the following addresses.

ULSTER: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast. 12. Republican Club, 28 Gt. James's Street, Derry.

MUNSTER: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay, Cork. Barry Doyle c/o 19 New Road, Kileely, Limerick.

LEINSTER: Sean Kelly, 113 The Quay, Waterford. Sinn Fein Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Rd., Bray.

CONNAUGHT: Paddy Kilcullen, Kilmore, Bothar an Sop, Sligo Road, Ballina, Co. Mayo.

I Wish to Join the Republican Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_