

*the* **United  
Irishman**

ΔΗ ΕΙΡΕΑΝΗΔΕ ΔΟΝΤΑΙΘΗ

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# POWER SHARING



# Defend workers' rights



● Flintan Kennedy, President of I.T.G.W.U., is determined to undermine Union democracy.

The determination of the Government and employers to achieve a 15th Round National Pay Agreement has been supported by a massive public relations campaign and trade union promotion by the Congress leadership. In a curious exercise of "not negotiating or making a recommendation", they have found a formula for subverting the democratic decision of the conference on January 29th. The Government has intervened directly in the collective bargaining process in an undisguised bid for a national agreement: promises on income tax, equal pay for women, capital gains tax for the wealthy and even trade union amalgamations have been included in an unprecedented flurry of legislative activity.

The decision in favour of a further period of Employer-Labour wage control may, however, be a Pyrrhic victory if the only result is a drastic increase in unofficial strike action and a wholesale disillusionment with the I.C.T.U. Trade union democracy must be seriously in question, as is the apparent inability of the present leadership to act independently of the State, and the employer organisations. One factor to emerge clearly from the trade union debate on national agreements is that flat pay claims, however attractive they appear at first, offer no alternative to a comprehensive policy on all the factors that affect living standards. Militancy on a

haphazard free-for-all basis will not win the support of the trade union movement and could lead to disunity and industrial weakness. If we are to defeat the Employer-Labour Conference concept of industrial relations, we need a united, class-conscious movement with a national and industrial policy. It has become increasingly obvious that wage militancy alone cannot protect the living standards of the working class. In the present era of growing world shortages of raw materials, and rising costs of fuel and power supplies, the labour movement can only advance by activity on all fronts, including the demand for nationalisation of resources.

# LOYALIST PROOF OF SAS ACTIVITY

William Black, aged 50, has been dismissed from the U.D.R. and escaped a number of attempts on his life since he interrupted a S.A.S. undercover operation in August 1972. It all started early one morning when Black and his wife saw three men pushing a neighbour's van down the road in the Suffolk area of Belfast. The men had long hair and carried guns in their belts. Black took his U.D.R. issue rifle and challenged the men. Two of them escaped in a car but he held the third at gunpoint while his wife phoned the R.U.C. As they were waiting for them to arrive the captive pleaded with Black: "Don't shoot, I'm security".

The army arrived with the police and the two men who had escaped calmly drove back again and all three were taken off in a Saracen. Later that night Black met the three men again when he was called to Garnock army post. They were carrying wigs and chatting light-heartedly with sholders. One of them came over to him and said, "Why don't you learn to mind your own sodding business?". Black was then told by an officer that he had interrupted an Army special intelligence operation. He was reminded of his oath of allegiance and asked to forget the incident. No one was charged as a

result of the incident. But two weeks later Black was dismissed as "unsuitable" from the U.D.R. A few days after the incident—at the end of August 1972—a shot was fired through his door narrowly missing him. In fear of his life, Black moved house to another part of Belfast. Then again three months later the house directly opposite was machine gunned and, feeling that it was too much of a coincidence, the family moved again.

Black then broke his silence and reported the original incident to a loyalist Assembly member who demanded a public inquiry. But it didn't end there. Earlier this year, in another incident involving the British Army, Black was shot in the stomach and mouth at a small summer cottage 12 miles from Belfast. Army Headquarters issued three conflicting reports on the incident. But now there are growing demands from loyalists for a full public inquiry into the undercover activity of the British Army. The penny has finally dropped.

### MICHAEL GOVERN

THE leadership of the Republican Movement regret the death of Michael Govern of Moynalty. He took a prominent part in the Meath area during the War of Independence and throughout his life he remained steadfast to the Republican ideal. To his wife and family we tender our sincerest sympathy.

## Dublin housing

Dublin members of Sinn Fein picketed the monthly meeting of the City Commissioners on March 14 to protest against the proposed eviction of hundreds of families presently squatting in Corporation houses. When the issue came up for discussion, it took the Commissioners just five minutes to dispose of the future of over 1,500 people. While opposed to squatting in Corporation houses Sinn Fein at least recognises the cause of the problem and has repeatedly called on the Government to take steps to solve the chronic situation in Dublin. Those measures must include the declaration of a housing emergency, an immediate halt to all speculative building and office block development, an amnesty for all squatters and the establishment of a housing fund to finance all publicly built housing. The government created the problem, it is they who must solve it.

**HUGHES AND MCGERRIGAN MEMORIAL**

The unveiling of memorial to Tony Hughes and Jim McGerrigan who were shot dead by British troops in Armagh in April 1973 will take place on Sunday 7th April in Armagh.

**Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration**

will be held at **Bodenstown,**

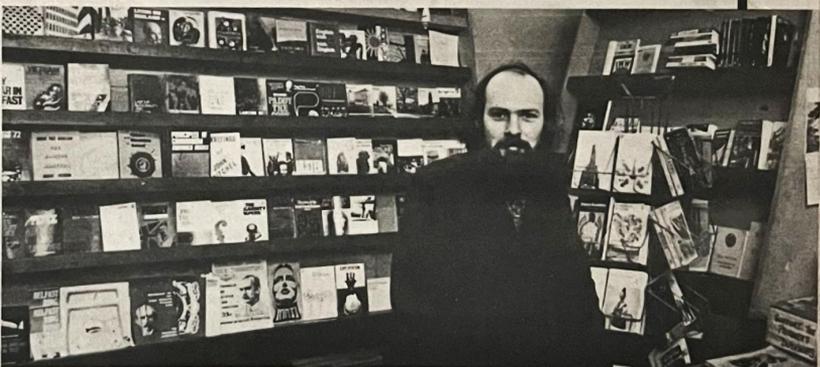
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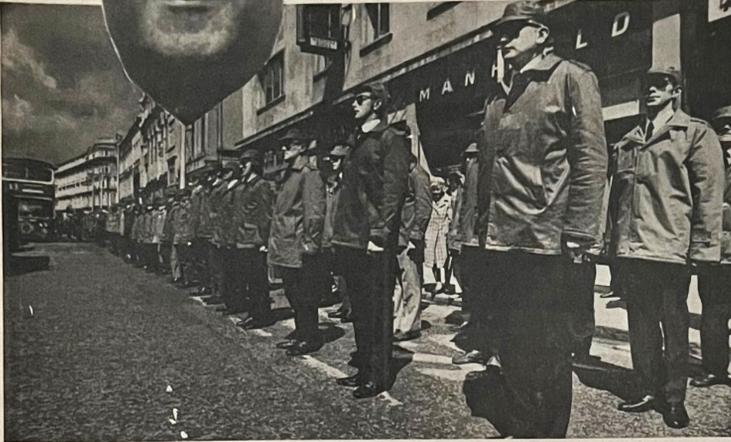
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*This interview with Sammy Smyth is the first which the United Irishman hopes to present with Loyalist spokesmen over the next few months.*

*Smyth articulate spokesman for the Ulster Defence Association, powerful grass roots Protestant organisation, has appeared as the strong man over this past number of months. Now that Sunningdale would seem to be in the melting pot, his words have even more significance.*



# The voice of loyalist militancy

## Who are you kidding Mr. Cooper?

During the recent election campaign in the Six Counties, attacks on the S.D.L.P. by Mrs. Bernadette McAliskey and the Republican Clubs were shrugged off by Mr. Ivan Cooper as attempts by "political rejects" to discredit his party. "The S.D.L.P.", he boasted, "is the only party that the people can trust."

A surprising statement from Cooper who must be well in the running for the prize of political opportunist of the year. He'll do anything to win a few votes. That's the kind of politician he is. The problem is that most of his schemes tend to rebound on him. One such instance which occurred in Strabane shortly before the local government elections, recently came to light.

In the early hours of the morning of Sunday, September 23 last, a U.D.R. patrol went into the Drumralagh Estate in Strabane and broke a number of windows at the home of the Hegarty family. The next day Mr. Hegarty lodged complaints at the R.U.C. station and at the local offices of Mr. Cooper, Stormont M.P. for the area.

Two days later the family received a letter from Mr. Cooper's office to say that Mr. Whitelaw had apologised for the actions of that particular patrol. Mr. Cooper went on to point out that the patrol had no right to be in the Estate and continued: "I understand that an N.C.O. has been dismissed as a result of my representations". He asked the family to show the letter to their neighbours "since there was a considerable amount of concern at the time".

Unhappy with the reply, Mr. Hegarty proceeded with his complaint to the R.U.C. but heard nothing more about it until he received a letter on January 17 from Superintendent J. B. Dobson. The R.U.C. in their reply said that they had investigated the matter and had been advised by the military authorities "that the substance of your complaint has not been accepted. The units concerned deny breaking any windows". In short, they are saying that the Hegarty family and other residents in the Estate are liars.

Perhaps Mr. Cooper will now issue a statement to clear up the misunderstanding. We'll just have to wait and see.

In many ways Sammy Smyth's is the authentic voice of Northern Protestant militancy. Fiercely aware of his working class origins, distrustful of the "middle-class politicians" who have traditionally led the Protestant community, and disillusioned with Britain, he nevertheless sees Republicanism as the main enemy of the people he represents.

His consciousness — and personal experience — of the exploitation of the Protestant working class, permeates everything he says: "I myself was an Orangeman and a Masonic man. I worked as a labourer in the Yard for ten years. At no time was I ever able to use these to get a job".

To a limited extent he is willing to co-operate, even with people he regards as political enemies, to alleviate working-class problems. "As you know I am secretary of the Greater Belfast Community Association. Now this covers all what the Loyalists would call the real hard line Provo and I.R.A. areas such as Andersonstown and Ardoyne . . . I'm prepared to work with them and do it without any obstacles at all".

### Trade unionism

There can be no doubting Sammy Smyth's commitment to the social work on which he spends so much of his time. But when we go deeper into his political philosophy we find an area of confusion which is difficult to penetrate. He says he is a socialist but, "I find my socialism is distinct from your socialism . . . the socialism of the Republican Movement. I define socialism as simply those who are incapable of looking after themselves should be looked after". In this context he mentions deserted wives, old age pensioners and the physically handicapped. He is against the profiteering of the private owners of industry. "The bulk of profits should go to the workers"—but he is not against profit as such, "You must accept that if a person is going to invest money, he's entitled to expect a return on his money irrespective of what your own personal philosophy would mean to you. Therefore you have to come to some sort of arrangement with him . . . I think the best way to do it is to give the worker a good wage, reducing the employer's profit, saying to the worker, fair enough, you've got a good wage, the employer is not getting an exorbitant profit, therefore it's up to you; if you want the national cake to grow, invest a proportion of your wages in some sort of National Investment Company". He does not seem to have worked out who is going to intervene to reduce profits and control his wages.

His "socialism", in fact, is more a general attitude than a well-defined political philosophy. Insofar as it can be pinned down, it consists of benign welfare-statism combined with some sort of pro-worker wage control. Indeed he is explicit that, given the combined choice between revolutionary socialist change and society as it is, he would opt for the status quo. "I am quite happy with this type of society. I would like the national income distributed more evenly, but I think that to try and get all the people thinking the same is wrong".

(Curiously enough, taking his social and economic views on their own, Mr. Smyth's nearest political equivalent in these islands is probably Mr. Thorpe's Liberal Party).

But through all Mr. Smyth's statements one can discern, over and over again, a residue of old-fashioned Protestant exclusivism. His distrust of Roman Catholics — about which he is quite open and honest — leads him for example, to deny point blank that discrimination ever existed in the North: "He (the Loyalist) was in the exact same position as the Roman Catholic. Some of them worked, some of them didn't . . . they had no advantages over the Roman Catholics".

Suspicion of Catholic intentions colours his attitude to other institutions. Asked about the importance of trade-unionism, for example, his reaction is not to consider how far it represents the workers' economic interests, but whether it is loyal to the state. "Sure you must be joking. The trade union movement is nothing but Nationalists. Look at Victor Blease, Brendan Harkin and Stephen McGonigle. All those. Every opportunity they get they run down Northern Ireland. And Northern Ireland is my country." This, although Mr. Smyth will not like it being pointed out, is a simple restatement of the old Unionist Party's attitude to workers' organisations; that they existed to integrate the workers into an all-class, pro-Ulster alliance.

Mr. Smyth is at pains to point out that he is not against Catholics on religious grounds, but because they are, almost to a man and woman, United Irishlanders. He is haunted by the "spectre" (his word) of a United Ireland that, inevitably it would be an oppressive Catholic state. "The war here is not sectarian. The war is over the question of a United Ireland. It's as simple as that. And I'll always refute this term sectarianism. If I went out to-morrow and shot Austin Curry, I wouldn't be shooting him because he's a Roman Catholic. I wouldn't be shooting Paddy Devlin because he's Roman Catholic; I'd simply be shooting them because they want a United Ireland and I don't".

### Common ground

He is very strong too on "decision making", analysing the failure of loyalist leaders in the past, not according to the class from which they came, but on the basis of their inability to "make good decisions". "Now there is no-one in the political elite that I can see who is capable of taking successful decisions. I could be wrong but I don't think so. Therefore the para-military organisations have got to make these decisions themselves. It's quite possible that if the proper avenue is opened, a successful decision maker will come forward". It is not without interest that Mr. Smyth claims never to have made a bad decision in his life.

These curious ideas apart, Sammy Smyth is clearly to be taken seriously. In its efforts to undercut sectarianism and to reach our Protestant fellow-workers his confusions and misconceptions are those that we must dispel. His commitment to a genuine, if ill-defined "socialism" is the common ground from which we must begin that task.

**CEATHAIR**

The Protestant working-class of the Six Counties decisively rejected the Sunningdale agreement. They were right, although in some respects it may have been for the wrong reasons.

Their votes may have been stimulated by fear — fear that a vote for the pro-Assembly parties would have meant a vote for unity with a Catholic-dominated, Church-dominated Twenty-Six Counties. This is something that Republicans have always opposed. Unity, for Republicans, cannot and does not mean absorption of a Protestant minority into a Catholic State.

Their votes may have been inspired by an

element of defiance — the defiance of a section of a community which feels itself to be under threat of domination by another section.

As far as their fears and their defiance are concerned, no one in the Republican movement would disillusion or hinder them. They are rightly afraid and properly defiant. Free State governments have shown no sign of interest in their fates, let alone concern for their rights; the expression of concern for their rights is no more than Republicans have been pressing for during the past decade, and more.

If their vote was also one of desperation, because their future has been removed from their hands, then the analysis at least was



**THE LOYALIST ANSWER**

shared by Republicans. The ability to control their future has been removed from the Irish working-class in the Six Counties, as elsewhere in the island, by involvement in the Common Market, the links with Britain and a total unwillingness on

the part of the Free State government to come to terms with the regime.

Those Catholics, Protestants and people of no religion who voted for the Republican Clubs' candidates and for men or women who

shared their socialist republican philosophy voted against the status quo in the Counties and against the prospect of an agreement which would link the middle-classes and impose upon the working people a British "solution" to the so-called Irish Question.

Thus, the people of the Six Counties who have rejected Sunningdale, a British solution which the united middle-class politicians would impose, form the vast majority of the working-class population of the area. Dramatically, if from different directions, there is a coming-together, a unity which may be made whole by the political activity of a non-sectarian movement towards a socialist republic.

The dream is not in vain. Unity is no longer a hope but a necessity. The people of the Six Counties are beginning to recognise that. It is the task of the Republican Clubs, as it is the task of all genuine Republicans, to build on that recognition, to do nothing which will diminish or distort it. It is for Republicans to ensure that the fears of Protestant and Catholic worker alike are reduced until they can be eliminated; that their unity is strengthened until it gives the socialist republican movement the support it must have to achieve its ultimate objective — a 32 county state free from external influence, secular, socialist and developing in the interests of the working people.

**O'BRIEN'S 'EIRE NUA'...**



**The new hypocrisy**

CONOR Cruise O'Brien is a very able, very skilful and very determined politician. He knows what he wants, and he knows what is essential and non-essential. The same cannot be said for all who choose to disagree with him.

In Waterford at the end of February he said he would change the formula in the Broadcasting Act relating to the position of the Irish language. He suggested a new formula. The new formula makes the position of Irish so insignificant as to be virtually non-existent.

This scarcely matters now. But O'Brien's opponents are more concerned with the changed formula than with the reality. The reality is that it doesn't matter what formula about Irish is included in the Broadcasting Act. The reality is that in practice Irish is virtually non-existent on Telefís Éireann.

Mr. Burke changed the formula about Irish in education a year ago. He abolished Irish as a compulsory subject for certificate exams. It makes no practical difference.

The fact that Burke and O'Brien changed these formulae doesn't matter because they were empty shams. Removing the old formulae is a negative but not necessarily harmful thing just as the introduction of new formulae is not necessarily positive and helpful.

What really matters is the long-term, comprehensive intention of O'Brien, Burke and others of like mind not only about the Irish language, but about Ireland!

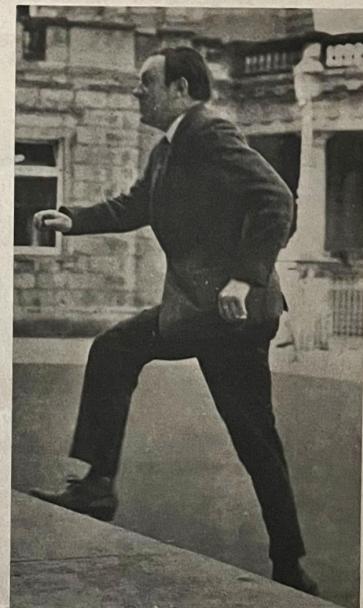
**Telefís Éireann**

It is at this point that O'Brien's manner and attitude reveal more than any formulae of words. In his speech in Waterford and in an interview on Radio and on Telefís Éireann, O'Brien seemed to go far out of his way to be patronising, offensive and domineering towards those in whose life the Irish language is important. He talked down to them in a condescending manner like one of the old 'Squireens' talking to unsatisfactory tenants.

There is much in what O'Brien said with which one would agree; he is a clever man. He used the long-standing and undeniable hypocrisy of Fianna Fail on this matter as a shield — nothing he said or did could equal the gross and rotten history of that Party in all its years of power. A Gaeltacht died in Clare during the time when de Valera was T.D. for the county. Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Burke and others must indeed be grateful to Fianna Fail who have disqualified themselves from all useful comment and reaction.

**Coalition Government**

What matters is the reality. The reality is that O'Brien and the Coalition Government have now spent one year in demoralising the old hypocrisy. That was long overdue, but it is merely negative. They have put nothing positive in its place, which suggests that they are creating a new hypocrisy — the hypocrisy of pretending that the Irish language the Gaeltacht and the culture rooted in them can survive in open competition



● Conor Cruise O'Brien: Britain's man in Ireland.

Ireland — politically, economically and socially. Though this is quite logical for the Party which accepted the Treaty of 1921. In particular, it is very logical for Dr. O'Brien whose personal tradition is that of a vaguely liberal Home-Ruler. It is not irrelevant that the period of history to which he has devoted most of his efforts as a scholar was the Home Rule period. It is not irrelevant that he considers 1916 and the Pearse/Connolly thing to have been a deviation. He sees himself as a corrector of that deviation.

**Trade Unionist**

An excellent weather-guide at all times is one Charlie McCarthy, arch-conservative trade unionist, and a kite frequently flown by the Fianna Fail establishment in their day. He flew on this very subject a few days before Dr. O'Brien spoke, and referred to those two islands as a natural unit. A few days after O'Brien's speech, John Bruton, Parliamentary Secretary in Education, delivered yet another speech on exactly the same lines.

The implications of all this are very great, and need to be explored at greater lengths. But it might be well to repeat the fact pointed out by poet Sean O'Riordain — that what O'Brien, Bruton, McCarthy and the rest call the "Gaelic sub-culture" is no such thing. It is not a branch or subordinate part of English culture. It is an entirely different, unrelated and independent culture and civilisation.

with the power and wealth of the world-wide Anglo-American culture, of which this island is a semi-connected part. It is not unreasonable to

suggest, on words and performance to date, that the Coalition, led by Dr. O'Brien has the long term intention of the closest possible integration of Britain and

The building of the Republican Movement as things now stand depends on a variety of activities. One of the major aspects of the continued growth and development of the organisation is the recent decision to buy out and rebuild the centre at 30 Gardiner Place. The reconstruction of the building and the vast space at the rear of the building depends obviously on the necessary finance being available.

**The Building Fund**

Friends, Since we first made our appeal for funds in last month's "United Irishman" I have received just over £100 in donations. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who responded so quickly to the appeal and to ask everyone else to make a greater effort this month. £100 is a good start but it is still a long way off our final target of £30,000. So please send off a donation now to me:

Padraig MacCallaig, Sinn Féin Building Fund, 30, Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Britain is now ruled by a minority Labour government. Mr. Wilson, the temporary Prime Minister has promised to get down to work immediately.

The miners' strike which brought on the election is bound up with the international energy crisis. Oil prices will no longer be at the rates laid down by American and European petroleum companies. They will remain significantly higher than in past years. Therefore, Wilson, faced with a continuing balance of payments problem, will be forced to attack the Trade Unions in much the same way as the Tories, if in a less obvious manner.

It is clear that the British electorate found it well nigh impossible to choose between Tory and Labour politics, hence the minority government. Neither of the two parties demonstrated that they could solve the problems of rising prices and the falling value of the pound. Equally both are divided on the vexing question of Britain's participation in the Common Market. Although on this latter issue Wilson may present the problem for solution by referendum as his troubles increase. A victory here would then give him the opportunity to declare a general election on that one issue. This may be what he is hoping for.

In the meantime vast sections of the working class led by the miners will be pressing for higher wages and more benefits, such as shorter hours, holidays and better conditions. These pressures on the British economy will undoubtedly have serious adverse effects here in Ireland, as we have absolutely no control whatsoever over the £ sterling. Inflation in England and a collapse of 'international support' for the pound will bring chaos to the Irish economy. Particularly when it is remembered that 75 per cent of Irish manufacturing industry is in the hands of foreign interests, the bulk of which are Anglo-American.

It is vital therefore that our solidarity with the British working class be strengthened. This is not a matter of words but a serious question of the preservation of living standards and opposition to imperialism and the multi-national companies. The interests of the Irish working class and the British worker coincides. Talk of the national interest must be seen for what it is, Coalition bluffing to maintain profits and deny Irish workers the benefits of their labour.

Certainly there is a national interest. An interest which is totally in the hands of foreign companies. Our natural resources and mining wealth have been handed as a gift to the same multi-nationals now being clobbered by the Arab peoples. There is a desperate need to intensify the demand for the ownership of all Irish wealth by the Irish people.

The lessons are clear. British workers must realise that they can never be masters in their own country while Britain remains in Ireland. Irish workers must learn that their freedom means the total defeat of all imperialist interests in Ireland.

# TIME TICKS AWAY



# No time for despair

Election  
analysis



● Faulkner: Running with the fox and hunting with the hounds.

Republican assessment of their election performance must be mixed. The total number of votes cast for Republican candidates including Mid-Ulster was 31,824. Mrs. McAliskey's vote was 16,672.

Best performances were in Armagh and Derry City where according to reports, our election machine functioned excellently. The other two constituencies didn't come up to expectations, and in particular West Belfast was very disappointing. Jack Brady fought the seat, presenting at all times the full Republican programme, emphasising the reawareness within the Movement of the Connolly tradition. Unfortunately the local membership did not seem to appreciate the stature of their candidate or the importance of promoting our policies, until the last moment.

South Down was also unsatisfactory in spite of a good work rate. Hugh Golding who polled 21,000 votes as a unity candidate managed on this occasion to clock up only 3,000. At the same time we can be sure that this is a vote of committed Republicans who see the solution to British Imperialist domination in Republican-Socialist terms.

Most commentators seem to see the Unionist successes as in the main an anti-Sunningdale vote, but a deeper analysis is required. It is not possible to equate the voters who supported Dr. Paisley with those who supported West or Craig. Certainly there are basic points of agreement but there are also vast differences.

Dr. Paisley who is a committed opponent of the Common Market has a fundamental distrust of West, the rancher and rightly so.

West has only one political position if it can be called that, blind opposition to Faulkner, but he is also a Tory in the Willie Whitelaw mould, which must disgust Paisley. The latter's vote comes in the main from the small farmer, now being crushed by the policies which West must support. Paisley therefore will find himself increasingly caught between the demands of real economic

politics and the pressures of the blue stocking brigade.

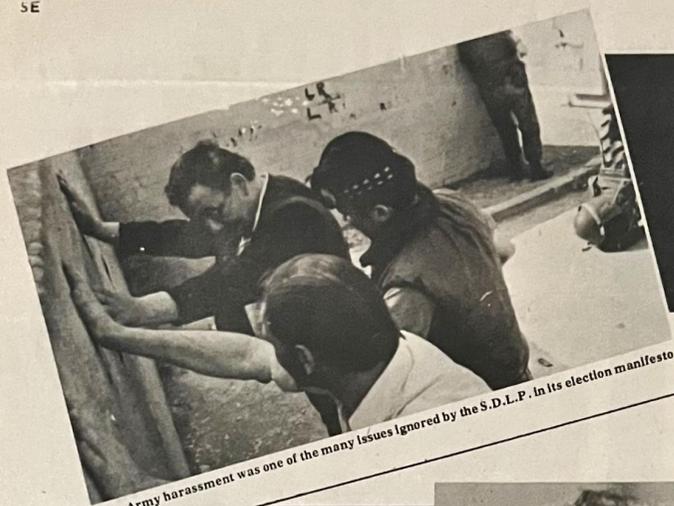
On the other side Craig, a proto-Nazi, will be increasingly seeking the aid of the remnants of native Six County capitalism. And as the forces of international big business crush those local forces, Craig will be further pushed into more public support for sectarian murder and violence. Violence is Craig's answer to Sunningdale, but his politics will ensure that it is violence directed against the Roman Catholic minority. Paisley who is nothing if not shrewd will therefore come to a near Boal position as the alternative to the vagueness of West and the crass stupidity of Craig.

What of the future? We must recognise that there is a solid base, a substantial number of people, upon whom we can build. This is no time for despair.

But first let us recognise that the bulk of the Six County community voted for 'peace'. They rejected the mindless campaign of the Provisionals and in so doing, they lumped the Republican Movement in the same camp. For the many then the only alternative was to vote S.D.L.P., the party of 'power sharing and progress'. This in spite of the fact that the S.D.L.P. had sold out on the rent and rates strike, the internees and were willing to join hands with the arch-bigot Faulkner. Such is the present reality.

Recognition of these current streams in Northern politics and a willingness to act on such assumptions must precede future activity. Increasingly the Common Market, high prices, new rent structures, attacks on Trade unionists and workers living standards are going to be the central political issues.

We in the Republican Movement have both the political and economic answers. There will be a greater willingness to listen as the sectarian parties pursue their sole interest — the retention of power. Consequently we should be planning now for the next round of Imperial elections which must surely be within the next twelve months.



● Army harassment was one of the many issues ignored by the S.D.L.P. in its election manifesto.

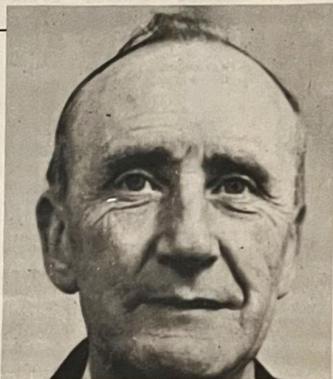
The Republican Movement in South Down fought a good election campaign. Their candidate, 56 year old Hugh Golding, proved himself as a man worth fighting for and his final tally of votes showed that the Republican Clubs have a political future in the area.

Hugh Golding had plenty of electoral experience. For many years he was a Councillor of the old Newry Urban Council where he sat as a member of the Irish Labour Party. In 1970, while still a Labour Party man, Hugh fought the South Down seat as an anti-Unionist Unity candidate. He was given the backing of all other political groups in the area except the liberals and he polled an impressive 22,000 votes.

He fought this election as the representative of the Republican Clubs. With the introduction of internment and the continuing British Army brutality in the North, Hugh Golding was not impressed by the political stance of his fellow party member, Conor Cruise O'Brien. Golding could not accept a party leader who believed in two nations but one culture — the British culture.

On February 28 he had two opponents. Captain Lawrence Orr, imperial Grand Master of the Orange Order, represented the Unionist Party (Glengall Street) and Sean Hollywood, a school teacher from Newry carried the S.D.L.P. flag.

Captain Orr has always been so sure of his majority in South Down that he no longer even bothers to live in the constituency. Although a native of Gilford, Co. Down, he lives permanently near the Thames in London's fashionable Chelsea area. He disowned Brian Faulkner on the day the Sunningdale agreement was signed and his politics are those of reaction.



Captain Orr campaigned on the sectarian vote. He asked all Protestants to rally behind him to save the Union and for his efforts Brian Faulkner appealed to the same Protestant people to abstain from voting. It was ironic that Mr. Faulkner should arrive in the political position of advocating abstentionism.

Orr and Hollywood had one thing in common. Both ran a sectarian campaign. Hollywood was selected as candidate as a consolation prize for not being selected for the Assembly. Like Hume and Cooper he used the Civil Rights Movement as his first step up the political ladder. But he never reached the same level.

An active member of the G.A.A., both on and off

# ELECTION

## Hugh Golding/South Down

the field, he naturally hoped to pick up the G.A.A. vote. To this end he was guided by his colleague, Paddy O'Donoghue, former Chairman of the Down G.A.A. board and currently one of the S.D.L.P. Assembly representatives for the area. Hollywood did not get the G.A.A. vote because of the high numbers of rank-and-file members from the area who are imprisoned and interned in Long Kesh. He may have forgotten them but their friends certainly hadn't.

He also sought — and got — the convent circuit vote. With an election machine that was oiled in equal parts by money and religious conviction he did what would make any Fianna Fail campaigner proud. The role of the Reverend Mother in Northern politics is far from over.

Hugh Golding did not fight on sectarian issues. He chooses his battle ground as the struggle of the working class people in the area for jobs and houses and a decent wage. He stood by the small farmers of the Mourne Hill in their fight against economic extinction. He stood against Britain's plans for Ireland as outlined in the Sunningdale Agreement.

He fought on issues. One of these concerned an article in the local Republican Club's paper "The Plough" in which a local S.D.L.P. councillor in Rostrevor, John Tinnelly, was alleged to be involved in a property deal scandal. Tinnelly's actions severely damaged Hollywood's chances. He talked about taking legal action but failed to talk the S.D.L.P. to success.

The "Plough" helped shape the election campaign. Hugh Golding lost, but the Republicans in the area through their clubs and through their paper are ready for the next election.

## Tom Moore/Armagh



Armagh is a big constituency ranging from the traditionally republican small farming community of the border areas in the South to the industrial stronghold of Unionism, Portadown, in the North. The seat has always been Unionist, never once defeated there, the U.U.U.C. candidate was odds on favourite from the start.

But Tom Moore, the Republican Clubs candidate, put up a terrific campaign. In fact it was the only campaign waged against Unionism in the County. The S.D.L.P. candidate Paddy O'Hanlon, was rarely seen canvassing and held no pre-election meetings. He obviously felt that he didn't need to with both the media and the old Nationalist Party network pushing him hard.

Tom Moore not only lacked these advantages but had the constant problem of disruption to his campaign due to Army harassment. Nearly 20 of his election workers were

detained at one stage or another during the last 10 days of the campaign. Detentions ran from a matter of hours to 2 days in the case of Eugene O'Reilly.

Tom was held himself after appearing on a T.V. election programme in Belfast, and on two other occasions in the constituency itself.

On one of these occasions Captain Green, of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers in Lurgan, told him that Republicans had "no business fighting elections in Lurgan. Anyone else seen here will get the same treatment".

At the same time Tom enjoyed certain advantages over other candidates. An ex-internee and active trade unionist, he was familiar with the sort of problems most of the electors faced, from military intimidation in their homes to the threat of unemployment on the factory floor. He also had a reputation for hard work at grass roots level, a capacity

he amply demonstrated during the campaign. It is doubtful if any other candidate made anything like the same effort to talk to people, explain his political position or listen to their problems and point of view.

He was the only candidate to voice the fears of the people of mid and South Armagh at the policy of the new Executive in Belfast. An Executive which seems intent on pursuing the plans for centralising all industrial growth and service industries around the new Craigavon complex.

He was the only candidate to put a consistent socialist alternative to Sunningdale and at no time did he try to make easy running on the old sectarian divide. If nothing else Tom Moore, and the Clubs, are breaking new territory in the traditionally sectarian terrain of Armagh politics. In the long term they will be proved to have the winning formula.

# Mick Montgomery/Derry

"Almost like an American Presidential campaign", was how one man described the publicity campaign mounted in Derry on behalf of the Republican Clubs candidate, Michael Montgomery. Certainly, no other campaign had been quite like it.

The campaign began somewhat apprehensively with the election committee unsure of the procedures involved. However, in time the pieces began to take shape and the whole electoral process became more tangible.

No sooner had it begun when reports started to drift in to the election headquarters that the British Army were arresting our workers. Protests were made. They were ignored. Still more reports of posters being ripped down by soldiers. One report of a house being raided at four in the morning and the occupants told to remove "offensive material" from their front window. The protests continued. They were ignored once again.

Whilst waiting for an election meeting to begin, Michael Montgomery, his agent, press officer and two other members of the election committee were arrested by the Ulster Defence Regiment. In complaining to the officer in charge, Mr. Montgomery was told to "shut his mouth" and "sit down or else". They were then taken to a UDR depot inside Maghera and kept waiting inside the Land Rover for almost two hours. During this time the troops kept up a systematic barrage of insults and threats. One was heard to tell his comrade to "shoot them if you get half a chance up the road". Finally after driving them by a round-about route, the UDR released the men without explanation or apology.

The intimidation continued unabated. Requests followed by even more reasonable appeals to the RUC were met with rebuff. Demands that the other candidates in the field take issue with the British forces were met with deafening silence, particularly the SDLP. Their campaign was allowed to continue without hindrance. We weren't surprised.

From the beginning, the campaign appeared as if the only candidate actually running in the Derry constituency was the Republican. Nothing was to be seen of either the

SDLP man or Foster of the Labour Party. Needless to say the Unionist, Willie Ross, didn't even have the courtesy of sending an electoral address to the people of Creggan.

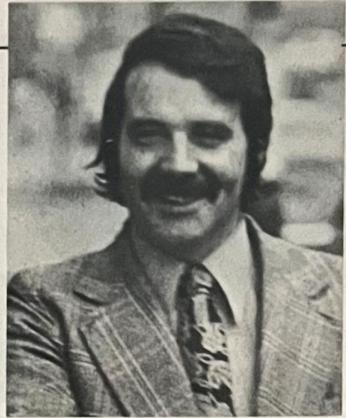
Nothing had changed. The working-class people of Derry were already moving into their various sectarian positions. The party of "moderation" played its usual sectarian card. The SDLP paid only lip service to the principle of non-sectarianism. They campaigned only in Catholic areas.

Not all went well for Hugo Logue, however, or for John Hume for that matter. Literally driven out of a part of Creggan, Hume was in fact assaulted in Dungiven. An irate mother of an internee grabbed a lock of John's hair claiming that as her son "had never had anything from Hume before he might as well have something now" — a piece of hair.

The canvass indicated changes in the local political situation. Clearly, the position as far as the SDLP were concerned, was not as cut and dry as they would have hoped. Wary from constant attacks on their already low standard of living as well as the nightly incursions of British soldiers was beginning to weigh heavily on the local populace.

Apathy, not unlike that prior to 1967, was beginning to become evident. Those less apathetic to events were going to state in a more decisive manner on polling day just what their attitude to the SDLP actually was.

The Republican campaign became more and more confident in its approach. Election addresses were written and despatched long before any others. The special free edition of the Starry Plough was



distributed with time to spare. Posters appeared at the beginning and continued to appear throughout the whole three weeks. The machinery appeared to be working well, and still the opponents stayed behind doors issuing first one denunciatory statement of the campaign of violence, then another.

Only towards the end did they finally emerge from the comfort of television studios and face the electorate in the streets. Even then they based their campaign on personalities and not on politics. But time is running out and soon that will not be enough. And when that time comes the Republican Movement will still be there presenting a real alternative.

# Jack Brady/West Belfast

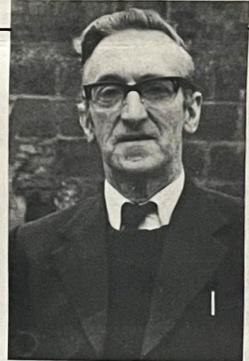
West Belfast, which promised to be the most interesting contest in the whole campaign, failed to live up to expectations. With the exception of Republican Jack Brady, the candidates fought their campaigns in the advertising columns of Belfast's daily papers. On this basis, Brady, fighting on a tight budget, was at a distinct disadvantage.

Fitt, in typically arrogant fashion, refused to canvass the constituency and remarked: "I don't have to canvass the area. The people know my record". But in the last few days of the campaign he must have been a worried man as John Hume, the Derry whizz-kid, appeared on the scene to give him a helping hand.

Despite protests from Jack Brady, Fitt was given coverage on many local news programmes in his capacity as Deputy Chief Executive. And in the end it was this coverage and the reaction of the electorate to the senseless and daily destruction and deaths on the streets which won him the seat.

The failure of Albert Price to take a sizeable section of the votes must have been a great disappointment to his backers who were rumoured to include millionaire Gerry Jones and Belfast businessman Gussie Eastwood. Campaigning solely on the issue of political prisoners with the slogan, "Get me in to get them out", he offered no alternative to the shallow, power-grabbing politics of the S.D.L.P.

Billy Boyd, fighting on behalf of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, made no impact



at all. On the N.I.L.P. record over the past few years this was hardly surprising and the party's future in Northern politics must now be in serious doubt. Its disappearance from the political scene would hardly be numbered among the major events of the year.

John McQuade, the only Unionist in the field, polled over 17,000 votes, a slight drop on the number cast for hard-line loyalists in the Assembly elections. His opposition to Sunningdale probably cost him the "moderate" Alliance vote. Nonetheless, it was an impressive anti-Sunningdale vote. It is regrettable, however, that anti-Sunningdale candidates such as McQuade, fighting for working-class votes, still don't recognise the need to raise important economic and social issues during their campaigns. Blind opposition to Sunningdale, without even a hint of an alternative, is like walking on the edge of a cliff — many people could be killed in the fall.

Jack Brady, a life-long Republican socialist, was the only candidate to spell out the real issues and to offer realistic alternatives for the benefit of workers on both sides of the sectarian barrier.

The failure of Brady to win a substantially higher percentage of the poll was no reflection on the candidate himself. With a small, though efficient machine, lacking finance and media coverage, he did well to top 3,500 votes — especially against such a formidable opponent as Fitt.

Greater impact could have been made, however, if more Republicans had committed themselves to the campaign.

Although on a sectarian head-count there was an increase of 9,000 potential S.D.L.P. votes in the constituency, Fitt's majority dropped by 10,000.

With such a high proportion of uncommitted votes and a solid base to build on, there is reason for hope in West Belfast — but only if the effort is made.



Westminster, aided by the Executive, will eliminate the problem of the small farmer by eliminating the small farmer himself.

# Bernadette McAliskey/Mid Ulster

Mid-Ulster is a predominantly agricultural constituency with a high proportion of small farmers trying to scrape a living from their holdings. The crisis in the pig industry and the disastrous effects of the Common Market on the farming industry in general should have been the major issues in the campaign.

High unemployment in areas such as Strabane and Cookstown, the spiralling cost of living and the wage restraint policies of the Tory government were other important issues. But these were not to the fore. Bernadette McAliskey, backed by the Republican Clubs, was the only candidate to raise them.

Ivan Cooper based his campaign on the S.D.L.P. call for "A New North, A New Ireland" and for a vote for "peace and prosperity through partnership". All of his propaganda — what little there was — was aimed specifically at the "nationalist" community. At no stage during the campaign did he spell out how the S.D.L.P. hoped to achieve this new era of prosperity.

When approached about the cost of meat,

Cooper laughed and remarked that he had been living on mince meat himself for the past few months. Needless to say the joke was not appreciated. And that was one of the few occasions that he ventured out of his car to address the electorate. But no-one could criticise him for anything that he said, for the simple reason that he never really made one significant statement.

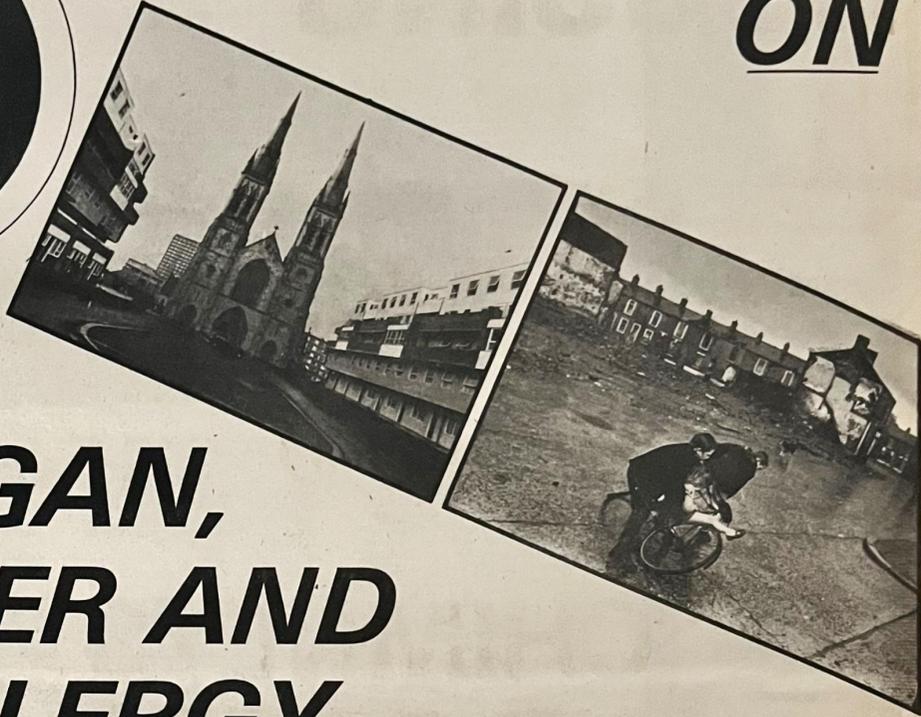
Only McAliskey, fighting on a Republican Socialist ticket, had a real alternative to offer. She and her workers fought a tremendous campaign and appealed to the electorate on both sides of the sectarian barrier.

Sunningdale and the E.E.C. were explained to the people, as were the consequences for the workers and small farmers. More than 16,000 people understood enough to reject the "path of moderation" offered by Cooper. They recognised that an alternative was needed and voted accordingly. On the strength of this vote Cooper can expect a much tougher fight next time round and with the present impasse, that can't be too far off.





## Derry



# CREGGAN, COOPER AND THE CLERGY

It is commonly maintained by pro-Assembly spokesmen in Derry that the housing scandal which detonated the troubles in the city in 1968 no longer exist. In a sense they are right. The chronic shortage of publicly financed houses for rent and the discriminatory allocation of those that were available no longer obtain. But that has not ended Derry's housing problem. It has simply changed the nature of the problem.

For decades the problem was simple. The population, particularly the Catholic population, increased apace. To preserve their gerrymandered Corporation majority the Unionists had to corral the increase inside the already overcrowded South Ward. They did it by building the Creggan Estate.

The Creggan, a sprawling monument to social insanity, built on a hill overlooking the Bogside, was begun in 1946. It now houses more than 20,000 people. From the beginning it was bleak, windswept and totally lacking in amenities. But it was accepted. It was accepted the more easily because in conceiving and building it the Unionist Party had a valuable ally in the Roman Catholic Church.

If the Unionist Party wanted the Catholic workers crowded together to render them politically impotent, the Church wanted them together to facilitate church and school building; so that Catholic institutions would, from the outset, be the focus of the whole community.

By the mid-sixties most of the building land on the Creggan hill had been used, but to give the Catholics homes elsewhere would have upset the sectarian arithmetic on which Unionism is based. So the Corporation stopped building houses. In 1967 not a single Corporation house was built in Derry. Resentment mounted and, since the Nationalist Party, allied to the Church, could not stop it, community-based groups

like the Derry Housing Action Group grew rapidly.

The Londonderry Development Commission was established to take over from the Corporation as part of the O'Neill "reform package". It was the policy under the chairmanship of millionaire estate agent Brian Morton which altered the nature of the problem in the City. Briefly, the Development Commission tried to buy off political militancy by building houses at an unprecedented rate. On the north-west fringe of the city the Shantallow estate expanded rapidly. Beside it the Carnhill estate was started and proceeded at breakneck speed. Across the Foyle the new Shantallow and Tullyally estates drew some families from across the river.

By last October, when the new District Council took over from the Derry Commission, the 1968 housing list had been wiped out (although, of course, new families kept the list alive). This progress was achieved at some cost. In the first place the increase in housing output in Derry meant a hidden decrease in other areas. The number of publicly-financed houses scheduled for completion in 1972 was 11,500. But when the Derry figure was revised upwards the over-all figure remained static. In other words, in a cynical attempt to mollify Derry the Stormont Government simply redirected houses.

Moreover, Derry's small housing bonanza attracted a host of fly-by-night operators who saw the chances of making a quick buck. The situation on the Tullyally Estate illustrates the process perfectly. After political pressure had been exerted at Stormont the contract — for 177 houses — was awarded to Donnelly Bros. Ltd, of which Ivan Cooper was a director, holding 1,250 shares. Donnelly Bros. employed no trade unionists. All the work was done on the "lump". Every

available corner was cut.

The result was that immediately the houses were up, they started falling down again. (At which point Ivan resigned from the board.) The firm — ordered by the architects to re-do much of the work — went bust and left the site half finished.

At the moment there are 76 half-built houses crumbling in the wind and rain. The 101 houses which are occupied are damp, cold, already in need of exterior repair and the subject of almost weekly demonstrations by the unfortunate tenants. This to a greater or lesser extent is the scene in all the estates.

The problems created by shoddy, cut-price building methods are compounded by the unabated determination of the Catholic Church to maintain its iron grip on the Catholic community. For example, attempts by some local doctors to set up a family counselling service in Creggan, where it is certainly needed, were aborted by clerical intervention. The priests

considered that they alone were capable and qualified to give distraught people advice.

The Church has also cost its flock a fortune by its obduracy in another direction. Lacking simple amenities like meeting halls, cinemas, etc., Creggan people agitated for community and youth centres. Public funds would have been forthcoming if the centres had been non-denominational. But the local hierarchy's fierce resistance to any such idea meant that the people had to pay for it themselves, every penny.

Thus, living in sub-standard houses on ill-planned or unplanned estates, milked by the Church for things which ought to come free, and caught in the ceaseless spiral of rising rents, the people are told that the housing problem is over.

They themselves know that it is not over. It is up to the Republican Movement to open up for them the revolutionary path which, alone, can end such problems for ever.



● Cooper: pontificating about the rights of the workers.

# HOUSING



## Belfast



# CHIMNEYS AND SPIRES

Belfast has always been known as the heart of the black North. The blackness in the main was the grime, the soot and the filth which belched out of the tall brick chimneys glowering over the tiny workers' houses in the Falls, the Shankill, Sandy Row and the Markets.

The Falls was dominated by four chimneys and two spires: the mills and the Roman Catholic church of St. Peter's. They cast their shadow over young and old, over the past and the future. Now there are only the twin spires of the church, recently cleaned, rearing stark over the remnants

of the old Falls and casting their reflection over the concrete jungle of Divis Flats.

To be accurate, there is one new spire. Divis Towers. A monument to the purposes of Gerry Fitt and the recent administrator of the parish. A fourteen-storey high isolation block, housing the old, in perched separation from the rest of the community.

It stands on the edge of the warren of barrack-type flats, into which the decent people of the Pound Loney were driven by the cunning of Fitt and the paternalism of the Roman Catholic Church.

## The Fitt-Murphy Plan

There are many areas in Belfast where the housing is more than a hundred years old. In such slums basic amenities are denied, for almost 93 per cent of the people. There may be no baths, no hot water, even in some cases no running water at all.

The Falls, Shankill, Sandy Row constitute slum empires for private landlords. In fact, 75 per cent of the North's private rented accommodation is concentrated in the inner Belfast area. No place else in England, Scotland or Wales is there so much private responsibility for such misery, for such a total lack of decent, necessary human facilities.

No one, therefore, could object to the positive redevelopment of these areas. And the people of the Lower Falls were no exception. The Housing Executive paid out £1,600,000 for the purchase of 50 acres of slum property in the Falls and £2,320,000 for 80 acres in the Shankill. It has as yet been impossible to discover who received this money for ground rents, for corner shops, for slum dwellings. Yet such a scandal has passed unnoticed by the politicians in the areas. Not

one of them even raised a question. The reasons are simple and the Lower Falls is an example of how those with power seek their own ends and not the people's.

The Northern Ireland Housing Trust (now the Housing Executive) presented a plan which would 'rehouse' 2,300 of the 3,000 families in the area. These were to be placed in seven tower blocks holding 820 families, supported by six- to 9-storey blocks housing 350 families. The plan was to have put the families in a smaller land area, thereby making the district one of the most densely populated in these islands.

That plan had the fullest support of the SDLP leader, Gerry Fitt, and the Rev. Canon Murphy, Administrator of St. Peter's R.C. Church.

Such a disastrous scheme had not even the merit of being profitable in money terms. All rents at this point in time go to cover loan costs. In other words, the hard-earned pounds and pence of the flat-dwellers go into the pockets of London speculators. Until October 1971 the Housing Trust received £2,321,000 in rents and paid out £3,366,000 in loan charges. The debt



● Fr. Murphy: keeping his flock together.

balance was made up by government grants.

Until 31st March, 1972, the new Executive paid over £4½ million in charges and got back £3,316,000 in rents. At the same time it must also be known that the much vaunted rent rebate scheme amounted to only £85,000 annually covering a total of seventy-two thousand houses.

Were there alternatives? The most important point to note is that those with power and considered to be in authority did not seek alternatives. Their sole consideration was either voters or aims givers.

The Republican Movement's agitation against the scheme was attacked as being inspired by foreign interests. Houses not flats became a slogan which separated those genuinely concerned with the people from those concerned only with numbers.

Proper use of the available land space, a rejection of the ring road policy and a building programme which would not distinguish between the Falls and the Shankill could have provided decent homes. This would also have required that the community leaders place the people before the profits of the London financiers. Their politics and their professions made that impossible.

But further along the Falls an imaginative response was made to a serious housing problem. Bombay Street, gutted in a sectarian assault, was being redesigned, replanned and prepared for the return of the families who were burnt out in August 1969.

Here homes have been built with full amenities. It was possible because those involved placed the needs of the people, the desire for houses, before the interests of the financiers, the politicians or the clergy.

The grey concrete and the windy balconies suggest more a prison environment than the homes of human beings.

The community of the Falls is being destroyed in the name of redevelopment, but in reality in the interests of secular and clerical power. Certainly, the two up and two down homes, the little boxes housing the large workers' families needed to be replaced. Real redevelopment would have had a genuine interest in the quality of the new homes, the nature of the existing community and the provision of a space where the new generations could grow to full appreciation of the world they were making.

The Housing Trust, operating as the arm of the Unionist Government, were eager to assist with the aims of Fitt and the Church, the one wanting to retain as many votes as possible, the other seeking to keep as many parishioners as possible. The result was the obscenity of Divis Flats. A community wantonly destroyed in the interests of power, privilege and profits.

Naturally, while the Housing Trust would respond to the demands of the local power complex, they had other masters to serve. And the interests of God and Mammon coincided.

The big building corporations, such as Unit and Laing, were anxious to make vast profits out of gerry-built flats. They could 're-house' the numbers demanded by using their building techniques, their shoddy materials and their delinquent architects.

Vast sums will have been gained out of the Falls development. 24 million pounds, it is estimated, will yield £120 million. The people will pay in high rents, in lack of facilities and growing isolation from their friends and neighbours.

The opposition to the redevelopment, in the main the Republican Movement, has been hampered both by the continuing British Army presence and the slanders directed against the Movement by the vested interests. A smear campaign was mounted against the Lower Falls Housing Action Group by sectarian elements and finally the RUC Special Branch intervened to prevent joint Falls-Shankill opposition to the Housing Trust scheming.

In spite of the calumnies and the secret police activity, the people gradually began to demand a different programme of rebuilding and some of the worst features have been changed. The seven proposed tower blocks have been cancelled, more houses promised and more open space. Yet the whole programme still is a victory for those who put profit before people.

The Falls is a devastated area; blocked up homes as the people flee both the British Army terror and the desolation. New flats, chicken cages, sprout up on the edge of the wasteland and the spirit of the community seeps out through the ugly gaps in the streets, along the litter-strewn alleys and the muddled vacant patches.

The tide could still be partially turned and there is a need to reassert the will of the people; the people who parents and grandparents made a community of the sweat boxes and who desire to build a working-class community, free from the old slums and the new.

## DEICH

Is lú ná riamh an smacht againn ar an saol. Deir tuairisc ó fhochoiste de chuid Sheanaid Mheiriceá go bhfuil greim ag ocht gcomhluchtal mór airgeadais (bancanna sé chinn acu, báineann an dá cheann eile leis an Malartán Stoic) ar beagnach gach comhlucht gnó ar fíú trácht air i Meiriceá. Is cumhachtai iad fíú ná na comhluchtal ola iad féin.

I ndairire is leo na comhluchtal ola. Ionann sin faoi láthair agus a rá gur leo an saol mór!

Seo an cineál nua impireachta atá tagtha ar an saol: dornán beag daoine, dornán beag bancanna, iad neamhspleach ar rialtais, ar votóirí, ar chuide fhisíu.

Is féidir leo rialtais a bhriseadh, a lúbadh, a chasadh. Ní fios cé tá taobh thiar díobh. Ní gá breathnú morán níos faide is dócha na na Rockefellers, na Morgans etc.

Idir dhá linn is féidir leis an ghnáth-oibri in Eirinn bheith sísta le cupla punt breise sa tsachtain. Conus d'fheadfaí níos mó a thabhairt dóibh agus brabús na gcomhluchtai ola agus na bancanna a chur ar aghaidh?

## Samplaí

Cúpla sampla chugainn le déanaí. Seo an méadú ar bhrabús na gcomhluchtai ola Meiriceanacha sa chead 9 mí de 1973 (i gcomparáid le 1972) agus níl an ráithe deiridh de 1973 san áireamh, ráithe an mhéadú mhóir ar phraghasanna:

Exxon (Esso) 59%, Getty 60%, Gulf 60%, Occidental 417%, Shell 41%. An mean-mhéadú do na comhluchtai uilig (31 cinn ar fad) na 47%.

B'fheart fós an scéal acu san Eoraip agus go mór mhór sa ráithe deiridh de 1973. Seo an méadú ar bhrabús sa ráithe sin, i gcomparáid leis an ráithe céanna i 1972: Exxon 59%, Texaco 70%, Mobil 68, S.O. (California) 94%, Gulf 153%.

Is mó fós a bheid sé sa chead ráithe de 1974. Ar eagla go gceapfadh an t-oibriocht a i ngeibhinn sa Chomhaontú Náisiúnta Pá go bhfuil deiridh an deascála ansin, léas solais eile chuide anois.

Tá sé díreach fógraithe ag Royal Dutch Shell gur tháinig méadú 160% ar a bhrabús i 1973 (ó £282m. go dtí £730m.) Cuimhnigh air agus an praghas ag



"Shortage? WHAT shortage... ON you mean that terrible of FUEL shortage?"

# MAIR A CHAPAILL

MARTA  
druidim le £1 an galún roimh dheireadh na bliana!

Ná samplaigh ach oiread go bhfuil na bancanna agus comhluchtai móra eile in Eirinn agus sa Bhreatain ar chúla sa rás seo. Níor mhéadaigh ré ach 58%, rud suarach, i 1972). Rinne Barclay's go dona, 50%, agus National Westminster chomh dona céanna. Meastachán roimh ré do A.I. Banks; 50% agus do Bhanc na hEireann; 80%.

Caithear a chur san áireamh gan amhras nach níos na bancanna fós féin an fíor-bhrabús a dhéanann siad a nochadh, sinneoin rialacha atá i bfeidhm anois le cupla bliain. Níor mhaith leo, is dócha, sinnt a mhúscailt sa phobal! I ráitíú ó na bancanna díird siad a leithéid seo: "utterly essential", "not enough".

Céard faoi chomhluchtai eile? Tháinig méadú 300% ar bhrabús Northgate Exploration (Gortdrum agus Tyngah, móide 9.4% de Mhianáigh Teamrach) i 1973; méadú 121% i gcás Unidare (agus is i bhfeabhas a bhí an scéal ag dul dóibh de réir mar a bhí an bhliain 4 chaitheamh) Is liosta le h-áireamh iad.

## Firinne

Dála an scéil, d'inis Peter Barry an fhirinne (an rud is anannmh i gcas fíor pholaitíochta) sa Dáil ar Feabhra 21. "There is no way in the short term we can get out of their hands" ar seisean, ag tagairt do na comhluchtai ola dá. Dá mbeadh breith ar a aiféala aige ní dheanfadh sé é. Sciort an focal uaidh, Léiríonn sé céard is brí leis an "sovereign parliament" a mhíonn Cosgrave agus a chuid maidrínní lathraigh ag maíomh as. Aithníonn an giolla a mháistir.

Bímis buíoch mar sin faoin Chomhaontú Náisiúnta Pá. Bímis buíoch go dtugann comhluchtai obair dínn ar chor ar bith is cartannach uathu é.

Gabháimís buíochas leis na ceardchumannáigh réadúla a thugann treoir a leasa don slua. Nárbh amadán chrioch-maithe iad na fir úd i dtús an chéid a dúirt linn "Eirigi ó bhúr nglúine", "Is libheas an domhan uilig" agus rudai seafóideacha eile mar iad.

Is fearr a thuigean Denis Larkin, Charlie McCarthy agus leithéid an scéil. Bímis buíoch!

## Scéal Scéil

### Foilsiu Mhaoise

Cén mholú atá ar Mhaois O Dónaill, Aire na Gaeilchta thús ansin ar bharr an tséithe? Tá siad dhá rá le míonna fada go bhfuil sé ar a bhealach anuas le cúpla tabléid ar a bhfuil réiteach gach faidhne don Ghaeltacht agus don Ghaeilge. An é nach bhfuil Dia saeta labhairt leis thús ansin? Nó an bhfuil Cruise O'Brien imithe in áit Dé anois agus é ag réiteach aitheantai nua dá ghiolla? Bhí Cosgrave féin réidh leis an soiscéal nua a chraobh-scaoladh roinnt seachtainí ó shin i gCoromara ach tharraing sé air. Is léir go bhfuil an soiscéal á athscríobh ó shin ag ar Dia nua agus a chuid Teoisigh. Bhfuil aon ní le rá ag an scéile Taoisigh Cosgrave, nó ag an scéile Aire O Dónaill? Nó an bhfuil, ar nós féin, ag fanacht ar scéala ó Godot O'Brien?

### Stailceanna ACRA

Is gearr anois go dtiocfaidh an ghéar-chéim i stailceanna A.C.R.A. faoi chios taidín agus faoin rúta úis ar mhorgáistí. Cheana féin tá tiarnaí taidín ag cur fógraí amach chuir daoine ag bagairt orthu agus ag na Cumainn tógála ag éileáil a gceid freisin. Seo anois an uair a d'fheadfaí misneach an phobail trí. Seo an chead uair ón dtús agus cás úirte ag bagairt orthu. Seo an uair le treoir chinnte a thabhairt dóibh agus teachtairéad sáimh a bhriú abhaile orthu — nach feidir iad a bhualadh má sheasann siad le chéile; nach bhfuil neart go seasamh le chéile. B'fheart go mór do chinirí A.C.R.A. díriú ar an ngad seo ná bheith ag smaoinneamh ar dhúl ar aghaidh sna toghcháin áitúla sa Samhradh. Lasmuigh den pholaitíocht seo atá neart A.C.R.A.

Brisfidh siad iad féin muna mbíonn siad ar an airdeall.

### Cain ar chaipiteal

Tar éis ar deineadh de chaint faoi seo roimh ré, is léir cheana tar éis do Richie Ryan an scéal a fhógairt agus gcuirfidh sé isteach morán ar lucht airgid. Dúirt dílódóir amháin, a bhíonn ag plé le cúrsaí cánaigh go minic, gur áit sé féin óna chead sraifeachaint ar na moltaí go bhféadfadh sé leabhar Ionad leis na bealáigh go leir ar a bhféadfaí na cánaigh seo a sheactaint. Agus deir Charlie Haughey, an fear bocht, gur é seo "the abolition of private property"! Ar aon nós, tá na cainíochtaí thar a bheith flaitiúil: ní gá cain (oc ar aon bhronntanas do bháil den chliann nach mó ná £150,000) Cain mhaoinne bliantúil: £60,000 saor ó cháin ag lánúin. Cain ar bhrabús caipiteal: £15,000 an ceann ar roinnt mhaith rudaí. Tá a lán dreamanna saor ar fad ó cháina: Oird Rialta, Institiúidí éagsúla etc. Tá na saineoirléir ag rá faoi Thuarscáil Kenny ar thalann tógála nach féidir é a fheidhmiú. Is lú fós an seans go mbuídh mórán brí leis an rud seo, mura bhféadfaí é go mór é.

### Luas Burcach

Cúpla mí ó shin, fógraíodh sé phost d'egarthóirí / aistritheoirí sa Roinn Oideachais chun téacsleabhair mheán-coile a chur ar fáil i nGaeilge. Cúigear is fiche a gealladh ar dtús bliain ó shin. Ní fios fós cén fáth nach bhfuil ach seisear de dhíth anois. Ach céard a tharla san dá mhí ó fógraíodh na postanna seo? Fíor-bheagán. Tá na daoine a chuir isteach ag dul faoi scrúdú an mhí seo. Mar sin, bheidh na



● Cain ar chapall Charlie?

daoine seo i mbun oibre anois go dtí an Fómhar ar a luaithe. Idir thréadail agus foghlaim, ní bheidh toradh a géad saothair réidh go dtí an bhliain dár gcionn.

Tógann sé thart ar dhá bhliain ar an nGum leabhar Gaeilge a tháil ó na dílódóir. Mar sin, fíú má dhúistear an Búrcach, beidh an taidín linn iada a fad faoi thús na scéil-bhliana 1977-8. Mair a chapail. . . .

### Tadhg agus Taidhgin

Buille i dráth a bhí ann ag ceannairí I.C.T.U. dul chun cainte le Rialtas Atha Cliath ar an Zú Eanáir agus a fhios acu go raibh ceardchumannáigh na tíre díreach ar tí vótáil ar an Trú Comhaontú Náisiúnta Pá. Cúiteoidh Cosgrave dóibh fós é — suíochán a s'eanaid b'fheidir nó áit ar bhord stiúrtha Chomhlucht Stáit éigin. Ba sheold é den aisteoireacht ba mheasa an t-sallamh teilefse a thug

Dinny Larkin ina dháidh — tá súil againn nár scrios R.T.E. an téip mar a rinne siad i gcéanna eile —

Ach theip orthu. Dhúitirigh baill na gCeardchumann don tairiscint. In ionad glacadh leis sin agus oibrí dá réir, ceard a rinne a gcuid cinirí ach dul i gcomhar leis an Rialtas don dara uair in aghaidh leas a mball féin. An uair seo níor ligeadh tada sa seans agus balneadh gach leas a gach meáin cumarsáide chun na scéilings breise a "dúit".

Dir dhá linn, rinne Fitzwilliam brabús dhá milliúin punt ar a gcuid scaranna i Mianáigh Teamrach, saor ó cháin. Bhí bancanna agus comhluchtai fle in Eirinn agus thar lear ag dúbáil brabús na bliana seo cainte. Ach nár chuma focal sin? Ní feall go feall gan náire. Ní náire go ceannairí ceardchumann.

### Leabhair Nua

Tá tradisiún fada saibhir i gContae an Chláir. Inniu féin is é an contae is saibhre sa tír go mór mór i gcas agus i rince. Níor imigh Gaeilch an Chláir in éag go dté le déanaí, thaid a bhí Eamonn de Valera ag freastal ar an Chodras. Fós féin, tá roinnt mhaith cainteoirí dúchais anois.

Is léiríú é an cnusach fillochta seo ar bhuand agus ar dhoinmhe phréamhacha an tsuibhris seo. Mion fhile é O hUaithín ó thús an 18ú aois, de réir siat tomháil na litríochta. Ach is tábachtach dúine é anois mar go léiríonn sé saol agus dearcach na comshuinte.

I dtuairisc an chéad seo caite air deirtear faoi gur réice taitneamhach deis-bhéalach a bhí ann, "ro-thabhartha d'ól agus do mhád." Má thaxann an píur-tánachas chug caoigeanta a leas Má Nuat ar an dtír ina dhiaidh sin idir muintir an lae inniu agus ar sinis, cabróidh an leabhar seo leis an gceo a scaipeadh; caint garbh thriúil bheo, amhrán a thábhóidh leis an ghnáth-duine.

Is fochláinte é liobrálachas dúchais an leabhair seo in aghaidh an earra ghailda atá á bhriú ar an duine uasal úd O'Brien; guth na gndt-muintire in éil liobrálachas uasalaimneach an Bhreainigh.

# Columbia



The Colombian guerilla movement — one of the most important of such revolutionary forces which swept throughout Latin America in the 1960's — is fighting for its life. The government backed by American arms and advisers claims that it is in the final stages of completely eliminating the "subversive cancer" of several guerilla armies. Without question the guerilla forces have suffered difficulties in the last year.

Ricardo Lara, one of the founders and principal leaders of the Colombian Army of National Liberation (ELN) since 1962, was captured by the government forces on November 29th. A month earlier two other leaders of the ELN — brothers Manuel and Antonio Vasquez — were surrounded and killed by the Colombian Army.

With the elimination of the brothers, together with the death and capture of most of the members of the division they commanded, the army reported that its current anti-guerilla campaign had been successfully concluded. Over 7,300 troops had taken part in the operation "to liquidate the guerillas at any cost". The government claim that this campaign and the capture of Lara signified the virtual elimination of the Columbia guerilla movement. At the moment, some 6,000 soldiers are pursuing the major remaining ELN group, commanded by Fabio Vasquez, elder brother of Manuel and Antonio. While this group's strength is now estimated to be in the region of 150 men, virtually the entire fourth division of the Colombian Army is searching for them in the mountainous regions of west Columbia.

At the same time as it launched its offensive in the countryside, the government carried out mass arrests of suspected guerilla supporters in the cities. And although the military claim that they have had few casualties, it is certain that they are far from light.

Despite government claims that the guerilla forces are "small groups with little support", there are now many concentration camps throughout the country where large numbers of peasants are being held, charged with aiding the guerillas.

Altogether there are three guerilla groups operating in Columbia. In addition to the ELN, the Popular Army of Liberation (EPL) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) carry out guerilla operations in different areas of the country. Since the government started its offensive, it is reported that the leaders of the three groups have temporarily shelved their differences and are now meeting secretly to thrash out a strategy to ensure the continuation of the struggle for national liberation in the face of massive repression.

America, as in Chile, is providing massive financial and military aid to the Colombian government in a bid to

## Guerillas on the run



## India



# INDIA'S STARVING MILLIONS

Nowhere else in the world is the gap between the rich and the poor as clearly defined as it is in India. While the top strata of society enjoys a standard of living equivalent to its counterparts in the more advanced countries, millions of less fortunate are condemned to a life of poverty, malnutrition and slow death.

In cities where millions of people are crowded into urban slums which are among the worst in the world, fortunes are being made on property speculation. Little or no attempts are being made to clear the slums or provide homes for the millions condemned to live on the streets.

### High density

Calcutta and Bombay each have over one million people living in shanties, slum tenements or on the pavements. The density of population in the big Indian cities is the highest in the world. In the poor quarters of Bombay there are 873,948 people to the square mile.

Because of the close ties between

the ruling Congress Party of Mrs. Gandhi and the rich farmers, reform on the land has proved impossible. The only people to benefit under the much boasted Five Year Plans were the rich businessmen in the cities and the big ranchers in the countryside. There has been no improvement in the conditions of the mass of the people. If anything the situation is deteriorating rapidly.

During the past 30 years the urban population has increased by leaps and bounds as millions of peasants left the villages and land in the hope of finding work in the large cities. Between 1961 and 1972 the urban population grew by thirty million and if the present trend continues this is expected to rise by another fifty millions in the next ten years.

### Multi-nationals

Apart from its inability to solve the problems on the land, the government, because of its total reliance on foreign multi-national companies, has been unable to provide jobs fast enough for the rapidly increasing urban

population. Without work or money, millions of people are being forced to live in shacks and shanties, others poured into already over crowded slum tenements. Some have found low-paid jobs while others scrape a living from casual work, begging or crime.

And any who have dared to raise their voice in protest have been quickly silenced. There are now over 30,000 political prisoners being held in Indian jails and with the legal system as it is, many of them will spend at least ten years in jail before they even get a trial.

And yet every time there is a famine or catastrophe in India the liberal do-gooders appear on the streets of Ireland begging money to supply food and clothing to the poverty stricken people. How much of the money they ever receive is open to question. But that apart the problems of the Indian people will not be solved through charity. That will only be done when they decide to take their future into their own hands, build a revolutionary party and throw out the foreign and native capitalists once and for all.

In recent years it was American trained troops, with the aid of military advisers who smashed a mass movement of peasants who had liberated their own area and thrown out the rich landowners. Over 16,000 soldiers were used to re-occupy the area.

As a result of this massive campaign against the guerillas by the Colombian Army with American aid and weapons the revolutionary struggle of the Colombian people is in grave difficulties.

The possibility of co-operation between the main guerilla armies may lead to a new phase in the struggle and with the worsening of social conditions in the country, both in the city and the country, for the vast majority of the people, there are signs that the guerillas may soon be able to go back on the offensive in their struggle for National liberation.

# A PIG IN A POKE

On  
a  
knife  
edge

Many small farmers are now balanced on a knife edge. The dramatic increases in the price of feeding stuffs over the past few years has meant that slim profits have been transformed into losses. Between June 1971 and September last year, the price of feeding stuffs rose by an estimated 160 per cent. And there are more increases yet to come. A recent announcement in Dublin of an 18 per cent increase in the price of pig rations is a sure indication that there will be similar increases in the North in the near future.

But high prices for feeding stuffs are not simply a matter of chance. They are deliberately rigged by the small number of firms with a virtual monopoly of the feed compounding industry to ensure a high return for their investments. While many farmers have been operating at a loss for the past few months, the feeding stuff manufacturers have been recording increased profits. Ranks recently announced group profits before taxation for the financial year up to September 1 last at £1,783,225, an increase of £380,790 on the corresponding period last year. Another firm, Dock Milling Company, has announced a rise in pre-tax profits over the same period from £259,204 to £285,891.

## Signposts

The large producers suffer as a result of high prices too. But it is the small farmer who is hardest hit by the increases. With reasonably high profits last year and a greater diversification of his farming assets, the big farmer will be able to survive for a short period with marginal profits. The small man on the other hand because of the size of his holding, lack of credit facilities and intensive production methods cannot afford to sit out the crisis. Because of the situation within the E.E.C. bankers are loathe to extend credit facilities for small farmers, many of whom are already deep in the red. Forced to rely on the ready cash he has available to buy his feeding stuffs his costs are further increased. Buying meal in small quantities in bags is more expensive than buying in bulk and means even higher feed costs. Only the larger farmers will be able to extend their credit, buy in bulk and get a handsome discount on their purchases.

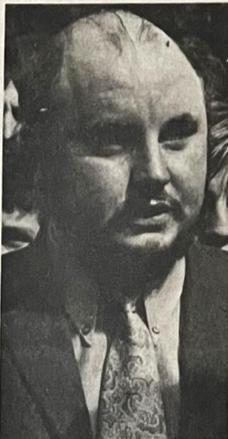
Against such formidable opposition there are only two courses open to the small farmer within the present set-up. He can struggle on and scratch a meagre living from the land or accept the pitiful grants offered by the Government and allow himself to be rationalised out of existence. The large farmers, the Government, the European bureaucrats and the feed compounders are intent on forcing him to take the second road. The signposts are clearly visible.



## NOTHING LESS WILL DO

The E.E.C., high costs, and low returns are already taking their toll of the small farming community in the Six Counties. At present over 2,000 people leave agriculture every year, more often through necessity than desire. The present farming population of 53,100 is exactly half what it was in 1950. The number of farm businesses has been falling at a rate of about 1,000 per year over the past five years.

But while the E.E.C. is not the real root of the problem,



● Paddy O'Hanlon: slow to recognise the problems within the E.E.C.

The pig industry which accounts for 21.1 per cent of all agricultural output in the Six-Counties and employs in the region of 7,000 people, is facing the worst crisis in its history. If the present trend continues then this could be the last year on the land for many small farmers now suffering from the inflationary costs of feeding stuffs and the ridiculously low price for the finished product—so low that it scarcely covers the cost of feeding and labour.

The situation is all the more serious because the two factors responsible for the crisis, namely the price fixed for the finished product within the Common Agricultural Policy (C.A.P.) of the E.E.C. and the soaring costs of feeding stuffs, are beyond the control of the farmers and the New Assembly. This was made only too clear during a recent two day debate on the crisis in the Assembly.

Farmers from all over the Six-Counties had travelled to Stormont to lobby representatives and listen to the outcome of the debate on the crisis. They cheered loudly as Assemblyman after Assemblyman rose to express grave concern at the plight of the industry. Mr. Paddy O'Hanlon, one of the leaders of the S.D.L.P., the party which actively advocated membership of the Common Market announced that "the very serious reservations that he had had with regard to the E.E.C. were now bearing fruit".

The cheering came to an abrupt halt when the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Morrell, in his closing speech in the debate apologetically announced that there was nothing that he could do to avert the crisis since all decisions on prices were now fixed in Brussels and that the special problems of the small Irish farmer had not been taken into account during the negotiations.

The hollow speeches of the Assembly members are all the more hypocritical when put into their proper perspective. Both the S.D.L.P. and the then Official Unionists fully supported the application for membership of the Community. They knew at the time that they would have no part to play in the negotiations. And it was all too obvious that the British Minister would negotiate terms favourable to the British section of the industry. This is clear in the price negotiated for the production of cereals, one of the main profit-making crops within the E.E.C. In Britain, 32 per cent of the total area of crops and grass is given over to cereals. The figure for the North is only 10 per cent, due mainly to the poor quality of the soil and unsuitable weather conditions. Thus higher profits for cereal farmers benefit the British but not the Irish.

Despite the show that they put on for the farmers, none of the members of the Assembly were surprised at these developments. Like their counterparts in the 26 Counties they are committed to implementing E.E.C. farm policy, by following the instructions of their masters in London. They are now doing this by operating The Farm Amalgamation Scheme and The Farm Structure Payments to Outgoers scheme which were introduced last year.

Similar in content to the Farm Modernisation Scheme in the 26 Counties, these two pieces of legislation are specifically designed to drive the small producer off the land and to make grants available to larger, more viable producers to assist them in extending their holdings and streamlining production. In simple terms it means that the Government intends to eliminate the problem of the small farmer by eliminating the small farmer himself. And in five years time the European dream of "Fewer Farms, Larger Farms" will be an inescapable reality.



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But that in itself will not be enough. Even outside the context of the E.E.C. there is no place for the small farmer unless radical changes are made. Farmers should now be demanding a limit on acreage per holding, the establishment of a low interest fund for farm development and the nationalisation of the feed compounding and fertiliser industries. The demands are radical but nothing less will guarantee small farmers a future on the land. The decisions is theirs.