

the United Irishman

Ἀν τ-ÉIREANNAC ΔΟΝΤΑΙΘΕ

BEALTAINE (MAY) 1973

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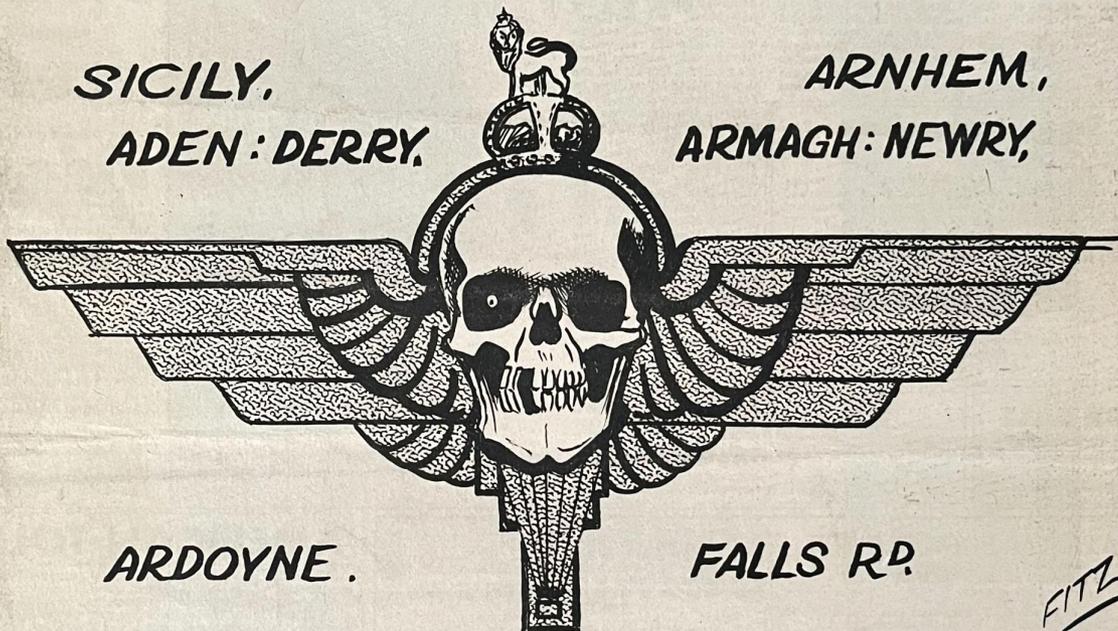
Luach 5p. (U.S. and Aus. 25c.)

SICILY,

ADEN : DERRY,

ARNHEM,

ARMAGH : NEWRY,



ARDOYNE .

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FITZ

RETALIATION

The following statement has been received from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

The British Army has intensified its attacks on the working people of the Six Counties and has deliberately murdered three members of the Irish Republican Movement in recent weeks. The civilian population of some ghetto areas has been the object of murderous onslaught and routine brutality by thugs belonging to the British forces, in and out of uniform. Homes have been destroyed, people innocent of any involvement have been harassed, assaulted, murdered with callous indifference, but careful intent.

Two members of the Irish Republican Army, Volunteer McGerrigan and Staff Officer Hughes were coldly murdered in Armagh. In Belfast, a plain-clothes murder gang was used to shoot down a Protestant member of the Republican Clubs, Robert Millan, while he was engaged, unarmed, in the protection of his neighbours with a group of Republican vigilantes. The Parachute Regiment shot dead two men in Ardoyne and Edmund O'Rawe was slaughtered in the Falls Road while standing, unarmed, against a wall.

The Irish Republican Army has prepared a list of over 20 incidents in which British forces assaulted men, women and children, either while invading their homes or on the streets of their cities and towns.

The Army Council of the I.R.A., consistent with its policy of defensive and retaliatory action, directed its units to intensify their roles in defence and retaliation for these callous and deliberate assaults. Units were ordered to exact retribution from both British soldiers and installations. Successful retaliatory actions have been carried out in Belfast, Armagh, Tyrone, Derry and Newry in which seven British soldiers have been killed and 20 injured. At least five British soldiers were seriously wounded when Gough Barracks, Armagh, was penetrated by an I.R.A. action unit.

The Irish Republican Army has frequently warned the masters of the British Army that aggression against the people of the Six Counties would not go unpunished. The I.R.A. will continue to defend working people and to retaliate for murderous attacks. These are the orders of the Army Council.

The assaults by the British Army on innocent civilians and on unarmed mem-

bers of the Irish Republican Movement are neither haphazard nor accidental. They are part of the British Army's tactics, as the military agents of political masters, to lure the I.R.A. into direct confrontation at a time when the attention is being directed to political activity. The stratagem is clear.

The British Government wishes to install its middle class allies in the Six Counties in power. It wishes to destroy the possibility of any radical political alternative to the new Unionists. It recognises the Republican Clubs pose such an alternative. It aims to defeat and destroy the political challenge which the Republican Clubs represent.

No brutality, no murder by the British Army is or ever has been without a purpose. The purpose of recent murders and intensifying brutality is to push Republicans into a position from which it would be difficult if not impossible to fight the local government elections. The I.R.A. is determined that the Republican Movement will not be manoeuvred, by murder or persuasion, into any position other than that which the movement, in response to the demands of the people, chooses.

(Continued on page 4)

WOMEN BRUTALISED — SOLDIERS FREED

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF A STATEMENT ON CONDITIONS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP ISSUED BY THE P.R.O. OF THE REPUBLICAN PRISONERS IN CAGE 8 AND PUBLISHED IN THE LATEST EDITION OF "PAC". THE NEWS BULLETIN OF THE PRISONERS' AID COMMITTEE.

"Prisoners are held in badly constructed nissen huts; rain and wind have easy access. There is no ventilation, no drinking water or washbasin. There is no privacy. There are 48 men to huts which the Red Cross recommended should hold no more than 25. The food is so bad that it is seldom finished. There are no recreational and no educational facilities. Visitors are harassed and food parcels spoiled. Prisoners are refused Republican and Civil Rights publications. Copies of the White Paper have been confiscated from visitors. The governor, Truesdale, has refused any representation from the men."

smuggled out from Hut 10, Cage 2, the prisoners complain of "a worsening of conditions, and especially of the effect of the constant glare from the perimeter lights. A number of men have had to start wearing glasses. Ralds are carried out by the B.A. in full riot gear with dogs early in the morning at regular intervals as well as regular raids by the screws."

Women

"There has been no notice of the four Belfast girls now held by the British government in Ireland. While Parliament discusses discrimination against women, Whitehall has been treating them the same

since he came to Ireland. Teresa Holland (17) is one of a family of eight. Her mother is a pensioner and a widow. Her home has been raided by the British Army over 10 times. The "security forces" have questioned all of the family except the youngest who is only 12 years old. Margaret Shannon (18) was taken from her home by the Special Branch. Her brother is serving a twelve-year sentence.

Assault?

A letter recently smuggled out of Armagh Jail tells how male warders armed with batons and shields put down a demonstration by the prisoners. One prisoner suffering from a serious mental condition received 34 stitches; male warders threw the girl bodily into her cell and turned a cold water hose on her. Prisoners were left for six hours in soaking clothes and were then locked up for a further 36 hours.

Looting

Compare this with the justice handed out to soldiers serving in the Six Counties. Four soldiers received sentences of four months each, SUSPENDED for two years, and small fines for a savage attack on Patrick Kelly, a worker at a Ballylumford Power Station. Kelly was attacked on his way into work, he was punched, kicked and

hit on the head with a rifle. The station shop stewards were meeting to discuss the attack when soldiers burst into the room, dragged Mr.

Kelly out, took him to a guard room where he was thrown around by a judo expert; his elbow was dislocated, his nose was bleeding profusely, his

eye was badly bruised together with other parts of his body. He was detained in hospital for five days.

Seven soldiers found guilty of stealing hundreds of pounds worth of "loot" were sentenced to three months in jail at Belfast Magistrates' Court on 23rd of March. The sentences were SUSPENDED for one year. Three paratroopers received light fines for a series of burglaries in the North Street area of Belfast. Private Derek Johnson said in court, "everyone knows that our blokes have been doing jobs". When asked if this meant that members of the regiment were stealing, he said, "Yes, everyone knows what has been going on".

Impartial?

THE BRITISH ARMY IN IRELAND IS NOT ONLY LICENSED TO KILL BUT ENCOURAGED TO LOOT AS WELL.

Post Office worker Joseph McMahon was killed by a Saracen while cycling along Albert Street on October 3rd last. A soldier witness at the inquest said he thought Mr. McMahon was on the wrong side. The driver of the Saracen said that he did not see the cyclist and he did not know he had gone over Mr. McMahon. There is to be no prosecution.

These are just a few examples to illustrate the "impartiality" of the judicial system in the Six Counties. We in the Republican Movement will continue to demand an end to intimidation and harassment, internment without trial and the total withdrawal of British troops and economic presence in Ireland. That is the only way to achieve a lasting peace in Ireland.



The above photo illustrates the type of treatment that British Army terrorists inflict on defenceless prisoners.

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The Ard Comhairle have decided to buy our present premises at 30 Gardiner Place.

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AMERICAN TOUR

Denis Cassin, of Armagh, National organiser of the Irish Republican Clubs in North America, recently completed a very successful fund-raising and propaganda tour of the West Coast of the United States. Television coverage of the tour included an hour-long "Ireland a Nation once again" which was put out in the San Francisco area. Further tours are at present being organised in the Mid West. Anyone wishing to contact the Irish Republican Clubs in North America can write to them at 37-76 64th Street, Woodside, New York 11377. (212) 651 5844.

A new Irish Republican Club has been formed among bus workers in New York City. The club, which is named after Connie Green who was killed in an attack on Roslea Barracks in 1956, is led by Liam Kelly, a native of Tyrone, who has also been elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the Irish Republican Clubs, USA & Canada. This brings to six the number of Irish Republican Clubs active in the New York City area.

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Stocks of unsold butter in the Common Market this year amounted to 400,000 tons. Production next year is expected to be about 250,000 tons more than the amount which will be bought by consumers.

Bearing this in mind one would expect butter prices to fall. In actual fact prices will be raised by nearly 2p per lb. in the next few months. This is the first step in a five year process to bring Irish prices into line with other E.E.C. countries, where it is twice the current price here.

The recent sale of 200,000 tons to Russia was designed to keep prices up within the Common Market. This sale was pushed through by big farmers and butter producing firms who were worried that prices would fall, if this vast surplus was released onto the open market. And that's not good for profits!

BUTTERING UP THE RUSSIANS

The butter which costs 39p per lb. to produce was sold for 7p per lb. That's just about one quarter of the current price in Ireland. The £141 million loss incurred in this deal will have to be met by the Common Market countries. The Irish taxpayer — who does not and must not include the big farmer, according to Mr. T. J. Maher — will help foot the bill to the tune of £500,000.

The reason for this strange situation is not hard to explain. Within the Common Market big farmers and food manufacturers have enormous influence over prices. They have used this power to force the Brussels Commission to carry through this sale. They were not being charitable to the Russians. The whole deal was simply a manoeuvre to keep prices high within the Market while at the same time ensuring that the taxpayer bears the cost of over-production. So the unfortunate man in the street pays for the butter he doesn't eat as well as the butter on the table.

As prices rise sharply, the amount of butter being consumed in Ireland per head of the population, is dropping just as fast. This process will continue as prices go even higher. Butter, like meat is fast becoming a luxury. So the next time you sit down at the table take a good look at the butter — you may not see any again for quite a long time...

The Effect on the Small Farmer

The housewife, however, will not be the only one to suffer as a result of the increased prices. In 1971 the Irish Government, in anticipation of the Common Market Agricultural Policy, abolished the tiered milk-price system, which directed more money towards the small and medium sized farmer.

It has now been estimated that if one cow in every 25 stopped milk production then there would be no surplus of dairy products. It is hardly surprising then that the powers that be in Brussels say that the small farmer is responsible for this surplus. He is regarded as an inefficient, high cost producer.

The system as it stands is designed in the interests of the big farmer, who can cut his costs by increasing his herd. Most of the massive subsidies paid by the taxpayer go to the big farmers and food manufacturers.

In the short term Brussels has proposed the introduction of a beef production incentive which will attract the small and medium sized farmers into beef production and out of dairying. This incentive must be recognised for what it is — a short term measure to cut the massive surplus of dairy products. As far as the E.E.C. is concerned, the long term solution to the problem falls under the mysterious name "structural reform".

Don't be misled by the fancy name. In short, it means that the problem of the small farmers will be solved by forcing them off the land altogether. As the consumption of farm products increases and the number of small farmers decline, the present system with its highly protective nature may be dismantled. This will force the small farmer to leave the land and the big ranchers will be left to supply the large centres of urban population.

Ireland, with its already high level of unemployment, will be unable to offer any alternative work for those forced to leave the land. Our objective must be to inform and explain to the small farmer what exactly is planned for them and to fight the E.E.C. bureaucracy all of the way on this issue.

HAVE YOU HEARD THE ONE ABOUT..?



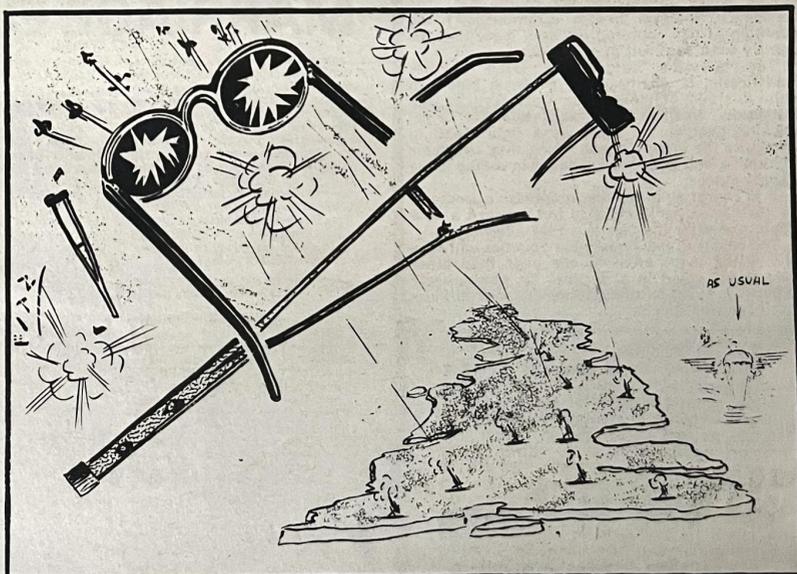
Willie the Irishman, Joe the Irishman and Malachy the Irishman went to England. Willie said he was a Northern Irishman who liked his links with Englishmen, and he would shoot to kill fellow Irishmen to maintain these links, and he would even shoot to kill his in-law Englishmen if they wouldn't kill the Irishmen for him. Willie was drunk and they cheered him, and now Willie is allowed to contest elections on the basis of shooting anyone who gets in his links.

Joe the Irishman arrived on crutches, half-blind and didn't get saying anything. He was 92 years old and didn't want to shoot anybody, so he didn't qualify for speeches, and they put him on the plane for being peaceful. Also, he came from the South.

Malachy the Irishman, was sent back from England for being an Irishman. He was a Northern Irishman, like Willie, and they flew him to that part of the island, forgetting that it wasn't part of this island, but part of their island. Malachy says he wants to contest elections, like Willie, but he refuses to threaten to shoot to kill anybody, so the police keep hauling him into the barracks to ask him why not?

And have you heard the one about Willie the Irishman, Malachy the Irishman and Joe the Irishman trying to get into heaven? The Pope's backing Willie because... well, figure it out for yourself. The first correct answer will be given a seat in the Northern Ireland Assembly.

BRITISH BATTLE HONOURS.



ARMADA. TAGUS. CAMPERDOWN. WATERLOO. ANGUILA. DERRY. FALLS, ARDOYNE: BALLYMURPHY, JOE CLARKE...

eagarfhocal

TO WHAT EFFECT?

Control of the Twenty-Six County Senate has changed hands, while Tweedledum and Tweedledee fight out the presidential election over thousands of miles, hundreds of gimmicks and the disinterested body of the Irish people.

Who cares who controls the Senate? — The answer is that 60 senators who are paid £1,500 a year for holding seats in the assembly do. What function do they perform? — They provide, in their own words, a mirror image of the Dail; a failed copy of the House of Lords at Westminster which the first Senate was designed to reproduce.

Does the Senate have any effect on legislation? — Again, senators themselves admit that

they have none and, in present circumstances, are highly unlikely ever to have the remotest influence on anything but minor graft. The Senate sat for 30 half-days last year. It produced nothing.

But it cost the working people of Ireland who pay taxes and rates a total of £150,000. It offered the government which rushed through the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act the excuse that a second chamber existed to safeguard the interests of the citizens. In fact, the law and order Minister, O'Malley, dismissed any objections to the Bill as rubbish, nonsense, codswallop and tripe.

The Senate, it must be acknowledged by everyone inside and outside that assembly, is a useless anachronistic gathering of failed T.D.'s and ambitious young politicians who aspire to membership of the Dail and Ministerial Mercedes. It has no other function. The Senate should be abolished.

The presidential election is equally a farce. Who would choose between Erskine Childers and Tom O'Higgins? Who, equipped with a microscope, could discover the difference between them? Yet this is the choice which the Irish people are being offered.

The people are asked to vote for Tweedledum or Tweedledee, as if it mattered a damn whether the Fianna Fail candidate or the Fine Gael candidate, with the support of the Parliamentary Labour Party, succeeds in reaching Aras an Uachtaráin, the Free Staters' version of the Vice-Regal Lodge.

Are social and economic policies mentioned in the presidential campaign? Certainly not. Are national issues of independence, control and foreign policy mentioned? Of course not. The presidency, whatever its uses, is diminished to the condition of two opposing circuses travelling the country with bags-full of gimmicks.

The question before the Irish people, realistically, is whether they prefer a blue-and-white bus and Childers or an Opel caravan and O'Higgins, whether they want one old, pipe-smoking gent or the other as a figure-head to symbolise the independence which they and their allies have long since been engaged in selling to the highest bidder.

It is regrettable that the progressive forces in the state have not decided to put forward a candidate and offer the people a real alternative.

The people of the Twenty-Six Counties will soon have voted more often in one year than other generations voted in a decade. To what effect? Activity must not be confused with action, still less with essential change.

(Continued from page 1)

The I.R.A. will maintain its ceasefire, announced in May, 1972, to decrease sectarian conflict at that time and to allow an improved political situation to develop. But if the present campaign of murder and terror by the British Army continues, the Army Council will again instruct its units to take severe action in retaliation.

The I.R.A. once more calls upon the British Labour and Trade Union Movement to repudiate the barbaric activities being carried out in their name in the Six Counties and urges them to mount conscious opposition to them. It is the duty of every Irish man and woman, in particular those who are part of the democratic labour organisation, to demand an end to the wanton killing of their fellow citizens.

Signed: J. J. McGarrity.

INDUSTRIAL FRONT



'JUSTICE' THE BOSSES' ALLY

Conditions of employment in Lydon's restaurant, bakery and shops in Galway have been described by the workers as scandalous. Wages range from £5 to £10.60p for a 50 hour — 6 day week, with the younger employees being paid a mere pittance for their labour. Generally speaking, the conditions are exceptionally bad. The management can, for example, decide when an employee has a lunch break — there is no fixed time. They, of course, only allow the workers to have their break when business is slack and there is no chance of losing any profit.

Last week an official strike was called by the I.T.&G.W.U. after negotiations on behalf of the unioned waitresses involved had broken down. The waitresses were demanding more pay and better conditions of employment. Some of the workers involved in the dispute gave up the fight and returned to

work but seven of them have resolutely held out.

Until Easter Sunday the girls continued to picket Lydon's premises. The management, however, obtained a high court injunction, restraining the girls from picketing and so they were withdrawn. The workers are determined to fight until they achieve their objectives. They hope to — escalate their campaign by calling on all trade union members and students to boycott all Lydon's premises and products.

A recent article in a Sunday paper highlighted this "super exploitation" of these workers. It quoted the case of a 35 year old Tipperary man who was paid £5 on top of his keep for working 14 hours a day, six days a week. As in the case of Lydon's "he had one day off a week which was always at the discretion of the management".

A young waitress told how she worked 13½ hours in 12 successive

days. For two weeks work she was offered £12. She refused to take it. In the same restaurant a 16 year old girl worked 47½ hours over a six day spell for £5. She had agreed to work for 16 a week. She accepted the £5 as she had no money.

Without question the young men and girls working in the services industries in this country are among the most exploited sections of the working population. Only a few hotels, restaurants and bars in the tourist areas of the country are unionised. The examples quoted are typical of hotels, restaurants throughout the country.

The present effort being made by the young workers in Lydon's, if successful, will have vast repercussions in premises all over the country. The Republican Movement in Galway, with other groups and individuals, is offering every help and encouragement to the workers to help them win this important battle.

MARRIAGE EUROPEAN STYLE

As regularly as marriage notices, the national newspapers carry the latest unemployment figures — fluctuating between 70,000 and 77,000 depending on the weather forecast, the relief schemes of the local authorities or the budgeting arrangements of the local county councils. There's always a hopeful note before Christmas, Easter and the odd election. We all anticipate a beautiful feeling of security in the New Europe, when each notice will read "Unemployment 10,000 down on this time last year, employment numbers steadily rising".

That, of course, was the promise before our European wedding and at the height of the wooing season. Hundreds of benevolent old gentlemen were said to be anxiously waiting only for the marriage to be consummated, ready to spend huge amounts of money providing for our children's future. As always, with great virtue and morality, they were unwilling to be identified with any relationship other than a legal, registered contract. They gave every encouragement to the new partnership. With such good will, and obvious concern, who could refuse to take the plunge?

Unfortunately, every subsequent well-wisher has been more cautious and uncertain about our future prospects. Commissions and commissioners and old man Mansholt himself have displayed great wisdom and concern and even young Ritchie Ryan and Mickey O'Leary are a bit worried about our reckless spending habits. The O.E.C.D. were downright gloomy about work for any children we might be planning. Even kindly Garrett Fitzgerald, the supreme optimist, is carrying a new

furrow on his brow, and Justin Keating is showing a caution proper to a farmer rocking a crane with a very fragile occupant. The poor little thing would probably perish if he rocked too hard... even nice Mr. Nixon's offer to adopt us all, along with Japan, could hardly provide grounds for a legal separation at such an early stage in our relationship.

Now that the bliss of the honeymoon is giving way to the bread and butter era, it's time for the young bride to face the facts of life. Sugar Daddies are scarce in the E.E.C., and no free hand-outs are on offer. Suckers have to take their chances, no matter how loyal, subservient or willing victims they've been in the past.

What's happened to the 55,000 new jobs promised by dear Mr. Killeen just before the engagement party? Or have they been forgotten like Mr. Lemass' promised present of full employment by 1980? More recently, thousands were seduced by another beautiful prospect of "the achievement" — full employment, real increases in wage and salary incomes, preferential treatment for wage-earners in the lower income — all just for the acceptance of the neatly packaged National Pay Agreement.

The goal of abolishing unemployment and forced redundancies is hopeless in the context of our present economy, built now on a free licence for all to rob and plunder our people's resources. We are committed until death do us part to an institution of convenience. Cattle ranchers can reap whatever benefit is in or out of the pen, tax-free, on buying out their smaller neighbours

with the price of their fare to the paradise of Europe's big cities. In Ireland, 10,000 take this road every year to facilitate increased productivity and mechanised farming methods. Tough luck for them if they stopped to take a job in Tuam potato factory or even in a meat factory in Waterford. In the New Ireland, it's an act of patriotism to sell your mother to the highest bidder and your children for export with cattle.

The payment of wages once provided a mechanism for handing out small portions of the national cake to the masses, to prevent them from trying to take it all. Now, we are expected to subsist on the crumbs while the cream is lickered off by our hungry visitors. We've invested our future in an ever-declining number of landowners. This will guarantee that Gross National Product will rise, but the wealth will be concentrated in fewer hands.

Industry will go the same way, and with the mergers, take-overs and sell-outs, the wealth-producing potential will fall to the multinationals. The New Irelanders — Cosgrove and Corish Ltd. — with the able assistance of Willy Whitelaw as a marriage guidance counsellor, will pioneer such irrelevant legislation as "industrial democracy" to give us a voice in our own wilderness.

Mr. Thompson, the regional policy wizard of the E.E.C. — will pay out the European deserted wives' allowance to keep us from flitting with all our valuables in a plane. Surely it's a case for women's liberation now, before the bride is so beaten and submissive that even divorce can offer no solution?

BEALTAINE

The middle-class alliance of Fine Gael and Labour has produced more headlines than reason for hope in its first month of power in the Twenty-Six Counties. Now the true nature of the coalition begins to be exposed to the Irish people. And, whatever the hopes of the liberals, there is no prospect of any radical change being realised which would benefit the Irish working-class.

The contrast between the treatment of the Irishmen found on or near the *Claudia* and that of the ship itself and its crew was significant. The Irishmen have been arrested and charged and will appear before the Diplock model Special Criminal Court. The *Claudia*'s owners according to "Bats" Donegan, were guiltless because, as he said, they were only in the business of selling and shipping arms "for a few bob". In fact, the owners of the *Claudia* were the informers who kept British intelligence agents up to date about their movements and activities. Wait for their names in the Birthday Honours List!

Myth of Neutrality

Then came the assurances by Cosgrave and Cooney that they were going to be as diligent as Lynch and O'Malley in carrying out the wishes of the British government in the Twenty-Six Counties. Donegan had said: "This is a law and order state and this is a law and order govern-

Betrayal of Labour



ment"; Cosgrave and Cooney repeated the message for Heath's benefit, just in case he hadn't heard. As far as the harassment of Republicans was concerned, it was to be business as usual.

Next, FitzGerald announced that

he was going to continue his day-trips to the North, but not to see the opponents of the Whitelaw administration. He was to visit instead the new Unionists, thinly disguised as members of the Alliance Party, the Northern Ireland Labour Party

CUIG

and the so-called moderates. Neutrality, FitzGerald had said, was not an issue in the Twenty-Six County administration's foreign policy. What he meant was that any pretence that the Free State was neutral in the context of "the new Europe" had been given up. What Lemass had offered and Lynch had promised, FitzGerald could deliver. Irish neutrality is a myth. The Free State stands with Britain, faithful to the last.

And vanishing Irish is free to disappear under the careful eye of Brother Burke, the Minister for Education. He may have begun with a gesture towards the Gaeltacht, by reopening the school at Dun Chaoin, but he was to follow it up with the real gesture — to the L.F.M. allies of Fine Gael. Not only has compulsory Irish been abolished, the cultural policy of the coalition is to let the language, like all other signs of national identity, die. That is consistent with their political approach.

Role as Vanguard

But what about the control of foreign companies, the protection of workers against monopolies, the campaign that has been promised to abolish poverty? The radical Justin Keating, when questioned about mergers and monopolies, first hedged, then admitted the government was reviewing the situation. The international capitalists can sleep easy, resting assured that the coalition will live up to its promise not to tamper with their interests.

The reason for all this is that a middle-class alliance, even if it includes pretenders to the party of James Connolly, cannot meet the demands of the working-class; it can only serve the enemies of the Irish people. Disillusioned rank-and-file members of the Labour Party are beginning to realise that they have been betrayed and that as time goes on the betrayal will become deeper.

The Republican Movement's role as the vanguard of revolutionary politics in Ireland thus becomes even more important. The Republican Movement alone of Irish political organisations offers the people of the Twenty-Six Counties and the people of the Six Counties a radical programme designed to meet only the demands of the working class. Alone of political parties, the Republican Movement is prepared to control and develop for the people of Ireland the wealth which is theirs. The work of organising the movement so that it can play this role must go on.

The spill over of repression

Friday, April 13th, saw the extension of British repression of Republicans. Over 70 homes of Clann na hEireann members in England, Scotland and Wales were raided in the early hours of the morning. Entry was gained using warrants, issued under the "Explosives Act" but the interest of the raiders rested mainly on Clann's political files and membership ledgers.

In the present political climate in England these raids came as no real surprise what was surprising was the extent and content of the material seized. Many of the homes searched, including Dominic Behan's, were wrecked during the raids.

The pattern of repression is obvious to anyone who has read Brigadier Kitson's book, "Low Intensity Operations". Kitson, the "darling boy" of the British middle-class fears that the struggle now being waged in Ireland will "spill over" to the "homeland". This spill over is already taking place. Methods used in recent agitations by militants from British working-class organisations, show that lessons are being learned from the Irish struggle. During the London dockers strike, buses were used as barricades. In Bootle, where a fierce battle was fought against the Housing Finance Act, the walls were covered with slogans such as "You are now entering Free Netherthor", and "Rent Collectors Out".

Kitson's Methods

Because of the inability of the police to effectively handle this increased militancy, Kitson believes that dealing with pickets, strikers and demonstrations will become the new role of the army. He sees the Six Counties as a training ground where the British Army can experiment with rubber bullets, C.S. gas and other methods which it will eventually use against working class militants in Britain.

The English Special Branch were probably well aware from articles in *Rosc Catha*, the Clann na hEireann newspaper, that Republicans were compiling political files and planning demonstrations in attempts to

make British workers aware of the dangers of Kitson's ideas. These raids, on the pretext of searching for explosives, were part of a well-planned operation to examine these files and to prepare conspiracy charges against Republicans.

Clann Plans

Two men, Jerry Harte of Dublin and Eddie Collins of Derry, were detained for questioning after the raids. Eddie was charged under the Official Secrets Act for possessing a "map" of Catterick Army Camp. In fact, the "map" was a few lines drawn on the back of a brown envelope and was simply a rough sketch of the perimeter of the camp. He had this sketch because, as was reported in *Rosc Catha* recently, Clann were planning to picket this camp to highlight the fact that it is

the last staging post for troops before they leave for the Six Counties. Eddie is being charged under the Official Secrets Act for being in possession of one of the most widely known secrets in Britain.

Jerry Harte is alleged to have had £2,000 in his possession when arrested. He has now been charged with robbing an Andersonstown Post Office, even though the Special Branch know that he was not in Belfast at the time of the robbery.

These raids were designed to silence Republicans. Attempts such as this have failed in the past and they will inevitably fail in the future. Clann na hEireann has made an appeal for funds for dependants of Republicans in English jails. Donations should be forwarded to them at 318 Lillie Road, London S.W.1.

"On the back of a postage stamp"

An Taisce, the voluntary organisation for the protection and improvement of the environment, is declining in strength and influence according to Mr. Tom Kennedy who resigned from it recently. In a statement issued to explain the reasons for his resignation Mr. Kennedy said: "It is very clear that An Taisce has failed on a number of occasions to speak out clearly on important matters because if they had done so, members of the executive would have been embarrassed by their connections".

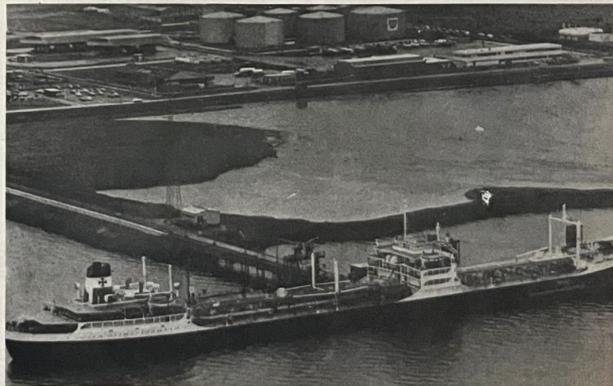
The Chairman of An Taisce is, or was, on a number of boards of Directors. Among them is Gulf Oil, a very large petroleum company of international standing. Gulf have in Ireland an extensive oil storage terminal to which large oil tankers come. The shipment of oil in tankers of ever increasing capacity has given rise to grave problems of spillage, not just around Ireland, but throughout the world.

In addition to this, the international oil companies are showing great and growing interest in Ireland for the location of new refineries and for their (dirty) spin-off industries. Gulf, as an in-

ternational oil company, has a direct and very high powered business interest in this development, particularly as few other countries are now willing to accept these industries.

In view of this, how can we expect a national conservation body to be

led by a board member of an international oil company? Not only is this kind of connection very harmful to An Taisce, but it is made even worse and more absurd when the same man states in public: "What I know about conservation could be put on the back of a postage stamp".

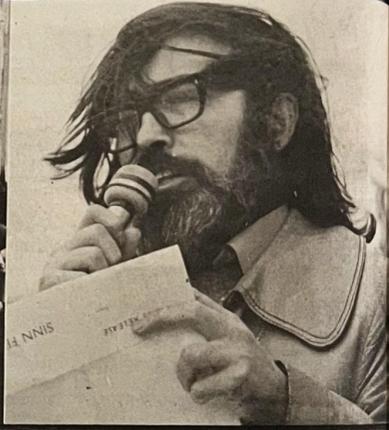


Here, then, is the immense difference between the socialist republican and our friends the physical force men. The latter, by stifling all discussions of principle, earn the passive and fleeting commendation of the unthinking multitude; the former by insisting upon a thorough understanding of their basic principles, do not so readily attract the multitude, but do attract and hold the more thoughtful amongst them. It is the difference between a mob in revolt and an army in preparation. The mob who cheer a speaker referring to the hopes of a physical force movement would, in the very hour of apparent success, be utterly disorganised and divided by the passage through the British legislature of any trumpery home rule bill. The army of class conscious workers.....strong in their knowledge of economic truth and firmly grounded in their revolutionary principles, would remain unaffected by any such manoeuvre and, knowing it would not change their position as a subject class, would still press forward resolute and undivided, with their faces set towards their only hope of emancipation..... the complete control by the working class democracy of **ALL THE POWERS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**. James Connolly, Workers Republic, June 5, 1915.

EASTER



'73



The Republican Movement paid its annual tribute to the men and women of 1916 at Easter Commemorations held throughout the whole of Ireland. The biggest parades were in the North with 7,000 people taking part in the march at Ardboe, Belfast, Newry and Armagh also attracted large turn-outs.

Speaking at the commemoration ceremonies in Glenullen, the Loup and Dungiven, Co. Derry, Mr. Tomas MacGiolla, President of Sinn Fein said that Mr. Whitelaw was the real terrorist in the Six Counties, and was responsible for the recent deaths of Robert Millen, Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan because it was he who had taken the decision to change the firing instructions on the yellow card issued to troops.

Mr. MacGiolla said, "troops may now fire with effect on any person armed or unarmed whom they recognise as having fired on them at some time in the past. This order gives full licence to any British soldier to shoot to kill anyone they like — or anyone they don't like. All they need say is that they recognised the individual as one who had fired on them in the past, or that they thought they recognised him".

On the question of British involvement in Ireland he went on to say: "It is now quite clear that the British Government's plans are in

conflict with the demands of all sections of the Irish people. Their presence is the fundamental cause of the turmoil, strife and confusion.

Cathal Goulding spoke at the commemorations in Longford and Roscommon. He said: "Let no one doubt that the decision to enter the E.E.C. taken by Fianna Fail, supported by our present Coalition government is anything but a total abdication from even the facade of National government.

"Their prediction of 50,000 jobs in five years will barely half the present rate of unemployment, let alone absorb the many young people leaving the schools, the colleges and the universities. They, the youth of the country, are ear-marked like beasts for export — to provide cheap labour in the already overcrowded labour markets of the Rhur and the Paris industrial basins".

The oration at the ceremony in Milltown cemetery, Belfast was given by Eamonn Smullen, recently released after serving a five year sentence in a top security English jail. Eamonn spoke of the need for Protestant and Catholic alike to come together to build a "strong organisation to defend their rights and to win real power for themselves". He said that both communities "must look closely at the

1. The scene at Free Derry Corner during the Easter Ceremonies.

2. Des O'Hagan giving the oration in Glasnevin Cemetery.

3. Jim Sullivan leads the colour party as the Belfast Parade makes its way along the Falls.

society we are asked to live in; if one section in this society has first call on the scarce supply of new houses; has first call on the inadequate supply of jobs; is that freedom? Remember the private individual, owner or foreman, who has the power to give you his favour today also has the power to withdraw his favour tomorrow — you have nothing as a right. Your own kind are not necessarily to be found in your place of worship; your own kind are to be found among people who live as you do by working, or trying to find work, for a wage or a salary".

Addressing a crowd of about 600 people in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, Des O'Hagan, the Sinn Fein Director of Education stressed that we must "dispense with a current myth which states that a national liberation struggle is in progress and that therefore the need of the hour is to build an all class alliance to complete the struggle".

He continued: "We Republicans would be betraying our class, our principles and our goal if we were to surrender our Movement to the Taca men and their friends in the North. And those who have misguidedly followed the Provisional Alliance and are suffering in Long Kesh and Crumlin Road along with our own comrades, will soon see how the hack politicians will sell them out on the question of internment and Special Powers, in the form of Diplock, as they rush to divide the spoils and take their seats in the New Assembly. An all class alliance is a return to a "Labour must wait position" of 1919 and the Irish proletariat have suffered ever since; the Republican Movement cannot and will not ignore the lessons of our history nor will we betray the class we represent".

In Ardboe, the large crowd marched to the car park where John Pat Mullen and Hughie Heron were shot by British Troops. Here a memorial was unveiled and blessed by the Parish Priest. Members of both families were present at the ceremony, which was presided over by Desmond Gourley. Mr. Tom Mitchell who gave the oration said Hughie Heron and Jim Pat Mullen should not only be remembered but we should try to understand what their objectives had been, objectives

BEALTAINE

For Republicans, Easter is a time for renewal and assessment — renewal of the inspiration which we receive from past generations and assessment of the role of the Republican Movement in the present crucial situation in the thirty-two counties of Ireland.

The extension of the Republican struggle North and South to embrace social and economic ideals in a fully developed programme of action is vital to the survival of the movement; moreover, it is essential if — as we must — we are to respond to the demands of the people and give the leadership and guidance that is the role of the Republican Movement.

How can this objective, summarised as the establishment of a 32 county socialist republic, most effectively be achieved? The answer is by critical participation in political activity in the widest sense, embracing industrial action, street politics, social involvement, all designed to create a new consciousness in the working-class people of Ireland.

Repression

In the past year, men and women of the Irish Republican Army have been shot down, in the streets of their cities, with the cold-blooded calculation of the Black and Tans. If we list the few it is because

their names spring to mind as victims of the British reign of terror, because their murders have been exceptionally callous. We name them with honour, all who have been so cruelly killed: Joe McCann of Belfast, John Pat Mullan and Hugh Herron of County Tyrone, Tony Hughes and Jim McGerrigan of Armagh and Robert Millen of Belfast. Why did they die?

Organised

They were murdered by the British Army because they, as members of the Irish Republican Movement, stood between the masters of that army and their manifest objective: the establishment of an administration, middle-class in content and subservient in outlook, that would, with a new face but the same effect as the old junta serve the interests of the British government.

No bullying, no amount of arrogance can defeat or destroy a people organised, educated and prepared in the revolutionary tradition. Let us repeat once more that organisation, education and agitation must, first and foremost, be the means that we employ to fight the people's fight.

The British Government wants to impose its so-called solution on the Six Counties. The so-called solution has already been presented to the

people of the Twenty-Six Counties. We have opposed and continue to oppose the impostor's solution in the E.E.C. It has been proved and is proving to be contrary to the interests of the working people of the Twenty-Six Counties; it has been proved and is proving to be contrary to the interests of the workers of the Six Counties, whether they are in the shipyards or the buses. Redundancies, rising prices and managements remote from their problems are the prices the workers pay. Quick, cheaply gained profits are the advantages of the bosses.

The new Coalition Government in the Twenty-Six Counties has not halted the repression begun by Fianna Fail. In some instances it has in fact escalated it. The defeat of repression North and South is one of the major tasks facing Republicans. Only the working people organised and united can defeat repression. We must build a mass broad based movement to win this fight.

Unity

Therefore, we need now to examine some of the means that are essential to the winning of this and all of our objectives. Foremost of these conditions, for success is working class unity. The struggle for the unity of the working class is no mere tactical question. It is a matter of principle for any party that

SEACTH

desires to make a revolution. Unity begins wherever there is common action on the immediate issues that face the working class. Of key importance is unity in the people's organisations, Trade Unions, Co-ops, Tenants' Associations, Cultural Organisations and any organisation where working class strength is concentrated and organised and where the tradition of struggle and solidarity is strongest. It should be evident to all that the leadership and control, of working class organisations is of prime importance.

Local election

The Republican Movement has contested the General Election in the Twenty-Six Counties because the movement is convinced that all means available to the working class must be used in the interests of the class; Republicans will contest the local government elections in the North for the same reasons, but there are conditions which we need to emphasise before they can take their seats.

These conditions are fundamental to the Republican position and essential to its development; they are that internment, a disgrace to any so-called civilised society, must be ended and the Special Powers Act, of which the racist South Africans felt envious, must be struck from the statute books. And let us emphasise that the proposals of the Diplock Commission are not an adequate response to our demands.

The Irish Republican Movement demands the release of all prisoners condemned for political offences, an amnesty for men and women on the run because of repressive legislation and an end to the harassment of the civilian population on the pretence that the harassing forces are acting in the interests of law and order.

Guarantee

The only long-term solution which will be in the interests of the Irish working class is the establishment of a Democratic Thirty-Two County Socialist Republic. Any interim solution which arises out of the present crisis must guarantee the freedom of the Irish people to move towards this objective. Clearly, as with the British imposed arrangement of 1920, any solution which advocates the continuation of a Six or Nine County Ulster state, where it has constitutional links with Britain or not, must be rejected.

The statement goes on to demand the total withdrawal of Britain's "military and political control from the Six County area on an early specified date" and that she begins now to implement her withdrawal from Ireland. It then lists the demands of the Republican Movement which have already been widely publicised and appeared in last month's issue of the "United Irishman".

Danger

The statement continues: If those who have preceded us have failed, and we can not deny that they failed, it was because, however courageous, however great, however self-sacrificing they were, the mass of the people of Ireland were not behind them. More accurately, because of limitations imposed on them by the forces of the enemy, because of the difficulties of communication and education, they were unable to respond to the people's need in all their manifestations, social, economic, political and cultural. We, the Republican Movement, must see now and fully recognise and realise the danger of becoming once more separated from the mass of the people of Ireland, from their demands, their aspirations and their ultimate irresistible strength.



which are embodied in the 1916 proclamation. Both men were involved in many activities concerning the people, he said, they were concerned with the peoples' rights and problems, their material welfare, jobs, housing, social justice and the right of the Irish people to the ownership and wealth of Ireland.

Mick Ryan, at Inagh, Co. Clare, pointed out that over the past year there have been more than 100 unexplained killings in the North. He intimated that SAS murder squads were responsible for many of these. "Their purpose is to escalate terror, violence and sectarian actions to new heights so that the situation is brought to the brink of massive sectarian warfare. Nothing is calculated to strike such fear and horror into the people of the North as the prospect of total civil war and it is Mr. Heath's hope that by facing them with this prospect as the alternative to acceptance of his proposals, the people will accept anything he suggests".

Over 3,000 people attended the commemoration in Armagh on Easter Monday. The march was led by Mr. Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the Six County Regional Executive of Republican Clubs. Wreaths were laid at the Republican plot and on the graves of

Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan who were murdered in the city by British Troops earlier in the month.

In his oration Mr. Sean O'Connell, National Press Officer said: "The Republican Movement has been concerned to defend the people of Ireland against the murderous attacks of the British Army. The policy of defence and retaliation has been evolved in order to provide as much protection as possible without engaging in a wholesale armed struggle which would suit the British. A policy of headlong confrontation with the British Army at this time would add an aura of glamour to the Movement but would not help solve the real political problems facing the Irish people".

At the commemoration in Tralee, Co. Kerry, Mairin de Burca, General Secretary of Sinn Fein said that in 1916 the middle class goomben exploiters had called for the death of Connolly so that they could ensure that there would be no more talk or writing about the reconquest of Ireland or the establishment of a Socialist Republic. With Connolly hardly cold in his grave, de Valera could say without contradiction that "Labour must wait".

"While Labour waited on the sidelines, the movement for freedom was sold to the middle-class, who had no interest but to oust British control over the lives of the

people so that they could take that control themselves.

"That mistake must never be made again. We must learn from the past that a struggle which has nothing but geographical objectives will be taken over and controlled by elements whose only aim is power and profit for themselves".

About 600 people marched from Creggan to Free Derry Corner where the commemoration was held. The meeting was chaired by Terry Robson and the Proclamation was read by Mr. Mickey Montgomery. The oration was given by Mr. Seamus Costello of the Ard Chomhairle.

In Killarney the parade was led by a colour party and the Killarney Brass and Reed Band. Jack Shea laid a wreath and the last Post and Reveille was sounded by Tommy Collins. The chairman was Mr. Joe Daly, a 1920 veteran. Paddy O'Callaghan read the Easter Statement and Jack Lynch of Cork delivered the oration.

Space does not permit a comprehensive report of all the parades and ceremonies that took place over the Easter period. It is sufficient to say that at all the commemorations throughout the country, those present committed themselves to carry on the struggle until the final objective is achieved — the establishment of a 32 Counties Democratic Socialist Republic.

WHILE IRELAND HOLDS THESE GRAVES...

In the Markets area of Belfast young and old alike had gathered to pay tribute to Joe McCann, a revolutionary soldier, who was murdered in cold blood by the forces of British Imperialism. The commemoration had been organised by the Mellows-McCann Republican Club in the Markets.

Rededication

On this the first anniversary of his death thousands of people from all parts of Belfast and the Six Counties gathered to pay their tributes to him and to rededicate themselves to complete the struggle which Joe and others before him had begun. The crowd, which numbered about 2,500 people, included Joe's wife, Anne, with their children and Joe's dog, an Irish wolfhound. The parade came to a halt at Joy Street where wreaths were laid by representatives of each of the Republican Clubs attending. Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the IRA. This was followed by a minute's silence.

Tribute to Joe McCann

The meeting which followed was chaired by Henry McKeown. Among the speakers were Jim Hargey, of the Mellows-McCann Republican Club and Sean Flynn, a close personal friend of Joe.

Sean said that Joe had lived as he died, a revolutionary. He had always been concerned about the conditions of the people. He had been concerned enough to risk his life in working day and night to defend the people, whether it involved the use of a gun or simply meant advising someone about claiming social benefits.

Malachy McGurran said that they had not gathered here just to honour the man but to honour his hopes and dreams of a United Irish Socialist Republic. Joe McCann was not a sloganiser or a compromiser. He was a true representative of the Republican Movement who worked to organise the people in their struggle for a better way of life. Joe never ceased to agitate on behalf of the workers. His involvement in the work of the Republican Movement had set an example for many of the young people who worked with him.

Real freedom

McGurran said that in remembering Joe McCann we should also remember those others who had given their lives for a Socialist Republic; people like Patricia McKay, Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan. Then there are those like our comrade, Robert Millen who was not afraid to cross the sectarian barrier and give his life in the cause of the Irish Revolution. He said that the true and final way to honour the memory of Joe McCann and all those others who had given their lives that the working class might achieve real freedom and full control of its own destiny, was to see a monument established which bore the simple inscription: "We the Irish People proclaim the Irish Socialist Republic". Only then will we have honoured their memory.



● The start of the Parade at the Joe McCann Commemoration.

Armagh's Sharpesville

The shooting dead of two members of the Pearse Republican Club and the wounding of another by British Troops, has been described as Armagh's Sharpesville by local people.

The shooting of these young men was no accident or coincidence. Both Jake McGerrigan - killed by a single bullet from a paratrooper - and John Nixon - seriously wounded by the same bullet - had been arrested and taken in for questioning on at least three occasions during the month prior to the shooting. Tony Hughes, who was cut down just thirty-six hours later, while moving arms into the same area following the murder of his comrade, had been constantly hounded by the RUC and the British Army. There can be no doubt that these lads were shot down in cold blood simply because of their involvement in the people's struggle.

Peter James McGerrigan, who would have been eighteen years of age on the day he was laid to rest, joined the Republican Movement at 16. He was intensely aware of the necessity of involvement in the political struggle and was an active member of the local Republican Club. So, too, was Tony Hughes. So deep was his commitment to the struggle that he started to work for the movement on a full time basis. He joined the local unit of the IRA two years ago and rose to the rank of Quarter Master for North Armagh. No task was too small for him. He took part in all club activities.

John Nixon lies seriously ill in Musgrave Park Hospital in Belfast under a heavy British Army guard. Several attempts have been made to question him by armed Special Branch men.



● Tony Hughes.



● Peter McGerrigan.

Thousands of people attended the funerals of both men, who were accorded full military honours. Speaking at the graveside of Tony Hughes, Cathal Goulding said:

These men who were murdered died because they chose to defend the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland's wealth, because they demanded for their people that they should live in full freedom from foreign domination, because the law they knew was the law of the Irish people to have total control over every area of their affairs. As soldiers of the Irish Republican Army they knew no other right, made no other demands and honoured no other law.

The Republican Movement extends its deepest sympathies to the families of both men.

S.A.S. KILLERS ON THE LOOSE

From last year when the Bawnmore Tenants' Association captured Peter Holmes, an admitted member of the infamous SS Regiment, there has been growing evidence that plain-clothed official killers are on the rampage in Belfast.

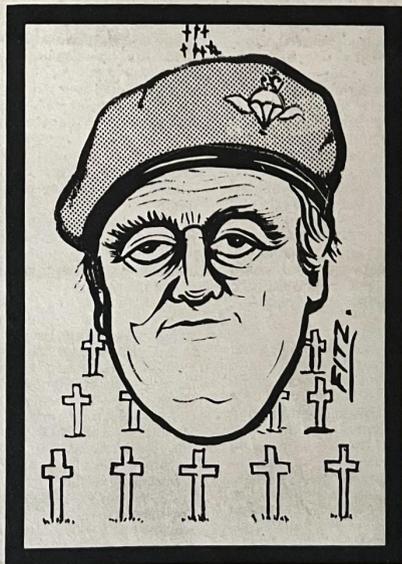
Taxi men in Andersonstown were gunned down. John McVeigh, a vigilante, was murdered and early this year a crowd of youths in the Beechmount area were sprayed by a passing car. Hard evidence pointed to the British Army, and in the McVeigh case the British admitted responsibility.

The recent murder of Belfast McAuley Republican Club member Bobby Millen while on vigilante duty at McClure Street once again raises the question of these killer squads. In this case it was not only an attempt to drive vigilantes off the streets, but was also aimed at wrecking the no-sectarian character of the Republican Movement. For Bobby Millen was one of a number of non-Roman Catholic members of the Movement in the Ormeau Road area where his club was particularly active in fighting sectarianism.

Early British Army press release endeavoured to give the impression that Millen had been shot by Roman Catholics from the Markets and, in fact, Republicans were detained briefly so as to lend weight to the story. Such a tactic supports the local belief that Bobby was murdered by members of SAS.

A commemoration ceremony was held on Wednesday, 18th April, at 3.00 p.m. at the spot where the killing took place. Several hundred people from the Markets district stood in silence for two minutes and heard speeches from McAuley Club member Jim Hargey and Des O'Hagan, Director of Education. Sinn Féin Jim Hargey, in his address, pointed out that the Republican Movement was non-sectarian and that the Clubs were open to everyone irrespective of religion. "We only want to know what a person's politics are; not where they worship. Ours is a working class organisation concerned only with the defence of working class interests."

Des O'Hagan claimed that Bobby Millen had been murdered because he was in the secular, socialist, separatist tradition of Tone and Connolly. "He was involved not only in vigilante activity but in all the aspects of the McAuley Club work, in organising tenants, paper sales and fighting intimidation and sectarianism on the Ormeau Road."



notes AND comments

long kesh letters

A Chara,
The Republican Movement Prisoners in Cage 8, Long Kesh recently had the good fortune to receive a gift of a consignment of clothing. The donors were the Irish Red Cross and to them, on behalf of our Movement here, I would like to extend my sincere thanks for their kind deed.

Is mise,
Peter Monaghan O/C.

A Chara,
It is disconcerting to see that the Westminster Government has decided to push the Bill of Rights, proposed in their White Paper on Northern Ireland, into the background, to be debated at some later date. We would point out to these gentlemen that it was the complete denial of civil rights which brought about the present situation in the 6 Counties and to shelve the Bill of Rights for an indefinite period, can only serve to prolong the violence. If Britain is sincere in seeking a solution to the Northern problem, it should recognise that Bill of Rights is of the utmost priority.

The corruption of the Stormont regime can only be equalled by its versatility. We are now faced with a Faulkner/Craig/Paisley power struggle within the Unionist Party. While Paisley seeks complete integration with Britain, Craig is the man who dreams of a U.D.I. type Ulster. Faulkner, aware that the days of Unionist domination are at an end, is now attempting to pass himself off, as a moderate. This must seem ridiculous, to even his most ardent followers. Take the man who introduced internment and thereby isolated an entire community and escalated the violence to its present level.

After 50 years of repressive legislation, Westminster decided to abolish the Special Powers Act, while at the same time proposing to implement the Diplock recommendations. The Diplock Report provides for detention without trial, no jury trials, the acceptance of written evidence, the admission of statements exacted under torture, the placing of the onus of proof on the accused — in fact all the obnoxious features of the Special Powers Act. Until Britain realises that the present policy of repression is the root cause of the violence, and not sectarianism as they would have us believe, there can be no progress.

The outcry in the British Press at the Neiswand case, is a pointer to the fact that most of the British people are not being made aware of what is happening in Northern Ireland. They are now aware that such happenings are a daily occurrence here. They are not aware that there are almost four hundred Neiswands incarcerated in Long Kesh.

Mise le meas,
Mickey Donnell,
P.R.O., Cage 8.

home with honour

On March 31st last a rally was held in New York called the "Home with Honour" Parade. The purpose of the rally was to welcome home the men who had been carrying on a war of attrition against the Vietnamese people. The returning men, who had participated in the most vicious and obscene war ever fought, were treated as war heroes.

Participants in the Imperialist rally were of course Army veterans,

Police Associations and the Provisional Organisation, the Northern Aid Committee. Led by the three authorised spokesmen for the Provisionals in the U.S. — Mike Flannery, Jack McCarty and John McGowan, and marching behind the A.O.H. Saffron Kilt Band, the Provisionals proclaimed their true principles to the American people. It is a pity that they are not as honest in the home country.

peace

"Every citizen has a duty to make the most of newly discovered possibilities of political accommodation afforded by the White Paper on the North" — a quote from the Chief Rabbi of Ireland speaking recently on RTE on the subject of "Peace through Partnership".

Mr. Cohen then goes on to speak of the Soviet Citizens denied their right "to emigrate to Israel". If he insists on introducing the subject of emigration to Arab lands in Palestine in the same breath as he discusses the Irish situation, Dr. Cohen should go deeper into the similarities of the situation. Israel is a theocratic state which not only discriminates against those not of the Jewish faith but more tortuously against Jews coming from different parts of the globe. Arabs, of whatever faith or none, are and always have been second class citizens in their own homeland.



● Rabbi Cohen.

"Peace through Partnership" is not acceptable to the Zionists in the Middle East. The demands of the Palestinian Liberation Movement for a unitary, non sectarian Palestine, in which those Jews already in the country would be allowed to remain, the Arab refugees would be allowed to return to their homeland and discrimination on the grounds of race or religion abolished for all time, have been rejected by the militant rulers of Israel.

The Soviet Union which supports the just claims of the Palestinian people, would be fully justified in refusing to allow its citizens to "emigrate" to Israel. If every country that supported U.N. resolutions did the same, emigration into Israel would dry up and further incursions into Palestine territory would be halted. There is no "right" of anyone to go to another country and take away what belongs to another people. Like the white rulers of South Africa who desperately need vast numbers of whites immigrating into that country to balance against the majority population of blacks, the Israeli Government must oust even the Arabs who remain, and fill their places with Zionists. Security depends upon it, both for the White South African and his Zionist counterpart.

If there is to be real "Peace with Partnership" in Ireland the forces of imperialism must be defeated, not just in the physical sense but in the broader and more subtle sphere of economics. In the Middle East, it is the intervention of U.S. imperialism which keeps the usurping state of Israel alive. It supplies the weapons of war against the Arab peoples. It too must be destroyed.

discrimination

Justice de Burca sitting in the District Court in Thurles recently, told a mother that she could not represent her son in court. The mother in question was attempting to represent her son who could not leave his work to appear. According to the rules the only other person who could appear on a person's behalf were a father, son, husband, wife or brother. The justice remarked — "I suppose this is discrimination but it is the position under the regulations. I am bound by the regulations".

A married woman cannot take children out of the country, she cannot sign any legal or financial agreements or even decide to which school her child should go without the husband's consent. This latest decision simply highlights another blatant example of the discrimination against married women in this country.

one man, two jobs

It may be of interest to some people to find that some T.D.'s have so little work to do that they have enough spare time to hold down a second job. Perhaps they find it difficult to exist on the mere £2,400 they are paid and need the extra cash to make ends meet. There are about 80,000 people in the 26 Counties who are currently unemployed. They no doubt will wonder how some people can have two jobs when they can't even find one. Well they may wonder. Take the case of the Flanna Fall T.D., John O'Leary, for example. Now our John has so much spare time on his hands that he recently took up an appointment as the Killarney branch manager of the Irish Industrial Building Society.

John must be an extremely energetic man, otherwise how could he find time to carry out both jobs to the best of his ability. We for our part, doubt that he has, and we suggest that he give up his seat in the Dail and give it to someone who really will work in the interests of the people — on a full time basis.



● John O'Leary.

Mr. Paddy Belton who represents Dublin North East in the Dail, recently purchased a site of 7,260 square feet, in Merrion Row, Dublin, for the princely sum of £270,000. Speculators such as Mr. Belton who put profit before people are ensuring that central Dublin will quickly become an office block jungle. By pushing up the price of land they make housing development in Central Dublin a practical impossibility. The authorities cannot compete with the speculators so the building of much needed houses for the thousands of people living in overcrowded slum dwellings comes a poor second to luxury office blocks. As the rush to gain bigger profits from land speculation increases, so the workers of Dublin are pushed into housing developments further and further away from the centre of the city. Belton represents a constituency in a working class city. Is it consistent for a speculator and big business man to "represent the workers of Dublin"? We'll leave it up to you to answer that question.

Sinn Fein has always pointed out that the only way to end speculation

by the Beltons of this world is to nationalise all building land and the building industry itself. Only in this way will we be able to provide inexpensive housing geared to the needs of the people. People must come before profit.

Cruinniú in Ath Luain

Ag cruinniú de phoblachtanai na Gaeltachta a tionsaigh in Ath Luain De Dornhaigh 29u Albrean, rinneadh dian-scrúdu ar neart agus eifeacht Gluaiseacht na Poblachta sa Ghaeltacht. Toghadh coiste cuigeair chun diús a chuir le comhcheangal na nGhaeltachtaí eagsula agus chun eagair a chuir ar phoblachtanai le Udaras Aitiúil fiantach a eileamh.

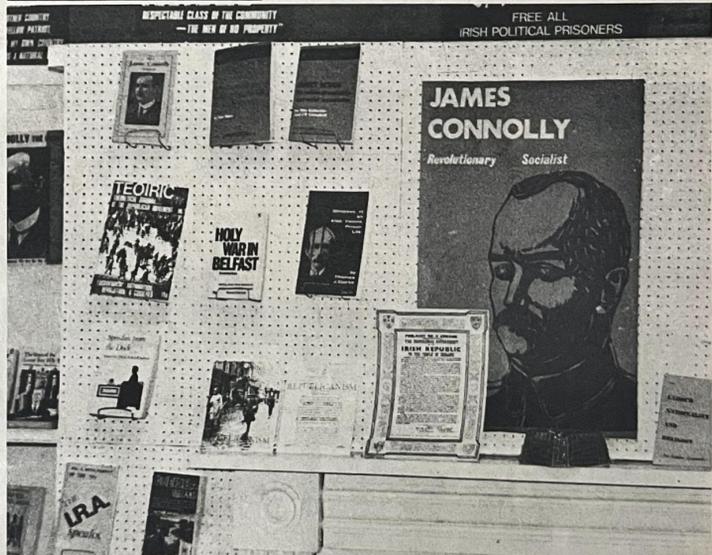
Ba e Tomas Mac Giolla a bhí mar chathaoirleach ar an cruinniú agus toghadh Pascal Mac Aodhain, Eoin O Murchu, Seosail O Cuaig, N. Sandham agus Brendan Mac Gearailt mar choiste chun na runta a thairg on cruinniú a chuir i gceist.

Ba leir on cruinniú go dtuigean Gluaiseacht na Poblachta —

1) chomh tabhachtach is ata se an Ghaeltacht a lairdiu agus a shlanu. Gan pobal iomlan briomhar Gaeltachta níl in aon iarracht ath-bheochnaíocht cuir amu amach.

2) Nach mbeid an reabloid iomlan gan an reabloid chultúra comh maithe. Gheall an cruinniú cabhadh go gach gluaiseacht Gaeltachta ata o agus ar son 'cos-mhuintir na Gaeltachta.

The Derry Book Shop



The Republican Movement in Derry City has now opened a book shop and advice centre. The office which was opened on March 30th, is a three storey building situated next to the offices of the

Irish Transport and General Workers Union. When repairs are completed it is expected that the building will house a lecture room and library.

The Clubs in Derry are to be

congratulated on their initiative in opening this premises. They now have a Republican Centre in Derry where those interested can come for information, for help with their problems and for education in the Republican ideals and objectives.

DEICH

Cuireadh fáilte mhór roimh polasai nua Gaeilge an Chomhrailis, cuireadh fáilte go forleathan roimhe, fiú 'Gaeilgeoiri, lucht na Gaeilge agus na heagrais Ghaeilge féin. Agus ar ndó ba dheacair gan fáilte éigin a chur roimh gníomh ar bith a chuirfeadh deireadh le méid áirithe d'fhíneacht Fhianna Fáil faoi chúrsaí na teangan — dream a raibh sé d'aídhim i bprionsabail acu athbheochant a dhéanamh ar an teanga, a chaith 41 bliain in oifig ó bunaíodh an Stát agus a rinne feall mílteanach ar mhuintir na Gaeltachta toisc nach raibh sé d'éirim acu a thuiscint narb fhíú tada an Ghaeilge seartha amach ó lucht a labhartha. Rinne Fhianna Fáil beag beann de mhuintir na Gaeltachta, agus an gá a bhí acu le deis a fháil sí bheatha a bhaint amach ina n-áit dhúchais — gan trácht chor ar bith ar an gceart bunúsach a bhí acu chuige sin.

Ar an dtaobh eile den sceal, le fillleadh ar Fhine Gael agus ar Pháirtí an Lucht Oibre, agus a bpolasai siúd i leith na Gaeilge, níl aon amhras ann ach gur ag cotú tacaíochta atá siad san cuid mhaith, agus deireadh a chur leis an nGaeilge mar ábhar éigeantach i scrúdiú na hÁrd Teistiméireachta. Dhá phas ar phas sa Ghaeilge atá a dtairiscint acu le daoine a mbealladh — polasai bunaithe go hiomlán ar an aicmeachas. Níl ach codán an-bheag de ghasúir na tíre in ann a dhul ar aghaidh agus scrúdiú na hÁrd Teistiméireachta a dhéanamh — ní amháin dóibh é ainneoin "saoroidreachais". Is do lucht na príbhleide amháin ata na "incentives" i leith na Gaeilge a raibh oiread sin cainte ag Fine Gael fúthú, a dtair iscint Múnar féidir leis an mBúrcach aon cheo níos bunúsaí a mholadh is a chur os comhair gnáth phobal na tíre, a chinnteoidh go bhfuighidh an cos-mhuintir seans eolas a chur ar a n-oidhreacht dhúchais, ní fiú tráinín é a dhá phas.

Céard faoi chúrsaí bun-scoile. Nár bh fearr b'fhéidir feabhas a chur ar mhodhanna múinte sna scoileanna náistunta agus ranganna a laghdú (tá níos curtha aige leis an obair seo is costúil). Is deacair a thuiscint céan fath nach mbeadh eolas réasúnta ag páiste ar an nGaeilge taréis sé bliana i mbun scoil — dhá gcuirfi chuige i gceart.

Polasai nó Eisceacht

Ag trácht ar chúrsaí bun-scoile, ní mór ath-oscail

oifigiúil Scoil Dhún Chaoin a lua — beart eile de chuid an Bhúrcáigh ar cuireadh fáilte mhór roimhe. Ach ar ndó ní haon bhúochas don bhfeac céanna é agus is cinnte go raibh a leas polaitiúil féin a dhéanamh aige. Rinne sé an rud ar cheart a dhéanamh an chéad lá riamh. D'athoscail sé scoil an phobail sa cheantar áirithe sin. Is aonad bunúsach de phobal ar bith é an bhun scoil, mar a chéile leis an dtabhairne áitiúil nó an séipéal — teach an phobail. Cuir deireadh le ceann acu agus ní fada go dtiocfaidh meath ar ar shaol an phobail sa cheantar. Rinne muintir Dhún Chaoin féin an-obair agus an scoil a choinneáil ar oscailt i rith an ama, ach ar ndó bhí daoine ar an mbeala a raibh imní ortha faoi chaighdeán oideachais a ngúsar is a chuir thar an paróiste amach iad. Sé sin nó chuir lucht gaimbín na háite ina lui orthu go raibh an ceart ag an rialtas an scoil a dhunadh agus go mba cheart beart a dhéanamh dá réir. An ngabhfaidh na páistí seo ar ais go Scoil Dhún Chaoin nó ar thainig ath-oscailt oifigiúil na scoile ro-mhál?

Céard faoi nó pobail eile ar imríodh an beart céanna orthu, ceard faoi Ghaeltachtaí Chonamara agus Thír Chonail mar ar dúnadh scoileanna beaga eile, mar ar leagadh buille an bháis ar phobail eile, nár "hath-oscailt" fós toisc nach bhfuairadar an oiread céanna poiblíochta is tacaíocht phoiblí de cás Dhún Chaoin. Agus céard faoi Montpelier, áit a ndéana muintir na háite treant iarracht a gcearta a bhaint amach. Fuaireadar tacaíocht ó dhreamanna lasmuigh agus os na meáin chumarsáide freisin. Chaith iar-eagarthóir an pháipéir seo tréimse ag muinteoiracht sa scoil chéanna. Ach ainneoin na n-iarrachtaí theip ar mhuintir Montpelier, mar nar mhaith leo leatrom a dhéanamh ar aos scoile an cheantair.

Bhíuil an tÁire nua le hathbhréithniú a dhéanamh ar an gcás seo is ar na cásanna eile — nó an é narb fhíú dó é ó thaobh cur chun cinn an Áire. Dúirt sé gur eisceacht a bhí i gcás Dhún Chaoin mar gheall ar an nGaeilge agus traidisiún litríochta an cheantair — Peig Sayers, an tOileánach, ach mara raibh Chríomhtháin ag Montpelier riamh, cén ceart atá ag an rialtas a chinntiú nach mbeidh aon cheann acu go deo, tré buille an bháis a bhualadh ar shaol pobail an cheantair.

Ach ma tá an tÁire nua seo sásta mion chomhartá

Timpeall na h-Eireann — agus suil thar lear

dea mhéine féin a dhéanamh i leith chúrsaí oideachais agus cúrsaí bun-scoile, níl aon dóchas ann go ndéanfaidh sé an beart is riachtanai agus is reabhlóidí a theastaíonn — agus sé sin athrú bunúsach a dhéanamh ar chóras bainistíochta na scoileanna seo agus deireadh a chur le ceart "diags" na sagart paróiste nó na ministéar, bheith ina mbun. Ní bheidh aon rath ar chúrsaí oideachais sa tír go ndéanfar seo.

Naoilanna Stait

Tá chúig nó sé cinn de nai-scoileanna á reachtáil anois ag Conradh na Gaeilge ar fud na tíre. I rith na bliana seo caite, chuireadar scéal chuig an Roinn Oideachais féachaint cén cinéal deontais féal chuig an Roinn Oideachais féachaint cén cinéal deontais a bhí ar fáil do nai-scoil — agus ní nai-scoil Ghaelach a bhí i gceist. Fuaireadar freagra á rá nach raibh a leithéid ann. Ní hamháin

nach raibh ach dúirt an Roinn nach raibh aon scéim do pháistí réamh-scoile á beartu acu faoi láthair.

Fágann seo nach bhfuil nai-scoil nó naoilann Stáit aginn sa tír seo agus nar leir don Stát céanna go bhfuil aon ghá leo. Is deacair a thuiscint cén fáth nach léir dóibh taréis a bhfuil d'fhianaise acu, go háirithe i gceatracha agus i gceantair uirbeacha, taréis a bhfuil molta ag siartráithe a bhíonn ag plé go laethúil leis na fadhbanna a éiríonn go príomhadha as an gcoras capitleach atá i réim sa tír seo faoi láthair. Ciocral lochtach lófa a bhíonn ann. Droch thithocht, difhostaíocht, easpa cos beirceatás, easpa naoilanna, easpa ionaid shúgradh, "coireanna" na n-óg, droch thithe coinneála don aos óg, easpa jobanna ag teacht amach dóibh as na títhe céanna, agus tá an ciocral nó an roth ag casadh leis de shlor.

Chuideadh naoilanna leis an mháthair 'agus leis an bpáiste. Chuideadh siad leis an mháthair ar ghá di nó ar mian léi dul amach ag obair. Chuideoidis leis an mháthair a bhfuil cúram anmhór uirthi ach ganntanas spáis agus ganntanas bia. Dhá mbeadh sé ar a cumas beirt nó tríir den dream ab éige a chur isteach sa naoilann, thabharfadh sé seo seans di suimheas beag éicint a fháil le caoi agus eagar a chur uirthi féin is ar an deach. D'fhéadfadh sí éirí as a bheith ina meaisín nócháin is cócaireachta ar feadh tamaill bhig, agus cuimhneamh uirthi féin mar dhuine. Bheadh aoihb níos fearr ansin uirthi nuair a thiocfadh na gasúir abhaile agus d'fhéadfadh si cur suas níos fearr le caoineadh agus le hachrann a clainne. Ní cheart ach oiread go mbeadh ar an mbeant tí a théann amach ag obair £5 no £6 a íoc le naoilann phríobhaideach. Muna bhfuil an Stát sásta dul i mbun naoilanna ba cheart dóibh ar a laghad a gceastaí a dhíol leis na mnáibh.

Bheadh sé thairbhe ag na gasúir go mbeadh daoine oile ina mbun a mbeadh neart ama acu bheith ag plé leo. Ceann de na fadhbanna is mó a bhíonn ag páiste ó cheantair phlíchta bhochtá Bhaile Átha Cliath nuair a théann sé chun na scoile, nach mbíonn sé ar a chumas é féin a chur in iúl. Is áráim ró-mhór agus imní ró-mhór ar an máthair faoi ndear seo, agus in ionad freagra a thabhairt ar cheisteanna an linbh, díbríonn sí amach ag imirt é.

Ní bheidh deireadh go deo le fadhbanna an chiorcail faoin gcoras capitleach, ach ba chabhair iad na naoilanna le linn do ghnáth mhuintir na tíre a bheith dá n-ullmhú féin chun lucht na ngaibinn, lucht an airgid, is na hamhantraithe a chaitheamh ar leataobh agus Poblacht shóisialach neamhspleach a bhunú. Idir an dá linn caithfidh oibrithe na hEireann, idir fhir is mhná, ach go háirithe na mná b'fhéidir, teacht le chéile len iad féin agus le daoine eile a ghríosú is a eagrú agus na naoilanna úd a éileamh. Ní neart go cur le chéile.

Impiriúlachas Mheiricea

Beirt ghasur ar shráideanna cathrach i Vietnam, a dtuismitheoirí cailte, nó iad san cailte nó tréigthe ag a dtuismitheoirí. Páiste chuig bliana nó mar sin ag tabhairt aire dá dhriofú óg,

BEALTAINE

nach bhfuil de leaba aice ach bosca cairchláir. Léiríú truaibhealach ainnesach amháin ar thoradh an impiriúlachais i Vietnam, impiriúlachas Mheiricea ó 1958 i leith, impiriúlachas na Fraince roimhe sin. Agus céard tá ag gnáth-mhuintir na tíre, an cos mhuintir, dá bharr ach cogadh, cruatan, bochtanas agus an bás. Cén toradh eile a d'fhéadfadh a bheith ar shainm an impiriúlachais, an cineál is íofúil den chaipitleachas.

Taréis do Mheiricea Vietnam a tháigil sa tíoch ina bhfuil sí faoi láthair ní mór do mhuintir na tíre sin, idir Thuaidh is Theas dul i mbun obair athtógála na tíre. Sé an rud is lú go bhféadfadh Stáit Aonraithe Mheiriceá a dhéanamh anois ná nearb cabhair airgeadais a chur ar fáil leis an tír a chuir ar a bonnabá arís.

Táthar ann nach mbeadh i bhfabhar aon chabhair a thabhairt don Vietcong a léiríodh i gcoir ar mheáin chumarsáide Mheiricea, agus ina lan áiteanna eile ar fud an domhain, mar Chumannaigh — ach seard abhí sa Vietcong ná gluaisceacht chearta sibhialta, ar lorg jobanna, tithíochta, etc., go dtí gur cuireadh iachall orthu dul i muintir an fhoiréigin.

Ar ndó níl an tír seo saor ó thionchar impiriúlachas Mheiricea ach oiread.

O d'éirigh impiriúlachas Shasana as a bheith ag infheistiú airgid sa tír seo le breis is bliain anuas, tháinig na Meiriceánaigh ar aghaidh mar príomh thír shúncála in Eirinn. Tíocháin an lá agus Poblacht Shóisialach a bunú againne go mbeidh muid-ne á gceitheamh amach freisin.

Cuimneacáin MacGrianna

Béidh Eigse Rann-na-Feirse i nGaeltacht Thír Chonail ar subáil o'n Nú la do Bealaine go dtí an 13ú lá do Bealaine.

Teideal an Eigse i mblana Saothar Mhairse seo cuimhneachain ar scriobnóirí cluitheach Séamus Mac Grianna as Rann-na-Feirse.

Bí baint mór ag Cloinn d'Grianna le cogadh na saoirse agus caithe Séamus Seisamh Domhnaill agus Feidhímídh treimse fada, i nDroichead Nua i bpríobius sna Ficeadhí do tarbe a ndíseacht d'on Phoblacht. Tá Rann-na-Feirse agus Tír Conail Brodamhal asre agus tá súil le cuid mór Gaeilgoiri as gach ceard d'on tír d'on deireadh seachtshaine seo.



Whatever the outcome, the second battle of Wounded Knee in Dakota, may turn out to be historically more important than the first. The first battle which took place 83 years ago marked the end of the Sioux Indian's heroic struggle to defend their lands. The second battle, being fought now, marks the beginning of a long struggle that must end in victory for the 800,000 Indians in the United States.

Nearly two months after they seized the trading post and the church which sit on the Pine Ridge Reservation, several hundred Oglala Sioux, other members of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and their supporters still appear to be holding the area.

Increased Tension

Their demands, which they issued when they took the two buildings, have remained the same: "That a committee investigate the Bureau of Indian Affairs and that another committee look into the non-fulfilment of over 371 Treaties signed by the U.S. Government with various Indian Tribes". They are also demanding that Tribes be allowed to elect their own officials.

The takeover began on the night of February 27th when approximately 250 Indians took the two buildings on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwest Dakota (Pine Ridge is the second largest reservation in the country). Almost immediately after the takeover, FBI agents, U.S. marshals and police surrounded the place. They came armed with M-16's and at least 30 armoured personnel carriers. At one point two U.S. Air Force Phantom jets flew overhead on "reconnaissance missions".

The tension has increased during the occupation.

The second battle of Wounded Knee

Federal forces have come close to invading a number of times. There have been ceasefires interspersed between shooting back and forth, and some negotiations. In recent shooting incidents, one Indian was killed and one seriously wounded.

While negotiations were going on and off at Wounded Knee, Secretary of the Interior Morton, described the takeover as the "violent tactics of some militants". He said, "there has grown up in the wake of the black militant movement in this country, a revolutionary Indian Movement. Some of those taking part are renegades, some youthful adventurers and some have criminal records". He blamed the takeover on the "violent, revolutionary, Indian elements".

"One of the major things that is wrong on this reservation is that there are no jobs," said Terry

Steele, as one of the Indians involved in the takeover. "There is 66 per cent unemployment and underemployment. We see in the papers that the government gives 20 million dollars for this work scheme and that work scheme, but all it does is to create directors and four or five secretaries in jobs that last a few years and then are gone".

White Tape

"The largest factory on the reservation," said Hobart Keith, a former tribal judge, "makes moccasins and dolls, but it is owned by a big company with headquarters down south. The shopping centre and petrol station are all owned by big companies. All the profits go off the reservation to white people". Indians are forced to let the land they own because of complicated laws which don't allow them to get grants because they are "trustees" of the government. The white people who rent the land can get grants from the government. In 1970 alone, over 200,000 acres of Indian land was leased or bought by white people.

A few years ago the Government offered a training grant to a fish-hook factory if it was built on the Pine Ridge Reservation. It was employing 450 Indians at minimum wages. When the government grant ran out the owners moved the factory to Mexico.

The income on the reservation is only 800 dollars per person a year. Nearly everyone lives in tents or felt shacks with dirt floors. Some live in abandoned cars. To get on welfare, Indians have to go through what one Indian calls "White Tape". One 75 year old woman has applied for welfare for 13 years but because she gets 500 dollars a year lease money for some land she has, she can't get welfare, so she has to live on that 500 dollars a year.

The American Indians fight for freedom and justice, if it is to succeed, must be linked with the struggle for Socialism as we in Ireland have learned.



BRITISH FIRMS PAY SLAVE WAGES

The horror and breast-beating in Britain and other liberal democracies caused by revelations about the pittance wages paid to black African workers employed by British owned companies in South Africa is certainly welcome in so far as it will give them just that little more towards the essentials of life.

But make no mistake about it, it has nothing to do with the fight against apartheid, let alone the possibility of revolution in the Boer state. It will, if anything, entrench apartheid for the time being.

Even on the money side one thing must be clear. It would have been absurd to say "raise their standard of living". For the wage increases, some of them large in percentage terms, only brings the Africans to just above, or sometimes just below, the "poverty datum line". This is the euphemism for starvation level; whether the worker and his family actually starve on the wage received or are just miserably poor.

The net effect will be to take the heat off Vorster and the whole racist South African regime for yet a little while.

Guilty liberal indignation in the rest of the world will fade, allowing itself to forget that the buoyant South African economy only exists through the slave labour of the Africans, which again is ensured by complete police state methods.

What is more interesting than the British firm angle is all that went on, virtually unnoticed, for months beforehand. It started in Durban, where at one point some 50,000 black workers went on strike, seriously disrupting the economy. Strikes are

Strikes Illegal

illegal, Africans are not even allowed to join or form trade unions, but the time has presumably passed when they could be taken to work at gunpoint. As all political action is proscribed it seems the Africans with the Durban strikes awoke to the one method by which they can pit force against their 'masters'. Only to an extent of course, but still. It was noticeable that the strike, and the subsequent ones which have gone largely unreported, with a few exceptions stopped just short of violent counter measures by the authorities.



There have also been encouraging signs that the leaders of the homelands — or Bantustans — are not quite as tame Uncle Toms as the government intended them to be. They are not only demanding real measures of self government, but are also turning the tables on Vorster by threatening to merge their reservations and inviting white or mixed areas in between them to join.

International Solidarity

It is early days yet, but after the whites won the first crucial round by ruthlessly suppressing political dissent and removing all African political leaders in the early 60's, these are the first signs that the Africans have found other means of protest. But it must be channelled into effective political action if it is to be more than a diversionary exercise giving them marginal material improvements while in effect underpinning the vile apartheid system.

The first wage increases were granted to black seamen employed by Union Castle after Swedish dockers refused to unload one of their ships as long as Africans were not paid full (white) union rates.



The decision of the Six County Executive to fight the Local Government Elections was arrived at after many meetings of both local clubs and special general members meetings held at different times throughout this year. It was undoubtedly a hard decision to arrive at for a variety of reasons.

For example, the Macrory Report which outlined the whole of local government re-organisation provides for a totally undemocratic shift in power away from local representatives into the hands of appointed bodies. Many saw this as a good reason not to contest elections to councils with no more powers than the old English parish pump councils. The whole Civil Rights struggle for 'One Man, One Vote' had become meaningless and although Proportional Representation had been won, the victory was hollow.

Furthermore, the publication of the British White Paper, carefully designed to win the middle-class to accept a new sharing of the cake, contained the promise of much vicious legislation. Internment is to continue, special courts denying trial by jury are presented as reasonable and there is no provision for a genuine Bill of Rights. Powers will be vested in the Secretary of State which will not only make him virtually a dictator but which will provide him with scope for patronage beyond even that held by Faulkner and the Unionist Party.

On top of these assaults on Democracy the British Army continues to kill, arrest, smash homes, intimidate and harass. The very idea of participating in elections seemed to be against the best interests of the Republican Movement.

Therefore, why contest? In the main the decision was arrived at because the majority believed that here was an opportunity to present

OPPORTUNITY TO EDUCATE AND ORGANISE

the Republican Programme to the people, failure to do so was in fact to play the very game the British Government wanted. Politics was to be the preserve of the middle class and if Republicans 'abstained' then Westminster and their toadies would have the field to themselves. Republican participation had even more significance, for the decision once arrived at was qualified by certain conditions vital for the continuation of the Civil Disobedience Campaign. No seats were to be taken as long as internment or detention and Special Powers continued in any form.

This means that the pressure is on the 'Nationalist' parties to stick by their original commitments of August 1971 and holds out the promise of unity against repression and terror. The place seekers will be compelled to support the people's struggle. Candidates in the forthcoming elections must stress this aspect of our programme, emphasising that our position is in keeping with the efforts made by the people since 1968.

What of the rest of our programme? Obviously we must see this month as providing an opportunity to educate and organise.

What must be stressed is that both Macrory and the White Paper are measures to take power out of the hands of the Irish people and that the people's organisations must fight to have their importance and interests concerned in decision making.

The Election Manifesto deals with all aspects of Local Government activity including Housing, Welfare, Amenities, Education, Ground Rents. The following are but some of the Republican proposals:

in Housing

- (i) The nationalisation of the building industry.
- (ii) An end to speculation in housing and property development and the stopping of the rise in housing prices.
- (iii) Tenants' control of management and administration of local housing estates.

Ground Rents

- Abolish all Ground Rents.

Welfare

- (i) A completely free national health service.
- (ii) Communal care of the aged and increased family allowances and extra aid to one-parent families.

local elections

Education

- (i) A system of comprehensive non-streamed education.
- (ii) Full programme to establish pre-school nurseries in working-class areas.
- (iii) Integration of schools at pre-primary level and the integration of colleges of education (teacher training colleges).

Amenities

- (i) A Full scale programme to upgrade amenities in neglected housing areas.
- (ii) Full recreational and sport facilities in all areas.

The Manifesto also raises the urgent questions of light industry, sectarianism, lack of democratic control, regional planning, transport and the very important question of local government finance.

We emphasise, in particular, the abolition of domestic rates on public and private housing and the Republican demands for the Nationalisation of Banks, Building Societies and other Financial Institutions. In raising these proposals we are raising the whole question of the exploitation of the majority of the people by the capitalist system at their most vulnerable point, their homes.

The Republican Movement under the direction of the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin will be putting 90 candidates in the field. In the main our purpose is to present the people with a socialist alternative, no matter how well or poorly we may expect to do in different areas we must use these elections as a major opportunity to educate and organise for the development of future agitations.

FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED

Send your donations to:
ELECTION FUND,
31 Ogle St., Armagh or 30 Gardiner
Place, Dublin 1.

BODENSTOWN, JUNE 17

CEILI MANSION HOUSE