

*the* **United  
Irishman**

ΔΗ Τ-ΕΙΡΕΑΝΝΑC ΔΟΝΤΑΙΘΗ

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**WE STAND  
FOR THE  
REPUBLIC**

# WORKER AND FARMER UNITY

The Minister for Labour agrees that it is necessary to have full employment in Ireland. He is not alone in this outlook; everyone has been in agreement on that point since the state was established; it was one of the reasons put forward in favour of a quick ending to the civil-war.

De Valera won the 1932 elections by claiming that he would abolish unemployment.

He would do this, he said, by keeping out foreign firms and foreign imports.

Shopkeepers used to stick big paper shamrocks in the windows. "Buy Irish goods" was inscribed on the shamrock, one word on each leaf.

We now have a new Minister of Labour and he says we need to create 30,000 new jobs every year in order to have full employment. The policy this time is the exact opposite of what De Valera proposed; bring foreign firms into the country and allow foreign imports to come in.

Last year 2,000 new jobs were created.

On the last day of April 1974 an injunction was granted prohibiting workers from placing a picket on the gas company premises. Who would doubt that if pickets did not obey the court ruling they would have been whacked over the head just as they were when Connolly was leading the fight for democracy?

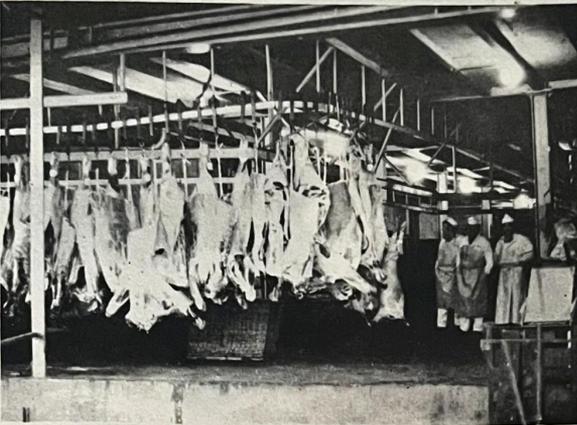
We know, of course, that the Minister of Labour is a party to allowing our ores to be shipped out of the country to be smelted and to be shaped, threaded and drilled in some other country.

Our ores make work for the citizen of some other land, for our own people, maybe, if they follow our ore on the emigrant boat.

The urban worker is not usually concerned about what happens in the countryside. What has a wage earner in common with a farmer? What has a farmer in common with a wage-earner?

We are all being beaten by the same big stick. The government is interested in keeping bacon at a high price. This is because the economists are looking at the play of market forces and believe that the pig farmers and the pig industry must be sacrificed in the interests of the beef industry.

Economists are by training people without human sympathy, without human responsibility one could say with truth. Laws of supply and demand, the state of the market, are sacrosanct to the



● Factory workers and farmers must unite to save their bacon.

capitalist-trained economist. This sort of expert is allowed to rule our lives. They say that it makes good economic sense for the pig farmer to be paid a low price for bacon and for bacon to cost £1 per lb. in the shops.

Bacon sales will slump at this price. Bacon factories in this country employ 3,000 workers on actual production in the factories. Lorry-drivers are also employed to bring the pigs to the factories and to bring meal and other feeding to the pig farmers, and there are other jobs.

The working-class has a vested interest in fighting government plans for the

bacon industry. What happens on the farm is of interest to the wage earner. The more workers there are in employment the more independent the worker; you can squeeze the capitalist when the capitalist needs workers.

To keep 3,000 workers in employment in the bacon industry is something that is in the best interests of the Irish working-class.

The Irish farmer will have a greater and greater need for a dependable ally in order to

prevent the government kicking the family farmers to death. They will find such an ally in the organised working-class.

We are in favour of change because we know how necessary it is to have change. What worker would defend the past or the present? Change must bring more employment, more security of tenure in employment, and food and rents at prices the wage-earner can afford.

More profits for capitalists is not change.

## THANK YOU



We would like to thank the following people for their donations to the Building Fund and appeal for more people to send a donation to me Padraig McCallag, c/o 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.

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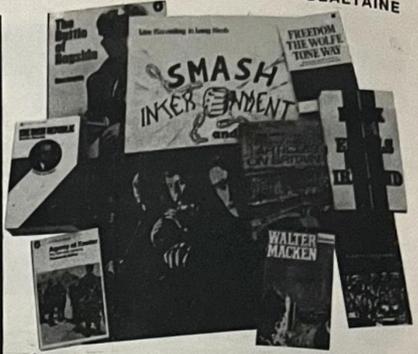
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3rd prize: Leduc, La Clenauere en St. Gilles, 35590, L'Hermitage, Breizh, Brittany.  
With the dependents of so

many political prisoners to maintain Cabhair is continually pressed for money.

The smallest donation, even the price of a single raffie ticket, helps to feed and clothe the wives and children of Irish political prisoners.

Cabhair thanks all the people who helped it in its work by contributing to its funds and counts on their continued generosity.



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# GOULDING SPEAKS AT ARMAGH

We have come today to honour the memories of Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan, who were murdered by the British forces occupying their native city one year ago. We come in sympathy for their relatives, their comrades and their friends. But we also come in pride to mark their part in the struggle for a socialist Republic.

Therefore more than any other reason for coming to this city, their city, we are in Armagh today to renew our belief in the cause that made them fight and to pledge the determination of the Irish Republican Army to carry on their fight until victory is ours.

These are dark and confused days in the Six Counties of our country which are militarily as well as socially, economically and politically controlled by the enemies of our people. Dark days because the terror of sectarian murder, inspired, stimulated and in many cases executed by the Special Air Services of the British Army which has been used, mercilessly used, to harass the working-class people of the Six Counties.

Days of confusion because the native opportunist, working hand in malled glove with the forces of imperialism, has contrived to reduce the political issues at stake here to a shambles of emotional pressure aimed at producing a mentality that will accept their peace at any price.

We identify, as Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan identified, the link between sectarian murderer and opportunist politician. They have, whether they acknowledge it or not, a common interest. They operate to the same purpose, with the same effect—the one, with gun or bomb, the other, with threats and cajolery, with the carrot of peace and the stick of civil war, to crush the working people of the Six Counties into submission. Submission to whom —

submission to the wishes and demands of a British imperial elite, whose servants and agents are the sectarian killer and the power-grabbing politician.

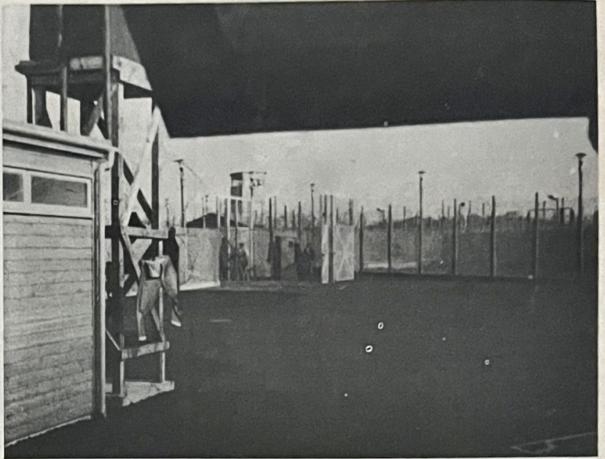
Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan were murdered in cold blood because they chose to defend the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland's wealth, because they demanded for their people the right to live in freedom from foreign domination, because the law they knew was the law of the Irish 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. They took up arms because arms were used, as they still are used, to impose the will of a tiny minority of rulers on the majority of the working people of this country.

They were shot, as Joe McCann was shot in the streets of Belfast and as John Pat Mullen and Hugh Herron were shot on a country road in County Tyrone, with the same callous intent, the same determined brutality, the same treacherous purpose—to defeat the working-class people of Ireland and to deprive us for all time of our right to decide our own destiny.

They were murdered because they came between a British Tory Government and its objectives in Ireland. They were not prepared to accept a sham and undemocratic solution to their nation's affairs.

A solution which is dictated, as partition was dictated in the first place, by Conservative politicians and their big-business allies. A solution which is being sold to the Irish people by every means that are available to the enemies of the people. A solution in which the only gain will be for the middle-class political turncoat and the loss, as always, will be the loss of the ordinary Irish working people.



A picture smuggled out from Long Kesh in spite of the new landlords of the S.D.L.P.

## PACT IN LONG KESH — PRISONERS REFUSE ALL VISITS

A complete boycott by all sentenced special category (political) prisoners (including remands) and fifty detainees in relation to Long Kesh visits is now in operation and has been since Monday, 15th April, 1974.

We are fully aware of the hardships and heartache entailed in such a decision but as men we feel we have no other alternative but to continue the boycott until the Northern Ireland Office re-appraise the visiting facilities now in existence.

The cubicle visiting system was pioneered in Belfast Prison in April, 1968, and for six years the prisoner and his family have had a minimum of privacy to discuss personal and domestic problems, which beset any family.

When the visiting area is reached the prisoner is subjected to a very rigorous and probing search and no part of his body is left untouched and as well as this he is asked to remove his shoes and socks. What chance a secret smuggled message as "The Ministry" so naively suggests for public

digestion? After the initial search procedure the prisoner is brought to the visiting cubicles measuring 8' x 8' (approx.) which contains a partitioned table and four chairs. The visitors enter and are seated opposite the prisoner. There are no doors on the visits and the doorway is completely blocked by an officer who takes up a stance and remains for the total time of the visit.

And now, from out of the blue, the whole visiting system has been renovated by workmen and changed beyond all recognition. Instead of the minimum of privacy in the cubicles we now have a battery of mini-cages completely open in which six or seven prisoners and their visitors can be viewed at any one time from any angle of the other cubicles. There is no privacy and however disinterested a person is that person cannot help but overhear the conversations of the visitors and prisoners surrounding him. Most men in Long Kesh are married and when visited by their wives it is natural that their small children also

accompany the wives. Imagine forty fidgety children in a building 100' x 20', and forty is a conservative estimate. You literally have to shout to make yourself heard.

Professional officers and staff know that it is against all prison ethics to grant the prisoner something and then withdraw it. We have overwhelmingly proved that there has been no abuse of the old Long Kesh visits. There are all types of political prisoners housed in this camp and the miracle of the matter is that there is a great absence of factional tension. Men of common sense know that all are prisoners and have resolved that sectarianism must not be allowed to rear its head in Long Kesh.

This statement has been drafted and agreed to by the various factions incarcerated in Long Kesh and whilst it concerns day to day life in this camp it could well be that the unanimity which exists might travel further afield. These are the facts — the truth — unvarnished and bare.

We appeal to you, the general public, to be the judge.

The scene in Armagh at the unveiling of the memorial to Tony Hughes and Jake McGerrigan.

### LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS

Eddie Magee, 4 years  
Gerald Burns, 5 years  
Frank McGrady, 4 years  
Peter Monaghan, 6 years  
Frank Quinn, 4 years  
Brendan Mackin, 12 years  
Sean Bunting, 5 years  
Frank Weir, 10 years  
Pat O'Hare, 7 years  
Mick Mallon, 7 years  
Artie Maguire, 8 years  
Jim Goodman, 8 years  
John Madden, 3 years  
Gerry Loughlin, 12 years  
Tony McShane, life  
John J. McAuley, 5 years  
Mickey Donnelly, 5 years  
Noel Deagan, 5 years  
Sam Hemsworth, 2 years  
Thomas Power, 12 years  
George McNally, 6 years  
Peter McFarlane, 6 years  
Sean Hanna, 5 years  
Sam Mathews, 3 years  
Leo Davis, 3 years  
Pat Maxwell, 3 years  
Mick Gilmore, 2 years  
Danny McIlwaine, 3 years  
Sean Curry, 3 years  
Joe Cush, 1 year  
Anthony Smyth, 7 years  
Gerald Campbell, 3 years  
James Grimley, 3 years  
Roger Torney, 6 years  
Timothy Smyth, 3 years  
Gerald Smyth, 3 years  
George Simpson, 2 years  
Eamonn Burns, 2 years  
Emmanuel McQuillan, 3 years

Brendan Harrison, 2 years  
Terence McGarry, 3 years  
Frank Gallagher, 2 years  
Sean Colhoun, 5 years  
Brendan Turley, 5 years  
Jim McVeigh, 5 years  
Jim McLaughlin, 5 years  
D. Russell, 6 years  
H. Torney, 6 years  
Doherty, 2 years  
B. Trainor, 6 years  
T. Cosgrove, 7 years  
C. Mulvenna, 2 years

### LONG KESH: REMAND PRISONERS

K. McLaughlin  
R. Eilham  
J. Logue  
T. McDermot  
C. Brady  
P. J. Valliday  
D. Conlon  
L. Johnson  
S. Goodman  
P. Neeson  
P. Mullan  
R. Curran  
L. McAnoy  
G. Duffy, life  
P. McDaid  
G. O'Neill  
J. Magill  
P. McKeegan  
T. Morgan  
G. Healy  
S. Magee  
D. Lagas  
B. Maguire

G. Dickey  
J. McCaughey  
F. O'Neill  
B. O'Hagan  
B. J. McQuade  
M. Smith, 2 years  
M. O'Hagan, 7 years  
K. Brady, 7 years  
P. Breen, 7 years  
G. Duffy, life  
R. McNally, 2 years  
C. Toman, 2 years  
J. Shanks, 7 years

### MOUNTJOY:

B. Maxwell, 18 months

### ENGLAND:

Noel Jenkinson, 30 years  
Joe Farrington, 2 years  
Jim Flynn, 2 years  
Michael Duignan, 3½ years

### PORTLAOISE:

Ronnie Deehan, 4 years  
Roland Giles, 6 years  
David Gibson, 18 months  
Damien Friel, 18 months

## Tribute to Joe McCann

Joe McCann's concern for the lowest of classes, the working class manifested itself in his untiring work of educating the workers and the ordinary people to the power they possessed themselves. His dream was an island of equality, a socialist Ireland where everyone would commit themselves, and share the riches of their labour, instead of crawling and licking the asses of the bosses in order to get that little extra crumb from the table of our oppressors. He knew also that it was not the country that needed unity because the country was never divided, it is only seas

and earthquakes that can divide and separate; it was people that needed uniting, and that was why Joe tried to cross the sectarian divide, the religious differences which have been used for so long not only by the capitalist system but by the different religions themselves. He proved the lie that people were fighting over religion by pointing out that all were christians, and that a good christian should in essence be a good socialist in that they should love their neighbour as themselves, and do onto others what they would like others to do to them.

# the United Irishman

AN t-ÚIRIANNAC DOIMTEACH

## OUR POLICY

This month's issue of the United Irishman is concerned with every aspect of the problems which face the Irish people.

It re-emphasises that our struggle for freedom is not simply a territorial struggle, a question of altering the colours of the flag blowing over governmental buildings. Certainly the unity of our country and the removal of British troops is fundamental to our understanding of freedom.

But at the same time the Republican Movement clearly sees that the reconquest of Ireland is the total abolition of all Imperialistic influences from our country, no matter what the source.

The Republican Movement has consistently demanded that the British Government set an early date for their withdrawal, in the meantime that these troops be confined to barracks and cease to harass, intimidate and murder the Irish working class. One of the major tasks for Republicanism is to organise and mobilise the mass of the Irish people behind this demand.

At the same time it must be recognised that the forces of Imperialism and international capitalism are strengthening their grip on the basis of our people's existence.

All our jobs, our farms, our livelihoods are at the mercy of international companies or at the mercy of the policies devised by the bureaucrats of the Common Market.

It is therefore as urgent for Republicans to be seeking the withdrawal of our country from the cartel dominated EEC as it is to be demanding the removal of British troops.

The effects of entry into the rich man's club of Europe has been to send the cost of living soaring, into regions where it is no exaggeration to say that staple food products such as meat, eggs, butter and bread are consuming more and more of workers' incomes.

Ranchers, industrialists, shareholders and all those whose incomes are derived from exploitation can easily manage to offset the increased cost of necessary food products. But for the workers, all workers, the struggle to survive has become one of desperation as the disastrous effects of the decision to "enter Europe" begins to bite into wage packets.

Small farmers who were bluffed into voting pro-Common Market with the promises of high beef prices now realise that their land is no longer able to provide for themselves and their families. The speed with which the agricultural policy has deprived many of a living wage from their farms has left many dazed.

Republicans who forecast during their Anti-EEC campaign what would happen to the family farmer must now be to the forefront in organising the threatened landless men. Farmers' defence associations are as much part of the struggle against Imperialism as was the Northern Ireland Civil Rights' Association in the agitations to end democratic rule in the North.

The call for total withdrawal from the EEC now has real meaning for thousands of people who before believed the lush, propaganda of Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the Conservatives and the SDLP. It is urgent that we set about organising a campaign for withdrawal from the EEC which will embrace the factory workers, the farmers, the housewives, who can now understand what the loss of sovereignty means in terms of what goes into their pockets or on their tables.

The control over our own mineral resources and our potential oil wealth — estimated at £10,000 for every person of our 4½ million people — is a vital part of our programme.

The campaign for the protection of our resources is fully in line with Republican demands and must be extended to every part of the country. The ignorance of our mineral wealth which continues to be propagated by the vested interests through the mass media and unfortunately still in our schools, must be combated by every means at our disposal.

There is enough wealth in our country to ensure the care of all our people if the people can be brought to understand its extent and to desire to control it.

It is central to our policy that Republicans spearhead the campaign to ensure that looting of our mines cease. It is even more critical that we devote our energies to preventing the oil sharks of BP and Shell from stealing our off-shore oil wealth.

For Republicans, the struggle to end British oppression in Ireland is part of the overall struggle to place the Irish working class in full control of their economic, political and cultural futures.



The Common Market has proved a disaster for pig producers. And it is the small men who are feeling it most.

At a recent pig conference at Berr it was disclosed that 57,000 farmers in the 26 Counties had been forced out of pig production between 1965 and 1973. And the E.E.C. has sent the figures soaring in the past year. Last year's increase in the price of meal — which accounts for 80 per cent of the cost of production — is the main reason for the crisis.

Just over a year ago, Reddy Day, Chairman of the Pig and Bacon Commission, predicted that demand at home would remain stable and Irish farmers would sell an extra two million in the E.E.C. But higher feed costs led to higher prices. And with bacon now costing a £1 per pound, housewives are unwilling, indeed unable, to buy. With the slump in demand at home farmers looked to the continent for new markets. But E.E.C. levies on pigmeat export made a sick joke of Mr. Day's predictions.

Now with feed costs out of all proportion to their final value, pigs are too expensive to keep. So many farmers are killing them off and selling at a loss. In the past year sow numbers in the North have dropped by over 25 per cent. While in the south the pig population is just 60 per cent of what it was before we joined the E.E.C.

### Short lived

In preparation for the promised bonanza, many farmers with average holdings had concentrated on pig production. Thousands of them who are still trying to struggle on now find that they don't even qualify for grants. Under E.E.C. regulations pig producers who don't grow 35 per cent of their barley requirements on their own land are not eligible for grants.

And any who thought that the governments would help were in for a severe shock. The New Assembly told the North's 13,000 pig producers that there was little they could do to help. All decisions affecting farming are now decided between Brussels and Westminster. They did however offer an increase of 3p a score. An average increase of 24p per pig.

In the South, Mark Clinton, the Minister for Agriculture, returned from Brussels amid a glare of publicity to announce increased subsidies. But the increases were as short lived as the publicity. Within a matter of weeks the bacon factories dropped their prices by an equal amount.

### Speculators

Under the E.E.C. policy of fewer producers with larger units, the feed manufacturers, speculators and the big ranchers are the only ones who stand to gain. Ant they are determined to make the most of it. Before Ireland joined the Market meal prices in the South had been stabilised by An Bord Grain. The

# EEC breaks pigs back



● Mansholt: The man who made meat a luxury.

Bord bought up barley, dried it, stored it and resold it to farmers at £7 a ton over the original buying price. In this way the hands of the speculators were tied, farmers produced and sold their product and the housewife was assured of bacon and pork at a realistic price.

But under E.E.C. regulations An Bord Grain was abolished as a state monopoly. Immediately the speculators moved in. They bought up barley at £43 a ton and later resold it at £70 a ton. Denis Coakley, Chairman of the Pigs and Bacon Commission, refused to attend the Berr conference to speak to the producers. He knew that there was a hot reception in store for him.

### Monopoly

The feed compounders too are hoping to take advantage of the situation. They see the pig industry as an opportunity to diversify their assets, cut out payments to the middle men — the farmers — and increase their profits. The big bacon factories are thinking along similar lines. The result will be a total monopoly of the pig industry controlled by a consortium of compounders, ranchers and bacon factory bosses.

Already Southern Mills, one of the largest feed compounders in the country have built a 600 sow unit near Bandon, Co. Cork. Boland's Mills, another of the big compounders, are also building a 300 sow unit which is expected to go into production in the near future.

On another front, Buddy Keenan — a builder, whose name has often been linked with Senator Brian Lenehan — has built ten units to hold 500 sows each. He already owns over 2,000 sows. And each sow represents profitable bonhams ready to be fattened and sent to the market.

Hanleys of Roskeel, one of the largest bacon factories in the country are also reported to be considering extending operations to include production. A continuous line from the farm to the butcher's shop — cutting out the farmer — will lead to higher profits.

### Price curbs

Monopolies such as this which are what the E.E.C. agricultural policy is all about, will affect farmers, workers and housewives alike. Many of the 3,000 workers presently employed in the bacon industry in the 26 Counties will be made redundant when the monopolies rationalise the industry in the interests of efficiency and profit-rigging. And without grants the small men will be forced out of production.

All those who will be affected should now be demanding, through their unions, associations and tenants' organisations, that the government take immediate action to curb prices and break the monopolies in the interests of workers and farmers.

# FEDERALISM AND THE NORTHERN DILEMMA

## Interview with Tomas Mac Giolla



● The British answer looks like this.

The Republican Movement believes in a 32 county socialist Republic. Would you accept some kind of federation or regionalism as a stepping stone to the Republic?

There would be a lot of dangers in federation. This is a small country and the basic struggle is for ownership of the wealth and power by the working people, controlled by the working people. Dividing it up into small areas, as has been suggested by some people, is a very dangerous idea. For example that you leave the West to itself, or as in an article in the "Irish Times" a few weeks ago an Independent Leinster; this type of talk is sheer lunacy.

Naturally the more wealthy areas of the country can become more viable but the poorer areas of the country are going to be left to fend for themselves. The breakup of the country into regions like that, into areas that can be viable and other areas that can't is simply saying, let the wealthy areas look after themselves and cut off the poorer areas.

This, in fact, was the basis of partition, the nine counties wouldn't have been viable as a separate region, so they dropped the three poorest counties.

This whole idea of regional government areas is very dangerous, because it takes people's minds off the real issue which is that the Irish people should throw off the imperialist control, the foreign domination of their country, and should take control of the wealth of their own country.

What then do you think of the recent Boal Statement?

At the time the document issued by Desmond Boal was a statement that had to be listened to. He spoke with certain elements of the UVF and the UDA, although in fact he isn't a member of any organisation himself and therefore he can speak freely and make any statements he likes.

I did not say at the time nor do I agree now that this is the best solution in the Irish situation because his ideas weren't very well worked out.

But two elements of them reflected the thinking within Loyalist circles and this is their rejection of the British Army and in fact of Englishmen generally in the North. And their desire to rule themselves, to have control of their own affairs. In what way they will do this they are not sure.

What are the important aspects of Boal's thinking?

The really important aspect of the Boal statement and the statements by Sammy Smyth and others in the North is that Sunningdale has now meant that all the major political forces in the North have moved to the right and are all in the one right-wing grouping. There is a huge vacuum on the left and even in the centre. Out of the discussions in Loyalist circles, I think, new political ideas and new political movements will emerge.

They will see who the people are who have been exploiting them. There is common exploitation of Protestant and Catholic working class, if the Civil Rights' demands and the Bill of Rights were put into effect the oppression of one element of the working class would be removed and you would have a situation where this common exploitation could lead to common action against this exploitation.

Would you agree that the proposal made by Desmond Boal isn't very important for what it actually contains or as a blueprint for a solution, but that it starts Loyalists thinking?

Exactly. This is how I feel about it. The statement he made is not really new. It has been made by many people. Something of that nature was said by De Valera one time. Craig has come out for UDI. Other people talk about an Independent Ulster of one kind or another. And there are all kinds of vague elements of what Boal said that have been said in the past.

I agree with you that new political structures are being discussed with some new political ideas based on Irish thinking.

You see Sunningdale is basically a British imposed solution which has been rejected by the mass of the Irish workers both Loyalist and Republican. It suits Britain. She conceded nothing — everybody else in the negotiations conceded and compromised left, right and

centre. Faulkner compromised a great deal. Fitt and Hume compromised practically everything on the civil rights issues, etc. And Cosgrave compromised immensely. But the British government didn't move an inch. It just seemed to be a British solution so any ideas which came from the Irish elements should and must be listened to.

What is your attitude to the criticism expressed of your views by the Provisionals?

The Provisionals are desperately trying to develop a political programme which, when their offensive campaign is called off once more, they will present to the people and, if they are given a seat at the conference table, which appears to be the object of that campaign, they will present to the other participants in the talks.

We must examine carefully and critically the aims and intentions revealed in their outline "Eire Nua". The principal proposal there is for regional government, the establishment of regional parliaments in the four historic Provinces of Ireland and a consequent regional development of the country.

Here again, the Provisionals' appeal is simple, based on little more than vague hopes, without detailed examination of the present system or elaboration of the basic proposals they make. They hang their hopes on regional or provincial divisions. Ulster, they say, will still be governed by Protestants, this time with nine counties



● Mr. Rees has given little for the people to feel happy.

instead of six and a much larger Catholic minority.

But the mere fact that they assume Protestant government of the province of Ulster means that they neither foresee or expect any change in the attitude of the Protestant working class people.

Are you saying then that there is no political sense in the document "Eire Nua"?

The Provisionals propose to change the appearance of government but not its nature. They offer new names but retain the old system. Connacht will have a provincial government, with power to encourage economic development and responsibility for financing many of its services, but will that make any difference to the majority of the people of the province as they are expelled from the land, from the villages, from the towns, because this is what capitalism dictates?

It makes no difference because the Provisionals, as so many of their statements to their friends in the United States have shown, have no intention whatever of moving outside the capitalist system. It has not centralised government but the inexorable laws of capitalism which impoverished the west and drew all wealth and development to the east.

By retaining the existing capitalist system

(Continued on page 12)

## Join the Republican Movement



We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.

We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.

We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.

We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.

We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Contact local Sinn Fein members or write to An Runal, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.

I wish to Join the Republican Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

# EASTER 1974

*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 economics 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.

Irish exiles in Britain travelled from all over the country to the Easter Commemoration in Birmingham. The parade was led by a colour party and included many trade unionists and English socialists who support the demands of the Republican Movement for the immediate withdrawal of troops and the right of the Irish people to determine their own future and to use the wealth of our country for our own benefit. The attendance at the Commemoration was impressive when one remembers the reaction of the British working class to the succession of bombs which have eroded much of the support that previously existed there.

The oration was given by Eamonn Smullen who, himself, spent eight years in an English jail for his part in the fight of the Irish people for control of their lives and resources. Eamonn who is a member of the Resources Protection Campaign attacked the multi-national corporations who are shipping the raw ore out of Ireland, smelting it and turning it into consumer goods thus providing thousands of jobs in other countries while unemployment in Ireland remains at its present high level.

**BEALTAINÉ**  
"Boland, Haughey and Blaney," he said, "fathers of the Provisional Alliance were scandalised when it was proposed to tax, to take a few pounds in the form of tax, from the giant mining companies. They intended to allow the £2,000 million worth of ore at the Navan mine, the property of the people, to be looted without so much as a penny in taxation over a period of twenty years."

"When these people boast of their patriotism, of what they have done to help the fight for Irish Freedom, remember their records. Boland and Blaney brought the National Building Agency into existence. This agency has erected housing which is a scandal in every part of our country. This agency has meant suffering for the people in the damp Jerry-built houses and millions for the building racketeers. It has meant imprisonment for the Cork tenants. Remember the record of these Fianna Failers who pose as patriots."

In attacking the economic bombing campaign of the Provos he said: "During the worst period of this economic war, exports from the North increased by the vast sum of 194 million. The workers who



Speaking at Rock in Co. Tyrone Sean Garland accused middle-class politicians, North and South, of "using every propaganda trick in the book to persuade the people to accept the Sunningdale Agreement which has often been referred to as the dawn of a new era in Irish politics. All it does," he said "is to reinforce the power of the middle-class in the North and the reality is that power still remains in the hands of the imperialists, for it is they who control the purse strings."

He went on: "Britain's aim is to absorb the whole of Ireland into its political and economic system and to impose a false unity without independence within the E.E.C. Gimmicks and meaningless gestures from Britain are no substitute for the democratic demands which include the ending of all repression and Internment and the outlawing of all repressive laws; the outlawing of sectarianism by active legislation against discrimination in jobs and housing and the freedom to work for socialism and national unity and independence."

"These interim, democratic demands are a prerequisite for peace, but we declare that the Irish people can accept no supposed settlement which stands in the way of achieving full national unity and social freedom."

"The Coalition Government in Dublin like its Northern counterpart is in fact controlled by England. The state has all the trappings of freedom but none of the reality. Because power still lies where it lay in 1921: with the bankers, financiers

and the landlords, the masses of the Irish people, North and South, face poverty, deprivation, emigration and national stagnation. Freedom is an empty word if the Irish people do not control the means of producing wealth and its distribution."

Over 7,000 people marched to the commemoration in Milltown cemetery, Belfast where the oration was given by Tomas MacGiolla, President of Sinn Féin. The meeting was chaired by veteran republican Frank McGiade and the statement from the leadership of the Republican Movement was read by Billy McMillen.

Speaking of the need to struggle for the ownership of the mineral wealth of the country Mr. MacGiolla said, "The people of the South of Ireland have not yet thrown off the mentality of the slave. They still bow and scrape to the mighty and allow themselves to be robbed of all their riches. The vastness of the mineral wealth beneath our soil and the huge deposits of oil and gas off our shores is only beginning to be realised."

"We now know that the ore body in the Navan mine is worth £2,000 million at today's prices and similar deposits exist in other parts of the country. We also know that the second most important oil area in this part of the world lies off the south coast. It is projected that by 1988, even at present day prices, this area will be producing £3,000 million worth of oil per year. We are now, therefore, on the brink of becoming one of the richest and most



**BEALTAINE**  
 "Their jobs are the only ones to suffer. The bosses, after all, will get compensation. And these figures show that production and indeed profits have risen during this campaign."  
 He went on: "One weapon these patriots will not supply or never be in a position to supply is mass popular support. This weapon must be forged by ourselves, must be forged in opposition to the racketeers who have used their money and their influence in an attempt to smash our Movement since 1969."

• • •  
 The march in Dublin followed the usual route from the Customs House to the Republican Memorial in Glasnevin Cemetery.

The oration was given by Malachy McGouran who said that the struggle for national unity and independence has never been carried through to final victory, because the leadership of the fight for freedom was allowed to fall into the hands of those who were ready to compromise and sell out on the Irish people to safeguard their own personal prosperity.

"Far from the ideals of 1916 having been realised," he said, "we see a partitioned country led into the E.E.C. while British troops run amok with the licence of the Westminster government spreading murder, terror and torture in the North like the Black and Tans of old."

"The 26 County establishment is collaborating blatantly in this assault on the Irish people. They also pretend ignorance of the activities of the Special Air Services in the Six Counties. A specially recruited group of murderers who have been responsible for the deaths of an unknown number of Irish people over the past four years."

"The S.A.S. are a force designed to enforce the policies of the British Government in Ireland and if necessary against the British working class too. They have deliberately murdered to maintain the sectarian division between the Protestant and Catholic working class and to create a feeling of hopelessness in the people of the Six-Counties."

"But we have rejected the concept of victory through terror. The tragic and repeated defeats of the past struggles for Irish freedom have proved to us that

freedom can never be won except through the active participation of the people in the struggle for the reconquest of Ireland. To this end we have, both in conjunction with other radical groups and by ourselves, struggled to build organisations of the people to fight for limited but vital aims."

"The social agitations like housing and fair rents and the fight against rural decline; the economic battles against redundancy and unemployment, and for the take-over of large estates and inland fisheries; the cultural fight for proper education, in defence of our national language and culture and against misuse of the mass media; and above all on the political front we spearheaded the struggle for civil rights and democracy in the North and for the maintenance of sovereignty against the E.E.C. throughout Ireland."

"To be victorious a struggle for freedom must be a struggle of the people. An elitist force, divorced from the struggles of the people but calling on the people to support it, can never win. The role of the Republican Movement is to assist the people in what is THEIR liberation struggle."



powerful nations in the world, or on the brink of handing the lot over to foreign multi-national companies.

"This is by far the most important issue facing us today. When considering this wealth and its meaning for the future of every man and woman in Ireland, Sunningdale, the Council of Ireland and religious bigotry fade into the realm of parish pump politics."

• • •  
 At the annual commemoration in Cork, Des O'Hagan, Director of Education, addressed 500 people on sectarianism and the role which the Provisional bombing campaign has played in heightening sectarian tension in the North.

Drawing the distinction between the unity sought by the Provisionals and the unity for which the men of 1916 gave their

lives and which the Republican Movement continues to strive to achieve he said: "National unity means for us the unity of the common people of this land. For we do not want, and we will resist by all means at our disposal, the rule of rich over poor, for we declare that all the wealth of Ireland belongs as an unalienable right to the masses of the people of Ireland."

"We appeal to the Protestant workers and farmers not to respond to the provocation of sectarian bombers or the battle cries of the bigots whom Brian Faulkner is manipulating for his own ends, but instead to recognise our common exploitation by British Imperialism. We for our part will continue to press the demand of civil rights in order to overcome sectarianism and open the way for building the unity of the Irish working class without which socialism is impossible."

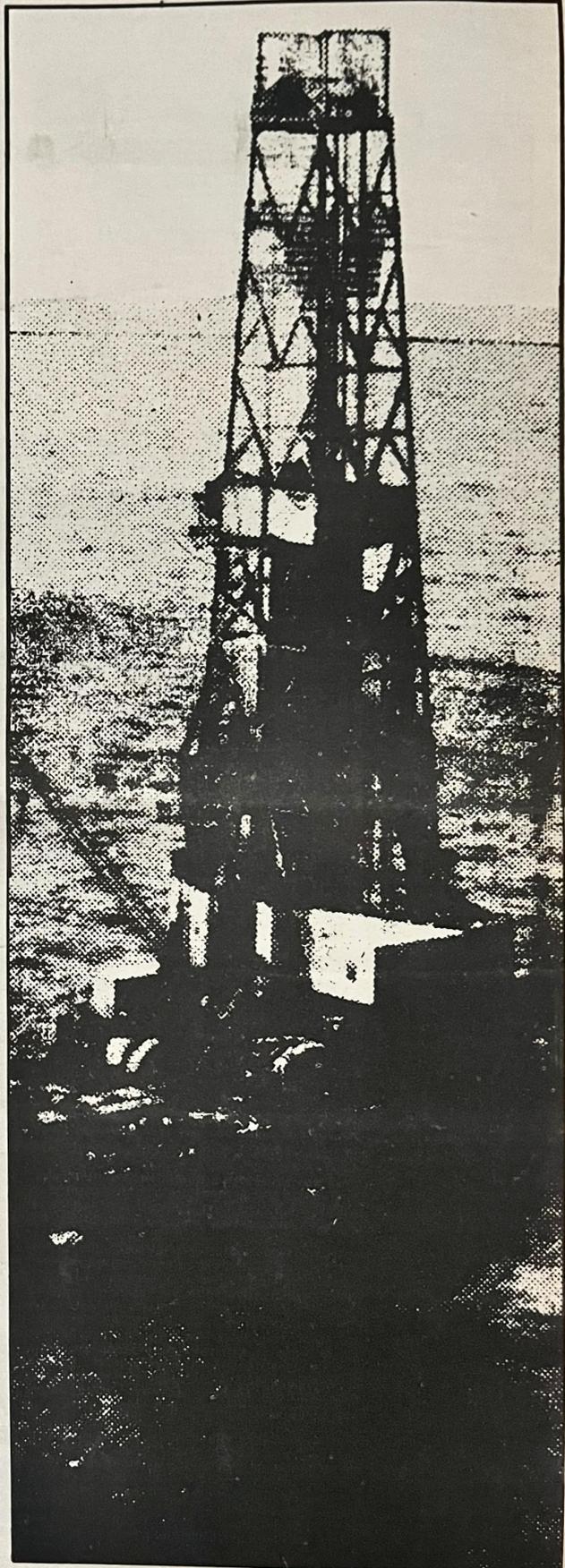
• • •  
 Over Easter, Mick Ryan, vice-treasurer, of Sinn Fein, made a highly successful two week tour of America during which he spoke at Irish Republican Clubs and Clann na Gael Club meetings and addressed members and supporters in New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia and Boston, explaining to them the need to intensify their support and the support of all other working class Americans for an end to British rule in Ireland.

"We cannot set a time limit to the achievement of national liberation, of full freedom. But we can say with certainty that all our history of struggle points to the road which we have set before us; the destruction of every vestige of British Imperial rule from our country and the establishment of the Irish Socialist Republic" Mick said.

# BODENSTOWN JUNE 23

# THE PROMISE

*'We declare  
the right  
of the  
people  
of Ireland  
to the  
ownership  
of Ireland'*



# PROPERTY

There is a grave world shortage of basic raw materials, in particular minerals and oil. Ireland is just discovering that she has vast resources of mineral wealth beneath her land and huge deposits of oil and gas off her shores. We owe it to our people and indeed to many poorer nations throughout the world, to safeguard our resources and protect them from exploitation by marauding tycoons.

In the past few years the extent of our great mineral resources have been well documented. The mine in Navan alone is worth two to three billion pounds and if the ore were extracted and processed by the State it could lead to a great industrial take-off bringing many thousands of new jobs. If the mine is given away, as apparently the Minister for Industry and Commerce is contemplating doing, it will give employment to some hundreds of our people digging a huge hole in the ground.

There are vastly greater riches which lie off our shores—oil and gas. In the area of the Celtic Sea between Land's End and Cork is located the second most important off-shore oil area in this part of the world. It is projected that by 1986 production from this area off our coast will be 100 million tons. Even at today's prices of £30 per ton this would mean production of £3,000 (three thousand) million worth of oil per year. This would be a greater annual production than would be got from the Navan mine during the whole of its life.

The debate on oil and gas has been carefully confined by oil cartel propaganda to discussion of exploration problems. It is likely that the next effort to confuse the Irish people will involve raising the question of how much ownership is involved on the part of the Irish people. The debate on exploration or ownership is closed as far as Sinn Féin is concerned. The Irish people own the oil and gas deposits under the jurisdiction of the Irish State. Our job is to ensure they are not given away.

The oil companies will attempt to bargain on how much fuel they will sell us and at what price. The fuel is ours. Securing it is only the first step. The real wealth lies in the thousands of industrial jobs that can be created by treating oil and gas as raw materials for industry.

The resistance to the sell out is likely to be a long and difficult campaign. The following points need to be noted as they will occur as the campaign develops.

**OWNERSHIP.** The oil companies will attempt to confuse the issue and set up a fog of publicity on the question of licences. There are three types of licence.

**A PETROLEUM PROSPECTING licence** which gives NON-EXCLUSIVE rights to look for oil and gas in a defined area.

**AN EXPLORATION LICENCE** which gives EXCLUSIVE rights to explore in a defined area.

Lastly a **PETROLEUM LEASE** which gives EXCLUSIVE mineral rights to a defined area. The basic position must be that the last two types of licence should NEVER be granted.

The second great propaganda campaign by the oil cartels will be to convince the public that this they can carry out exploration because it is so costly or technically difficult. This must be seen for the nonsense which it is. We have in the E.S.B. a huge reservoir of Engineers and Technicians already engaged in the energy business.

They have successfully dealt with far more difficult engineering problems than boring oil wells. There is also a wealth of talent available in the Department of Transport and Power, in Bord na Mona, Coras Iompar Eireann and Nitriúg Eireann, Teo.

In any case whatever technical knowhow is required can be hired. This is what the oil companies do.

**AND AS FAR AS FINANCE** the problem is to keep financial interests OUT. There is no trouble raising capital. The E.S.B. raises vast sums for six year projects from many different sources on the international money market. Nobody is going to be slow to loan money to an industry which by 1986 will allow Ireland, at present prices, to produce £3,000m. (THREE THOUSAND MILLION) worth of oil a year.

That is more than our Gross National Product. And since we only need 10 million tons of oil for our present needs the remaining 90 million is available for additional industrial, commercial or domestic use or as raw materials for petro-chemical industries.

The third propaganda point that the oil

companies will make will be the provision of pseudo-scientific articles by so-called Irish consultants. Many of these papers have already been read at conferences. AT CONFERENCES SPONSORED BY OIL COMPANIES.

There are NO neutral oil consultants working in Ireland. All of them have a vested interest.

The chief drive here will be to hide the fact that the greatest wealth in oil comes after it has been refined and is used in industry. The oil companies' propaganda will talk about jobs on the exploration rigs and at the ports—the lowest paid form of activity as the Whiddy Island operation shows. When the Fianna Fail propaganda had died away the only labour employed was manual labour.

Against this we must argue that at each stage in oil production Irish graduates and technicians must be involved under integrated State control.

1. Firstly the exploration and drilling for oil will offer State technicians, managers, accountants and clerical workers a great opportunity to acquire new skills.

2. Secondly the shipment of oil for storage in ports offers the chance to build up a heavy engineering industry. This is crucially important in view of the run-down of the Northern Engineering industry and the replacement of skilled artisans by synthetic

3. THE IRISH STATE REFINERY. This would take over the functions of the monopolies which control Whitegate and be responsible for the technical and service jobs involved in refining oil.

4. THE IRISH STATE ENERGY CORPORATION. This would be the largest of all the State bodies. This would involve extending the functions of the present E.S.B. The responsibility of the Energy Corporation would be two-fold: production and industrial.

Firstly, in bringing oil from its natural state to its position as a refined energy and fuel source, it would liaise with the State Oil Board, the State Port Authority and the State Refinery. This would be its production function.

Its INDUSTRIAL FUNCTION would fall under three headings.

(a) To supply electricity to industry at a rate which would be cheap enough to make State products competitive on the world market and allow wages to rise. As the fuel is our own, domestic electricity including heat and light should be virtually free.

(b) To provide fuel for Coras Iompar Eireann. Again as the fuel is our own no profit margin need be involved. Public transport could be free and cheap, private motoring would be available to all.

(c) To supply oil and high grade gas as raw

**ARTICLE 10 1) All natural natural resources, including the air and all forms of potential energy, within the jurisdiction of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution and all royalties and franchise within that jurisdiction belong to the state subject to all estates and interests therein for the time being lawfully vested in any person or body.**

industries with their high unskilled labour content.

The heavy engineering complex around Belfast would have a vital part to play in the whole oil project. The exploration, production and shipping of oil also offers unrivalled opportunities for the development of our maritime resources long argued by Dr. John De Courcy Ireland and the Maritime Institute of Ireland.

3. Thirdly the refining of oil, rather than its crude shipment, like our ranchers' shipment of cattle on the hoof, offers a chance to break away from the grip of the oil cartels established in the early years of the Free State government and the blackmarketing by the wholesale and retail trade of public and private transport.

4. Fourthly in its refined state oil can be used to generate the electricity supplies which an expanding industrial economy will require.

5. Lastly a petro-chemicals industry is the beginning of a new industrial take-off. From this products ranging from fertilisers to protein will be available. Ireland can free its small farmers from the fertiliser monopolies. Ireland can supply the protein for the hungry small farmers of the Third World.

In short the productive forces which now slumber in the bosom of the seas of Ireland and the skills of her men and women can be unleashed and Ireland can move from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

The Irish State must now therefore set up a DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES with responsibility for OIL, GAS AND MINES. Then, five new State corporations must be given the task of handling oil and gas from the point where they are found right through to the finished industrial product, as follows:

1. THE IRISH OIL BOARD. This Board must be given powers to explore for oil and gas, hiring in all necessary plant and personnel and securing its capital as the E.S.B. does on the foreign money market.

2. THE STATE PORT AUTHORITY. This must be made responsible for all port development and service jobs, consequent upon the handling, shipment and storage of oil.

material to the fifth State Corporation.

3. THE STATE PETRO-CHEMICALS CORPORATION. This body would be charged with developing the manufacture of the infinite number of industrial products which can be derived from oil and gas and which at present are imported or gone without. Nitriúg Eireann's function can easily be expanded as a basis for this Corporation. Universities and Technical colleges would no longer export graduates and technicians. Full employment could be immediately realised. The surplus generated both by the sale of products and the saving on fuel imports (currently running at £80 million) could free Ireland from poverty, emigration and unemployment.

We do not want to do as the Arabs did for generations—allow themselves to be robbed of their resources while they sat in their tents over fires of camel dung as Wall Street steamed and sweated in oil fired central heating.

The question is what decisive force can first take the steps that will free us from the drudgery imposed by private profit. The answer has already been supplied and the guidelines laid down by the Irish trade union movement.

Senator Michael Mullen, General Secretary of the Irish Transport & General Workers' Union on March 1st warned that "instead of the State achieving the maximum benefit, private enterprise does". He warned that the Irish trade union movement would not tolerate this sell-out.

This guideline deserves to be followed by the State workers in the corporations with a proud record of public service. The workers of Bord na Mona, of Nitriúg Eireann, Coras Iompar Eireann and the E.S.B. have a vested interest in the extension and strengthening of State control over the fuel and energy sources of this country. They are all organised and disciplined in powerful General and craft unions, all of whom have declared for nationalisation of Ireland's mineral resources.

The complete text of this article is available in pamphlet form. It is an official Sinn Féin document available from 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

## Resources Protection Campaign

(1) That as the ownership of mineral rights rests with the State, the Government should retain its exclusive ownership of the mineral rights in Navan.

(2) That all Government negotiations with Tara or any other private company should cease forthwith in respect of a mining lease for the lands at Navan and that the lease should be granted exclusively to the State-owned Mianrai Teoranta. Mianrai Teoranta should be recapitalised and reactivated by the State.

(3) That a State owned national smelter be established.

The entire suitable output of all Irish mines must be smelted in the State-owned smelter so as to ensure that the maximum value accrues to the Irish people through the smelting of the ores in Ireland.

(4) That the surplus generated by the extractive and smelting operations be used to establish metallurgical industries in Ireland.

(5) That the staff of the mining companies be given the option of transferring to Mianrai Teoranta.

(6) That the Government should establish a State mineral resources exploration company.

(7) That the Government should transfer the Irish operations of all the mineral extraction companies currently in Ireland to Mianrai Teoranta.



# NI NEART GO CUR LE CHEILE

## RIGLIN DE RADIO



Dúirt sinne nuair a tháinig Radio na Gaeltachta ar an tseol go mbeadh sé mac-sambail páiste díomhaoin sagart paróiste sé sin ní bheadh aithne aige ar a áthair agus ní thiochfadh sé choicne chun meadócht ina cheart féin. Agus ar ndóighe níor tháinig agus ní raibh contúirt ar bith ariamh ann go dtíofadh. Nuair a bunaíodh an Radio bhí na smaointe polaitíochta is for-fháis fa tír seo ó dheas sa Ghaeltacht, i gConamara go háirithe agus ar ndóighe ní fheadaídh Radio a thabhairt do bhunadh na Gaeltachta le scoiséal a scuapadh. Níor tugadh, agus sé sin go díreach an laige bunúsach atá sa Radio. Ní rud é a dhéan ó na daoine agus mar sin ní léiríonn sé dearradh nó míanta na ndaoine nó ní sé i ndon ach oiread treoir a thabhairt dóibh.

Tá sé de cheilas ag Rialtais Gaibneacha an domhain úsáid a bhaint as Radio/Telefis le gach seort seafóid agus raiméis gan dochar (Lucille Ball ri) a chuir ós cóir an phobail abhal mar a ghníodh na Romhánaí fadó le daoscarsúla mí shásta a chiumid i.e. Circus sa Coileum a chur ar siúl.

Bhain se a meoin dá mbóige. Is mar a cheile é do Radio na Gaeltachta. Ní chluinídh tú ach oiread na fíghde de stuif faoi na fórsaí atá ag scríob na pobail Gaeltachta. Níl mé a rá náir choir do an rud eile a bheith ar an Radio, ach gach rud in áit féin—greann taréis obair.

Níl sé de chleachtú ag an choismhuintir ceisteaná a phlé go rialta nó bheith páirtach i ndiospóireacht. Tá baile do "Trendy Liberals" de shuí ar R.T.E. ag "réitíú" iomlan a geuid fadhanna dóbthha. Sé an córas oideachas agus na méain cumarsáide is ciontach le seo. Dá mbeadh an Radio mar ba chóir dó bheith bheadh se ag cur an oideachas bunúsach ar na daoine a shaoirfadh ón sclábhafocht iad.

Tá an Radio faoi smacht Aindreas Ó Gallachóir, fear mór "Establishment", a ndéantar faoi nach bhfeictar é ach "fíor chorr uair", (Treith é sin atá iomlán lucht establishment). Tá sé síd faoi smacht R.T.E. atá faoi smacht Conor Cruise O'Brien agus múnar maidríod lathaigh an Establishment é síd ní lá go fóill é.

Aithníonn na ndíspéir Náisiúnta gur rud gan mhaith é, (an Radio ní Conor Cruise O'Brien) fur fó-fó roinn de R.T.E. é agus ní thrachtann siad ar a imeachtaí ar chor ar bith. Agus cé a bheadh ina dhiaidh orthú. An t-ionas a chuala sinn trácht ar Radio na Gaeltachta na nuair a dhíulthaigh siad amhrán na tíre seo san Eurovision Song Contest a sheinnim. Gníomh éiteachtach mistúil—by dad!

Is mór an gar go bhfuil lucht Chearta Sibhialta i gConamara ar a geosa arís agus ag agóid go fearúil bríomhar. Bhí imní orainne, a chreideann gurbh é slánú na Gaeltachta bunchloch shlanú na teangan, go raibh an t-urradh ag imeacht as an nGluaiseacht ach in ailt sin seard a bhí ar siúl acú ath-

eagrú agus cruinníú nirt fa choinne babhta eile agóide. Chuir an Tuairisc bregach fealltach i dTuairiscí san Irish Times ionadh agus altacht orainn, deirtear gurbh é Breandan Ó hÉithe a scríobh e, ar an nos níor dhíulthaigh se dho go fóill, ba deacair dhuinn a chreidibheal go ndeanfadh aon scríobhneoir Gaeilge ar tír seo iarracht chomh mailiseach meastach i scríobhain le droch mheas an phobail a tharraingt ar an Gluaiseacht.

Ach chuir an fhirinne an bhreg ar agus in ionad dochar a bheith na dea siad a léirigh se dhuinn ce ar naimhde.

Ní eiríofaídh le Gluaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta i gConamara iomlan nó cuid de na haidhmeanna atá acu a bhaint amach muna bhfuilheann siad cuidiú ó na Gaeltachtaí eile go b-áiríthe Gaeltacht míor Thír Chonail. Cailfídh muintir Thír Chonail a tuighbéal gurbh dearg naimde doibh na Phairíthe Polaitíochta F.F. F.G. L. Oibre, agus an Britich and Irish Communist Organisation faoi ainm Choiste Troda Thír Chonail, faoi lathair.



## NA "FISH-INS" LAG-TRA

Nuair a eiríonn daoine agóideach clotach, no feargach faoi rud ar bith sé an chéad sear a gheobhfaidh siad na gealltanas ó cé bith Rialtas atá i gcumbacht go mbunófar Comisiún le breathnú iatach sa seail. Sílídh an Comisiún ar a dtóntal flaitiúla Gaelach ar feadh cupla bliain go n-íomíonn an agóid as cúlme na ndaoine agus sin sin. Is mór an náire dhúinne é ach is múnle a tharfaíonn sé.

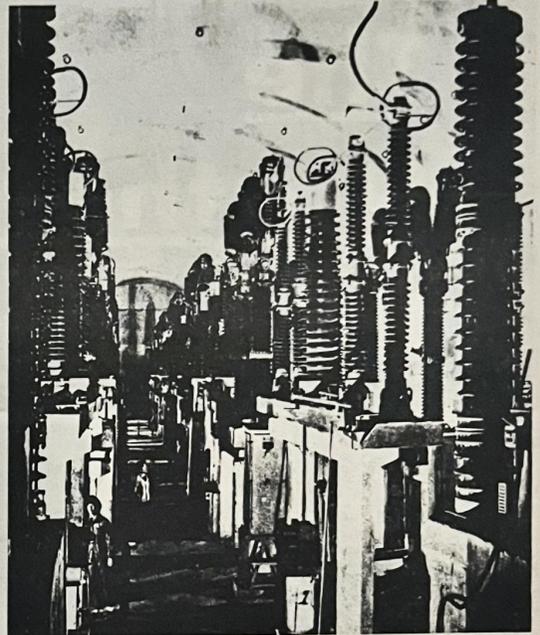
Níl muid ag rá anois gur bhain an Comisiún ar lascaireacht Intire an gus as Aithghabhála na nUisce Náisiúnta, bhí mórán fathanna eile le lag trá na Gluaiseachta sin anois ach shéasaigh sé roinnt mhór daoine go b-áiríthe "grass roots" Fianna Fáil a rabhtas ag cur ar a súile dhóibh gurbhar thaobh na dTarlai a bhí a bparáirí.

Tá an Comisiún seo ina shuí ar a dtóntal flaitiúla ó 1971, is míthide dóibh rud éigean a bheith le rá acu no an bhfuil an rud atá le rídh acu searbh mí-fhíríneach do na Tíarlai. Tá fhios againn gurbh den Landed! Geinty cuid Seoiníní Fine Gael atá i gcumbacht faoi lathair. An bhfuil siad ag cur an Tuairisc faoi chas? Ach tá dream amháin sa tír seo gur cuma leo faoi an Chomisiún agus siad sin lascairí Chieann Fhine. Níor léir leo "fish-in" ghabh siad an abhainn ón Tíarna John D. Milburn. Bhunaigh siad comhar chumann atá aithníthe ag an Foyle Fisheries Commission. Tá ceacht le foghlaim uatha.



The United  
WORLD

# SOLZHENITSYN RETURNS TO THE PAST (PART ONE)



● Modern Russia includes this type of power plant.

For some years the Western literary world has been held enthralled by a drama taking place behind the opaque screen of Russian society. The struggle of Alexander Solzhenitsyn had a clear narrative outline, its content appeared to be the age-old struggle between writer and society. And if the form of the struggle appeared unclear at times the Western press had on hand the most eminent and respected Kremlin watchers to ghost the remainder of the script with its projected high points of arrests, ignominious trial and oblivion. Throughout this period in Ireland only Mr. Con Houlihan in the Irish Press dared to suggest that Solzhenitsyn's works should be treated by the same standards applied to any other creative writer. The denouement of exile and lionisation has against this background an inevitable air of pathos; the air of embarrassment in Western literary circles was faint but unmistakable. Now that Alexander Solzhenitsyn is among us, slightly less larger than life it may be possible for those interested in literature and history to raise some themes largely neglected while the epic struggle was taking place.

Ireland has produced many writers preoccupied by history, but none like Solzhenitsyn for whom it is the very stuff of art itself. And yet it is hard not to be reminded of Yeats' excursions into politics when confronted with the most recent pronouncements of Solzhenitsyn.

Yeats, like Solzhenitsyn was in early life confronted with politics. But whereas Solzhenitsyn was confronted by a revolution, Yeats had to make do with an insurrection. Solzhenitsyn became a Marxist and Yeats under the spell of Maud Gonne briefly became a very bad conspirator. For the rest of his life Yeats maintained a detachment from the raw materials of history: Solzhenitsyn became part of the raw material, a subject in the greatest transformation of objective social circumstance carried out under the control of men that the world had

seen to date. Then at the end of his life Yeats travelled briefly into the realms of the banal. His verses for General O'Duffy had things gone differently, might seem in retrospect to have been sinister and a betrayal of everything decent in human society, Yeats was perhaps lucky and has many admirers now to rationalise for him. In many ways he needs no such defence: his political naivete verging on simple foolishness is transparent. He can be excused from the Bar of history on the grounds of incompetence to plead. He contrasts starkly with Alexander Solzhenitsyn who throughout his life gave ample evidence of his competence to plead. Solzhenitsyn was a Marxist, which is synonymous with saying that he had an acutely developed historical sense. Yet now, in exile he sings a song oddly reminiscent of the earlier Yeatsian melodies. For in point of fact exile has revealed not a Marxist in dialectical confrontation with the history of his country, but an artist who had already climbed many



● Solzhenitsyn: assaulted his own people.

steps toward a position of solitude from which he speaks AT and not WITH the people.

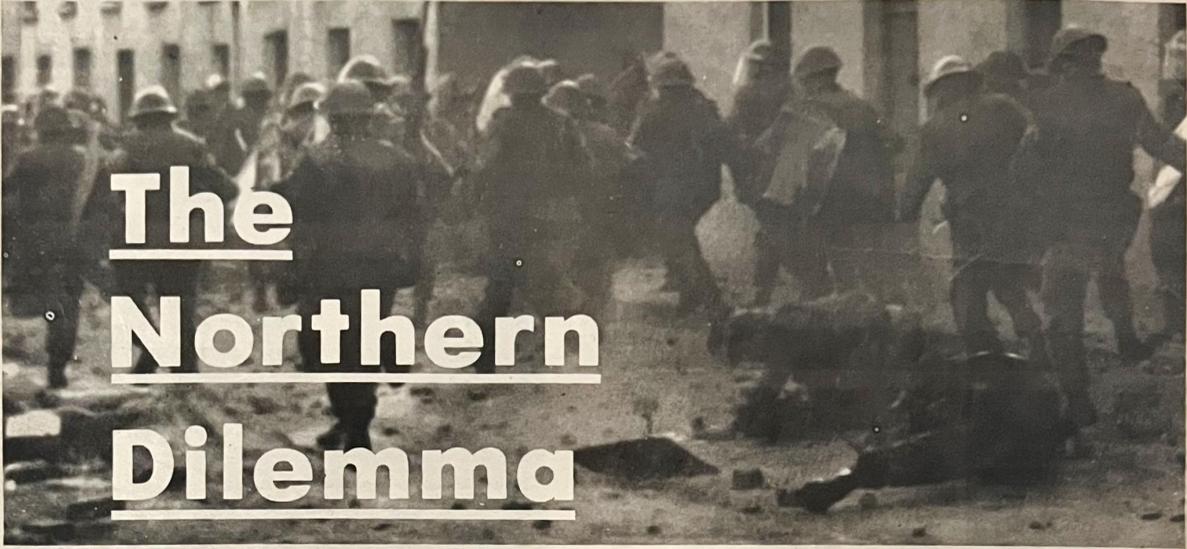
The publication in recent weeks of Solzhenitsyn's LETTER TO THE SOVIET LEADERS throws all he has written before into a new perspective. Until this document was published it was possible for Western critics to maintain that Solzhenitsyn was a man engaged in dialogue about the nature of the socialist experiment in history. Although much of his work is unobtainable as yet, the works to hand did nothing to disturb the notion that like Brecht, during the East German period, he was a Marxist who felt it his duty and right to criticise the abuses and deformations of the socialist vision of man. The first book available in the West, ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DEHISEVICH was a grim and dispassionate account of life in the labour camps. It entered into dialogue with Russian Society, positions were taken up on it and it played a notable part in awakening Soviet society to the illegalities which had taken place during the '30s. CANCER WARD was an even more powerful morality tale, using the tried mechanism of allegorical contrast between the sickness of the body and the sickness of society. (Against the background of Cuba, Vietnam and the slowing of the deStalinisation policies consequent upon the increase in world tension, the Soviet leadership did not allow the publication of the book.) There is no evidence that Solzhenitsyn, like Brecht saw fit to argue his position before cultural or party organs. With splendid disdain for bureaucratic interference he entrusted this and later manuscripts to the eager hands of Western publishers.

Nevertheless the Marxist perspective was still visible. Solzhenitsyn clearly saw men both as the subjects AND objects of history. In what must be considered (on the works available), his tour de force THE FIRST CIRCLE he revealed the agony and despair of

Marxist intellectuals caught in the paradox of their own belief; in the historic triumph of communism, objectively represented by Stalin; their own subjectivity crushed and repressed by Stalin's policies.

There is nothing of Yeats' withdrawal from history in THE FIRST CIRCLE. There is no hint of a nostalgia for an idyllic past. Nothing in the prose even touches upon the state of mind that wrote "We were the last romantics — chose for theme — Traditional sanctity and loveliness."

The men trapped in the first circle debate the hard facts of ideology, choice and will. Inevitably is abrasive, sceptical and finally cynical. But the saving grace, what makes him stand out from any passive prisoner and makes his earlier role as an APPARATNIK intelligible, is the sense of a vision once held powerfully and never quite abandoned. The inhabitants of the first circle are not romantics in politics although they may be misguided in their interpretations of reality. They are not peasants, huddling their individuality about them as their only cloak. They too, have their positions fixed, either in affirmation or rejection of the Socialist ideal. Solzhenitsyn treats compassionately of those like Rubin who circles within himself on the great theme of determinism and free will. And even his satirical portrait of a literary hack like Ghalakov, fretting over the problem of producing inoffensive novels is marked by a sense of the nobility of the principles that once drove Ghalakov. Solzhenitsyn identifies with both the noble and ignoble dilemmas of the prisoners. It is difficult not to believe that Ghalakov's admission of secret ambition does not apply to Solzhenitsyn himself. Ghalakov says, "Is there any other Russian writer who hasn't some time secretly tried on Pushkin's frock coat or Tolstoy's Russian shirt." But in the context of the whole book, the admission is seen against the perspective of Communist Society.



# The Northern Dilemma

(Continued from page 5)

they would leave the workers deprived of jobs and housing and social services if that was what capitalism demanded, and they would expect them to be satisfied because the will of the capitalist was imposed from Athlone rather than from Dublin or London. That is, if they are to be taken seriously about the devolution of authority at all.

Isn't the idea of devolution of authority a welcome change from the sort of administrations which exist now?

We must remember that regionalism has already failed in this country. The regional government of the 6 counties, even with the financial support of the central government in London, did not succeed in producing an area which was capable of sustaining its population.

Even before the 6 counties suffered any of the shocks of the late 1960's, unemployment there was at a disastrously high level. The workers, particularly those who lived west of the Bann, can testify to the failure of a system which, in name, seemed to subscribe to the notion of regional or provincial administration but, in reality, was a peripheral part of a centralised capitalist economy.

Not even the powerful, selfish and corrupt Orange junta was capable of making regionalism work.

Some years ago at an Ard Fheis I pointed out that the real border in Ireland was not the political border between the North and the South but the economic border between east and west. We should now have learned that unless the people have economic power their political power is meaningless.

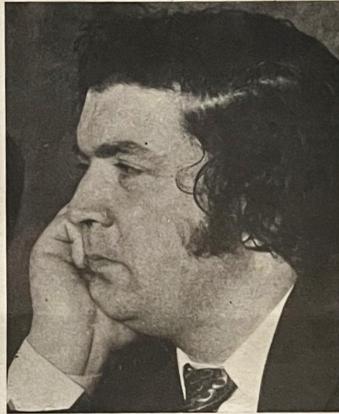
But now the regional theory has new adherents which make its validity more dubious. Jack Lynch, in his opening speech during a two day adjournment debate in Leinster House July 1972 advocated what he called a regional administration in the 6 counties to handle its affairs until everyone was prepared for unity.

Once more, as the Provisionals seek a place at whatever conference table may be open to them, there are sinister portents of yet another sell-out in which they will unwittingly participate. They have proposed a regional solution in a federal arrangement, so has Lynch and Cosgrave.

Have they agreed then with the basic Provisional proposals?

It may appear to the casual observer that they have accepted their argument, in part at least. This is simply not so. Jack Lynch produced his suggestion of a regional administration the day after he saw Heath's representatives in Dublin to hear the Tory government's plans for a final settlement.

Regionalism was in the air. The time was opportune for Lynch to make a move. What the British suggested, and Lynch accepted, was that a form of regional administration in the 6 counties could be linked both to London and Dublin in the final solution, federation, i.e. a federal arrangement under London with



● Paisley, Faulkner, Hume are supposed leaders of the major political parties, yet they can produce no solution but must meet the demands of the British Government. The present ferment in working class Loyalist politics will ultimately expose their inadequacies.

regional governments in Ireland. Lynch calls his suggestion regionalism. Cosgrave agrees also.

The Provisionals outline is also regionalism. The Provisionals offer their programme as a means to their one and only goal, the achievement of a united Ireland. Lynch knew that his suggestion will lead to a different end, the federation of Britain and Ireland in an unholy alliance of Unionism and Fianna Fail under the mantle of British Toryism, the final sell-out and the ultimate betrayal of the Irish Socialist Republican ideal.

That actually sounds as if there was conspiracy between the 26 Cos. politicians and the leadership of the Provisionals?

We see in this coincidence of offered solutions no deliberate plot but a single source, as the lapsed nationalists of Fianna Fail once derived their nationalism from a simplistic notion that independence was only a matter of changing flags and repainting letter boxes, so the Provisionals, their vision of a new Ireland equally limited, provide the 26 Cos. Government with the opportunity for the sell-out.

We in the Republican movement are not

deceived and must not allow others to be deceived by the name-changing game. The 26 counties has a history of name changing — Saorstát Eireann, the Free State, Eire or the Republic of Ireland, call it what you like, the reality remains.

It is a society built not on the needs of its working people but on responses to the capitalist's demands and anyone who thinks that he can change the whole country by changing the appearance of control without radically changing its nature, is fooling himself and trying to fool the working class.

Would the Republican Movement be interested in having any meetings with Des Boal and with others who would like to work out some kind of common solution?

Certainly we would be interested in discussing these ideas with anybody and our ideas as well. We have had over the past years contact with certain elements of the Protestant working class, with Loyalist elements, and these are being continued and we would be quite willing to discuss them with Desmond Boal or anyone else for that matter.