

FREE
IRELAND



S4OR
ÉIRE

RISING OF THE MOON

No. 3

August

25 cent donation - 1s

NEW RIOTS IN BELFAST



A police armoured car bursts its way through a barricade

Between Saturday, August 2, and Tuesday, August 5 (as we go to press) what have been reported as the worst riots in over three decades occurred in Belfast. Although reliable information is scarce, the *Rising of the Moon* was able to piece together the following facts from news reports and an exclusive interview with Mr. Kevin Boyle, from the People's Democracy, and an executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2: After a typical day of "God Save the Queen, No Surrender, Remember 1690" demonstrations, a large group of Orangemen decided to march through the Unity Walk section of Belfast (a predominantly Roman Catholic apart, complex area.) Typically enough they were well under the influence after a full day of frolic in the countryside. Due to their large numbers and narrowness of the streets in this area, the marchers and Roman Catholic spectators jammed together. Someone cast the first stone, it is unclear who, and the riot began. Lasting well into the night, barricades were erected in both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic sections of the by now enlarged riot area, including Hooker St. (R.C.) and the shankill (Prot.). During the course of the evening, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the riot squad made continuous forays into Hooker St., while only playing a game of 'cat and mouse' with the Protestants.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 3: After a restless, riot-free morning (presumably both factions went to the place of worship of their choice) a group of Orangemen on to two thousand strong began marching down the shankill towards the Catholic area replete with bands and banners. The police made a half-hearted attempt to keep them from moving up, but were predictably less than successful. Rioting broke out once again and by the early evening brought the total weekend's injured to over fifty. As the situation worsened Maj. J.D. Chichester-Clarke, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, made a decision to call an emergency meeting of his cabinet for six o'clock. While the details of this are not public, an insight

(cont. to p 4, left)

POLICE MURDER 2

On Monday, July 14th, Mr. Francis McClusky, a 70 year old Dungiven man, was reported dead in Altnagelvin Hospital, Derry City. Cause of death was said to be a series of blows with a blunt instrument on the head. You see he was severely beaten on Sunday the 13th during disturbances in Dungiven by Northern Ireland's fascist auxiliary force, the Ulster Special Constabulary or "B" Specials. At the right you see his coffin being brought into St. Patrick's burial grounds in his home town. The coffin is draped with the illegal (in the six counties) Tricolor flag of the Republic, and is being carried by a republican honor guard. Mr. McClusky had been associated with the Republican movement in the past. It appears as if the cowardly forces of law and order in the North were afraid of dealing with any of the younger people on hand, so they chose a 70 year old man.

(cont. to p 4, right)



The Victims: Mr. Francis McClusky aged 70 from Dungiven Co. Derry (above)
Mr. Samuel Devenney, aged 40 from Derry City (see page 4)

JUSTICE

FOR

NORTHERN

IRELAND



Committee for Justice In Northern Ireland

EDITORIAL:

The undersigned members of the staff of the *Rising of the Moon* wish to use this space to reflect on the American support campaign for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights movement. We are greatly disheartened at this time to see Irish Americans once again trying to dictate politics to the oppressed people in the North. Admittedly the two examples we show here cannot count as a generalization but they are nonetheless indicative of a general trend.

Recently, a New York based group called the Irish American Action Association held a fund raising affair in Gaelic Park. After collecting seven thousand dollars, in the name of civil rights for the six counties no less, they promptly announced that they would not release the funds until the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association publicly acknowledge their ultimate goal as a United Ireland. These people, however, feel no shame and call themselves true Republican. They might be surprised to know that over 60% of the N.I.C.R.A. executive committee is made of Republicans in good standing. In light of this it is rather clear that the I.A.A.A.'s actions amount to defrauding the people in Gaelic Park, and attempting to blackmail N.I.C.R.A.

Closer to home we find the executive of our own committee, in an eleven to one vote, refusing to support a decision taken by both N.I.C.R.A. and the People's Democracy and reversing a related vote of their own taken a few months ago. This relates to a N.I.C.R.A.-P.D. decision of August 1 1969, extending an offer of mutual support and inviting a team from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference including Mrs. Coretta King and Dr. Ralph Abernathy. (Over two months ago the executive, at the prompting of a Catholic priest, decided to supply funds for Dr. Abernathy to travel to the North. Now they have conveniently reversed this decision.)

There is little we can do about the first instance of non-support, but the undersigned will demand a full explanation of the second example at our next Committee meeting, tentatively scheduled for September 10, 1969.

Clint Paige
Bill Hunt
Judy Schwartz

John McColgan
Peggy O'Connor
Eileen and Rico Ross

THANKS TO OUR FRIENDS

We would like to thank the many friends who have made *The Rising Of The Moon* a success, and would particularly like to single out three Boston clerics who made a splendid display of the Spirit of Ecumenism by giving us their support. We want to thank the vicar of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Cushing Ave., Dorchester who announced our newspaper from the pulpit, the Rev. David Avenator of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Columbia Rd., Dorchester who announced the sale of our paper from the pulpit, and Father Pat Hughes, The P.U. Christian Center, on Park Street, Boston, who included us in his church bulletin, and made an appropriate sermon on the cause of justice everywhere. We hope that there will be others who will follow the example these worthy gentlemen have given.

THE COMMITTEE NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT. FILL IN THE MEMBERSHIP BLANK NOW:

Name (Please Print)

Address.....

Telephone No.....

Subscription (\$3. minimum) \$.....

Make check or money order payable to:
COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND
68 Idaho Street, Mattapan, Massachusetts 02126

LETTERS

To the C.J.N.I.
Dear Friends,

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, wishes to thank the Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland for its recent contribution to our treasury. N.I.C.R.A., the umbrella group of the Civil Rights Movement here in the North desperately needs for both its ongoing programs (we soon hope to open an office in Belfast) as well as funds to cover the costs of demonstrations and legal expenses. At the present time we are covering the legal expenses for over 50 members of the Peoples Democracy arrested in Enniskillen Co. Fermanagh on July 26. Needless to say this is one of those unexpected emergencies which turn out to be so costly.

We thank you for your recent support and hope that you will be able to help us in the future.

Sincerely,
Frank Gogarty, Chairman N.I.C.R.A.

Dear Sir,

In this issue of "The Rising Of The Moon" there appears an article on the Peoples Democracy. Although one of the two main groups fighting for Civil Rights we have been largely ignored by the Irish American organizations when it comes to funds. This is in large measure due to an ignorance about what P.D. is trying to do. I hope I have explained that in the article which appears on page trideag.

P.D. desperately needs money. We wish to open an office and start a newspaper. On top of that we have to take care of the members of our organization arrested and fined for taking part in peaceful demonstrations. On last July 26th 52 members of the P.D. were arrested in Enniskillen for holding a peaceful demonstration despite a ban on demonstrations by the Minister of Home Affairs. These people now face serious charges and many will have to go to jail because they will be unable to pay fines. For some this would mean an end to their university education. This is surely too high a price to pay for sincerity. The C.R.A. have offered to pay lawyers to defend these people but this will not be enough. Someone has to pay the fines. WHY DON'T YOU HELP?

Yours Sincerely - Peter J. Cush of the Peoples Democracy

The Rising Of The Moon

Staff:

Mary Abrams
Peter Cush
Leonard Glaser
Bill Hunt
Liam Keane

John McColgan
Peggy O'Connor
Clint Paige
Judy Randolph
Eileen & Rico Ross
Judy Schwartz

VOLUNTEERS WANTED

Plans are being made to produce a musical Irish folk comedy, written by one of our members, sometime this autumn. This is a Fund Raising Enterprise, and all money from this production will go to the Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland.

We will need actors, actresses, fiddlers, a tin whistler, ballad singers, dancers, extras, and a production staff for scenery, lighting, carpentry, props, costuming, prompting, ticket taking, ushering, etc., etc.

If you would like to help in some capacity, please send your name and address to: Enrico Patrick Ross, Rico's Studio On Salem St., Boston, Mass. 02113

BOSTON COMMITTEE NOTES

On July 15, 1969 a general meeting of the committee was held at the International Association of Machinists Hall, Otis Street in Boston. President McCaughan announced that the Committee's Recording Secretary was hospitalized at the Massachusetts General Hospital and suggested that cards be forwarded to her.

Announcement was made of a dance which was held at Kilgarriff's, 131 Green Street, Jamaica Plain on Tuesday, July 29 at 8PM. This was a very successful fund raising activity. Also announced were biweekly dances to be held beginning in September and arrangements for these are being undertaken by Dave Hunter and the Social Activities Committee.

Because of the serious turn of events in Derry during the week-end of July 12, a rather rapid decision was made to picket the HMS Eagle, the British aircraft carrier which visited the port of Boston. Although the number of picketers was small the hearty group who endured the heavy rains produced ripples that extended across the Atlantic to Britain. The BBC felt that it was of significant importance to warrant mentioning on their newscasts.

A newspaper report was given and it was announced the *The Rising of the Moon* was being sold in Derry and was being very well received. Also several hundred copies had been sent to London. A plea was made by Patrick Brennan to anyone who would be interested in helping with any aspect of the paper such as writing typing, lay-outwork, etc. Unfortunately, the burden of producing our most effective instrument of education has been borne by a relatively few members. A special request for help in distribution was made by Jim McGrath and this is an area where many more members could lend active support.

The president announced that the Derry Housing Action Committee had requested money in the amount of 10 pounds each to pay the fines of 3 individuals who were arrested as a result of physically occupying a house in Derry. This was forwarded.

As a result of disturbances in Derry over the July 12th week-end, the first death attributable to the civil rights movement occurred. A moment of silence was held in memory of Mr. Francis McClosky who died as a result of injuries during the struggle.

President McCaughan stated that the Executive Committee had discussed the matter of sending money to Northern Ireland and it was their recommendation that \$500 immediately be sent to the Civil Rights Association, whose chairman is Mr. Frank Gogarty. The C.R.A. is located in Belfast and acts as the coordinating agency for the many existing civil rights groups. Also it was recommended that \$100 be sent to the Derry Housing Action Committee. After discussion the above recommendation was made a motion and passed. With a satisfactory report as to how the money was used, a similar amount could be sent next month as continuity in assistance is most important.

The specific purpose of the meeting was to discuss the by-laws and possible changes therein. A motion was passed whereby the President would appoint a committee of 5 members to study the by-laws and return recommendations for change. Suggestions were accepted from the floor as to changes and the underlying theme seemed to be concerned with the vagueness of many of the by-laws, the membership's role in the organization and what should be the relationship between the membership and the Executive Committee.



This is not a picture of our President Donald McCaughan addressing the July 15th meeting. It is Charles Stewart Parnell. We have no staff photographer (volunteers please call Pat Brennan 864-5439)

"THE EAGLE" PICKETED

On Sunday July 13, a small but hardy band of Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland members braved a steady rainfall to picket at the British Aircraft carrier *H.M.S. Eagle*. Despite the small turnout of demonstrators, due mainly to bad weather and last minute planning, the picket received sizeable coverage in the Boston Press and television newscasts as well as on the wires of the British Broadcasting Company.

Originally the Executive Committee had voted down a proposal to demonstrate at the British ship. However, after the events of July 12th when stone throwing Orangemen marched into Catholic areas and thus violated a shaky truce, members of the Boston Committee felt that they could not let the incident pass by without expressing a condemnation of it. By picketing the Eagle (which incidentally had been stationed in Derry for some time) the demonstrators showed that they deplored the fact that the British Government continually supports a regime in Northern Ireland that is depriving citizens of their basic rights as British subjects.

Spokesman for the group, Brendan Clifford stressed to newsmen that the committee members like other Americans welcomed the visit by the sailors and appreciate their generous blood contribution to Boston Hospitals. The protest, Mr. Clifford said, was against the owner of the ship, Her Majesty's Government, which allows a fascist state to flourish in Ulster's corner of the United Kingdom.

Besides bearing placards reading such slogans as "Ister Civil Rights," "Free Ireland," and "One man One Vote now - not 1971" Committee members distributed copies of *The Rising of the Moon* to crew members present some of whom expressed sympathy with the cause of Irish Justice. However, one, O James Patrick O'Hara, claiming to be originally from Dublin and "a real Irishman" discredited the demonstrators as "disgusting" and claimed his Irish shipmates would disagree as well. In reply Mr. Clifford stated that "Hara could not be much of an Irishman if he supported the likes of the Stormont government that is oppressing the Irish people."

One minor altercation broke out in the course of the demonstration when a British sailor objected to a placard reading "No American taxes for Britain" - he verbal row ensued when a demonstrator retorted that American funds built the Eagle since "Britain couldn't afford to build swan boats."



This is not a picture of our demonstration at the Eagle because we have no staff photographer. (Volunteers call Pat Brennan 864-5439)

NEW HAVEN NEWS

Peoples Democracy Well Received in New Haven

Peter Cush of Peoples Democracy, presently on a fund raising tour of the United States, was very well received by the members of the New Haven Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland on July 30. Peter explained PD's philosophy to the Committee members gathered for the occasion in the Hamdon A.O.H. hall. A lively discussion followed, during which it was decided to give PD \$100. Half the funds held by the New Haven group at the time.

The annual meeting to elect the officers of the New Haven Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland will be held on August 10 at 9:00 p.m. in the Hamdon A.O.H. Every member should make a special effort to attend.

ARBEITER CLUB

22 Armory Ave., Jamaica Plain

IRISH AND AMERICAN DANCING

EVERY SATURDAY & SUNDAY NIGHTS!

-Music by:

JIMMY KELLY and THE PROFESSIONALS

Owned by:

TOM "FORKY" SULLIVAN

Managed by:

PATRICK "CLARE" HEADE

RIOTS...

may be gained from the post seven o'clock actions of the police. At this time, the police (who, it must be remembered, are overwhelmingly Protestant) made what may well prove to be an historic move. After assembling in formation at the bottom of the Shankill, they made a charge up the street reminiscent of their most blood thirsty escapades in Derry. A riot of police against Protestants then continued into the early hours of the morning. Both sides here underwent serious cultural shock, with police expressing amazement that good Ulster Loyalists could actually throw stones and petrol bombs at them, and with the Protestant Shankill Defense Association stating that from this point forward the police are "no longer the friends of Ulster Loyalists and never can expect our help again." Although it is too early to fully assess the results of the government action, Mr. Boyle's analysis is apt:

"I think obviously something has happened up on the top because part of the problem up to today was the fact that the police were unprepared to make any effort to deal with the Protestant groups that were out for trouble, they were simply out to get at the Catholics."

MONDAY, AUGUST 4: A day-light "cease-fire" came into effect in the morning, shopkeepers, civilians, and Sanitary Department workers began the slow clean-up job near the Shankill. The "London Times" observed that hardly a shop in the area reported less than \$500 damage to the government (under law the government is responsible for all riot damage). No sooner had they made their reports than the trouble started up again with another series of fierce battles between Protestants and police.

The events of the weekend have undoubtedly changed the political complexion of the six counties. The coalition of right wing Protestant groups such as the Shankill Defenders with the police may well be over. The old all-class umbrella of the Unionist may now be dying the slow death of consumption. The question which is in every one's mind however is who will these working class protestants involved over the weekend turn to now? Can the present government recoup after the disaster? Will the government be toppled by another section in the Unionist Party? Perhaps Miss Bernadette Devlin's comments (made during an appeal for a working class anti-Unionist front) were appropriate when she said she thought that the Protestants would turn right to the extremist leader Ian Paisley before turning in disillusionment to the civil rights movement. If so, it will be a long storm before the sun shines again.

MURDERS...

Four days later, on Friday the 18th of July, Mr. Samuel Devenney, 40 years of age, married, and the father of nine, died in his home on William Street, Derry of a heart attack. This was no ordinary heart attack because the 40 year old had been in perfect health prior to the April riots in Derry. During this time members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the "B" Specials broke into the family's home and began beating the children. Devenney himself was continuously beaten for an undetermined period of time. After spending four days in hospital it was discovered that, Mr. Devenney had developed a heart condition. He died on the 18th of July and over 20,000 people attended the funeral of Northern Ireland second civil rights martyr.



Houses
On Need



Repeal
The Special
Powers Act

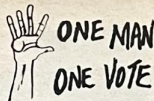
FREEDOM!



Mr. Tommy Mellon, chairman Derry County G.A.A. Board, saying the Rosary in Irish after the burial.



Jobs
On Merit



ORANGEMEN SQUASHED

BEING THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE STEVE FREDERICKS SHOW

WMEX JUNE 27, 1969

The Combattants:

STEVE FREDERICKS.

REV. JOHN CORN, curate of All Saints parish in Dorchester.

REV. WILLIAM CROSLLEY, a Presbyterian minister, Imperial Grand Chaplain of the Imperial Orange Council.

REV. ERNEST S. LONG, rector of the parish of Drummarrow, Anglican, Deputy Grand Chaplain of the Orange Lodge, writer on society and religion.

DR. DONALD McCAUGHAN, Harvard Medical School, president of the Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland.

FREDERICKS: Father Corn, you just returned from Northern Ireland. What did you see?

CORN: The situation in Northern Ireland is not unlike the situation in Spain. I think it's a Fascist country.

FREDERICKS: I have here a copy of the newspaper *The Rising of the Moon*. I think that's a line from a rebel song, isn't it? -and the headline is "Truce ends in Northern Ireland - Rights Marches Resume." Rev. Crosley, Rev. Long, why are the marches resuming?

CROSLLEY: May I take up Father Corn on one thing? Spain is under the dictatorship of one man who happens to be a Fascist. Northern Ireland is under a government constitutionally elected by the people, the same as the government of Great Britain.

CORN: I see no difference between a country run by a Fascist individual, and one governed by the dictatorship of a Fascist party, such as the Unionist Party in Northern Ireland.



ORANGEMEN CROSLLEY & LONG (Extreme Right) DISEMBARK IN AMERICA

CROSLLEY: I want to talk about these charges of discrimination. It's all rubbish. Even Eddie McAteer (leader of the predominantly Catholic Nationalist paper)

has admitted that people are given jobs strictly according to merit.

McCAUGHAN: It's lucky Mr. McAteer wasn't looking for a job in the British Broadcasting Corporation, seeing as he describes himself as a Nationalist. The total employment by the BBC in Northern Ireland is 316. In the production, administrative and engineering sections there are only 11 non-Unionists employed, and in the whole of the BBC in Northern Ireland, there are only 20 jobs held by non-unionists. Now that's what I call discrimination.

LONG: Well, now, I could take you into BBC, because my father employed an awful lot of people just beside the BBC. And I would say that there were more Roman Catholics inside the BBC than there were Protestants.

McCAUGHAN: I have the exact figures.

CROSLLEY: Well I wouldn't know if Dr. McCaughan is making a good point or not. I haven't checked to see who the BBC employs.

McCAUGHAN: I can give you the charts.

FREDERICKS: Gentlemen, could I just ask a couple of questions? The city in Northern Ireland that's most interesting to me is Derry, because it is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic in population, yet it is not overwhelmingly Roman Catholic in its local government. I would like you to explain to me how it can possibly be the minority religion in Derry can hold all the offices in the local government? Now my understanding is that the answer is simply that Catholics aren't allowed to vote in local elections.

LONG: Well, if you want a simple answer and it isn't a very creditable situation, we agree on that - it's due to the property qualification. In a place like Derry, where the owners of property are very generally Protestants, they alone have the right to vote. But I still think Derry's very beautiful city... have many Roman Catholic friends in Derry.

CORN: Yes, we have a saying like that in America "some of my best friends are Negroes." Isn't that the same thing?

LONG: No, we don't like these comparisons at all.

CALLER: My name is Sean Gleason, and I come from Belfast. I'd like to ask these two gentlemen from the Orange Order why, if there's no discrimination in Northern Ireland, why am I asked my religion when I apply for a job? And the second question is what do they think about the fact that Brian Faulkner a member of the government who owns a big shirt factory in Belfast, invites Ian Paisley to hold prayer

meetings inside his factory in Belfast? Anyone who wouldn't put up with that sort of thing got beaten up. As I say I'm from Northern Ireland and I've been told not to sit down on a certain bench because I was a Catholic. What's that, if it isn't discrimination? And I want my questions answered directly, because so far you haven't given a straight answer.

LONG: I wouldn't personally condone any discrimination.

CROSLLEY: I could take you to many places in Dublin where no Protestants are allowed to apply.

CALLER: I've heard these gentlemen say they oppose discrimination, but what is the Orange Order going to do to clear up these "little unfortunate bits of discrimination" that they seem to admit exist? And although they say they respect the rights of people to participate in civil rights marches, how do they justify the violence that befalls the people who do indeed participate?

LONG: You ask what is the Orange Order doing? The Orange Order doesn't govern Northern Ireland. The Government governs in Northern Ireland.

CALLER: But the Orange Order is controlling the government.

LONG: Ah no. That is absolute rubbish. The members of parliament are elected by the people.

McCAUGHAN: The Orange Order has 138 seats on the Unionist council. I can give you Prime Minister Chichester-Clarke's number in the Loyal Orange Lodge. How many other members of the government belong to the Orange Lodge?

LONG: Oh, the majority. But not all.

McCAUGHAN: The number is 35 out of 39.

CROSLLEY: Well, that's not all.

CALLER: I have one further question: is the press in Northern Ireland government controlled?

LONG & CROSLLEY: (laughter) Oh heavens no, not at all.

McCAUGHAN: Under the Special Powers Act the government is empowered to ban any publication without giving a reason.

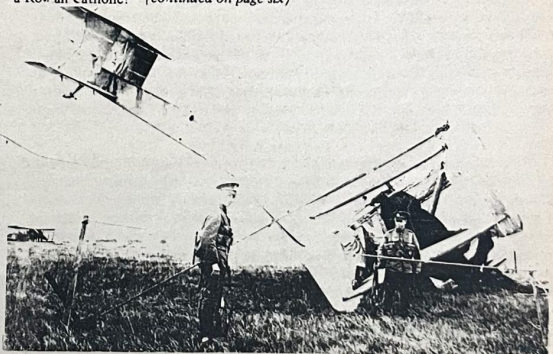
CALLER: At the whim of the government?

McCAUGHAN: That's exactly so. There is in fact at least one publication officially banned in the north - *The United Irishmen* - the organ of the Sinn Féin party. And the government has never given a reason for this. This has been criticized by the British Civil Liberties Union in England, I might add.

CROSLLEY: When a person joins the Orange Order, one of the phrases in the qualifications of an Orangeman is the word "tolerance." We do not advocate unrighteous law; we do not advocate anything that would bring about civil strife; we require that members attend church and accept Jesus Christ as their savior.

FREDERICKS: The Ku Klux Klan in America says many of the same things.

McCAUGHAN: Would the Orange Order support a monarch of England who was a Roman Catholic? (continued on page six)



The Orangemen land in Boston

(If we had a staff photographer.....)

MORE SQUASH...

(continued from page five)

CROSLY: Do you not know that as Loyalists, we would support the person who would be in power?

McCAUGHAN: "I do solemnly and sincerely swear of my own free will and accord that I will to the utmost of my power support and defend the present King George III and all the heirs of the crown, so long as he or they support the Protestant ascendancy, the Constitution and laws of these kingdoms. And I do further swear that I am not, nor ever will be a united Irishman, etc." That is the oath of the Orange Order.

CROSLY: Would you Doctor, as a person who is engaged in this campaign for civil rights accept a — shall I put it this way? — a communist?

McCAUGHAN: We don't ask our members what political parties they're affiliated with.

FREDERICKS: Are you comparing Roman Catholicism with communism?

CROSLY: I am not, I'm only saying this...

FREDERICKS: That's the innuendo implied, Mr. Crosley.

CROSLY: I'm only saying that in our ritual we declare ourselves as loyal subjects to the Queen.

McCAUGHAN: As long as she's Protestant.

CROSLY: Naturally, because we're Protestant an organization. You wouldn't expect an Israeli to support an Arab!

McCAUGHAN: What does the religion of the sovereign have to do with the subjects' loyalty?

CROSLY: Because England is a Protestant country.

CALLER: I'll give you an example of the Orange Lodge. I knew a lovely young girl in Belfast - a Catholic - and she married as Protestant. He was in the Orange Lodge, along with his father and brother. When they got married, he was thrown out of the Orange Lodge, along with his father and brother. Now if they do things like this, how do they expect people to try to live together and work together?

CROSLY & LONG: Silence.



THE SUN NEVER SETS ?

By Leonard Glaser

When those of us who are interested in the plight of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland take our case to the American people we often find that they just can't quite believe that the British could be as bad as we portray them. And even when we do show them the plain and obvious injustice being inflicted upon the Irish we still hear a lingering apology that this must be an exception to British policy. The idea is that Britain is the Mother of Parliaments, Habeus Corpus and many other niceties of democracy and civilization. This is true but only for domestic consumption. Outside the home island Britain is still the same vicious empire she always was, except on a smaller level.

The Last Slave State

There is only one place left on earth where slavery is legal, a British protectorate, the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. This little country is at the southeastern corner of the Arabian peninsula, its value lies in its strategic location at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Every year billions of dollars in oil go by its shores to Europe and America. The British Government has a treaty of friendship with the ruler dating back to 1787 and the present Sultan, Seyyid bin Taimur, receives a large subsidy most of which is spent on his armed forces which are officered primarily by British regular officers on secondment. British troops have been used to defend the Sultan against his domestic foes, the British helped him exile his arch rival the Iman of Oman, leader of the Ibadhi Muslim sect in 1955 and suppressed another revolution in 1957. In November 1966 the British Anti-Slavery Society claimed that the Sultan had 400 slaves.

Cause of Death: "Harold Wilson"

The British support Nigeria in its attempts to smash Biafra. No one knows how many of the Ibo people of Biafra will die but a cautious estimate would be one

and a half million dead as of now. Biafran doctors now list cause of death as Harold Wilson instead of starvation. Wilson supports the Nigerians against the Biafrans not out of any interest in the Nigerian people but because British Oil Firms have "sweetheart" agreements with the Nigerians and feared that if Biafra won its independence they would demand new contracts at terms less favorable to the Oil companies.

Britain supplies weapons to both the Arabs and the Israeli's, which means that people on both sides have already been killed by British bullets out of British guns and that probably many more Arabs and Israeli's have a date with an Anglo-Saxon bullet.

Enter Uncle Sam

The United States has given Britain over \$7.7 billion dollars since the end of World War II, more money than any other country has received from America. You would assume that anyone would be grateful for that kind of money but Britain isn't. She trades with North Viet-Nam and Cuba. No one thinks Britain is pro-communist for doing so, its simply that Britain is greedy and thinks it a jolly good trick to get everybody's money, playing both sides for suckers. At the same time that she sells supplies to Hanoi (at a nice profit, thank-you) she has stubbornly held onto Hong Kong, turning this Chinese Island into an enormous sweatshop. When Communist organizers went in to lead strikes for higher wages the British jailed them.

What runs through these tales. One thread-Britain comes out ahead financially, regardless of who gets exploited or killed. Anything goes. Anything for pay if it will pay. Keep the Irish Catholic down and make money off cheap labor in Derry. Help the Sultan and run the Persian Gulf. Help Nigeria against Biafra and get the oil cheap. Give guns to Israel and Jordan and count the cash. Get money from America, sell at a tidy profit to the Cubans and Vietnamese. Trade with Red China show a handsome return, but exploit the Hong Kong Coolie at the same time.

And So?

There is an obvious question that comes to mind. Why should America continue to support Britain with even one tin dime? The answer is - it shouldn't!! It is time for the sun to set on every part of the British Empire.

AN INTRODUCTION TO IRISH REVOLUTION

"Were history what it ought to be, an accurate literary reflex of the times with which it professes to deal, the pages of history would be almost entirely engrossed with a recital of the wrongs and struggles of the labouring people, constituting, as they have ever done, the vast mass of mankind. But history, in general, treats the working class as the manipulator of politics: treats the working man - that is to say with contempt when he remains passive, and with derision, hatred and misrepresentation whenever he dares evince a desire to throw off the yoke of political or social servitude. Ireland is no exception to the rule. Irish history has ever been written by the master class - in the interests of the master class."

--- James Connolly (a leader of the Easter Rising)
in *Labour in Irish History*

"It is our intention in this series of articles to reverse the above mentioned trend."

--- Hunt and Paige
in *The Rising of the Moon*

England made the Famine

In the July issue of the *Rising of the Moon* we brought the story of Ireland's anti-colonial resistance down to the unsuccessful rebellion of the United Irishmen under Wolfe Tone in 1798. The half-century which followed Tone's defeat is one of the grimmest chapters in Irish history: it opens with the abolition of the last legal vestiges of Irish sovereignty by the Act of Union with Great Britain (1801) includes Daniel O'Connell's partially successful campaign for Catholic emancipation, and culminates with the Great Hunger of the mid 1840's, when two and a half million Irish perished, and millions more were forced to emigrate.

The famine is the watershed of modern Irish history, the most decisive event between the Cromwellian Settlement and the Easter Rising. The modern Republican movement was born in its immediate aftermath, and the forced emigration of millions of peasants - a diaspora comparable to that of the Jews during the Roman occupation of Palestine - had profound consequences for the social history of the United States, Canada, England, Australia, as the number of emigrants and their descendants came to outnumber greatly the diminishing population of Ireland itself.

Behind the Famine

But despite its importance in world history, the Famine has been curiously misrepresented. It is often described as a natural calamity independent of human will, uncontrollable and unforeseen. In fact, it was nothing of the kind. The Famine was a social tragedy, rooted in the economic interests and prejudices of the British ruling class. It is not too much to describe the Famine as an act of partial genocide perpetrated, with a characteristic blend of malevolence and stupidity, by the British Empire. The potato blight struck other areas of Europe as well as Ireland, but nowhere else did it produce a remotely comparable tragedy. A few statistics will serve to illustrate the extent to which the sufferings of the Irish were due to social rather than natural factors: the estimated value of the potato crop in pre-famine years was some 20 million pounds - this was the food supply of the Irish peasantry. During the worst year of the famine, when the potato crop failed utterly, the total value of Ireland's agricultural produce (wheat, cattle and the like) was nearly 45 million pounds, enough to feed the population twice over at pre-famine levels. The Irish starved not because of an absolute food shortage in the island, but because they lacked the money to pay the landlords who owned the crops.

To understand the Famine, one must study the social institutions that made it possible. Some of this background appeared in the first installment of this series: we resume the story with the Act of Union of 1801, which formally absorbed Ireland into the "United" Kingdom.

The Act of Union

The act of Union was passed in reaction to the rising of the United Irishmen. England, at war with revolutionary France, dreaded a successful repetition of the 1798 alliance between Irish Republicans and French Jacobins. (The Jacobin Conspiracy was for England the 1801 version of the Communist menace.) The Australian historian Oliver MacDonagh observes that the Act of Union was an attempt to counter Irish nationalism, "and so long as it was maintained it was more or less threatened by the forces that provoked its inception. It is hardly too much to say that it was these forces, or forces of the same family which contrived its destruction." MacDonagh concludes that "there is thus a significant organic unity in the conflict of the years 1795-1925. This conflict deepened, extended, and intensified, not steadily, but in successive waves."

As we might expect from our survey of Ireland's earlier history, the Irish were not united in their opposition to this final abrogation of nationhood. If the British feared Irish Nationalism, the well-to-do in Ireland, Catholic and Protestant alike, feared social revolution. The United Irishmen had frightened them badly - "better John Bull than Wolfe Tone," they might have said.

by
Bill Hunt & Clint Paige

PART 2: FROM THE UNION TO THE FAMINE



Emmet's Rising

The tradition of Wolfe Tone revived briefly with the abortive rising of Robert Emmet, a Protestant like Tone, and one of the most idolized (and radical) of Irish martyrs. The Emmet conspiracy was based on the working class of Dublin (which was beginning to organize a powerful trade union movement,) and the agricultural

labourers of the countryside. As James Connolly wrote, "It must be remembered in this connection that at the period the open organization of labourers for any purpose was against the law, and consequently the trade unions which then flourished amongst the working class were all illegal organizations, whose members were in constant danger of arrest and transportation for the crime of organizing, and that, therefore, a proposal to subvert the oppressive governing class and establish a republic founded upon the votes of all citizens, as Emmet planned, was one likely to appeal alike to the material requirements and imagination of the Irish toilers."

The history of the Emmet conspiracy is controversial in the extreme. The movement was certainly infiltrated by traitors and police spies for the English Prime Minister William Pitt, who employed the same tactics against the burgeoning trade union movement in England. The number and identities of these informers are unlikely to be discovered with certainty - it may be significant that none seem to have been of working class origin. Certainly it was the working class of Dublin which put up the most determined resistance when Emmet made his ill-fated attempt to seize Dublin Castle in 1803. At the same time a force of Wicklow men under Michael O'Dwyer were smuggled into Dublin and sheltered among the dock-labourers - they managed to return home safely after the rising, without being betrayed.

Emmet was less fortunate, presumably miffed by his great speech from the dock, the English, with a fine sense for their own historical tradition, had him hanged and his body beheaded. One final point should be made about Emmet, since it tends to be overlooked by some of his latter-day admirers. Emmet, like Tone, was an internationalist, one who looked specifically to an alliance with the working class of England and Scotland. (In this respect he was carrying on the tradition of the

INTRODUCTION TO IRISH REVOLUTION: continued

Dublin society of United Irishmen, which elected a Scottish Reformer to their organization upon hearing that he had been sentenced to transportation for attending a reform convention in Edinburgh.) Emmets alliance with English reformers working to topple the British monarchy at once looks back to Tone and ahead to the great contribution made by Irish organizers like Fergus O'Donnor and Bronterre O'Brien to the Chartist movement of the 1840's.

The Agrarian Terror

The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 plunged Ireland into a severe economic depression. The war years have been called the Golden Age of Irish agriculture, since prices boomed in response to the demand of British military forces. As usual, both prices and rents rose during this period of inflation. Also, as usual, when agricultural prices fell, rents remained high. The depression thus intensified the bitterness between landlord and tenant in Ireland. With typical terseness, James Connolly sums up the results: "A falling market and a stationary or rising rent-roll could have but one result in Ireland: viz., agrarian war. The landlords insisted upon their pound of flesh, and the peasantry organized in secret to protect themselves." If the Napoleonic era was the Golden Age of Agrarian Terrorism. The secret agrarian leagues, known as the Ribboners, Whiteboys, or Molly Maguires are best understood as primitive trade unions in the countryside, forced to desperate measures by the intensity of their oppression and by the denial of all legal means of organization and redress. (see Liam Keane's article on the Molly Maguires in the Pennsylvania coal-fields for an idea of the conditions under which American labor was first organized.)

The Battle against Tithes

In addition to their campaigns against evicting and rack-renting landlords, the agrarian societies fought the collection of tithes by the Anglican hierarchy. The struggle between the tithe collectors and organized peasants soon assumed all the aspects of a civil war. One example among many: at Rathcormack twelve peasants were massacred in an attempt to save the effects of a poor widow from being sold to pay a sum of forty shillings due as tithes.

The Rise of O'Connell

Against the background of agrarian revolt emerged Daniel O'Connell, the most powerful Irish politician to appear since Henry Grattan. O'Connell's character remains controversial, and his achievement ambiguous. Hoping to draw the teeth of the socially dangerous agrarian and trade union movements, he built an unprecedentedly powerful mass movement for the political and religious (but not economic) emancipation of the Irish Catholics. In this he was relatively successful - the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 granted Catholics many essential civil and political liberties, including the right to hold office. In the earlier stages of his career, O'Connell proved himself one of the most gifted political manipulators and demagogues the world has ever seen. He has been described as the true originator of the modern political machine - one of Ireland's more dubious contributions to American history. Boston's Mayor Curley and Chicago's Mayor Daley may represent the bright and dark sides, respectively, of O'Connell's legacy.

"Ridiculous Humanity"

Initially at least, O'Connell's goal was an all-class alliance against the oppression of Catholics and the Act of Union. To this end he formed an alliance with certain working class groups who accepted his misleading explanation of the economic depression. (O'Connell argued that all the evils of trade were caused by the legislative union with Britain.) Later, however, O'Connell moved sharply to the right. Since James Connolly was Ireland's greatest labor leader, his judgement of O'Connell carries considerable weight:

"As O'Connell grew in strength in the country," wrote Connolly, "and attracted to himself more and more of the capitalist and professional classes of Ireland, and as he became more necessary to the schemes of the Whig politicians in England, and though these latter more necessary to his success, he ceased to play for the favour



Death Mask of Robert Emmet

of organized labour, and gradually developed into the most bitter and unscrupulous enemy of trade unionism Ireland has yet produced, signaling out the trades of Dublin for his most venomous attacks."

As an example of O'Connell's attitude toward the rights of labor we may note that he was a consistent opponent of Laws in the British Parliament regulating working conditions and the use of child labor - this during the worst hardships of the industrial revolution. In 1838 O'Connell spoke against a bill forbidding the employment of children under nine years of age in factories and forbidding those under thirteen from working over nine hours a day. O'Connell said that such protective legislation was "against the nature of things, and against the right of industry. Let them not" he continued, "be guilty of the childish folly of regulating ... labour ... and go about parading their ridiculous humanity, which would end by converting their manufacturers (i.e., the bosses) into beggars." Daniel O'Connell is known in Irish history as the Liberator.

The Fruits of Liberation

Catholic emancipation brought political freedom to the Catholic middle class. But its effect on the Catholic peasantry - the overwhelming majority - was disastrous. As a quid pro quo for granting Catholics political equality, O'Connell agreed to the



A Dublin throng of 1844 welcomes Daniel O'Connell "the Liberator" outside the Bank of Ireland, former seat of Parliament.

INTRODUCTION TO IRISH REVOLUTION: continued

raising of the property qualifications for the vote. Catholics could now hold office, but the bulk of the peasantry had been totally disenfranchised. The consequences for the peasant were doubly tragic: Large landlords had maintained a numerous peasantry because they could be bribed, cajoled, or brutalized into voting for him or his candidate at each election. Once the peasant was deprived of the vote, the landlord had no further use for them. There followed a new wave of evictions, and enclosures for cattle grazing.

The Hungry Forties Begin

Ground down by rack-renting and eviction, the Irish peasant was virtually defenceless against the natural disasters of the "Hungry 40's". In Ireland, the Hungry 40's began as early as 1838, with the first of five calamitous harvests, both for grain and potatoes. In 1838, overseas emigration from Ireland totalled a mere 4,424: in 1842 the figure was 89,686. During the five years preceding the famine, nearly a quarter of a million people left Ireland for the New World, quite apart from the hundreds of thousands who made the more inexpensive journey to the industrial slums of England and Scotland.

Exit The Liberator

Agrarian discontent intensified during these years, finding expression through the guerilla activities of the "Ribbon Societies", as the secret peasant leagues were collectively known. As the peasantry moved toward open revolution, the Catholic Middle classes became more reactionary: Daniel O'Connell was caught in the middle. O'Connell confined his demands to the simple issue of the Repeal of the Act of Union. But soon, in the words of Professor E. Strauss, the opposition of the British Government and the silent competition of the revolutionary underground movement of the secret societies pushed him to the use of force in preparation for an armed struggle against Great Britain. O'Connell's career as "a pathetic mixture of confusion and blustering."

THE FAMINE

Against this background, the famine struck - moderately in 1845, with mounting intensity until 1849. The potato blight struck the staple food crop of the Irish peasantry: the profit from the island's abundant grain and livestock continued to fill the pockets of the landlords.

The famine has been described often and extensively. Its essence is encapsulated in the Irish Nationalist proverb, "Providence sent the potato blight but England made the Famine." Holding to the accepted principles of laissez-faire capitalism, the English government refused simple relief to the starving Irish on the grounds that such a welfare system would weaken their incentive to work for wages. As the Famine reached its peak, some public works programs were established - digging holes and filling them again. Those who were already too weakened by hunger and disease to work were left to their own devices.

The English Poor Law, which had been revised in 1834 to abolish relief outside of the workhouses, which were significantly referred to Bastilles, was applied in Ireland with particular cynicism. It was amended by the notorious Gregory clause

Starving Galway families
attack a potato store, 1846.

which forbade the Poor Law Guardians to relieve persons possessing more than one quarter of an acre of lands. In the words of Professor Strauss, "the smallest occupiers were thus given the choice of starving on their land or of leaving it in exchange for their daily soup, and the landlords got rid of some of their most inconvenient tenants." The Whig leader Lord Clarendon, himself a large landholder, commented that many landlords contemplated "in the most cold-blooded way the relief from a starving and redundant population by the operation of famine." Now more than ever unable to pay their rents, the starving peasants were evicted in job lots. During the famine and its immediate aftermath something near a half million people were turned off the land.

EXPORTS

Throughout the Famine, as mentioned above, food stuffs continued to be exported for private profit from Ireland. In 1848, 80,000 persons died of hunger, and many thousands more from the typhus fever which famine brought in its wake. That same year 1,826,132 quarters of wheat and barley were exported. The citizens of Massachusetts, notably of Dorchester, sent an entire shipload of grain to relieve their kinsmen: the ship was impounded by the British authorities lest its cargo depress the price of wheat on the Irish market.

Millions attempted to flee, thousands succeeded. In 1847, owing to remittances sent from relatives abroad, 89,783 embarked for Canada. Hunger might be escaped: not typhoid. 6,100 died and were thrown overboard on the voyage. 7,100 died on their arrival in Canada. Those who could not afford the passage to America went to England, until the steamship companies under the combined pressure of the British authorities and their own greed, raised the price of steerage to a prohibitive level. On a voyage from Sligo in December of 1848, 200 passengers were driven below decks during a storm; and the hatches were covered with tarpaulin to stifle their cries. 72 were suffocated or trampled to death in the hold. The name of the ship (appropriately) was the Londonderry.

CONCLUSION

We may end this instalment with an extended quotation from Redmond Fitzgerald's great book, *Cry Blood, Cry Erin*, which we recommend to readers of *The Rising of the Moon*:

"There ought to be no making free with fancy words like genocide in relation to this business of the famine: genocide means the extermination of a race. The population of Ireland was more than eight million before the famine. Now it is around four million, of whom one and a half live in Northern Ireland. So you see that only half the population had disappeared, which proves it could not have been genocide.

"Also, so as to obviate tasteless comparisons with more modern experiments in people-disposal, you should understand that they did not burn the actual peasantry but only their homes, and then not more than fifty thousand. In fairness, it must be pointed out that this was only done when the starving tenants could not pay their rents. You cannot go around flattening entire villages without some moral right on your side."

Next month we will deal with revolutionary movements spawned by the Famine: the Young Irelanders and the Fenians.

IRELAND'S GENERAL ELECTIONS

By PETER CUSH

The announcement by Jack Lynch of the dissolution of the Dail led to much political speculation. Many commentators felt that Fianna Fail would suffer badly at the polls, basing this on the defeat the government received in the referendum on proportional representation, the present system of voting in the Republic which the government had wanted to change. Subsequently a good deal of surprise was expressed in press and indeed in government circles when Fianna Fail emerged from the polls even stronger than before.

Conor Cruise O'Brien who wrote the Labour Party foreign policy programme and who is known in this country as being strongly against the Vietnam War did not even mention the War in his programme.

While the election did not change the ruling party there can be little doubt, however, that the standard of T.D. was greatly improved. The addition of such people as Conor Cruise O'Brien (Lab), David Thornley (Lab), and John Burton (F.G.) should do a good deal to help what is generally a low standard of debate in the Dail.



Of the 144 seats fought Fianna Fail took 75, a gain of 3 over 1965, Fine Gael lost 3 in capturing 47 seats, Labor lost 4, in taking 18 seats, while the number of independent T.D's dropped from 3 to 1.

The outstanding success of Fianna Fail was due in no small measure to a non-stop tour of Ireland made by Jack Lynch in true American style. He himself was personally rewarded with an outstanding vote in his own Cork constituency.

However the success attained by Government was probably due in larger measure to the failure of the other two parties. Fine Gael could not offer a creditable change of policy and its apparent inability to know that it could in fact form a viable government alienated many votes.

kilgarriff's

131 Green Street Jamaica Plain. Features the tremendous showboat music of TERRY LANDER'S ORCHESTRA
Every Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday night- and the
SENSATIONAL SUANNOAIRES

Every Wednesday and Friday night. Special Reminder-
Wednesday's Talent Night. For Reservations: 524-9795

There has been much speculation as to the reasons for the failure of Labour to gain seats at a time when the government was none too popular and they did in fact offer a radical policy change to the voters. In Dublin this was well received and Labour gained seats, but in the country the party fared miserably and several commentators attribute this to the fact that the Labour manifesto was so left wing for a largely conservative people. This is undoubtedly true but there are other reasons.

The new Labour Party contained very few real 'Labour' candidates. The policy of the Party seemed to be to put up well-known, well respected candidates who endorsed the Labour manifesto rather than to continue with people who had worked their way up in the party structure. There were suggestions that the working-class voter did not really trust these candidates. On top of this, these people who had hoped for a really radical policy from the Labour Party were extremely disappointed that

One surprising aspect of the election was the failure of all three parties to take a definite line on the situation in the North. Neil Blaney, the Donegal Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries did make some statements condemning the Unionist Government but was criticized by his entire party for doing so. It may be that the government hoped to continue the North-South talks started by O'Neill and Lemass for business reasons but silence on a Liberation in which too many fellow-countrymen are suffering is surely an extremely high price to pay to continue what have been so far really meaningless discussions.

Jack Lynch was duly reelected Taoiseach and named his Cabinet. The major surprise was the omission of Frank Aiken. This marked the end of an era, for Ireland now has its first cabinet not containing a Veteran of the War of Independence. It is interesting also to note the choice of Erskine Childers as Deputy President. This is the highest office a Protestant has attained in the government since Douglas Hyde who was the first President of the Republic.

"I didn't really want to vote for Fianna Fail" one Dublin voter said "but at least they are half governing the country and it didn't seem to me that either of the other two parties could do even that" When all the hullabaloo and comment about the election has died down this will probably be as good a comment as any on the latest round of promises, threats and means which accompanies any election anywhere.

BOSTON CITY CLUB

The Best Night Out For Dancing Is Thursday Night At :
THE BOSTON CITY CLUB

Park Square

FEATURING TOP SHOW BANDS DIRECT FROM IRELAND

Completely Air Conditioned

Your Host - JOHN LATCHFORD

irish political parties



BY LEONARD GLASER

Many of our readers must frequently be bewildered by the names of the organizations and individuals mentioned in our articles. This glossary is designed to help them. Anyone trying to describe politics might be unfair. This being so the author invites criticism of his descriptions by any one who feels justice isn't being done.

Northern Ireland has its own parliament with control over local affairs, police, housing, industrial development, etc. It has no power whatever over foreign affairs. The local Parliament is commonly known as Stormont. There are two houses, the Commons and the Senate. Both are elected but only the Commons is of importance. It has 52 members. It elects the Prime Minister. In addition, Northern Ireland elects 12 members of the British House of Commons in London. The Republic of Ireland rules the rest of the island. A President is the Head of State. There is also a Prime Minister known as the "Iaoiseach" who is the practical ruler. He is elected by the lower house of parliament, the Dail Eirrean with 144 members. Unlike the government of Northern Ireland, which is just an autonomous province of the United Kingdom, the Republic is fully independent politically.

THE UNIONISTS

Northern Ireland is ruled by the Unionist party which has 39 seats at Stormont, 10 in the British Parliament. It has ruled continuously since 1921. It is completely controlled by a secret society, the Loyal Orange Institution, dedicated to unswerving unity with Britain, to Monarchy, and to anti-Roman Catholicism. It is opposed to unity with the Republic of Ireland which is 93% Roman Catholic. As a result of the Civil Rights movement the Unionists are deeply divided. The hardliners favor a "Law and Order" policy, i.e. no concessions to the Catholics or the poor. The moderates favor making a few token gestures. They say they are willing to permit the poor to vote in local elections, but have postponed the local elections for 2½ years; they say they will discuss repealing the police state Special Powers act "later", etc. Their main concern is the bad "image" their "Ulster" has gotten in the eyes of the world. They fear it will be bad for business, i.e. drive away possible investors. The present Prime Minister, Chichester Clark, is a compromise between the moderates and the hardliners.

Four members of the Stormont Commons are known as Independent Unionists. These are supporters of the former Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill. They are moderates who ran against hardliners in the last election. They are Unionists, but the hardliners cannot forgive their breaking party discipline. In London the Unionists "accept the whip" of the Conservative Party. The Unionists are an autonomous section of that party. The Conservative Party is embarrassed by the Unionist anti-Catholicism, but it fully supports the Unionists in deeds, as it is opposed to the civil rights movement and its struggle for the rights of the poor. As anti-Catholic as the Unionist party is there are some who are still not satisfied. Most notably the Rev. Ian Paisley, Moderator of the "Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster", a split off from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. He has his own party, the "Protestant Unionists", his own storm troopers, the "Ulster Protestant Volunteers" (Urv) and even his own "Independent Orange Institution".

THE NATIONALISTS

The oldest Parliamentary anti-Unionist group is the Nationalist Party. Originally it was the great all-Ireland party in the British Parliament and led the fight for Home Rule. It lost the support of the militant element when it supported Britain in World War I, and it disappeared from the Southern Irish scene after 1918 when it opposed the establishment of the Republic of Ireland. It continued on in the North as a result of an election deal with the Sinn Fein Republicans, who not wishing to split the anti-Unionist vote agreed not to run against the Nationalists in some districts in return for Nationalist support in others.

Over the years it has changed its views and now calls for Northern merger with the Republic. It is dominated by the Catholic Voter's Registration Association and strongly favors the retention of the present Irish Constitution which endorses the "special place" of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It makes no effort to recruit Protestants. It is endorsed by Fianna Fail, the ruling Southern party.

For many years it refused to collaborate in any way with the Stormont government but in 1965 it began to give way and accepted the label of "official" opposition and joined the unionists in the organization of Civic Weeks. It only runs in "Safe" Catholic areas, and has stopped running in Catholic sections of Belfast since it got trounced by the Republican Labor Party. While one of its younger leaders, Austin Currie, led the first civil rights demonstration in Danganon in August, 1968, it was accused of timidity and sectarianism by its opponents in the February 1969 elections. They hung the name "Green Tories" on it (meaning Catholic conservative), it stuck and the party did badly, losing three of its safest seats.

THE REPUBLICAN LABOUR PARTY

The Republican Labour Party (RLP) bases itself primarily on the working class Catholic neighborhoods in Belfast. It calls for a united, socialist Ireland. Far and away its leading personality is Gerald Fitt, who sits at Stormont, at Westminster and on the Belfast City Council. It sympathizes with both the British Labour Party and the Southern Irish Labour Party. Although Fitt had some stitches put in his head while demonstrating in Derry in October of 1968, the RLP has also been criticized as basically a party of rhetoric. It is weakly organized, usually doesn't even bother to run in Unionist strongholds, and is sharply criticized for letting Fitt collect two huge parliamentary paychecks. (See profile in our last issue.)

THE NORTHERN IRELAND LA OUR PARTY

The Northern Ireland Labour Party also calls for Socialism, but favors union with Britain. It is identified with the British Labour Party. Its strength lies in working class Protestant areas, but it is not anti-Catholic and its members are taking part in civil rights marches. It also rarely runs in opposition strongholds.



Chichester-Clark

the northern opposition

CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

The major extra-parliamentary opposition group is the Civil Rights Association, (C.R.A.) a loose united front, running from right to left including the radical socialist of the People's Democracy and the Republican Movement as well as liberal Protestants, all of whom are united by a desire to obtain equal treatment for the oppressed Catholic minority. Each group retains its own separate identity both within and without the C.R.A.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

The newest group, and one of the most influential is the Peoples Democracy. A radical group, it calls for the government to build new industries and for the workers to run them. Its most prominent personalities are Bernadette Devlin, age 22, and Michael Farrell, age 26. Most of its members are of like age. They place strong emphasis on trying to unite Catholic and Protestant workers against the Capitalists, whether Catholic or Protestant. They are opposed to Capitalism and Russian Communism, as individuals oppose American intervention in Viet Nam, support the Czechs, etc. They have no serious organization in the Republic but they have marched through Dublin to protest injustice in the South. Critics complain that they are undisciplined, pacifistic and unprepared to defend themselves against Paisley and his U.P.V., and that they have a tendency to war: to ignore the existing Catholic unity in favor of a potential Catholic-Protestant worker unity.



C.C. O'Brien (T.D.) with his adopted son Patrick

OTHER PERSONALITIES

Eamonn McCann has considerable influence in Derry and is outspoken in calling for the C.R.A. to make a sharp turn to the left. His critics feel that he may be precipitous in forcing a split and disrupting the hard won unity.

John Hume, a Catholic, businessman got himself elected to Stormont, upsetting the Nationalist Party, charging them with merely paying lip service to anti-Unionism but now he too is thought of by many as not militant enough.

The other groups or personalities in the North aren't of much importance in terms of votes but they have a prominence of one sort or another. Betty Sinclair, Secretary of the Belfast Trade Union Council, and Chairman of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland was one of the founders of the C.R.A., and is respected for that, but, oddly enough, is looked upon by the younger element as a conservative force, most concerned with not alienating the timid and half-hearted.

FIANNA FAIL

Looking south to the Republic we see three major parties beside the militant but weak Sinn Fein. The Fianna Fail (Soldier: of Destiny) runs the country. Its founder, Eamonn De Valera is the last surviving General of the Easter Uprising. The Constitution of the Republic claims the whole island as under its sway, but Fianna Fail shows little interest in the struggle in the North. In the recent election all commentators were astounded at the lack of discussion of Ulster. In 1965 the Prime Minister, Sean Lemass, went to Belfast to visit Northern Prime Minister Terence O'Neill, but O'Neill's price was no discussion of civil rights in the North or of uniting the island. In addition to encouraging illusions regarding the Unionist regime as "Modern" Orangism the Fianna Fail has showed a marked preference for the Nationalist Party. Fianna Fail's policies have exploded in its face with the rise of the Civil Rights movement. Unionism showed by its police brutality that it hasn't changed. The recent defeats suffered by the Nationalists showed that the masses will not march behind a stodgy conservative party. Fianna Fail went to the U.N. to speak privately to the United Nations but startled the world by not making a public denunciation of British oppression.

FINE GAEL

The major opposition party is the Fine Gael (Tribe of Gaels) an even more conservative party than Fianna Fail. This party derives from those who accepted the Treaty in 1921 which partitioned the island in the first place. In 1949 it finally broke the connection with the British, but even then it openly admitted that it only did so to steal the thunder of the I.R.A. Fine Gael said nothing whatsoever about the North in the recent election.

THE IRISH LABOUR PARTY

The Irish Labour party elected Conor Cruise O'Brien, the former Irish Ambassador to the U.N. in the recent poll. O'Brien and Roderick Connolly, son of James Connolly, have pushed the party further to the left and both show strong interest in the North where it is connected with the Republican Labour Party, but it (Irish Labour Party) is not well thought of in civil rights circles because it sent a telegram of congratulations to the pseudo-socialist Harold Wilson upon the occasion of his victory in the last British general election. Since then Wilson has repeatedly endorsed the Unionist government.

SINN FEIN

The most unusual group in Irish politics is the Sinn Fein. Originally the party that lead the struggle for the foundation of the Republic of Ireland it is now a tiny party in the south. It began to fragment in 1921 when some of its leaders accepted a pro-British treaty which partitioned Ireland and only obtained Dominion status for Eire. It split again when Eamonn De Valera left it to found the Fianna Fail Party, and to sit in the Southern Dail. Sinn Fein never accepted partition and its military arm, the Irish Republican Army, waged a campaign of bombings against Britain between 1938 and 1943, and then a similar campaign against Northern Ireland between 1956 and 1962.

THE REPUBLICANS MOVE LEFT

Sinn Fein was for most of its long existence a "pure and simple" Irish Nationalist party, but in recent years its leaders have moved to the left, calling for a United and Socialist Ireland, along the thinking of James Connolly, the great Socialist leader who commanded the troops of Ireland in the Easter Rising of 1916. The United Irishmen now speaks of more than just Ireland, it supports the Czechoslovaks against the Soviet Union, the Arab guerrillas against Israel, and the Viet Cong against the Americans. It identifies with colonial struggles everywhere.

Sinn Fein calls for the elimination of all reference to Catholicism in the Eire Constitution, for the legalization of divorce, birth control, and the abolition of censorship.

THE I.R.A.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) was outlawed by both Irish governments, but continues to exist; recently it proudly announced that it burned out three German businessmen who had bought estates in the south. The I.R.A. fears that Ireland is becoming a neo-colony of foreign capitalists. The I.R.A. organizes in the North through the "Republican Clubs", which are outlawed. While the I.R.A. is still outlawed in Eire its political party, Sinn Fein, is legal and its paper, The United Irishman is published there.

The party is criticized for refusing to sit in either of the Irish parliaments or the British Parliament. This abstentionism is felt to alienate voters who don't expect miracles overnight and want their representatives to speak out for them on bread and butter questions, like price control, unemployment insurance, etc.

The "Republican Clubs" are very powerful in Northern Ireland, particularly in the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone and Derry. They twice elected Tom Mitchell to the British Parliament while Mitchell was imprisoned for the '56 bombing campaign. To the interest of unity among the civil rights groups they supported Bernadette Devlin in her recent campaign.

The Unionists accuse the I.R.A. of perpetrating the recent bombings in the North. The I.R.A. denies this, and it must be pointed out that Army policy is always to take credit for any bombings it does commit. Because the C.R.A. campaigns for civil rights within the United Kingdom, rather than calling for a United Ireland the Republican Clubs do not take part in the C.R.A. as an organization. Another reason is that they don't want the question to get narrowed to for or against the I.R.A., but Republicans do take part in the struggle as individuals.

Dr. Conn McClusky, one of the Northern Civil Rights leaders recently gave this paper the opinion the Northern minority holds of the southern politicians, "These people are only interested in us when it suits them." ... "none of these people are very sympathetic to us!!!" Sad to say it's true.

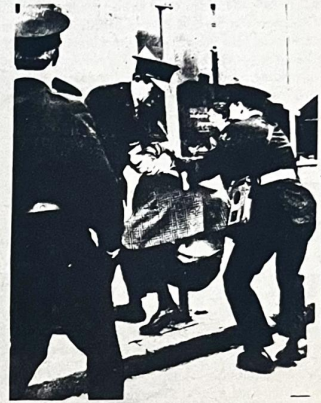
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

By PETER CUSH

People's Democracy was founded in Queen's University Belfast on Oct 8th 1968, 3 days after the violence in Derry. Concerned about the police brutality in Derry and with the Liberation generally over 1000 students met and drew up a list of demands to present to the government. These are now well known - one man one vote, an end to polls discrimination, redrawing of electoral boundaries, a points system for the allocation of houses and a repeal of repressive legislation, in particular the Special Powers Act. This programme was then adopted by the Civil Rights Association.

The emergence of P.D. immediately presented problems to the Unionist Government. In the past any anti-government demonstrations had been branded as I.R.A. plots to undermine the State. The Government alleged that the march in Derry on October 5th was organized by the I. R. A. & alleged that Cathal Goulding a leading member of the I. R. A. was seen on that march. However it was impossible to bring 3000 students marching through Belfast as being I.R.A. minions as the Catholic Population of Queens is only 1500. After some thought on the problem the government branded this group as being revolutionary & communist. This allegation contained no more truth than the allegation that the Oct. 5th march was an I.R.A. demonstration but somehow the label stuck, especially in this country.

Some of the more recent policies of P. D. have been criticized as being socialist; in particular a call for the integration of schools & a call for the breaking up of the large estates in Northern Ireland. It may well be that left-wing groups throughout the world are enunciating similar policies but P. D. called for these actions not because it was following left-wing ideology but because it felt that these policies were necessary in the particular circumstances. It is interesting to note that the government of the Republic has since 1922 been breaking up large estates. No one has accused them of being socialist.



A P.D. Christmas card. The salutation reads:
HAPPY CHRISTMAS FROM FASCIST ULSTER

Because of these allegations that P.D. is socialist it is constantly reported to the delight of the unionist government that there is a "split" in the Civil Rights Movement. This belief is widespread in this country mainly because the American press constantly carries statements made by the Unionist Government which tries to play on beliefs that there is a "split".

The reality of the situation is that the Civil Rights Association demands a specific list of reforms which I have already mentioned. As far as the Civil Rights Association goes the P. D. also goes. P. D. however wants to go a little farther in its demands; two of which I have mentioned above. Other demands which they put forward are one man one job, and one family one house. P. D. is really the "Ginger" group in the Civil Rights Movement. It believes that there can be no truce with the government, and thinks pressure & demonstrations must continue until demands are actually granted. In December when Capt. O'Neill announced that his government would bring out reforms "sometime in the future" the Civil Rights Movement, believing that the government accepted its just demands called a halt to demonstrations to allow the government time to bring in these reforms. P. D. however did not share this belief. It thought that the government would use this respite to patch up cracks in the Unionist Party and so they decided to march from Belfast to Derry to test the sincerity of the government. The violence they were subjected to on that march, especially at the ambush at Burntollet Bridge when the police stood back and let a majoring's followers, many of them government paid "B" Specialists, attack the marchers, proved the point that P. D. hoped to make: that the government could not be trusted.

It is easy to understand the suspicion in this country towards P. D. It is a question of terminology. The words "communist", "revolutionary", "left wing", "radical", "militant", etc. have connotations in this country. However it is strange that the Irish American community has forgotten that the Irish never do things like they are done anywhere else. Perhaps the greatest of the leaders of the 1916 rebellion was James Connolly who preached his own brand of humane socialism, and if anyone asks me if there are Connolly Socialists in P. D. my answer is yes there are and we are proud to have them in the movement.

AN IRISH BAR / draft Guinness, Harp beer, Bass ale, black and tans, shandies, black velvets, cocktails, etc. food, darts, open daily from 11am, except Sunday at noon. Sunday brunch, noon-4pm. reduced prices from 4-7pm.

91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 419, 421, 423, 425, 427, 429, 431, 433, 435, 437, 439, 441, 443, 445, 447, 449, 451, 453, 455, 457, 459, 461, 463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 483, 485, 487, 489, 491, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501, 503, 505, 507, 509, 511, 513, 515, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529, 531, 533, 535, 537, 539, 541, 543, 545, 547, 549, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565, 567, 569, 571, 573, 575, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585, 587, 589, 591, 593, 595, 597, 599, 601, 603, 605, 607, 609, 611, 613, 615, 617, 619, 621, 623, 625, 627, 629, 631, 633, 635, 637, 639, 641, 643, 645, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655, 657, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 669, 671, 673, 675, 677, 679, 681, 683, 685, 687, 689, 691, 693, 695, 697, 699, 701, 703, 705, 707, 709, 711, 713, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 729, 731, 733, 735, 737, 739, 741, 743, 745, 747, 749, 751, 753, 755, 757, 759, 761, 763, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 775, 777, 779, 781, 783, 785, 787, 789, 791, 793, 795, 797, 799, 801, 803, 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, 817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841, 843, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 855, 857, 859, 861, 863, 865, 867, 869, 871, 873, 875, 877, 879, 881, 883, 885, 887, 889, 891, 893, 895, 897, 899, 901, 903, 905, 907, 909, 911, 913, 915, 917, 919, 921, 923, 925, 927, 929, 931, 933, 935, 937, 939, 941, 943, 945, 947, 949, 951, 953, 955, 957, 959, 961, 963, 965, 967, 969, 971, 973, 975, 977, 979, 981, 983, 985, 987, 989, 991, 993, 995, 997, 999, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1007, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1019, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1027, 1029, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1051, 1053, 1055, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1063, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1075, 1077, 1079, 1081, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1097, 1099, 1101, 1103, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1119, 1121, 1123, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1131, 1133, 1135, 1137, 1139, 1141, 1143, 1145, 1147, 1149, 1151, 1153, 1155, 1157, 1159, 1161, 1163, 1165, 1167, 1169, 1171, 1173, 1175, 1177, 1179, 1181, 1183, 1185, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1193, 1195, 1197, 1199, 1201, 1203, 1205, 1207, 1209, 1211, 1213, 1215, 1217, 1219, 1221, 1223, 1225, 1227, 1229, 1231, 1233, 1235, 1237, 1239, 1241, 1243, 1245, 1247, 1249, 1251, 1253, 1255, 1257, 1259, 1261, 1263, 1265, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1273, 1275, 1277, 1279, 1281, 1283, 1285, 1287, 1289, 1291, 1293, 1295, 1297, 1299, 1301, 1303, 1305, 1307, 1309, 1311, 1313, 1315, 1317, 1319, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1327, 1329, 1331, 1333, 1335, 1337, 1339, 1341, 1343, 1345, 1347, 1349, 1351, 1353, 1355, 1357, 1359, 1361, 1363, 1365, 1367, 1369, 1371, 1373, 1375, 1377, 1379, 1381, 1383, 1385, 1387, 1389, 1391, 1393, 1395, 1397, 1399, 1401, 1403, 1405, 1407, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1415, 1417, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1433, 1435, 1437, 1439, 1441, 1443, 1445, 1447, 1449, 1451, 1453, 1455, 1457, 1459, 1461, 1463, 1465, 1467, 1469, 1471, 1473, 1475, 1477, 1479, 1481, 1483, 1485, 1487, 1489, 1491, 1493, 1495, 1497, 1499, 1501, 1503, 1505, 1507, 1509, 1511, 1513, 1515, 1517, 1519, 1521, 1523, 1525, 1527, 1529, 1531, 1533, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1541, 1543, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1557, 1559, 1561, 1563, 1565, 1567, 1569, 1571, 1573, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581, 1583, 1585, 1587, 1589, 1591, 1593, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1617, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1627, 1629, 1631, 1633, 1635, 1637, 1639, 1641, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1653, 1655, 1657, 1659, 1661, 1663, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1671, 1673, 1675, 1677, 1679, 1681, 1683, 1685, 1687, 1689, 1691, 1693, 1695, 1697, 1699, 1701, 1703, 1705, 1707, 1709, 1711, 1713, 1715, 1717, 1719, 1721, 1723, 1725, 1727, 1729, 1731, 1733, 1735, 1737, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1745, 1747, 1749, 1751, 1753, 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1779, 1781, 1783, 1785, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1795, 1797, 1799, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1807, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1823, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1831, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1847, 1849, 1851, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1859, 1861, 1863, 1865, 1867, 1869, 1871, 1873, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2025, 2027, 2029, 2031, 2033, 2035, 2037, 2039, 2041, 2043, 2045, 2047, 2049, 2051, 2053, 2055, 2057, 2059, 2061, 2063, 2065, 2067, 2069, 2071, 2073, 2075, 2077, 2079, 2081, 2083, 2085, 2087, 2089, 2091, 2093, 2095, 2097, 2099, 2101, 2103, 2105, 2107, 2109, 2111, 2113, 2115, 2117, 2119, 2121, 2123, 2125, 2127, 2129, 2131, 2133, 2135, 2137, 2139, 2141, 2143, 2145, 2147, 2149, 2151, 2153, 2155, 2157, 2159, 2161, 2163, 2165, 2167, 2169, 2171, 2173, 2175, 2177, 2179, 2181, 2183, 2185, 2187, 2189, 2191, 2193, 2195, 2197, 2199, 2201, 2203, 2205, 2207, 2209, 2211, 2213, 2215, 2217, 2219, 2221, 2223, 2225, 2227, 2229, 2231, 2233, 2235, 2237, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2245, 2247, 2249, 2251, 2253, 2255, 2257, 2259, 2261, 2263, 2265, 2267, 2269, 2271, 2273, 2275, 2277, 2279, 2281, 2283, 2285, 2287, 2289, 2291, 2293, 2295, 2297, 2299, 2301, 2303, 2305, 2307, 2309, 2311, 2313, 2315, 2317, 2319, 2321, 2323, 2325, 2327, 2329, 2331, 2333, 2335, 2337, 2339, 2341, 2343, 2345, 2347, 2349, 2351, 2353, 2355, 2357, 2359, 2361, 2363, 2365, 2367, 2369, 2371, 2373, 2375, 2377, 2379, 2381, 2383, 2385, 2387, 2389, 2391, 2393, 2395, 2397, 2399, 2401, 2403, 2405, 2407, 2409, 2411, 2413, 2415, 2417, 2419, 2421, 2423, 2425, 2427, 2429, 2431, 2433, 2435, 2437, 2439, 2441, 2443, 2445, 2447, 2449, 2451, 2453, 2455, 2457, 2459, 2461, 2463, 2465, 2467, 2469, 2471, 2473, 2475, 2477, 2479, 2481, 2483, 2485, 2487, 2489, 2491, 2493, 2495, 2497, 2499, 2501, 2503, 2505, 2507, 2509, 2511, 2513, 2515, 2517, 2519, 2521, 2523, 2525, 2527, 2529, 2531, 2533, 2535, 2537, 2539, 2541, 2543, 2545, 2547, 2549, 2551, 2553, 2555, 2557, 2559, 2561, 2563, 2565, 2567, 2569, 2571, 2573, 2575, 2577, 2579, 2581, 2583, 2585, 2587, 2589, 2591, 2593, 2595, 2597, 2599, 2601, 2603, 2605, 2607, 2609, 2611, 2613, 2615, 2617, 2619, 2621, 2623, 2625, 2627, 2629, 2631, 2633, 2635, 2637, 2639, 2641, 2643, 2645, 2647, 2649, 2651, 2653, 2655, 2657, 2659, 2661, 2663, 2665, 2667, 2669, 2671, 2673, 2675, 2677, 2679, 2681, 2683, 2685, 2687, 2689, 2691, 2693, 2695, 2697, 2699, 2701, 2703, 2705, 2707, 2709, 2711, 2713, 2715, 2717, 2719, 2721, 2723, 2725, 2727, 2729, 2731, 2733, 2735, 2737, 2739, 2741, 2743, 2745, 2747, 2749, 2751, 2753, 2755, 2757, 2759, 2761, 2763, 2765, 2767, 2769, 2771, 2773, 2775, 2777, 2779, 2781, 2783, 2785, 2787, 2789, 2791, 2793, 2795, 2797, 2799, 2801, 2803, 2805, 2807, 2809, 2811, 2813, 2815, 2817, 2819, 2821, 2823, 2825, 2827, 2829, 2831, 2833, 2835, 2837, 2839, 2841, 2843, 2845, 2847, 2849, 2851, 2853, 2855, 2857, 2859, 2861, 2863, 2865, 2867, 2869, 2871, 2873, 2875, 2877, 2879, 2881, 2883, 2885, 2887, 2889, 2891, 2893, 2895, 2897, 2899, 2901, 2903, 2905, 2907, 2909, 2911, 2913, 2915, 2917, 2919, 2921, 2923, 2925, 2927, 2929, 2931, 2933, 2935, 2937, 2939, 2941, 2943, 2945, 2947, 2949, 2951, 2953, 2955, 2957, 2959, 2961, 2963, 2965, 2967, 2969, 2971, 2973, 2975, 2977, 2979, 2981, 2983, 2985, 2987, 2989, 2991, 2993, 2995, 2997, 2999, 3001, 3003, 3005, 3007, 3009, 3011, 3013, 3015, 3017, 3019, 3021, 3023, 3025, 3027, 3029, 3031, 3033, 3035, 3037, 3039, 3041, 3043, 3045, 3047, 3049, 3051, 3053, 3055, 3057, 3059, 3061, 3063, 3065, 3067, 3069, 3071, 3073, 3075, 3077, 3079, 3081, 3083, 3085, 3087, 3089, 3091, 3093, 3095, 3097, 3099, 3101, 3103, 3105, 3107, 3109, 3111, 3113, 3115, 3117, 3119, 3121, 3123, 3125, 3127, 3129, 3131, 3133, 3135, 3137, 3139, 3141, 3143, 3145, 3147, 3149, 3151, 3153, 3155, 3157, 3159, 3161, 3163, 3165, 3167, 3169, 3171, 3173, 3175, 3177, 3179, 3181, 3183, 3185, 3187, 3189, 3191, 3193, 3195, 3197, 3199, 3201, 3203, 3205, 3207, 3209, 3211, 3213, 3215, 3217, 3219, 3221, 3223, 3225, 3227, 3229, 3231, 3233, 3235, 3237, 3239, 3241, 3243, 3245, 3247, 3249, 3251, 3253, 3255, 3257, 3259, 3261, 3263, 3265, 3267, 3269, 3271, 3273, 3275, 3277, 3279, 3281, 3283, 3285, 3287, 3289, 3291, 3293, 3295, 3297, 3299, 3301, 3303, 3305, 3307, 3309, 3311, 3313, 3315, 3317, 3319, 3321, 3323, 3325, 3327, 3329, 3331, 3333, 3335, 3337, 3339, 3341, 3343, 3345, 3347, 3349, 3351, 3353, 3355, 3357, 3359, 3361, 3363, 3365, 3367, 3369, 3371, 3373, 3375, 3377, 3379, 3381, 3383, 3385, 3387, 3389, 3391, 3393, 3395, 3397, 3399, 3401, 3403, 3405, 3407, 3409, 3411, 3413, 3415, 3417, 3419, 3421, 3423, 3425, 3427, 3429, 3431, 3433, 3435, 3437, 3439, 3441, 3443, 3445, 3447, 3449, 3451, 3453, 3455, 3457, 3459, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3467, 3469, 3471, 3473, 3475, 3477, 3479, 3481, 3483, 3485, 3487, 3489, 3491, 3493, 3495, 3497, 3499, 3501, 3503, 3505, 3507, 3509, 3511, 3513, 3515, 3517, 3519, 3521, 3523, 3525, 3527, 3529, 3531, 3533, 3535, 3537, 3539, 3541, 3543, 3545, 3547, 3549, 3551, 3553, 3555, 3557, 3559, 3561, 3563, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3571, 3573, 3575, 3577, 3579, 3581, 3583, 3585, 3587, 3589, 3591, 3593, 3595, 3597, 3599, 3601, 3603, 3605, 3607, 3609, 3611, 3613, 3615, 3617, 3619, 3621, 3623, 3625, 3627, 3629, 3631, 3633, 3635, 3637, 3639, 3641, 3643, 3645, 3647, 3649, 3651, 3653, 3655, 3657, 3659, 3661, 3663, 3665, 3667, 3669, 3671, 3673, 3675, 3677, 3679, 3681, 3683, 3685, 3687, 3689, 3691, 3693, 3695, 3697, 3699, 3701, 3703, 3705, 3707, 3709, 3711, 3713, 3715, 3717, 3719, 3721, 3723, 3725, 3727, 3729, 3731, 3733, 3735, 3737, 3739, 3741, 3743, 3745, 3747, 3749, 3751, 3753, 3755, 3757, 3759, 3761,

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES

By LIAM KEANE

In 1887 newspapers all over the U.S. called for the execution of a group of Irishmen living in Penn. "Stamp out this vile thing" demanded the editorial writers. "This vile thing", which drove the newspaperowners into such a frenzy of hate was nothing more terrible than a group of Irish Anthracite miners, fighting for minimal conditions and for the right to form a union. The fight is one of the most important in American Labor History, yet even today the whole episode is neglected in American history books. Even when these Irish union leaders are mentioned, they are usually "that band of desperate murderers, the Molly Maguires."

In fact there is no evidence to prove that an organization called the Molly Maguires ever existed in the U.S. However, when all the lies of the past are stripped off, there is plenty of evidence to show that name was imported from Ireland by the mine owners to give and easily identifiable label to the militant Irish union organizers. The owners then proceeded to blame the Molly Maguires for all crimes committed in the area. This tactic, they hoped, would divert public attention to "the attack on law and order by the Molly's" leaving them free to completely exploit the miners. The scheme worked only too well. In 1887 eighteen Irishmen were hanged on trumped up murder charges, all were militant unionists. The next year on Jan 14 th two more Irish were hanged under the same circumstances. In their case however, because of public outcry, the governor sent a reprieve but he first made sure they were dead. Even the New York World which was very unfriendly to the miners through the trials commented:

The double execution at Mauch Chunk yesterday is a disgrace to public justice in the state of Pennsylvania. The demeanor of the men on the scaffold, their resolute and yet quiet protestations of innocence of this crime . . . were things to stagger one's belief in their guilt. . . . They were "Molly Maguires," they were arrested and arraigned at a time of great popular excitement, and they were condemned and hanged "on general principles."



Murder of mine superintendent John P. Jones at Lansford, September 3, 1875.

HELL IN THE MINES

Ireland's population before 1846 was 8,000,000 people. By the year 1856 the population had been cut in half by famine and emigration. Many of the people went to the Anthracite mines in Pennsylvania in search of freedom and a decent standard of living. What they found was bigotry, discrimination and many "NO IRISH NEED APPLY" signs. They had to work in mines not fit for rats, were given the most menial jobs and were always in debt to the company store. Ironically, the mines were owned by the same class of absentee English landlords that had starved and burned them out of Ireland. An eyewitness of the period, John L. Sexton comments on the mines: *It was coal they wanted and the trifling incident of one, two or half a dozen of miners in the pits, or more properly "crematories", must not stand in the way of progress and developments. "Accidents will happen" says the mine owner 'in all great works'.* In Shuylkill county alone, in 1871, 112 miners were killed and 339 permanently injured. One fire in Avondale on Sept. 6, 1879 took a toll of 179 miners lives. The mine caught fire at the bottom of the shaft which was the only way in or out. All the miners trapped and roasted alive. Even the children did not escape the exploitation of the mine owners. Vivid description is given in the *Labor Standard* of the children's working conditions in the breaker room - a room where the coal was separated from slate: *The little fellows go to work in the cold, dreary room at 7 o'clock in the morning and work till it is too dark to see any longer. For this they get \$1.00 to \$3.00 a week. They have no games; when their days work is done they are too tired for that. They are charged for transportation to and from the mines. In this way their indebtedness to the company at the end of the month comes to some dollars more than the company's indebtedness to them for labor.*

DRAFT RESISTANCE

As if conditions in the mine were not bad enough, the Irish found themselves being conscripted into the Union Army in 1862 for the Civil War. That August Lincoln ordered a draft of 300,000 militiamen. Labor all over the country was against the war for being "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." Under the law



Murder of Thomas Sanger and William Uren at Raven Run, September 1, 1875.

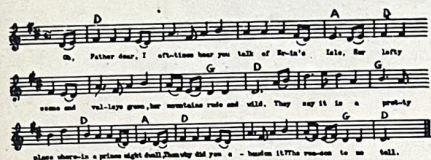


"Halt!" shouts Pinkerton detective Robert J. Linden, in charge of Coal & Iron Police, turning back rioters at West Shenandoah Colliery, June 3, 1875.

To fully appreciate the activities of the Irish miners it is necessary to examine the conditions in Ireland at that period. Famine struck the country in 1846 and 1847. Here was the chance the English absentee landlords had long sought to clean out the Irish and stock the Land with cattle. "More profit in cattle" said Lords Ormore and Brown. Some peasants didn't die or leave fast enough so they were burned out, by the then worlds policemen, the English. "We have made Ireland the most degraded and miserable country in the world. All the world is crying in shame upon us" Lord John Russell told the English House of Lords. When he became Prime Minister four months later he did next to nothing to stop the flow of food from Ireland while the whole country was in the grip of famine. "One should not interfere with the free flow of goods and capital" he explained. The Irish continued to die. However, all was not lost, Queen Victoria came to the rescue with \$1,000 "to feed the poor Irish". Which brings to mind the comment of another Queen - Marie Antoinette of France - "Why can't they (the poor) eat cake." The French however had some sense of justice - they chopped off her head.

When the worst ravages of the famine were over the Irish fought back in the only way possible, through protective secret societies. Landlords were now likely to get shot for attempting an eviction. The English reacted in typical fashion, they appealed to the Vatican for help. The Vatican, receptive as always to English advances ordered the Irish to disband or "be in danger of losing their immortal souls." However, they forgot to tell the Irish how to protect themselves, against an enemy 10,000 times stronger, after the societies disbanded, Three times during that period the Irish protective societies were condemned including the Fenians, Land League, IRB and the Molly Maguires.

skibbereen



Oh, Father dear, I oft-times hear you talk of Erin's Isle,
 Her lofty scene and valleys green, her mountains rude and wild,
 They say it is a pretty place wherein a prince might dwell,
 Then why did you abandon it? The reason to me tell.



My son, I loved our native land with energy and pride
 Until a blight came on the land, and sheep and cattle died,
 The rent and taxes were to pay, I could not them redeem,
 And that's the cruel reason why I left old Skibbereen.

It's well I do remember that bleak December day
 The landlord and the sheriff came to drive us all away,
 They set my roof on fire with their demon yellow spleen,
 And that's another reason why I left old Skibbereen.

It's well I do remember the year of forty-eight,
 When I arose with Erin's boys to fight against the fate,
 I was hunted through the mountains for a traitor to the Queen,
 And that's another reason why I left old Skibbereen.

Oh, F:ther dear, the day will come when vengeance loud will call,
 And we will arise with Erin's boys and rally one and all,
 I'll be the man to lead the van beneath our flag of green,
 And loud and high we'll raise the cry: 'Revenge for Skibbereen!'

