

# UNITED IRISHMAN



AN tEIREANNACH AONTAITHE

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## Balance to lie with S. F.

There is considerable speculation at the moment that the 26 County Government may go for a surprise Autumn election, in spite of Mr. Cosgrave's wish to hold on until next year. There are strong rumours that the Labour Party is anxious to go to the country in the belief that they need to disassociate themselves urgently from the rightist policies of Fine Gael, their Coalition partners.

Brendan Halligan's success in Dublin South West has also convinced many in the party that Labour is in a growth situation which must be capitalised upon now.

Hence the desire for an autumn election.

Sinn Féin will possibly find itself in an interesting, strategic position in relation to the other three parties and if past trends in voting are any measure of the growing public awareness of the hard economic content of the Sinn Féin Party programme, the Party could find itself holding the balance of power.

Party Director of Elections Denis Foley expects to see at least twelve candidates go forward on a nationwide basis. Interest however will settle on three main areas Cork County and Councillor Joe Sherlock,

Donegal and Councillor Seamus Rogers and Louth where Councillor Donnachadh Mac Raghnaill was tipped in the Irish Times last month to take the last seat.

Both Sherlock and Rogers must be considered on past performances to be capable of winning in their constituencies which would give Sinn Féin three voices in the Dail. The new coalition which would have a stronger Labour Party would still be threatened by Sinn Féin on the left in a position to veto right wing legislation and promote positive legislation in the interests of the Irish working class.

## Belfast veteran fights on



Veteran soldier of the Spanish Civil War Paddy McAllister, Belfast (on left) gives the International Brigade Salute at a press conference to launch a Belfast Republican Clubs pamphlet on the Irish contribution to the war against fascism in Spain, 1936-38.

Paddy McAllister also made the opening address to delegates attending the International Anti-Imperialist Festival in Belfast. A former member of the Irish Republican Army he was compelled to emigrate to Canada in 1928. Active there in the 30's on workers' issues he left for Spain in 1937 and saw action on many fronts in company with other Belfastmen including Jim Straney of Ballymacarret who was subsequently killed.

Wounded in action Paddy arrived back in Belfast on Christmas Eve, 1938. He recalls with pride his service against fascism and says that he would go again, but this time better prepared.

## An act of terrorism

The killing of the British Ambassador and secretary Judith Cooke in Dublin, July 21 was condemned by Sinn Féin as a gross act of Terrorism and in no way capable of advancing the struggle of the Irish people towards national liberation.

Political commentators have likened this assassination to that of the American ambassador in the Lebanon by an ultra-left terrorist grouping subsequently arrested by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

The purpose of both killings would seem to have been to discredit the efforts of genuine national liberation organisations by linking them to individual acts of terrorism such as

high-jackings, anti-civilian bombing campaigns and indiscriminate violence.

Unconfirmed reports from Belfast sources have insisted that the action was carried out by a combination of ultra left and rightist splinter groups. However such reports are no longer credible as well known atrocities ranging from individual acts of murder to mass slaughter have been carried out by members of one organisation using cover names.

Gardai are reported to be linking the killings with members of a gang associated with the Herrema kidnapping.



The late British Ambassador C. Ewart Biggs.

Wages  
struggle  
North & South  
Page 8

S.D.L.P.  
duck  
Rights  
Page 11



U.S.A. — Syria  
attack  
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Page 14

God  
in the  
school  
Page 6



Festival  
exposes  
capitalism  
Page 4

C.I.E.  
shut  
down  
Page 10



And also in this  
month's issue

Flight from farming  
An Comhargadh  
Angolan trial  
Work and bread  
Anti-sectarianism



Dear Comrade,  
Now that it is established that the Left Alternative is a viable broad based people's political movement, every effort must be made to draw the women into the mainstream of the struggle. This half of the population, approximately, who hitherto are so terribly discriminated against would by their participation at all levels inevitably make a powerful contribution towards the class and national liberation struggles of the people.

It would be wise to remember that International Women's Year (1975) was not merely set aside for extraordinary women's activities and then to be conveniently forgotten at the year's end, as our western politicians and news media hoped. The year only marked the beginning of a might struggle by progressives everywhere for women's equality, development and peace.

Therefore I believe that it is only logical that if the Left Alternative's base is to be placed on a solid foundation what better place to start than with the inclusion of women in every aspect of the Left's programme.

Finally an event of great historical importance to the Irish people concerning women's equality is that fact that the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic in its poignant address to the nation began with the words: Irishmen and Irishwomen.

Yours fraternally,

J. F. Morrissey,  
Katoomba,  
New Sth. Wales.

Ulster Presbyterian stock. She was proud of the two strains and what they signified.

She also worked in the theatre here as a press officer and had a wide circle of friends. She returned to the United States finally in July 1974.

While on the JOURNAL AMERICAN in New York, she was an active member of the American Newspaper Guild and was her co-workers delegate to the Union's Representative Assembly for a time.

## Information B.A. need

One aspect of the work of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) — since its inception in 1973 — has been the provision of information to soldiers who wish to avoid fighting in Northern Ireland.

Leaflets produced for this purpose in the past by this campaign have been **Some Information for British Soldiers** — which formed the basis of the prosecution of Pat Arrowsmith in 1974 when she was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment under the Incitement to Disaffection Act; and its successor **Some Information for Discontented Soldiers** — which was at the centre of the trial of 14 campaign supporters at the Old Bailey last year (they were charged with conspiring to incite disaffection and were acquitted after a two and a half month trial).

The latest leaflet in the series is **INFORMATION FOR DISCONTENTED SOLDIERS**. It is produced on the same basis as previous versions, but contains updated and improved information in the light of our further experience. Also, as before, there is no intention to court prosecution — however the position of the campaign is quite clear: there are to our knowledge soldiers who are opposed to what they are expected to do in Northern Ireland; and we see it as part of the job of this campaign to provide whatever information we can to help them avoid (by whatever methods they choose) being involved in the killing there.

New features in this leaflet include references to soldiers' unions; and to "selective" conscientious objection, the existence of which in this country was claimed by the United Kingdom delegate to a United Nations Commission on human rights in 1973 (see quote on leaflet). In addition, the section on going Absent Without Leave to Sweden has been rewritten to emphasise even more the difficulties of this course of action.

The previous version (**Some Information for Discontented Soldiers, SIDS**) was on the central file of the National Federation of Citizen's Advice Bureau, so as to be available to any Citizen's Advice Bureau needing the information on it. The new **Information for Discontented Soldiers, IFDS**, has been sent to the National Federation as well. The leaflet is available on request from BWNIC to any Law Centre, Library, Advice Bureau or individual requiring it.

# Cabhair

Irish Republican Prisoners Defence & Aid Fund  
30 Gardiner Place Dublin 1

Funds urgently needed for ●Republican Prisoners Welfare  
●Aid for Dependents ●Legal Aid ●Noel Jenkinson  
Strasbourg Appeal

*All Contributions Acknowledged*

## Kilkenny remembers two volunteers

A commemoration ceremony was held at Graigueenamanagh, Kilkenny on Sunday June 27 for Volunteers Sean Hartley and Nick Mullins. A parade led by a colour party and the local band marched to the memorial where wreaths were laid by Jim Hartley (brother) and Cathleen Mullins (sister) and on behalf of Sinn Féin by John Fitzgerald. The meeting was addressed by Paddy Murphy (chairman), Jim Hartley, Glenmore and Sean Walsh M.C.C.

In the course of his address Sean Walsh said:

"We are gathered here today to commemorate, Sean Hartley and Nick Mullins, shot at Coolbawn. We have come to Graigueenamanagh to pay tribute to their memory — as Graigueenamanagh was the battalion headquarters of the 'Flying Column' of which they were members.

They and their comrades inspired by the Easter rebellion five years previous sought to break the connection with England and establish a 32 county republic. Their aim was to end the political-economic and cultural domination of Ireland by the English government and to substitute it by a form of Government based on the Proclamation of Easter Week.

The ideals of the men of 1916 and 1921 were not achieved and the Republic they had hoped to establish has been sold out and abandoned by the politicians. Politics has been dominated by division jockeying and the abandoning of any serious National objectives which have led our country after 55 years of self-rule to almost complete economic bankruptcy.

Sinn Féin today is building a strong party in this country to tackle the national questions — political and economic with sense of patriotism which is lacking in politics in Ireland today.

We are pointing out to the people the great sell-out to the multi-national companies of the resources of this country by the 26 Co. politicians. Resources upon which we could build a secure future for the people with the people in control as masters and not as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Multi-National company bosses.

Hartley and Mullins and their comrades were involved in the most progressive forces in their generation — the smashing of British imperialism. This was at a time when the British Empire was at its mightiest. Their actions inspired the rest of the subjected people in the empire and today the British empire is only a memory and its world influence vanished.

Today the Republican Movement is to the forefront organising for the most progressive policies and most relevant — the establishment of a 32 county Socialist Republic. The State set up in 1922 based on a native capitalist formula has failed to complete the national objective. The unity of the country — its resources — its land — and its industry have been sold to the highest bidder. They have further failed to create any economic stability for the welfare of the people.

Native capitalism has failed — the multi-nationals are taking over at an alarming rate — the ownership of Ireland is rapidly passing from the hands of the people.

It has now become apparent to many people that drastic changes are necessary if we are

to avoid a real crisis in this country. With a rapidly increasing drift from the land accelerated by the EEC farm modernisation scheme. With 32 per cent of our population under 15 years of age which incidentally is the highest rate in Europe — with 50 per cent of all industry owned by the foreign companies and the prospect that by 1985 we will have a jobless total of 278,000 we can clearly see that new measures will have to be taken. There are now less jobs in Ireland than there were in 1921. "Make no mistake about it the crisis in Ireland will last for a long time to come.

The only answer the government have to this national crisis is that it is due to world recession. This is not true. The crisis in Ireland cannot be simply answered away as easily as that. Over the past number of years we have become a very important mining country producing some of the world's most important minerals.

We now call on the government to produce a white paper based on the great wealth of our natural resources, incorporating a national smelter and the metallurgical and ancillary industries that a smelter would lay the basis for.

At Navan we have the world's richest deposit of lead & zinc to supply ore to the smelter. It is estimated to be valued at two thousand million pounds sterling. Control of this mine has been given to two multi-national companies. This was the property of the nation until the government signed the contract. From next year Navan will be producing 500,000 tons of ore annually. At that rate we would be producing more than the rest of Europe put together and if we were to allow this ore to be exported we would be the world's third largest exporter of ore.

We must ensure that this scandal does not happen. The export of this ore would be the export of thousands of jobs. As a public representative of Sinn Féin in this county I proposed the establishment of a smelter in the Kilkenny area.

This proposition was accepted and I am glad to say that the local authorities are actively pursuing the matter.

It is our intention in Sinn Féin to establish in Kilkenny a development association formed by workers and small farmers to press the government for immediate action on the smelter and other industries and call for the support of the public behind our policies.

Unless we have control of our own destinies in the 26 counties unless we can bring about economic freedom and control we cannot bring about a 32 county republic.

The Sinn Féin Party is actively working to bring about the conditions necessary for National Freedom and establishment of a 32 Co. Socialist Republic, and call for the active support of the Public for our Party.

## Obituary

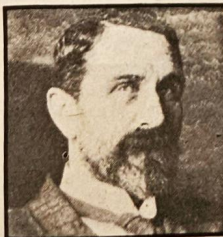
The UNITED IRISHMAN has learned with deep regret of the death after a prolonged and painful illness of TERRY MILLEN CRONIN in Vero Beach, Florida on June 28 last.

She was associated with this journal in the late 1950's when her husband, Sean Cronin, was editor and on the run simultaneously. Terry acted as his link with the paper and its printers and she did everything she could to maintain production deadlines, read proof and plan layout... no easy task in view of the fact that the U.I. was edited under the most difficult circumstances; the printing was done in Dublin and the press run took place in Kerry.

At the time the State was making every effort to put the paper out of action by warning printers that they were legally liable for its content and by harassing those who worked for it and distributed it. The paper never missed a deadline.

Terry was an experienced journalist, having worked on the drama desk of the JOURNAL AMERICAN in New York and for CREATION the fashion magazine here. But she was proudest of her work on the UNITED IRISHMAN.

Terry was a native New Yorker of Irish descent on both her mother's and father's side. Her mother's people were O'Reillys and Colums from Longford... her grandmother was a cousin of Padraic Colum the poet. Her father's family was of



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SUB-TITLES

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NAME

ADDRESS



• A light hearted approach to a baton charge in "We want work, we want bread".

## "We want work, we want bread" — Premier

The first presentation of "We want work, we want bread" at Republican Club Headquarters in Cyprus Street last month was greeted with tremendous applause.

Author Martin Lynch's play gets a rerun during the Anti-Imperialist festival and the twenty member cast have ironed out the original teething troubles. The drama is based on the hungry thirties, the Out Door Relief

and the struggle against sectarianism and for socialism.

A great piece of natural theatre was one description of the evening and the ad libbing by members of the cast who on occasions got carried away by the scenes added to the enjoyment.

Clubs interested in putting on "We want work, we want bread" should contact Martin Lynch c/o 40, Cyprus Street, Belfast.

## Bawnmore murder victim

Gerard Gilmore (19) was murdered by a sectarian gunman on July 13, while acting as a vigilante in the Bawnmore area of Belfast. A statement issued by the Belfast Command Staff, I.R.A. claimed that the murder of Volunteer Gilmore strengthened the determination of the IRA "to end the cancer of religious sectarian division."

The oration at the graveside was given by Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs.

In the course of his address Mr. McGurran said that it was ironical that in the local cemetery of Bawnmore, in the shadow of the Cavehill where Tone, McCracken, Hope, Orr and others had met to form the hard core of the non-sectarian United Irishmen that another Republican who steadfastly followed in the footsteps of the founders of Republicanism should be laid to rest. Mr. McGurran continued,

Comrades and friends,

On behalf of the Republican Movement, on behalf of his Republican comrades, it is my sad duty to tender sympathy to the family of Gerard Gilmore. Our Sympathy is also tendered to the people of Bawnmore whom he served so well, and to all his friends. Their grief at the vicious act which ended Gerry Gilmore's young life is shared by us all.

Gerard Gilmore was a socialist Republican in the tradition of Tone, Connolly and Mellows. In joining the Republican Movement he was committing himself to the struggle for an Ireland, where in the words of Padraig Pearse, only the people would be "lords and masters", an Ireland in which all hatred would be destroyed and the people would be unified in the vision of Tone.

We make no apologies for our beliefs. We therefore totally reject all who put worker against worker and who seek to maintain the capitalist system in Ireland under any guise. And that is why Gerry Gilmore was foully murdered by sectarian killers.

Active in every aspect of the Socialist Republican struggle, Gerry Gilmore represented all that is best in

the Socialist Republican tradition, and his work in the anti-sectarian campaign of the Republican Movement left no doubt to his priorities at a time when sectarian groups on both sides of the religious divide seem intent on a civil war. While Britain plays her old role of Divide and Conquer, the spectacle of Irishmen killing Irishmen helps to uphold Britain's control in Ireland.

Both Loyalist and Provos are attempting to draw the whole community into war, by a series of atrocities against innocent working people, both Catholic and Protestant. It should be understood clearly by the whole community that the vicious campaign engaged in by the Loyalist killers is simply sterile and fanatic bigotry which can, in no way advance the cause of the Protestant people. Nor can murderous Provo rampages with bomb and bullet solve any problems. On the contrary, vicious sectarianism is currently setting back by generations, the cause of genuine Republicanism in this country, based on the unity of the Protestant and Catholic working people.

Gerry Gilmore realised that, and he died at the hands of vicious, negative killers who he opposed so consistently in the past. He is the latest member of our movement to die in our campaign against sectarianism and for democracy, a campaign that has opened us to attack from all sides. But we are not deterred, we will not be diverted from the struggle for full freedom in Ireland. That struggle is a slow-up-hill one. But in the end we will win through, because we put our faith in the integrity and common-sense of the mass of the people, whether Protestant or Catholic.

On this occasion we pay a heart-felt tribute to a man who gave his life for his class and his people. But in doing so, let us be prepared to pay the full price that such a tribute to Gerry Gilmore demands . . . the continued building of our organisation in leading the mass of the people in defence of their rights, for democracy and for Socialism in this country.



# United Irishman



# Anti-Im

## WORK

The Industrial Development Authority's annual report makes dismal reading. It is, in fact, a summary of a race in which the Authority has been going at top speed and not achieving the virtue of actually standing still.

For example, last year the IDA created some 14,500 new jobs but the incredible figure of 28,600 jobs were lost in existing industry. Viewed over the two-year period 1973-75, total manufacturing employment was down by 6,600.

The conclusions drawn by the report stress that the decline in manufacturing industry is due to the failure to control the rate of inflation thereby pricing Irish industry out of the market, both at home and abroad. This is linked to the current "high standard of living" demanded which, it is claimed, our current resources cannot support.

And there, in fact, is the weakness in the IDA's entire position. The Authority is expected to bale the economy out with a bucket full of holes, particularly in a situation where there is a crisis not only of confidence in business but in the whole Western capitalist system.

The resources, in fact, are there to totally transform the economy but the IDA cannot touch these as it pursues a hamstringing policy of piecemeal industrialisation.

It is unfortunate that the IDA, which has the respect of most people concerned with our survival as a nation, did not go beneath the superficial description of the State and suggest effective remedies.

## RIGHTS

The death of Victor Feather, former secretary of the British TUC and Chairman of the Northern Ireland Commission on Human Rights since its establishment in 1974, is certain to affect the already disastrously slow moves to introduce civil rights reform in the North.

In spite of the fact that all parties in the North are committed in some way to a Bill of Rights, Westminster have continued to refuse to introduce the necessary legislation.

Many feel that part of Feather's role was to exhaust civil rights campaigners by dragging out the discussions until the issue would appear to be irrelevant.

Mr. Rees has paid tribute to Feather's contribution, as was to be expected, but it must be stressed now that the new Chairman should have different qualities, the foremost of which would be to see a Bill of Rights on the Statute Book.

Does Rees need to be told who fits this bill?

## Mac Giolla welcomes delegates

Friends,  
Since we held our first Anti-Imperialist Festival two years ago great changes have taken place — changes in Ireland of one type and changes in countries such as Angola and Vietnam of quite a different type.

In Ireland the existence of unimagined wealth in oil, gas and minerals has been confirmed. But it has also been confirmed that it is the multinationals and not the people of Ireland who will benefit from this wealth.

The struggle of the people for the possession of this wealth is in progress. But it will be a long struggle — the struggle of a nation against the forces of international capitalism. It is a struggle which will need the assistance of the forces of international anti-imperialists. This struggle must, as we have always stressed, go hand in hand with

the struggle for national independence — national independence is worthless unless the people possess and control the national wealth.

It is a source of great joy and encouragement that, since the Anti-Imperialist Festival of 1974, struggles similar to our own have been won by the people of Vietnam and Angola. Their victories have already ignited the torch of freedom in other countries. Their victories have encouraged the move towards unity of the international oppressed in the struggle against the international oppressors.

It is to develop this international brotherhood that Sinn Féin has organised this Festival — we Irish will learn from our comrades from overseas, we hope that you will learn from us in Ireland.

To Victory,  
Tomas Mac Giolla.



● Tomas Mac Giolla addressing the delegates in Dublin.

## Capitalism has no frontiers

In the opening address to delegates at Liberty Hall, Dublin, Sean Garland, Sinn Féin Director of Organisation, explained the grip of capitalism on all Ireland and the need for a genuine National Liberation struggle. Part of his address is carried below:

Comrades, friends and supporters of Freedom and Socialism,

Welcome to the 1976 and second Sinn Féin Festival of Anti-Imperialists. The Festival of 1974 far exceeded the high hopes that the Festival organisers and our party had for it. We are confident that this year's festival will prove equally successful in its task of highlighting and exposing the role of the other army of occupation, 'the multinationals'.

During the coming two weeks you will hear from those directly involved in all areas and aspects of the National Liberation Struggle of the Irish people. You will hear of how Socialist Republicans and their allies are educating, agitating and organising the working people of this country to identify and to defeat their enemies.

Britain has controlled, dominated and exploited Ireland for the past 800 years. Over this period Britain's methods of control have often changed forms, at times using direct military means and at other periods using native servants or Gombheens to ensure control, through more subtle methods.

The influence of British imperialism is in decline in Ireland and elsewhere in the world. She is being replaced in Ireland and in many countries by the imperialism of the

United States of America and that of the E.E.C. Areas and countries which at one time were dominated by Britain herself, under the control and domination of Anglo American Imperialism which, in many cases, manifests itself through and by the Multi-National Corporations.

It is a tactic of imperialism to divide those whom they exploit and so make their task all the easier. Religious sectarianism in Ireland, which is akin to racism, is the weapon that they have used for well over one hundred years now to keep the workers of this country apart.

Sectarian assassins and bombers have, for the moment, done the work of the imperialists and the ruling class by maintaining the division of workers. In particular a vicious and indiscriminate anti-civilian bombing campaign over the past five years, supposedly in the name of Irish Freedom, has served only the enemies of the Irish working class.

The demands of our party for peace, work and class politics are the only meaningful and positive demands that can ensure any move forward today. In conjunction with other principled groups and organisations we have struggled to build organisations of the people.

Ireland as an economic unit of exploitation has always been united in the eyes of the imperialists.

The condition of the Irish working class is today one of subjection to external control and to the whims of a small minority, domestic and foreign, who hold the power of life and death over the majority.

As our party has shown in many pamphlets and documents such as 'The Great Irish Oil and Gas Robbery' we now have the basis for the industrialisation of this country. Not only in mining but in smelting and many other spin-off industries.

Capitalism has institutionalised its political control not only with control of industry and finance but also with its culture. Imperialism needs to strengthen its economic and political hold by imposing on people its own culture. The destruction of our native culture, communities and infrastructure is a consequence of Imperialism's direct and conscious intervention.

It is clear to us, that our struggle is one that envelops all areas of Irish life, that without the combination of socialism and republicanism, that without the active participation of the mass of the working class any effort to achieve national liberation cannot succeed.

**MESSAGES OF SOLIDARITY TO ANTI-IMPERIALIST FESTIVAL WERE RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING:** Cyprus National Youth Council; Kurdistan Democratic Party (International Relations Comm.); Ghaqda Kontra L-Imperializmu—Malta; United Democratic Left of Greece; Nepalles Youth and Students; Mauritius Young Communist League; Union Democratique Bretonne; All-African Students Union; The Communist Party (West Middlesex District Committee); Canadian Peace Congress; Satar Al-Janabi—Iraq; Soviet Peace Committee—Moscow; Al Fatah—Palestine National Liberation Movement; World Federation of Trade Unions—Prague.



# perialist Festival '76

## Public sector challenge

It was no accident at this time, said Eamon Smullen, Sinn Féin Director of Industrial and Economic Research that a vicious campaign was being waged against the entire public sector by ministers in the 26 County Government. The philosophy of that Government was to support private profit making no matter what the cost to the Irish people.

We had, he claimed, enormous

skill and capacity in the State owned industries such as ESB, Bord na Mona and the Sugar Company. It was vital that their workers should be allowed to use these skills for the benefit of the entire nation.

Sinn Féin saw the public sector as providing the organisational base for a total revolution in Irish industrial life based on our natural resources wealth.

## Resources robbery

The chairman of the Resources Protection Campaign Trade Union Support Group, Mr. Pat Rabbittie, said the tragedy of the Silvermines and Tynagh mines was that not a single industrial job was created in the country during the time when 350,000 tons of lead, 250,000 tons of zinc and 10 million ounces of silver were exported to smelters in France, Belgium and Spain.

Mr. Rabbittie said the real robbery was not the robbery of metals by the mining companies, but the robbery of secure jobs based on the metallurgical industry. Our minerals were providing thousands of jobs in countries with little raw materials of their own, while the ore was not smelted here and industries were not established.

The suppression and distortion of information regarding the natural resources of the country, both mineral and oil and gas, had played a large part in the strategy of multinational companies in their attempts to get the best possible deal.

In 1971, he said, Ireland had the largest underground zinc mine in Europe at Silvermines; the largest lead mine at Tynagh; the finest barytes deposit in the world at Ballynoe; the largest mercury by-products mine at Gortdrum; and, finally, in 1973, a £2,000m lead and zinc mine was opened at Navan. Offshore, Marathon found enough methane gas to supply Dublin's power for 20 years — a find which cost the company £14m — and which the government contracted to buy back for £700m.

The overwhelming probability was that the oil finds made to date by the companies had been deliberately vastly underestimated so as to strengthen the bargaining position of the multi-nationals.

He called for the creation of a State oil company which would control and plan the development of industry based on our oil and gas deposits, and a mining company which would co-ordinate smelting and industrial activity.

## E.E.C. con game

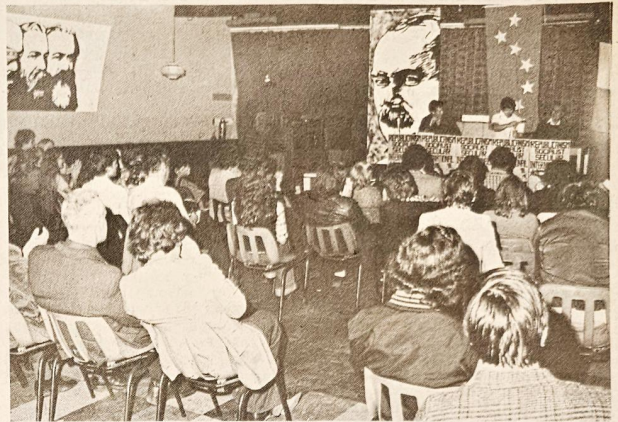
The European Economic Community is further now from its own goals of economic, monetary union than ever. And these were the prerequisites for eventual political union according to the Eurocrats, said Des O'Hagan, Sinn Féin Director of Education.

Mr. O'Hagan was speaking in place of Senator M. Mullen of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union who unfortunately was unable to attend.

Sinn Féin, he said, had raised all the relevant objections to joining the Common Market. Every dire prediction which had been made was

now a reality. The Common Agricultural Policy was a fiasco, every country pursued the line most beneficial to its own farmers and we were left with dearer food and mountains of beef, dried milk and butter.

Industries which should be nationalised by the Southern Government were going to the wall while the multi-nationals, the real Government, were growing in domination of every part of our industrial life. Mr. O'Hagan called for a new referendum on the question of our remaining in the E.E.C.



Delegates attend their first Belfast lecture.

## P.L.O. solidarity

On behalf of Al Fatah, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, I should like to bring you fraternal greetings of solidarity from the freedom fighters of Palestine.

Comrades and friends, today the Palestinian people are facing the most serious challenge since the movement launched its armed resistance to the Zionist occupation of our homeland. In the Lebanon our people are fighting a bitter war on Arab land, against an alliance which embraces reactionary Arab regimes, supported by the United States and Israel.

As you know, in 1948 part of our homeland was occupied by Zionists from Europe, who established the settler-colonial state of Israel. The consequence was not only the partition of Palestine but the brutal dispossession of tens of thousands of Palestinian families from their homes and their land.

I need not dwell on the injustice which we experienced in witnessing the partition of our homeland and the betrayal of the aspirations of generations of Palestinians for freedom, independence and self-determination. Those same pains of anger are felt here today in the hearts of every loyal Irishman and woman.

In 1948, as the Zionists occupied part of Palestine, the Hashemite ruler of Trans-Jordan, King Abdullah, assumed control of the West Bank. Arab treachery denied the Palestinians self-determination even in part of their homeland.

Despite the pledges of support from Arab governments, as Palestinians we became the captives of reactionary regimes. Arab rulers were ready to fight the "war of words", but the battle for liberation did not come.

The Zionists claim that the P.L.O. is a terrorist organisation. As we know, such charges are usually the pathetic cry of the aggressor when the oppressed people rise in defiance.

During half a century or more of aggression and terrorism by the Zionists in Palestine thousands of our people have been killed, brutally evicted from their homes, imprisoned without trial, subjected to torture and deported in the middle of the night.

Even in the misery of our refugee camps, Palestinian families are not spared the savage terrorism of the Israeli armed forces, which bomb their dwellings.

Israel was born out of Zionist terrorism. It has grown on a diet of aggression and violence inflicted against the Arab people.

The violence of the Israelis is now challenged by the armed resistance of the Palestinians.

Hijackings of aircraft have been condemned by Yasser Arafat on behalf of the P.L.O. and Al Fatah.

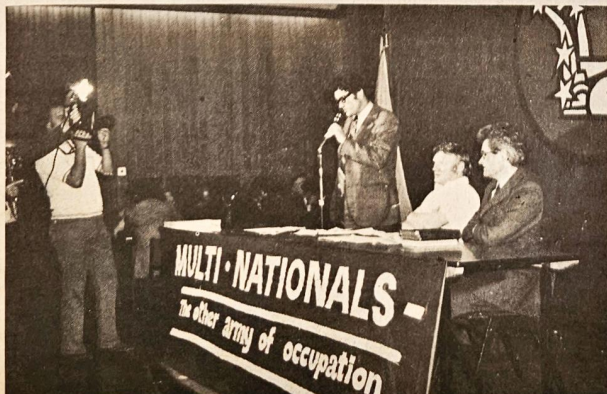
The Zionists claim that the Arabs want to drive the Jews into the sea. As a national liberation movement, Al Fatah was first to proclaim that the injustice suffered by our Palestinian people could not be resolved by a new injustice to the Jews who have settled in our homeland.

From the earliest days of our revolution, Al Fatah and the Palestinian Revolution has declared that our battle is against Zionism. It is not against the Jews as people. For decades Jews, Christians and Muslims lived in peace and harmony in Palestine. Persecution of the Jews is an European phenomenon. Racism and religious intolerance is the hall-mark of European societies not of the Arabs.

The goal of the Palestinian Revolution is the defeat of Zionism, and the racism which it practices. We seek to replace the injustice of Zionist society with justice and equality for all peoples in Palestine. Our mission is not only the liberation of our homeland but the liberation of the Jews from a racist philosophy which teaches the Israeli Jews that the Palestinian Arab is inferior... that the Palestinians have no rights in their homeland.

The Palestinian Revolution is fighting for justice in Palestine... for a secular and democratic state in which Jews, Christians and Muslims enjoy rights... equal opportunities... equal protection from discrimination.

This was the message of Chairman Arafat, when he addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations.



Sean O'Connell introduces Sean Garland, Sinn Féin Director of Organisation, and Seamus O'Tuathail, Journalist.

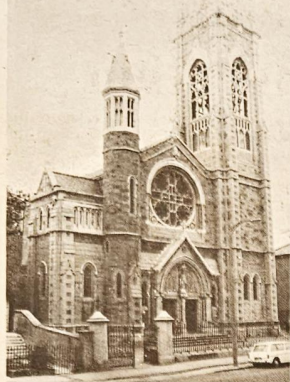
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Responsibility for education must be taken out of the hands of the church.

In 1912, Padraic Pearse called the Irish educational system 'the murder machine'. Today, over sixty years later, it is still one of the most reactionary, authoritarian and sectarian institutions in this suffering island. Realise that today's education produces tomorrow's citizens, and one grasps the vital importance of this issue to every Irish man, woman and child, north and south.

On January 4, 1976, five Catholics were murdered in the North. That is sectarianism in action. The next night, ten Protestants — workingmen travelling home in a mini-bus — were slaughtered at Bessbrook in South Armagh. (To hammer the point home, before they were shot they were asked if any of them were Catholics, and the one man who was able to so identify himself was told to run off.)

What have these killings to do with education? The short answer is everything. SECTARIANISM STARTS IN OUR SCHOOLS. This history of the past five-hundred years, the past five years, the past five days, spell it out in blood — we have perhaps the most sectarian educational system in the world: we need secular education perhaps more than any other country in the world. It is not just socially desirable — it is — quite literally — a matter of life and death.

Sectarianism is no accident — divide and rule is as successful a policy in Ireland today as it has ever been in our history.

The instrument of division is sectarianism, and the cornerstone and buttress of sectarianism is



## Separate schooling is by definition divisive and totally vicious

denominational education. Separate Catholic and Protestant schooling for our children is by definition and of its very nature sectarian divisive — and horrifyingly effective.

Sinn Féin's policy on education is clearly spelt out in our policy programme 'TOWARDS THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC'. We believe that education is a basic human right which should be provided by the State, freely available to all from nursery to adult level. The educational system must be secular and democratically structured to involve teachers, parents, students and other popular organisations so as to ensure its responsiveness to the needs of society.

There are basically five stages of education — pre-school, primary, secondary, third-level and adult education. A short examination of each will show the strengths and weaknesses of the present system.

Education outside the home starts — or should start — at pre-school nursery groups. These provide a break for parent and child and — in a happy and relaxed atmosphere — give the child a chance to get used to the idea of school and learning as fun. In every pleasant middle-class suburb — in Howth and Dalkey, Malone Road and Montenotte, such nursery schools and play-groups are available — at a price (usually around £30 a term). Many of them are Montessori-oriented and they are almost all admirable — for those who can afford them. They are overwhelmingly not available, or inadequate, where they are most needed — in the overcrowded tenement blocks or the new concrete sprawls built to house workers and their children, or the isolated areas of the small farmer.

Primary schools are available, although again in working-class areas they are often grossly overcrowded and under-staffed and with Dickensian buildings and facilities. Sectarianism starts here, for these infants of five and upwards are segregated by religion into US and THEM. The old joke about being a Protestant atheist or a Catholic atheist comes bitterly true because only denominational schools are available, and those parents without religion (or with minority religions) must watch their children hurt and puzzled by the conflict between what they learn at home and at school.

This applies — without regard to religion — particularly to the children of parents with socialist views.

Separation by class in the 26-County State is achieved largely by the brutally direct method of ability to pay. In the North, it is achieved by the more subtle selection at 11-plus, but the effect is much the same — a two-tier secondary education system.

The new Comprehensive schools are doing a fine job, north and south, in combatting these reactionary trends, but it must be pointed out that a 'Comprehensive' girls school is not comprehensive at all, nor is one which restricts entrance to the academically advanced or socially acceptable.

Third-level education is what exposes most savagely the myth that we have even begun to cherish all the children of the nation equally. Less than ten per cent of students at University are from working-class homes — even assuming they have surmounted the educational difficulties of social deprivation which a society run by and for private profit has placed in their path, they simply cannot afford it. Again this is no accident — modern capitalism requires educated workers, but it needs to reserve the Universities for its own elite.

It is to the credit of our young people that this philosophy is rejected by the vast majority of Irish students, who are pressing for adequate grants to be made

available to students from working-class backgrounds. The other arm of third-level education, the technical colleges, in spite — or perhaps because of — the fact that they had begun to be successful in correcting the imbalance in third-level education, are increasingly under attack.

There is very little to say about adult education in Ireland, because it is almost non-existent. However, again credit must be given to the Technical Colleges who organise some useful and instructive courses for adults at very reasonable rates during their holiday periods. Perhaps this situation could usefully be contrasted with Socialist Cuba, where, with roughly the same land area and population as Ireland, adult education is freely available to all.

Sinn Féin demands the immediate setting up of creches and infant schools in areas of social need. We support the parents of Donaghmoynne, Co. Monaghan, in their conflict with Free State Education Minister Richard Burke. (A whole article could — and probably will — be devoted to this arrogant and shrewish person who blatantly supports sectarian education, but for now it's enough to say that he is in the solid Blueshirt tradition of Fine Gael, and could quite happily — indeed more happily — have carried out his present duties in Franco's Spain.)

We support the parents and teachers involved in the Dalkey



U.S.I. have been consistent in the fight for better education.

# teoiric

THEORETICAL JOURNAL  
OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

## SUMMER ISSUE

SOLZHENITSYN  
BODENSTOWN  
FIANNA FAIL  
FIDEL CASTRO  
ART IN IRISH SOCIETY

### NOW ON SALE

40p



School project, Firhouse Community Council, and Marley Grange committee, who are all pressing for multi-denominational schools in their areas. They have been — and are being — bitterly opposed by the local hierarchy and of course by the same Richard Burke, who claims as a justification for sectarian education that it is the wish of the majority (on the same basis, presumably, he would have supported Hitler as having the approval of the majority of the German population). When it is clearly shown — as these people have shown by local surveys — that sectarian education is **not** the wish of the majority, and that what they want for their children is multi-denominational education; sectarian schools are built anyway (with the peoples money).

These are mainly middle-class areas, where the parents are articulate enough, and have the spare time and money to organise the surveys clearly showing their wishes (which are then ignored in any case). What chance have parents from working-class areas of making their wishes felt? Ask the people of Dublin South-West after the election promises have faded away — where are their nursery schools and play-groups? What happened to their youth facilities? How many of their children are at U.C.D. and Trinity and how many are being educated for the dole queue or — at best — a dead-end job?

Sinn Fein supports the fine comprehensive schools which are now coming into being, such as Mount Temple in North Dublin (Protestant children admitted as of right, waiting list for Catholics and other TWO YEARS, Richard Burke

please note; who says there is no demand for multi-denominational education?) These schools are multi-denominational, co-ed, and have a genuine social and academic mix. They are true Comprehensives — the schools of the future.

We support the U.S.I. in their demands for adequate grants for all third-level students, and for democratisation of third-level educational institutions, and a broadening of admissions to University to include all young people regardless of social background or daddy's wallet. We support the Technical Colleges in their struggle to preserve their autonomy from Burke and his Blueshirt cronies.

In short, Sinn Fein demands an educational system for this whole island which **will** cherish all the children of the nation equally. This was the proclaimed aim of Connolly in 1916; Sinn Fein in 1976 asks for nothing more — and will settle for nothing less.

Above all, we demand an end to the insanity of sectarianism in Irish education. We say to the Irish people: the changes which are needed will not come willingly from the Richard Burkes or the Merlyn Reeses, still less from the local hierarchy (of any denomination) or the sectarian politicians. They will come only if you push for them hard enough — education is paid for with your money remember.

Sectarianism is the cancer gnawing at the heart of our educational system. It follows inevitably that the same cancer knaws at the heart of our society — for today's adult is yesterday's child. The cycle can be broken — but how long must it go on? How many more deaths do we need?

## Crisis because of unplanned education

Despite allegations to the contrary a teacher unemployment crisis of unprecedented proportions now exists. One more stark illustration of an unplanned and irrelevant educational system. This crisis is particularly acute for university students as they are only qualified (if they have a H.Dip.) to teach in secondary schools, the area where the real problem lies. From 1973-75 more than 4,000 second level teachers qualified in this country and in the same period less than 1,700 full time jobs were made available in secondary schools, since then this proportion has hardly changed except for a decline in the number of jobs available.

The usual reaction at this point is so what? It is a pity that so much time and resources is wasted but now that we know there will not be enough jobs we can take preventive action at this stage by reducing the amount of students entering these colleges. Which, of course, completely ignores the crises that exists in schools because of the **shortage** of employed teachers. Imagine a scene in a factory where the workforce is cut by half and yet production must remain the same. Eventually machinery would be neglected, quality of production deteriorate and the workforce becomes exhausted. How cynical then does the persons outside the gates become when he is told that there are no jobs for him although he knows that there is dire necessity for his skills as the factory is falling apart.

This trick is performed by changing the pupil teacher ratio. In 1971 this was changed from 15:1 to 20:1, as a result over 3150 teaching

posts disappeared. Teachers in fact have often to cope with classes twice this size (ie 40 pupils) in cramped medieval conditions. Naturally illiteracy is widespread (35 per cent Dublin VEC Schools) as teachers cannot give individual attention. Yet provision for remedial training has been withdrawn for two years. It is the sons and daughters of ordinary working class people who have to bear the brunt of this neglect.

Clearly then it is on the issue of ratio that the fight must begin. An equitable pupil-teacher ratio would ensure that all qualified graduates would be employed and that problems such as illiteracy would be effectively tackled. This will necessitate a massive injection of finance from the government something which they are reluctant to do at present. It is up to all of us to ensure that they will begin to tackle our educational and employment problems in the only feasible fashion.

## North to go comprehensive

The publication of the report — Reorganisation of Secondary Education in Northern Ireland, (Stationery Office, Belfast — £1.35) described by Minister of State Roland Moyle as "a consultative document" was greeted by a predictable series of reactions.

Entrenched grammar school opinion totally condemned it, others such as Cardinal Conway said it required close study and political opinion has been mixed. The SDLP are reported to have given the report a guarded welcome, the Alliance Party secretary John Cusnahan stated that he saw danger in transfers at 16 where elitism could emerge through Sixth form colleges and the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland opposed it on a variety of grounds.

Republicans will be looking at this document in the light of our stated policy for "fully comprehensive and non segregated education". A statement which is open ended on the nature of the comprehensive system to be employed is emphatic in its demand for an end to divisions in education along sexist or religious lines.

The report lists five principles which the authors (chief inspector Cowan and staff inspector Hedley) feel should be determining factors for developing a new system.

1. Each school should recruit across the full range of ability for which provision is made outside the special schools.

2. There should be a freedom of parental choice of schools.

3. Each secondary school should have such freedom of choice of pupils as will enable it to maintain

school-family connections, sibling relationships and discharge any surviving foundation obligations it may have.

4. There should be economic use of school premises so that popular schools do not expand while less popular but conveniently accessible schools are under used.

5. Tiring and costly pupil travel should be avoided.

Hard line anti-comprehensive opinion has already emerged in the views expressed by Dr. James Kincade, head of Methodist College Belfast who said that it was the most brutal document ever produced by the Department in 30 years. He could see no good whatsoever in the document which he claimed was "a time bomb under the future of our children" and which would "destroy all the province's good schools both Protestant and Catholic".

Dr. Kincade's views were echoed by the Association of governing Bodies of Grammar Schools in Northern Ireland representing 58 voluntary grammar schools which rejected the proposals in the report as totally unacceptable.

On the other committed supporters of the idea of comprehensive education will be disappointed in the fact that the report fails totally to deal with the question of segregation by religion. There are one or two tentative suggestions as to sixth form unity between Rathmore Convent School and Princess Gardens, Belfast and at Rainey Endowed, Magherafelt.

Republican Clubs will certainly be taking the opportunity of making their views known on the document both in the United Irishman and in a memorandum to the Department.



26 Co. Minister for Education, Richard Burke, opens a new school in Dublin while the Catholic Archbishop keeps an eye on things.

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### RECORDS AND CASSETTES



# WS ROUNDUP

# NEWS ROUNDUP

# NEWS

The new pay deal negotiated between the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey, and the General Council of the T.U.C. will hit low wage areas like Northern Ireland particularly hard.

The agreement covers the period from 1st August 1976 to 31st July 1977 and limits increases to 5% of total earnings with a minimum of £2.50p a week and a maximum of £4 a week.

The terms of the next stage mean that...

a) For those earning less than £50 per week the increase will be a maximum of £2.50p a week.

b) For those earning £50-£80 a week the increase will be 5% of earnings.

c) For those earning over £80 a week the increase will be a maximum of £4 a week.

## Healey's Blackmail

Attached to this deal is the notorious "blackmail" clause under which new tax allowances are conditional on an acceptance of a low limit on pay increases.

Under this scheme Healey will reduce income tax by increasing personal allowances and by raising the figures at which higher rates of tax start; he had already decided to increase tax allowance for dependent children before the agreement with the T.U.C. Many trade unionists rightly argue that tax allowances should be subject to continual revision to keep pace with inflation.

Under the Healey setup the child arrangement will not compensate

for the inflation which has occurred since the allowances were last increased.

## Poverty Trap

For the lowest paid the tax concessions will not break the infamous "poverty trap". When Healey announced the tax concessions he raised the limits for the payment of Family Income Supplement.

For many low paid workers this will mean that receipt of a £2.50p. maximum increase will actually leave them worse off. Such an increase in gross pay could mean a reduction in Family Income Supplement, a reduction in rent and rates rebate, and a loss of free school meal entitlement.

In Northern Ireland with personal income only 73% of that of the United Kingdom and with the gap between Northern Ireland and U.K. incomes widening the poverty trap now engulfs much higher sections of working class people here than in Britain.

Coming on top of the previous £6 a week wage freeze the present Healey wages policy is a savage attack on working class people in the North and will increase unemployment throughout the Six Counties.

In contrast to the low wages in Northern Ireland, food, fuel, clothing and transport are 12%-15% higher than in the U.K. and these increased costs lower real spending power and real wages even further.

# North will be hard hit by Healey's new wage agreement

## Record Unemployment

The grim fact that another man's low wages — and low spending power costs another man to lose his job has been proven most dramatically in the north's unemployment figures.

## Real Facts of Redundancies

The government's figures on unemployment show that recent factory closures and redundancies have pushed unemployment up to 61,000. In fact the situation on redundancies is even more serious

with some 15,000 jobs being kept in existence with a profits subsidy scheme.

Healey — with his further £35 million cut in public expenditure in Northern Ireland — far in excess of the comparable British figure, is certain to throw thousands more on the dole in the north, particularly in the Building industry and in Public Sector Industries creating a chain reaction of industrial closures which make the United Irishman predictions of 70,000-75,000 unemployed in the north by next winter a grim reality.

# Ryan hopes that something will turn up some day soon...

The Government quite obviously wish to get agreement from the trade unions, to limit pay increases. They wish the trade unions to agree to an upper limit on pay, even from firms doing very well and to allow an escape clause for firms which are not doing well — if a certain level of profit is not reached then whatever pay terms are agreed need not be honoured.

The Government are now attempting to buy time in the hope that "something will turn up". If the Government can be said to have a policy in relation to the present economic crisis it is one of "wait and hope" for economic recovery in the USA and within the EEC.

Then these centres will provide markets for our exports they hope! It might even be more true to say that they hope these countries will provide jobs for our emigrants.

Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, the two parties to hold real power in this

State since its establishment, have always looked to emigration to solve this country's economic difficulties.

The trade unions do have a policy to nationalise the banks in order to provide the means to plan the economy and to provide money for investment in industry.

Planning wages, which in Government terms means reducing the value of wages, is not a way out of the present crisis. Ireland must be industrialised if we are ever to hope for full employment here. This means, as a beginning, and only as a beginning, building smelters and oil refineries.

The Government will be very happy to limit the discussions with the unions to questions of wages. A trade union's duty to members does not stop at questions of wages and conditions in this day and age when many unions have considerable numbers of members out of a job.

Newspapers constantly urge unions to adopt a responsible at-

titude to society. The only responsible attitude unions can adopt is to use their strength to force the government into agreement on a serious plan for the economy.

The Navan Mine will soon be in full production and 500,000 tons of ore will be exported from the Goulding dock every year until the mine is worked out in 20 years' time.

There is no reason to believe that this Government's policy is any different to that of the Fianna Fail Government; a policy which has left the Gurt drum mine a hole in the ground without one single industrial job having been created in Ireland.

The Government has promised to produce a 'Green Paper' on the Irish Economy. A new fraud is being prepared for the Irish people. It will be presented to the people at the next election as a victory for 'Labour Planning'. It will be presented as a victory for Labour

Policy in Government with Fine Gael.

What is Keating's record in Government? We have the highest number out of work since the 1930s and he professes to believe that the economy is in good shape because there is a small increase in exports!

Mr. Tully has refused planning permission to build an oil refinery in Dublin Port which means that this country must continue to depend on the goodwill of the major Anglo-American Oil Companies for our energy needs.

If the Government want a serious talk with the unions about the Irish economy, both the Irish money market and Ireland's industrial resources must be discussed. It is the stated policy of the Irish Trade Union movement to nationalise the Banks and to begin industrialising Ireland on the basis of the ore we are exporting.



• Richie Ryan — 26 Co. Minister for Finance.



# NEWS ROUNDUP NEWS

## Flight from the land

Paddy Lane, the new President of the IFA in one of his first speeches as president warned farmers that as their numbers were decreasing so was their political power. The once all powerful 'farming vote' has lost its former importance to political parties. In this he was being realistic. The trend in the Irish economy — as in the economy of every industrially developing nation — is for a reduction in the rural population with a corresponding increase in the urban population.

For some time now the 'drift from the land' has been accelerating and the decline is most marked in the numbers of people whose occupation is listed as farmer. Between 1966 and 1971 the numbers of farmers in the country declined by 9.5%. Every county in the country experienced a decline, the lowest being Wexford where the number of farmers dropped by 4%. In no county was there an increase.

Predictably the greatest numerical decline was in Connaught though the three counties of Monaghan, Cavan and Donegal experienced a drop of 13%, compared with 12% in Connaught. Munster and Leinster had a reduction in their farmer population of 7%. Again the individual counties showing the largest reduction in farmer population are mostly western counties. Leitrim, Donegal, Sligo, Monaghan, Mayo, and Roscommon all had a higher percentage drop than the national average.

## Cockpit

A possibly surprising drop was recorded in Louth which tied with Leitrim both having the highest percentage drop in the number of farmers with 16% each. The size of the drop in Louth can be ascribed to the situation of two sizable towns at each end of the county. These provide ready centres for the farming population to move to.

The overall picture then is one of decline throughout. The South, East, Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Offaly, and Laois are all slightly below the national average. Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary are all around the national average. The rest of the country, including Kildare, Westmeath, Dublin, and the Ulster and Connaught counties are above the average reduction.

The political effects of this change will be far reaching. As the cockpit of general elections becomes the urban areas, then Government action and political action in general will be geared toward these areas. This is why Paddy Lane felt it necessary to underline this point. It is believed that he intends to make his term of office a "crusading" one.

He believes that the political muscle of the farmers is fading his only alternative is to adopt an aggressive approach. It is possible then that during his term of office we will see an increasing amount of militance and action by farmers making their voices heard. This will probably not occur until the present period of high prices and healthy profit to the farmer ends.

## Taxation

The most recent attempt by farmers to exercise their political muscle was over the introduction of co-op taxation. Conveniently the Donegal bye-election came up at the same time. Fianna Fail and the IFA were able to exploit the situation and the Government reluctantly dropped the plans.

It was very noticeable that few Fine Gael or Labour TDs representing rural constituencies expressed much reservation about the move. Indeed it is thought that they may make Fianna Fail pay for their actions in the next General Election by portraying them as a "farmer party" in urban areas.

This process may have started in the Dublin South West bye election when Labour produced a leaflet proclaiming "Labour says Tax the Farmer — Fianna Fail says No". If Fianna Fail believe they can come to power through the farmer vote they may be in for many years of opposition.

It is generally accepted now that the next General Election will be won or lost in Dublin. The percentage of the rural vote which is farming is fast declining. On present figures the farming vote would total 13% of the electorate in Cork (all constituencies), 25% in Mayo (both constituencies), 16% in Longford-Westmeath, declining to 5% in Wicklow.

## NO PASARAN!



**The Story of the Irish volunteers  
who served with the International  
Brigades in defending the Spanish  
Republic against International Fascism  
1936 - 1938**

The Belfast Executive of the Republican Clubs chose the week of the Anti-Imperialist Festival in the city to launch their excellent short pamphlet on the contribution of the Irish volunteers who fought with the International Brigades for the Spanish Republic against Fascism.

As the introduction points out the International Brigades are not remote in their significance both for the Spanish people and the Irish people. "We in Ireland cannot afford to lose sight of the lessons of the '30s whether in terms of building socialism, in exposing counter-revolution, or in realising the need for international solidarity in the face of the capitalist enemy."

Apart from the political analysis contained in the pamphlet the author traces the story of the Irish in Spain through the vicious bloody engagements in which they participated, Jarama, Brunette, Aragon are but a few of the places where ex-members of the Irish Republican Army died.

The conclusion is hopeful, as it ends in the story of a Belfast man who fought and came home, Paddy McAllister. Copies can be had from 40, Cyprus Street, Belfast, price 30p.

## Senator defends looters of national resources

Senator Alexis Fitzgerald is obviously worried about a speech made by Professor J. A. Murphy in Cork.

In the course of his long letter in the Irish Times recently Alexis Fitzgerald said of Professor Murphy, "his words would come more appropriately from a member of Sinn Féin than from an Academic."

The right of international oil companies and international mining companies to loot the national

resources of small countries is to an ever-increasing extent being questioned throughout the world. Alexis Fitzgerald fears that the Irish people are beginning to question the right of these companies to loot Ireland for their own private profit.

The National Resources of Ireland are being looted by a mixture of United States and one giant South African Company.

The particular line of policy supported by Alexis Fitzgerald was exposed in great detail by the Sinn Féin study of Ireland's Oil and Gas resources, "The Great Irish Oil and Gas Robbery."

On the back cover of the Sinn Féin book there is a rogues gallery of people active in selling out our resources to the Rockefellers and of course, Alexis Fitzgerald has his picture in this group. These people are described as "Some of the finest men money can buy — the local lubricants of oil imperialism in Ireland!"

A local lubricant is the name used by the major Anglo-American oil companies to describe "natives" who assist these companies to loot their resources.

Alexis Fitzgerald, is of course, not the only member of the oil company lobby in Ireland.

Since this state was established it has professed to believe the fiction that the "Irish Companies" which are a part of the major Anglo-American giants are in fact Independent Companies. They buy from the present company at a price which shows no profit therefore, even in these hard times there is nothing at all left for the Irish Tax Collector.

It is against this background that Mr. Fitzgerald's figures of Royalty Rates of between 8% and 16% will apply.

The most important feature about the whole question is not asked — what is a successful oil find?

To the oil companies a successful find is one which gives a return of 25%-30% on investments at the crude oil stage.

The Irish state could and should take out oil at a loss at the crude oil stage if at some further stage along the line a plastics and petrochemicals industry is established the investment would be recovered.



**JOIN THE  
REPUBLICAN  
MOVEMENT**

"Where ever there is conflict between the masses and the interests of the ruling few, between capital and the value of human life, the Republican Movement will take its stand with the people, to educate, organise, agitate and fight so that the people may go forward in dignity and consciousness to the final success... ownership of their resources, control of their destinies." (Liam Mc Millen Bodenshtown, 1973)

For further information write to:  
Sinn Féin Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1,  
or to one of the following addresses.

Ballina: P. Killeen, Kilmore.  
Belfast: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast 12.  
Bray: D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Road.  
Cork: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay.  
Derry: 28 Great James's Street.  
Droghda: Foresters' Hall, North Quay.  
Galway: 5, New Docks.  
Kerry: Brendan Mac Gearailt, Ballyferriter.  
Limerick: F. Reynolds, c/o 19 New Road, Killeely.  
Newry: 1 Trevor Hill.  
Britain: Clann na hEireann, 173/175 Lozells Road, Lozells, Birmingham 19.  
USA & Canada: Irish Republican Clubs, 37-76 64th Street, Woodside, New York 11377.  
Australia: New Zealand: Irish Republican Clubs, P. Gorman, 11/25 Simpson Street, Bondi 2026, Sydney, N.S. Wales.

**JOIN THE SINN FEIN PARTY**

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_



# Sinn Fein reps. oppose rail cut backs

## Munster transport in crisis

We, the Sinn Fein Public Representatives in the Munster area, view with apprehension the C.I.E. plan for the Munster region which will (1) close several stations, (2) drastically curtail services and (3) transfer profit making operations to private enterprise operators in the next few months.

We believe that C.I.E. workers throughout Munster should be particularly alerted to the plans of their employers and treat with extreme caution any offers designed to entice them into acceptance of St. John Devlin's "rationalisation" plan, which essentially is a plan to decimate what is an essential public service.

It has been claimed for some time that thinking within the Board of C.I.E. dictates a policy of "if it makes money, give it to private enterprise; if it makes a loss blame the workers and shut it down." We believe that the rationalisation plans for the Munster area prove just this.

Because, as an examination of the following information will indicate, in many cases where services are being curtailed or withdrawn private operators are being invited to replace C.I.E. and the Company promise in public advertisements to supply them with details of traffic, presumably to convince them that the taking over of the services is a viable commercial proposition.

From September 6 next C.I.E. will not transport beet from the following areas: MILLSTREET, CHARLEVILLE, NENAGH, TIPPERARY, ROSCREA, CAHIR, CARRIGTWOHILL. This vital traffic for the farmers who produce the beet, for the Sugar Company which depends on supplies and for the workers in the Sugar Company is being handed over lock, stock and barrel to private enterprise.

There will be a complete closure of C.I.E. stations

CARRIGTWOHILL, RATHDUFF, DROMKEEN, DUNDURM, GOOLD'S CROSS and KILSHEELAN. In all of these areas C.I.E. freight services will be completely handed over to private operators. In Dundrum and Goold's Cross the passenger traffic is being

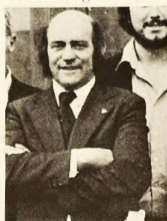
handed over to private operators while in Carrigtwohill, Rathduff and Dromkeen only the existing bus services will be available to those now deprived of rail transport.

Rail facilities for wagonload and sundries freight are being withdrawn at Banteer, Ballingrane Junction, Limerick Junction, Cahir and Carrick-on-Suir. A limited road freight service is being provided in it's place — for example in Cahir this service will be provided only three days per week.

The foregoing does not give the complete picture. More and worse will, we believe, follow unless both the general public and C.I.E. workers shout "stop" immediately.

For example the closure of the Rosslare/Limerick Junction line will have very serious consequences because this services as a connecting point at Limerick Junction for routes to Kerry, the West of Ireland, Cork and Dublin. To our knowledge there is no justification for the closure of this commercially viable service (it is being continued for the summer months).

Also on the plan for extinction are the Cork Youghal and Cork/Cobh lines. Apart from depriving the people of Cobh and Youghal of a passenger service to the Munster capital the closure of these lines will deny the residents of Cork a natural outlet to the seaside.



• Joe Sherlock

Also driven on to the roads and depending on private transport will be any workers from Cork city for whom employment will become available as a result of onshore activities related to oil and gas discoveries.

Dr. St. John Devlin's plans, unless resisted now, will almost certainly guarantee that in the economic boom to be generated in part of the Munster region by oil and gas discoveries the lucrative sector of both passenger and freight transport will be surrendered into the hands of private profit makers.

In other large areas of Munster the absence of rail services will almost certainly guarantee that industrial development will not occur. What industrialist is going to establish a factory in an area in which no transport services for either freight or workforce are available.

And it will also hit existing industries. What farmer is going to continue to grow



• Donagh Coughlan

beet for the Sugar Company if he is uncertain of a transport service for his crop or if the service provided in the future by the private profitmakers is too costly?

For areas of Munster which have already experienced C.I.E. "rationalisation" the ending of the rail services have spelled economic doom as the people of West and South Kerry and West Cork know from bitter experience.

C.I.E., despite all the anti-state company propaganda has provided a valuable economic and social service for the Irish people. If there is to be economic development in the future C.I.E. will have a most important role to play in it.

And if our public transport is to play this vital role then there is no place on the C.I.E. Board for people such as St. John Devlin — people with the "if it makes money hand it over to private enterprise" mentality.

St. John Devlin, through General Manager John F. Higgins boasts in the current issue of NUACHT (the internal C.I.E. bulletin) "we have now about 1600 fewer people (i.e. workers) than we had this time last year and goes on to assert that "the future of C.I.E. depends on reducing staff numbers".

The closures and curtailment of services now planned by Dr. Devlin means that he will be able to boast of many thousand fewer workers on the C.I.E. workforce next year. It will also mean no rail services, economic disaster, and no hope of economic recovery for many areas of Munster.

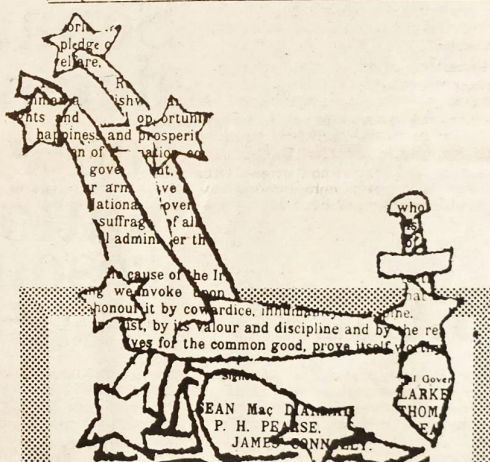
P. GALLAGHER, Waterford Corporation; J. SHERCOCK, Cork County Council, Mallow Urban Dist. Council, Cork Co. Comm. of Agriculture; D. COUGHLAN, Bandon Town Commissioners; R. SULLIVAN, Kerry County Council; S. O'GRADY, Killarney Urban Dist. Council.

## All party support for Sherlock

The Sinn Fein campaign to avert rail closures and to halt the handing over of freight, particularly beet freight, business to private enterprise was given unanimous support at a meeting of Cork County Council.

In a statement (on left) circulated on July 10, Sinn Fein public representatives listed the CIE closure plans and called for public opposition to them. Five days later CIE confirmed the accuracy of the Sinn Fein statement and claimed that the closures and the transfer of business to private hauliers was part of longterm "development plans".

Later when Joe Sherlock moved a resolution at the Cork County Council meeting he received all party support and the Council decided unanimously to write immediately to CIE calling for the cancellation of the closure plans and to send a deputation to the Minister for Transport and Power, Mr. Peter Barry, to impress upon him the economic and social consequences which would result from the decimation of public transport services in the County.

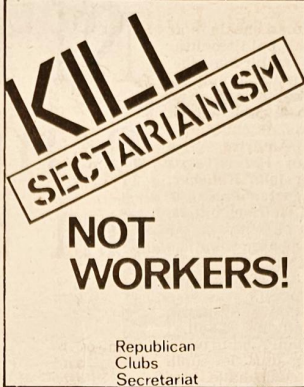


## Sinn Fein Platform

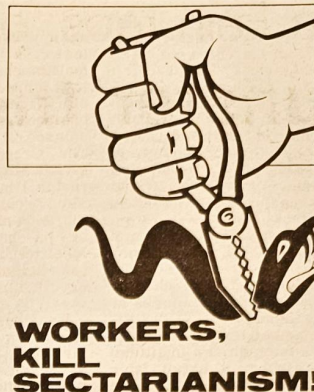




President of Sinn Féin, Tomás Mac Giolla, being greeted by Ms. Joan Maynard, Labour M.P. for Sheffield Brightside, when he arrived at the House of Commons.



Two posters produced by the Republican Movement as part of the on-going campaign to defeat sectarianism.



## Total condemnation of sectarianism

Remarking on recent tactical changes in the Provisionals murder campaign, the Belfast Republican Clubs stated last month that the Provisionals have always been a religious-sectarian organisation — a fact which they attempted to obscure in the past by presenting themselves as a liberation movement through attacks on British Army personnel.

From the start of this year however, sectarian-religious killings have been carried out by the Provisionals with a blatant and animal ferocity unparalleled in their previous atrocities against the working people of the North. Recently mounting publicity about these tribalistic killings has been compounded by considerable embarrassment at the desertion

of leading Provisionals to the safer pastures of "big business", disguised as "Suffolk Inn Socialism".

This embarrassment over the exposure of both the sordid and seamy aspects of their organisation has thus driven them to mount their recent murder attacks on middle-management executives in a desperate and politically naive attempt to portray their crumbling organisation as Socialist.

An objective observer might well be tempted to ask when will this latest murderous tactic be used against the management of the various business enterprises run by the Provisionals themselves.

But let it be said that the recent killings of relatively obscure businessmen will never

give the Provisionals or anyone else credibility as socialists. The sum total of the Provisionals campaign has simply been to divert and divide the ordinary people on a sectarian religious basis, while their bombings have simply assisted the giant multi-national corporations of Anglo-American Imperialism to rationalise the jobs situation here in the North in the interests of big business.

This latest mad dog campaign will further obscure the real meaning of socialism and must inevitably lead to a heightening of the sectarian murder campaign on the factory floor with all the obvious consequences to those who are genuinely attempting to build socialism in Ireland as the only possible base — a united Working Class.

## S.D.L.P. dodge Civil Rights issue

The Belfast Executive of Republican Clubs, commenting on the SDLP-Official Unionist Party talks, which appear to be leading to a critical stage, warn of the danger of the SDLP entering into an agreement which might appear favourable on paper but in fact would be wide open for the re-establishment of the worst features of the Orange junta that survived for over 50 years through naked sectarian and repressive forces.

The fact is that the SDLP have not sought, nor been given, any specific guarantees for Civil Rights legislation, which is absolutely basic to peaceful political progress and clearly any Civil Rights Legislation introduced after a devolved-type government would be established would pander only to preserving that structure and not concern

itself with the broader issues at stake in the Civil Rights struggle.

For example, will the SDLP be 'partners' in a Government that continues to use the Emergency Provisions Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act, despite their first hand experience of this legislation in practise in the days of the Assembly? What sort of priority is being given to seek the removal of the "emergency legislation" that day and daily is being used against hundreds of working families in these talks?

If the appearance is being given that the Official Unionist Party is in disarray then no one should be in any doubt that behind the closed lips attitude of the SDLP lies a great deal of apprehension and fear — stemming from the fact that there is still no

Civil rights Legislation on the Statute Book within the framework of which any future government would have to operate.

The SDLP are generally retreating from all the previously announced objectives — the Irish dimension has disappeared; they appear to be willing to drop their insistence on "power-sharing" being a legal concept to one of vague promises and the sap to their supporters is Loyalist support for a Bill of Rights — for which they have never made specific demands but only called for the European Convention of Human Rights.

This Convention deals only with generalities and would factually make very little difference to the N. Ireland situation so it is imperative that the SDLP be made aware of this by the progressive democratic forces before it is too late.

## Westminster MPs get the facts

Following on the International Conference in Algiers, Tomás Mac Giolla visited England last month for meetings at Westminster with British Labour MPs, and other public meetings in London, Leeds and Birmingham.

In spite of efforts to have Mr. Mac Giolla banned from Britain as had been the case on

two previous occasions, he was admitted after questioning at Heathrow Airport. Mr. Mac Giolla was greeted by Miss Joan Maynard, MP, at the House of Commons. A subsequent briefing session in the House was attended by a number of Labour MPs.

Over 800 attended a public meeting at the Communist Summer University in London

and the later Leeds and Birmingham audiences were equally good. In the course of his speeches Mr. Mac Giolla stressed the need for closer unity and greater understanding between British and Irish workers, "from such unity could come an end to repression and positive steps to bring about a creative peace in Ireland," he said.



Ni fheadar ceard a thug ar bhoic mhóra RTE an clar breá úd "The Greening of America" a chur ar fail ar ar scallan 'naisiunta'. An e gur shleamhnaigh se isteach i ngan fhios, na gadhair faire ag ceapadh gur gnathchlar stairiúil faoi Ghaeil Mheiricea a bhí leis an gcomradh dha chead bliain sna Stáit Aontaithe a cheiliuradh? Caitheadh se gur rud eigin mar sin a tharla mar ba leir le tamall maith de bhlianta anuas — on uair a bunailodh Telefís Éireann d'fheadfaí a ra — go raibh se mar bhun aidhm ag udarais ar staisiún craolachain, bac lomlan a chur ar aon chlar baile a mbeadh fiúntas ar bith ann.

Agus bac go hairithe ar aon chlar a dheanadh magadh faoi institiúidí 'naisiunta' airithe, a bhfuil faoin dream ata i gcumhacht sa tír seo a chaomhu ar mhaithe leis an gcois mhuintir a choinneáil faoi chois. Agus bac speisialta ar aon chlar a thabharfadh faoi mhórchumhacht caipitleach an iarthair, an tír úd ata tarraingthe chuca fein mar mhathair altroma ag ar 'gcinnirí' chun ar n-inchinne agus ar n-

anamnacha a stiuru ar bhealach ar leasa o thaobh polaitíochta, fealsúnachta agus cultúrtha dhe.

Ni minic RTE le moladh in ailt ar bith. Ni minic RTE a mholadh ar an bpaipear seo ach go hairithe, ach an uair seo ní aon dúlas. An-chiar abea The Greening of America — e scríofa ag Eoghan Harris agus curtha i lathair ag John Kelleher. Thug se cuntas beo gasta duinn ar ar tharla do na Gaeil i Meiricea o thus, ar na hathraithe a thainig ar Mheiricea ar feadh an ama sin. Agus ceanglaíodh an rud ar fad le luacha agus le himeachtaí an lae inniu — ar bhealach cliste ar ndó.

Is ar eigin gur gha a ra nár bh dhea an feic iad na Gaeil i Meiricea ar an iomlan. A bhfuirmhor ag sclabhaíocht ar dtús le cupla pingin a shabhaíl le cur abhaile, lena muintir a thabhairt amach go dtí an domhan nua. Ghlacaidís le job ar bith da isle e, iad sasta leis an gcaol chuid agus leis an gcreideamh Caitliceach. Ansin diaidh ar ndiaidh chuaigh cuid acu chun cinn ar an mbealach caipitleach, iad ag tromaíocht ar a muintir fein agus

# Ni minic RTE a mholadh ar an bpaipear seo



● Chuaigh cuid acu (na Gaeil) chun chinn ar an mbealach caipitleach ar nos Ted Kennedy.

ar chiniocha eile a bhí níos measa as fos. Bhí cuid eile fos, da mba mhionlach fein iad, a chuaigh ag obair ar mhaithe lena gcomhradaithe ag iarraidh cearta a bhaint amach doibh sna míanaigh agus sna monarchana — agus dhioladar go daor as a n-iarachtáir ce gur fhas an siol ina ndiaidh.

Sea bhíodar seo go leir sa 'Greening', iad curtha inar lathair go gasta agus go profaisiunta. Ni minic an profaisiuntachas a chur i leith RTE ach bhí se le sonradh ar chuille ghnéith den chlar seo. Bhí na

haisteoirí a ghlac páirt ann go maith. Ba leir gur aithn siad ar an Greening go raibh fiúntas ann agus d'oibrigh siad ar a ndícheall chun barr feabhais a chur air. D'eirigh leo agus ba leir gur bhaineadar taitneamh as a raibh ar siúl acu. Leirigh an Greening go bhfuil daoiné sa tír seo gur feidir leo dea-theleifís a chur ar fail. Chuille sheans go bhfuil a thuilleadh acu ann a d'fheadfadh tabhairt faoi, dha dtabharfaí seans doibh. Ach is leir nach maith le RTE a sin a dheanamh. B'fhearr leo siúd cloí le claracha 'stanaithé' stalaithé Mheiricea.

**SEAL  
SEIL**

## Radio bocht na Gaeltachta — ce bheas mar cheannaire nua

Fiacha "Pobal"  
Le Glanadh.  
Crannchur £100

(le tarraingt lú Mean Fómhar\*)

Uimhir na ticeadai Teoranta (200)

Roinnt ticeadai fágtha fós!

Luach ticead £1 le fáil ó: Phascal Mac Aodhain, 3 Br. Chuilcannphort,

BAC 9.

\*Dáta curtha ar ais ó Bhealtaine.

Ta ceannaire eile imithe o Radio na Gaeltachta, agus is maith go bhfuil. Aisteach go leor ce nach bhfuil se aisteach i ndaíre, ach loighiciúil o thaobh loighic na n-udaras — bunailodh Radio na Gaeltachta agus ansin cuireadh chuile chineal constaic a d'fheadfaí ina choinne ar fhaitíos go n-eireodh leis. Bunailodh e le teacht roimh Gluaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta a raibh a radio fein acu. Bunailodh e le tacaíocht na Gluaiseachta a laghdú. Bunailodh e le fios oibre cuide den dream og sna Gaeltachtaí a chasadh o ghnéithe airithe den pholaitíocht readuill ar chlaracha neamhchonspóideacha. Níor eirigh leo go h-íomlan ach d'eirigh leo ar bhealach.

Ceard a rinneadh nuair a bunailodh an radio nua. Cuireadh ceannaire isteach, fear a raibh meas air ina cheird fein trath, ach fear a raibh fadhbanna pearsanta aige agus nach raibh cumas da laghad ann chun staisiún radio a rith. Ba ghlor agus ba ghlor radio taitneamhach e Padraig O Raghallaigh, ach cuireadh go Conamara e le dul i gceannas ar Radio na Gaeltachta, ní ar mhaithe le R. na G. ach ar mhaithe le RTE i mBlea Cliaht a bhí ag iarraidh fail reidh leis go ceann tamail, ar bhealach amháin no eile. B'eigean do imeacht sa deireadh thiar agus thainig Aindrias O Gallchoir. Bhí na callochta cearta, cheapfa, ag Andy. Ach ní raibh i ndaíre. Bhí se ro-shean, sea ro-shean agus ro-cheasúil chun glacadh leis an dúthlan. Bhí laethanta a oige agus a dhíogras ceardchumainn fágtha ina dhiaidh aige. Bhí droim tugtha aige ar na laethanta úd agus e mar chuid de bhainistíocht RTE

anois. Ach ar laghad chuaigh se chun conaithe sa Ghaeltacht lena bhean agus lena chlann. Agus ansin sa samhradh theadh se ar saoire agus ghlacfaidh Breandan O'Neill a ait. . . ach sin sean seal anois. . . ca bhfuil an coip fillte sin den Irish Times. Lig sinn i gcathu agus dia idir sinn agus an t-oile.

Thainig Muiris ansin. Muiris Mac Conghail caol díreach o Sheirbhís Eolais an Rialtais agus seall Chruis Uí Bhriain. An Muiris ceanna a bhíodh ar Seven Days trath, nar sheas in aghaidh na bainistíochta in RTE nuair a dhiultaigh siad clár Seven Days faoin mbrainse Speisialta a chraoladh. Is leir anois le beagnach delch mbliain go bhfuil Muiris ag diriu ar cheann an dreimire. Ni fheadar cen dreimire e.

Dreimire RTE ar dtús ar chaol ar bith. Thainig se ar ais go RTE mar chuntóir don Stiúrthóir Ginearálta, Oliver Maloney ach cuireadh de phionas air go mbeadh air dul i gceannas ar Radio na Gaeltachta. Theastaigh an cos isteach in RTE athuair o Mhuiris agus ghlac se leis seo. Seard a bhí in aigne aige Radio na Gaeltachta a stiuru o Bhlea Cliaht. Nuair nach nglacfaidh fiú boic mhóra RTE fein leis an socrú seo chuaigh Muiris agus bhean siar agus drogall orthu. Níor sheasadar bliain.

Ni fheadar ce ceapfar anois mar cheannaire nua ar Radio bocht na Gaeltachta. Agus feach an chaol a caitear leis. Leiriu eile an cas seo ar fad ar an ngeargha ata le hudarás ceart daonlathach Gaeltachta. Is baolach go bhfuilimid comh fada on udarás sin agus a bhíomar an chead la riamh.



# An Comhargadh ag titim as a cheile

Ta an Bhruiseal fein tareis a admhail go bhfuil gnathmhuintir naoi mball stait an Chomhargaidh braon go maith den Chomhphobal Eorpach. Ta ceannaire Stait i ndiaidh ceannaire Stait tareis rabhadh a thabhairt go bhfuil an rud ar fad ag titim as a cheile. Agus ta se ag titim as a cheile ar na fathanna a thugamarna o thus, se sin nach feidir le club caipitleach leas an ghnath-dhuine a dheanamh, mar ar gealladh, toisc namh ndeanfaidh an coras caipitleach leas na ngnathdhaoine, go deo.

Ta dochas amhain fagtha ar Eorpaigh agus se sin go gcuirfidh Parlaimint tofa Eorpach an Comhargadh ar a chosa aris. Beidh toghchamhain dhreacha chun na Parlaimint sin i 1978. Is suiochan ata ag dul d'Eirinn as 410. Seard a bheidh i gceist amach anseo go mbeidh cumhacht ag an bParlaimint Eorpach, rud nach bhfuil aice faoi lathair. Bheadh ceannas na tire seo a gheilleadh againn do Pharlaimint nach raibh ach 15 suiochan againn inti. Cuimhnigh ar leas na hEireann a chur chun

cinn in instituid da leitheid! Agus deir na hEorpaigh chruthanta linn go bhfuil nios mo na ar gcuid againn sa pharlaimint ceanna, gur lu sulochan ata ag dul duinn o cheart toisc daonra iséal na tire.

Ta se deacair a chreidiunt go mbeadh fiu gaibini na tire a larraidh sin, ach ta agus beidh is doigh. Beag an difríocht a dheanfaidh se do thodhche na tire seo bealach amhain no eile, adeir tu, agus muid i bpocai na Breataine agus Mheiricea cheana ar bhonn eachnamaíochta, polaitíochta agus cultúrtha. Is fíor san. Ach ma tharláinn se

agus nuair a cuirfear iachall orainne bheith pairteach i bhforsa cosanta Eorpach eigin ar nos NATO, muid ag fiach Cumannaigh faoi leapacha de lo is d'oiche, rud a tharlóidh luath no mall, cuma Parlaimint Eorpach ann no as, b'fheidir go nduiseodh daoine sa tir seo agus go dtuigfidh siad go bhfuil ballraíocht sa Chlub Eorpach ceannaithe ag Eirinn ar phraghas an-ard... ar mballraíocht ceadaíte toisc go mbeadh muid usaideach do Mheiricea ar imeall na hEorpa... ach muid slogtha go h-íomlan ag baill mhóra an Chlub.

● Ceann arus don Chlub Eorpach sa Bhruiseal.



## An t-Impiriulachas nios daingne sa tir seo anois

Ceann de nosanna caidheacha a dhíoghlaim na Provos o na Loyalists na usaid a bhaint as ainmneacha eile ar eagraíochta breagacha le gníomhtha granna macasamhail dummharbhú seiteach a cheilt. Athralonn na hainmneacha seo o ghníomh go gníomh agus ta suil ag na Provos go slogfaidh an Pobal a gcuid breaga mar ta fhios acu go maith go gcuireann feallacht agus easpa fearúlachta na gníomhtha seo deistean ar an ghnath Eireannach. Golde ata gnóithe againne as an 'caper' is deireannai ata deanta acu anseo i mBaile Átha Cliath?

Ar chuir se cuis na reabhloide un tosaí?

Ar shabhaill se cuid de ar maoin nadura o bheith goldte. Ar chuir se obair ar fall do dhúine ar bith den 130,000 dúine ata as obair? Ar chuir se ar ceall ceann de na dlíthe eagraora ata ar mbru fe chois? Níor dhein se ach tuilleadh creidiunt don eite dheis ina eileamh gur dlíthe níos fíotha dhaoine agus níos deine ata ag teastail.

Tog mar shampla go bhfuil se de dhanaíochat anois ag Des O'Malley eileamh go gcuirfidh chun báis daoine agus go bhfuil na faicistí eile ag sleamhnú amach as an chlabar agus ag scairtigh fa choinne im-theoranais aris.

Nach bhfuil ar saith constaicí romhaimm mar lucht oibre gan a bheith ag cuartú tuilleadh. Nach bhfuil se deacair go leor againn eagra le cearta bunúsacha a bhaint amach agus ar maoin nadura a choinneal o bheith scioptha as ar lamha ag an h-impirialaí. Duradh leo siud (Provo 7r1) na mílte uair nach raibh ina gcuid "stunts" ach bata a mbuailte fein (agus an lucht oibre chomh maith nar thug cead doibh).

Ach an bhfuil gar a bheith ag caint. Ta an t-impiriulachas nios daingne sa tir seo anois na mar a bhí ariamh agus gníomhtha den tseorta rinneadh i mBaile Átha Cliath is ciontach le sin. Ar eagla go gceapadh duine ar bith go bhfuil muid ag eagcaoin Ewart-Biggs agus Cooke a marbhaíodh, níl no ní tada iad san i gcomparaid leis an meid ata marbh cheanna fein agus an feld oibríní a bheas marbh mar thoradh air.

Ní leath luath go leor a gheobhfaidh muid na h-amadain chontuirteacha fríoth reabhloideacha seo dar ndruim.

# An Ghaeltacht Lar

Ta comhar-chumann Bhaile na-Finne beo beithíoch agus ag fas dreir tuairiscí a fuair me le gairid agus go deirmin ba doiligh doibhtha mar rinne lucht Gaibin aitiul a ndícheall le na scrios agus chomh maith le sin níor thug na mor choluchcthai cuidiu ar bith doibhtha go dtí go bhfaca siad go raibh an cluiche bainte ag an comhar chumann.

Ta tri no ceithre príomh-ghno ar bun ag an comhar chumann faoi lathair.

a) **Margadh uan.** Ba ghnath le 'jobairí' (middlemen) neart airgid a dheanamh ar an ghno seo go dtainn an comhar chumann un tosaigh. Ba ghnath leo na huain a cheannacht saor ag aontai 7 rri, agus ansin iad a dhíol leis na mor choluchcthai ar phraifid. Ní raibh taigru no dalliu ag baint leo agus mar sin ní dochar iad a chur as. Nuair a tharla an chead mhargadh rinne

siad a ndítheall e a scrios ar gach doigh.

b) **Margadh Olainn.** Ba e an sceal ceanna anseo e. Go fiu gur scríobh na 'jobairí'5 chuig na h-almhuiríthe gan samhailt teacht chuig an mhargadh — ach thainig mar bhí conradh nios fearr le fall acu on comhar-chumann na uaidh na 'jobairí'.

c) **Stor gran, leasu talun 7 r.** I dtosach baire ní raibh na mullinn mhóra sasta delleall díreach leis an comhar chumann mar nach siad sasta dul sa seans — bhfeair leo delleall leis an lucht gaibin aitiul ach tareis tamall ní raibh an lucht gaibin

abalta fanacht san lomaíocht agus beigean doibhthe delleall leis an comhar chumann. Ta dha stor mhóra togha anois.

d) **Reamhru uan.** Níl an talamh maith go leor leis na h-uain a reamhru sach maith leis a t-uas luach a fhail orthu mar sin ta se socraithe ag an comhar — chumann ceann de haonaid reamhru a thogall. (Ta se beagnach reidh.) Beidh toradh iontach maith ar an obar seo.

Ta moran eile a thig leis an comhar-chumann a dheanamh. Suim a ghlacaint san **lascailrecht, sna scoileanna samhraidh, in innealra (ar cíos) 7 r** ach tiocfaidh sin in am trath agus anois nuair ata na príomh chonstalcí curtha as an bhealach acu agus a gcreidiunt in aoirde tífídh muid tuilleadh rath ortha.



## Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoire

Scannán déanta ag Cine Gael ar son Sinn Féin

Gach eolas ó Eamon Smullen c/o 30 Plás Gardnar Baile Átha Cliath 1



# Palestinians fight for survival in Lebanon



Palestinian troops resist the Syrian advances in Lebanon.

BEIRUT: As the Palestinian Resistance Movement battled for its political survival in Lebanon, the Palestine Liberation Organisation's political department head charged that Syria, backed by America, has been behind the Lebanese crisis from the very beginning.

Although the many political, economic and social factors in Lebanon itself have given the crisis a momentum of its own, Farouk Qaddoumi (Abu Lutof) believes that the crisis was sparked off by Syria so that it could impose its own control over Lebanon and the Palestinian movement in the interests of an American-sponsored Middle East peace settlement.

"Syria was behind the crisis from the beginning," Qaddoumi said. "It kept up close contacts with both sides in the conflict, and the presence of its puppets — Lebanese pro-Syrian Baathists and Palestinian 'Saïqa' supporters — helped to stir up this conflict. Syria had contact with the rightist Lebanese faction from the beginning, this is very clear."

"At the beginning they pretended they were backing us, they gave us arms and so on. Then came the blockade against the Palestinians and the progressive Lebanese forces, even stopping flour and food reaching them."

"America also stands behind the crisis because it gave the green light to the Syrian regime to explode the crisis by its military intervention. The idea behind it is to buy time for Israel and to liquidate the Palestine Resistance Movement so that an American solution can be imposed in the Middle East," the PLO political chief asserted.

"One of the main obstacles of the plan is the establishment of a

federation linking Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and the West Bank," he added. "This is opposed by Egypt which supports the PLO and its independence."

"But the Syrian initiative is finished, and its military intervention has ended in failure because of the firm and stubborn resistance of our people and the Lebanese nationalists," Qaddoumi declared.

Although Syria has agreed to withdraw from the Lebanese coastal towns and Beirut, its actions in the east and south of the country raise grave doubts about its intentions of leaving the whole of Lebanon.

"This shows the real intentions of the Syrians," Qaddoumi says. "Having failed to occupy all the country, they may change their plans and opt for a partial occupation. They cannot carry out a total occupation, because they tried and failed. If they try again they will be defeated again!"

The PLO political department chief — often called the Palestinian 'Foreign Minister' — said that the Libyan-Algerian mission led by Libyan Premier Abdussalam Jalloud had insisted on a Syrian withdrawal from all of Lebanon and urged Syrian President Hafez Assad to order his troops out. Jalloud had indicated Syrian agreement, but nothing so far had been signed, he said.

Jalloud's mission has at times seemed to be in contradiction with

the Arab League Foreign Ministers' initiative. But Qaddoumi said that the Libyan-Algerian efforts are within the scope of the Arab League resolutions and aimed at paving the way for a speedy defusing of the crisis through the arrival of Arab peacekeeping forces. League initiatives are expected to merge from now on, with Arab League Secretary — General Mahmoud Riad accompanying Jalloud when he returns to Beirut with the Syrian response on the withdrawal issue.

Riad is expected to have contacts with rightist leaders in a bid to bridge the gap and win rightist consent for the Arab League peace force, which would begin by policing the Syrian withdrawal and then play a similar role in supervising a ceasefire between the domestic Lebanese combatants while the Lebanese themselves worked out a political settlement through peaceful dialogue.

But these moves may well be foiled by the headline stand the rightists have taken on the Arab League initiative, and Qaddoumi believes they are encouraged in this by the Syrians.

"The rightists want to escalate military operations against the Palestinian and nationalist forces, and this is done in co-ordination with the Syrians — it is one of the faces of the conspiracy being implemented by the Syrian regime," Qaddoumi charged.

Despite mounting differences with the Syrian regime the Palestinians have always referred to their

relationship with Damascus as 'strategic' in view of the crucial importance which Syria has for the Palestinian movement. Can the PLO's political chief see beyond the current crisis to the re-establishment of normal relations with the current Syrian regime?

"This depends on the results of this crisis," Qaddoumi says. "If the Syrians withdraw, stop attacking the PLO and adopt a positive position . . . We appreciate the Syrian army and the Syrian people, but the regime is different. It depends on them and their future plans and policies."

Does he expect any changes in the Syrian regime as a result of its current adventures?

"We expect many things, because Syria through its history has had many changes of regime," Qaddoumi replied, hinting that Syria's current directions may unleash forces which could topple Assad's regime.

As for the Syrian-backed 'Saïqa' Palestinian guerrilla organisation, which has now been physically purged from Beirut and other towns as a Syrian instrument although many Saïqa branches have now declared their loyalty to the PLO, Qaddoumi does not envisage any move to formally expel it from the Palestinian umbrella organisation.

But for many months Syrian regular forces in Lebanon have been masquerading as Saïqa forces, and Qaddoumi indicated that in future "we will make certain arrangements to ensure that Palestinians are Palestinians."

## International Round up

At the end of July, President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola visited Cuba. A sign of the bond of friendship and solidarity between Angola and the socialist countries of the world and further proof of the growing inability of the United States to successfully interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Angola is now following the path of progress, independence and security after defeating the imperialist attempts to put the clock back in Africa and at the same time smashing the puppet of the CIA, the FNLA led by the renegade Holden Roberto.

In recent weeks the trial of the

mercenaries in Angola, who were present even though their own governments could have stopped them, has received enormous publicity in the bourgeois press of the capitalist world. In particular, within the United States and Great Britain we have seen crocodile tears shed by many who have even supported capital punishment in their own countries. It is worth quoting Robert Hughes, a British M.P., who said, "that if the mercenaries had been shot out of hand in the jungle when they were captured that would have been seen as the fate of mercenaries . . . there seems to be an element of double standards in the British reaction. When the Israelis land at Entebbe and killed 20

Ugandans they are praised."

The trial which took place in Luanda was in open court and was attended by the world's press together with lawyers and civic personalities from 32 countries who constituted an International Commission. Even the 'New York Times' stated that, "The Angolan court has shown strict respect for judicial norms. This has been a political trial although legal procedures have been scrupulously observed." At one of the sessions of the Commission, Diogenes Boavida, the Angolan Minister of Justice, said, "It is not these criminals who will be on trial but imperialism. We must stop those who arm them or help them in their activities. The phenomenon of

mercenaries — this is an alarming threat to the freedom and independence of many nations."

President Neto, at the end of his statement confirming the death sentences on the four white mercenaries, said, "We are applying justice in Angola, not only in the name of our martyred people but also for the good of our brother peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe and all the peoples of the world against whom imperialism is already getting ready to prepare new mercenary aggressions."

It is now our responsibility to give support and material aid to the building of a new Angola and to fight for the normalisation of relations between the countries of the capitalist world and the People's Republic of Angola. Our solidarity must be intensified with the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and we must deny the use of mercenaries to the white, racist and illegal regime of Ian Smith.

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# The United WORLD

Irish - America (1776-1976) on sale at the United Irishman office, 30, Gardiner Place, Dublin 1 (20p including postage) is the bicentennial contribution of the Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada to increase understanding between Irish workers and American workers.

A feature of this once off issue is the clear cut socialist message which all of the articles spell out.

Dennis Cassin, U.S. organiser of the Clubs states in his article What We Stand For, "No country can call itself free that does not control its natural resources and financial institutions. The situation in Ireland today, both north and south, is that the banks, insurance companies, and the building societies are in the complete control of British and American capital. All the major industries are either British or US owned."

The concluding paragraph on the Molly Maguires in an article of interest to any Irish worker, asks, "Who then were the Molly Maguires? One hundred years later it is clear that the Mollies were miners who belonged to AOH locals and who also happened to be Irish. And these miners incurred the undying enmity of the coal bosses when they tried to organise effective unions to improve the lot of the men in the coalfields at a time when, as now, under the name of 'golden opportunity' the ultimate profit was expected to be made from labour."

Other articles dealt with Bigotry, the US government, Ireland and 400 years of exploitation.

## IRISH AMERICA 1776 - 1976

Paper of the IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS USA and CANADA 25cents

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### WHAT WE STAND FOR

By Dennis Cassin, I.R.C. Organizer

What we stand for is the complete independence of Ireland, the complete control of its natural resources and financial institutions by the Irish people, and the complete control of its political and economic life by the Irish people. We stand for the complete independence of Ireland, the complete control of its natural resources and financial institutions by the Irish people, and the complete control of its political and economic life by the Irish people.

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## Third World and Ireland

The following is the text of the address delivered by Tomas Mac Giolla at an International Conference on the Rights of Peoples held in Algiers, July 3.

I wish to thank the League for the Rights of Peoples and the Lelio Bassi Foundation for inviting me to this conference and for giving me the opportunity of addressing you.

This is a conference dealing with problems of Third World countries which are generally regarded as being Asian, African, and Latin American. We regard Ireland as being a Third World country in every meaning of the term and we asserted this clearly during our campaign against membership of the European Common Market in 1972. Our association should be with the Third World countries which have suffered the same fate as us and most with the imperialist and highly industrialised countries of western Europe.

Let there be any doubt about our position in the minds of any of those present at this conference I wish now to clearly assert our claim to third world status and thus for assistance and solidarity in our liberation struggle, from progressive forces throughout the world.

Ireland is Britain's oldest colony. Her Empire building began with the conquest of Ireland. I am proud to say we were also Britain's most troublesome colony never giving her a moment's peace. And in the early years of this century in a further rebellion and long guerrilla war we began the break up of the mighty British Empire on which the sun never set, by driving the British forces from part of our country.

We understand what it is to be a subject people. To be murdered and plundered, to have our lands robbed from us while we were driven to the bogs and mountains. We saw our children dangling, screaming on the swords of the conquering soldiers while they laughed in their mothers' faces.

We have a common experience which makes us brothers and sisters. But you say all of that was in the past! You threw off British rule 50 years ago! This is not so.

Following our war of independence and a bitter and bloody civil war our country was partitioned in 1925. The Northern part comprising one fifth of the territory and one third of the population remained under British control, and the title of the British state was changed from the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" to "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" which it remains today.

The supposedly free and independent Southern state became the first of a new breed—the classic neo-colony—with all the trappings but none of the realities of social and economic freedom.

When they proved so successful in Ireland both partition and neo-colonial exploitation became classic weapons in the hands of the imperialists. We still have both today in Ireland.

In the North a bitter religious tribalism has been built up by Britain through a system of privileges both political and economic for one million Protestants and penalties and oppression for half a million Catholics. This has created a religious fanaticism on both sides which is constantly fed by both clerics and politicians.

Our objective is to unite workers by exploiting class divisions rather than religious divisions and by pursuing a campaign for democracy and civil rights. The mass struggle for civil rights from 1968-72 got international support and was met with fierce repression which resulted in the shooting dead of 13 peaceful marchers in Derry in 1972.

Provisional IRA and they have built their support by exploiting the fears and prejudices of the Catholics. Their ideology is viciously fascist and their methods pure terrorism as can be seen by their bombing of civilians throughout the North of Ireland and in Britain.

Their sectarian motives can be seen by their recent massacre of 10 Protestant workers returning home by bus. Their opposition to socialism is shown by their brutal attack on our party last October when they murdered 8 of our members and supporters and seriously injured 40.

They then used that attack to boast to their American backers that they were in the front line in the fight against "communism and marxism". We have constantly exposed the Provisionals both at home and abroad. I must warn delegates here that the Provisionals are now attempting to get support from some African and Arab Liberation movements by presenting themselves as the Liberation movement in Ireland.

I ask the delegates here to reject any approaches made to their organisations by the Provisionals whose purpose is to allow American Imperialism to replace British Imperialism when it is inevitably defeated by the Irish people.

The Southern State in Ireland is as I said earlier a new colony where anglo-American and west European and Japanese capital is increasingly penetrating the economy. Over 60 per cent of our industry is now in foreign control—all our mineral resources including one of the largest lead and zinc mines in the world have been given to Canadian and American mining companies by a subservient Dublin government.

Our recent finds of oil and gas off our coast are in the hands of multinational companies.

One million of our people are in exile in Britain. There is 11 per cent unemployed and up to 25 per cent in some areas.

So our claim to recognition as a Third World country engaged in a national liberation struggle can be made from two separate positions. In the North the slogan "Ulster is British" is older than the French slogan "Algerie Française". We must prove Ulster is Irish.

In the South where anglo-American imperialism is strengthening its hold we are in a Latin American situation. We had our war of independence as in a Latin American states in the 19th century, but now we must build our revolution.

We are isolated in the North Atlantic between the US and the EEC. We are recognised as the potential Cuba of western Europe and we are well aware of the strength of the forces which will be unleashed upon us as the struggle progresses.

We need your support and solidarity. You have ours.

## International panel at Angolan "para trial"

In Angola People's justice has been done, and has been seen to be done. The trial of the thirteen mercenaries captured by the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) was conducted scrupulously fairly, with the defendants being given every possible consideration and assistance to prepare their defence.

Even the international press corps, faced with the impressive nature of the trial and its conduct by the presiding judge, Ernesto Teixeira da Silva, were forced to acknowledge the

fairness of the judicial process of the Angolan People's Revolutionary Tribunal.

At the same time however there remains the question of those mercenaries who fought in Angola but escaped back to Britain, together with the instigators and financiers of the operation.

At the conclusion of the trial in Luanda, the People's Prosecutor called for the extradition to Angola to face charges there. This call is in line with the Organisation for African Unity declarations that mercenaries should be handed over to the justice of

the country against which they were active.

Jack Dromey, NCCL and a member of the International Commission which attended the trial spoke at well attended meetings in Belfast, Newry and Dublin.

At the Liberty Hall meeting, Dublin, a resolution was passed calling on the Dublin government to ban recruitment of mercenaries in Ireland and to support Angolan admission to the United Nations.

Mr. Dromey's Irish tour was sponsored by the Irish-Angolan Solidarity Society, aided by the Republican Movement.



Angola's army of Liberation in training.



# PEOPLE IN POLITICS

## Double standard

The assassination of the British Ambassador was widely — and rightly — condemned. Some condemnations, however, were tinged with more than a little hypocrisy — like those of an extreme right-wing Dublin businessman. Following the killings, he was busy on the 'phone expressing his outraged indignation and shame to British business associates. One fact he omitted to mention was that he, like many of his Dublin business friends, had given generous financial assistance to the Provisionals on their foundation.

His contributions continued while the Provisionals limited themselves to killing Northern Protestants. But now that his investment in terror has begun to yield results nearer home AND threaten his other investments abroad, the colour of his politics has changed from Kevin Street green to 'true blue'.

## Paras

The Paras have been terrorising the people of the Newry area since they arrived in that district on their tour of duty some months ago. Naturally they have included members of the Republican Clubs in their campaign of harassment.

Allan Watford, editor of the South Down South Armagh Republican Clubs' paper, 'The Plough' has received more than his share of abuse, threats and raids. Last week reached a high point in the campaign being conducted by these infamous "soldiers" against him and his family.

Bottles were hurled through the windows of his home; slogans daubed on his walls and he was told that he would be shot. The job would be made to look like a sectarian assassination by their mates in the S.A.S.

A fuller report on the peacekeeping activities of the Paras appears elsewhere.

## Instinct

Mr. Durant, (20), unemployed, of Augusta Street, Poplar, London was sentenced to four years imprisonment after pleading guilty to using an automatic pistol with intent to resist or prevent arrest; and having the pistol with intent to endanger life, according to a report in the "Guardian" July 6.

The Crown prosecutor, Mr. Brian Watling claimed that Durant made an interesting statement to the police, 'I am in the TA. They show you how to shoot to kill. So like tonight, when you have a crowd of gozers coming for you, you use it. The RSM in my TA drums it into you about 24 hours a day to shoot to kill and it sticks in your mind.'

Now where have we heard that before?

## Overcharged

It's not really a political matter in the pure sense of the term, but it is a bitter comment on the times that are in it.

Bettystown is a favourite holiday spot of many. Dublin and Belfast accents ring loud in the local bars and they certainly pay through the nose for their fun. Last month a friend noticed an interesting advertisement in the most frequented of the pubs, "Tea 8p, Coffee 10p and (yes truthfully) Hot Water 12p."

Bettystown rejoices in the Irish place name of Baile an Bhiataigh, which means the "townland of the hospitality house", as was the old Irish custom.

Cead Mille Failte to Bettystown.

## Shown up

Michael Pat Murphy the Labour Party man who is Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Agriculture is by no means pleased with the members of the Bandon Town Commission.

Reason is the recent decision of the Commissioners to elect Sinn Fein man, Donagh Coughlan, as their Chairman. Not that Coughlan as Chairman of the Commissioners will have any powers which should worry a Parliamentary Secretary.

The problem is that Coughlan's concern and recent campaigning on issues concerning the West Cork area in general has caused many people to ask just what Flor Crowley, John L. O'Sullivan and the bold Michael Pat have ever done for the area in all their years in the Dail.

They are wondering why Coughlan as a member of the powerless Town Commissioners can do, or attempt to do, things which the three TDs have never attempted at Dail or even County Council level. Some of them might just think it mightn't be a bad idea to send Coughlan to the Dail.

That is why Michael Pat, Flor and John L. are getting a little worried.

# Dublin unemployed queue for dole



● Dublin's unemployed workers in the long wait at the men's Labour Exchange.

At the recent ICTU Conference, Sinn Fein Councillor Joe Sherlock pointed out that if the Irish gombeens didn't like the cold winds of free trade — winds whose bracing effects they were selling during the Common Market campaign — they should get out of the way and let the State Con panies do the job. But he warned that the Irish trade union movement would not support a backward policy of protecting one of the most inefficient and greedy mafias outside Sicily.

Joe Sherlock was speaking against an Association of Scientific, Technical and Management Staffs motion calling for such a rescue plan. And here in a booklet we can read the populist and backward underpinnings of that resolution. The first reaction is one of astonishment. How the General Secretary of a trade union representing skilled technical and white collar workers — the vanguard of an industrial revolution can justify assembling a pot-pourri of petit bourgeois pundits in the memory of Arthur Griffith and dress it up as an economic solution strains credulity.

Not only does the title "What Has To Be Done" degrade scientific socialism by its corrupting echo of Lenin's "What Has To Be Done", but its content would have brought Lenin's pen out like a scalpel. Here is a perfect series of small tracts for the small man. If not quite a guide to starting a small business, it tells you how to stay in one.

The first question about "What Has To Be Done" should be "Who Done It?" There is neither rhyme nor reason in the sequence of chapters, no connection between the so-called solutions, no binding thread among the hotch-potch of contributors unless you count the fact that at the press conference, they agreed to differ.

The pamphlet, far from offering a single coherent view, presents us with the whole spectrum of populism in Ireland. Political opinions range from the reactionary positions of Terry Baker, through free traders like Joe Durkan to the small man protectionism of Anthony Coughlan. On one extreme, Dale Tussing makes tentative stabs in the direction of progressive politics, and inflicts several wounds on the backward contributions of everybody else. At the other extreme, John M. Kelly (the Taoiseach's Think Tank) is given strong support by Michael Ross of the ESRI.

In Ross's contribution we get a clear picture of the current stage of nationalist "small manism". Here is the bizarre porridge of "localism" (courtesy of J. M. Kelly, the Blueshirts and the Provos) mixed with Protectionism (courtesy of Griffith) and self-sufficiency (courtesy of De Valera) and "intermediate technology" (courtesy of California graduate drop-outs) — all of it instantly recognisable as the old "Catholic social doctrine" of subsidiarity and frugality (for the poor) which sent a million of our people across the sea since 1922.

The high point of the package is the suggestion by Michael Ross of the ESRI that organisations like Alcoholics Anonymous, Gael Linn and the Central Remedial Clinic might become models for development. And people used to laugh at Stevie Coughlan for defining socialism as helping St. Vincent De Paul! In short, the whole package is trying to confuse the Irish working class at a time when it is putting the cult of the "small man" to rest alongside Griffith and De Valera.

Take Protection. Since 1939, 660,000 people were forced to emigrate. The Irish business class that forced them out had enjoyed years of tariff protection, price subsidies and control of public funds — particularly in the building and infrastructure programme — and above all, cheap labour. Is this the class that Mr. Coughlan wants protected? From whom except the Irish working class?

The Irish gombeens that Harris wants to "protect" paid an average industrial wage in 1958 of 19.50! In 1968, ten years after the abolition of Protection, the absolute size of the industrial working class had increased massively (at the expense of self-employed and farmer groups), while trade union organisation was at a record high point.

Today, the average industrial wage paid by the "foreign" sector is in excess of 150 — to the chagrin of the gombeens. Emigration has slowed to a trickle and productivity rises daily. The population is enjoying its first period of natural growth since the Famine.

Or again, take "localism". Mr. Ross seems to think that Co-ops are socialist islands in a sea of capitalism. Such islands, as the Free Derry effort demonstrated, are easily swamped by the tidal system of capitalism. Co-ops, like other economic units, must buy and sell their money within the limits laid down by the Banks — the fact that a few pence is knocked off the price doesn't damage the system.

Or take self-sufficiency. The pamphlet argues that given an increasing population the home market is the key to economic growth. Harris repeated this point in an ICTU speech that would have pleased Griffith. Our population at maximum would reach 3.78m by 1986. If it is meant to keep people on the land, growing potatoes, the population will have to eat a lot of potatoes.

Sinn Fein, in its "Plan For Full Employment", calls for capital intensive industry (men making machines to make machines) and points out that a State petro-chemicals and plastics industry is vital. Do the contributors to the pamphlet think that a population of 3.78m could consume the thousands of products in food, plastics, and minerals that would be pumped out by a high productivity Workers' Republic?

The Sinn Fein "Plan For Full Employment By 1986" provides a scientific socialist plan that contrasts sharply with this uneven production. Its central message to Irish capitalism is the same as Joe Sherlock gave to the ICTU: "Let the O'Reillys and Gouldings live with the world they made. Let the Irish working class, without a glance backward, walk over the ruins of Irish capitalism and go forward with the State sector."

Brendan Halligan has a Plan.  
Charlie Haughey has a Plan.  
Richie Ryan is getting one.

But only Sinn Fein has a Plan  
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