

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical and mental well being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

*(1st Dail Eireann)*

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 9. Uimhir 12. 10p. Márta 22, 1978.

# WEAR AN



# EASTER LILY

The **Easter Lily** is the NATIONAL EMBLEM.

The **Easter Lily** represents the NORTH and SOUTH united in an expression of appreciation of the principles for which the men of Easter Week gave up their lives.

The **Easter Lily** is an emblem of Hope and Confidence in the ultimate realisation of every Irishman's dream, "Ireland free from the centre to the Sea."

We appeal to the NATION, and in particular to the young, to

# WEAR AN EASTER LILY



# LÁ CUIMHNEACHÁIN NAISIÚNTA

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 9 Márta 22, 1978. Uimh. 11.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Éirs. Guthain 747611.

## Lynch flaws

THE REMARKS of 18 American politicians, concerning the war in Ireland, are: Amazing? Amusing? What a pity that they could not find time to visit and interview people in the war zone.

The entire statement reeks of Jack Lynch and his agents: "We condemn the violence . . . we just as strongly condemn the violations of human rights by the British . . . deeply concerned . . . individuals, organisations . . . assistance to the enemies of peace in Northern Ireland . . ."

The use of the term "Northern Ireland" in itself is offensive; but it is also a key to understanding what exactly is behind the statement. The fathers of the men who have lent their names to the statement would not have dared to use those two words because the bitterness caused by the sell-out of six of the historic Irish counties was an emotion which had to be taken very seriously in America, particularly by the politicians.

The use of that term today shows how far the men of this silly statement are from the resurgent Irish people but also how close they are to the Fianna Fáil quislings. These U.S. politicians are Fianna Fáil stooges, nothing more, mere blotting paper for Fianna Fáil ink.

But what of the "British failure to end the festering stalemate"? The "festering stalemate" possibly is a euphemism of some kind for the 10-year-old war which the British are incapable of ending militarily or politically because they are unwilling so far to admit military defeat and equally unwilling to take the only political action which would end both the Irish and the British dilemmas: To declare their intention to quit Ireland at all levels.

"British failure to end the festering stalemate": The phrase has a Lynch ring about it, having the advantage of being capable of many interpretations but only one in reality, one which Lynch diplomacy ordains should not be made too clear, such as telling them to get the hell out of somebody else's country, to which they have no right.

"Time and again in recent years movement towards a negotiated solution has been halted by the intransigence of extremist elements in the Protestant community and by British failure so far to end the festering stalemate", the Americans' statement has it.

Why not put the main blame on the British capitalist class interest? On imperialism's interest? On Anglo-American boss-class interest, backed by boss-class Common Market interest? Why not say that the Irish are green (and orange) wogs who must be kept in their place, under WASP managers?

If Americans can agree that it is good and proper that a majority should rule in Zimbabwe (or, "Tip" O'Neill, "Rhodesia", if that makes more sense to you), why should Americans not be willing to apply the same principle to Ireland?

Irish honour and realism, however, go much further than Brits (or Brit-Yanks) in trying to ease former shoneens into their all-Ireland seats, for it is willing to apply the same principle of majority rule to the provinces, within a federal system.

Thus, if Protestants (Unionists, shoneens - your choice) were to decide to vote en bloc for Protestantism in the Ulster provincial election the result would be a Protestant (or otherwise) label. As soon as the Protestants (or whatever) realised that they were not being crowded, that there was no danger to their religious beliefs or civil aspirations or, in general, their identity, that nonsense would come to an end and real politics would take its place.

Don't worry, Jack Lynch is working his way in that direction. So is Garret FitzGerald. Neither of them will adopt the class-struggle element of the Republican doctrine, its socialism, its opting out of the EEC, of capitalism, or its membership of the Third World. No harm for Republicans to get the dialogue going in that direction, now.



AGUS É ag labhairt i seimineár i nGaillimh an teachtáin seo caithe ba € dúirt Cathal Mac Gabhann, Gaeltarra Éireann, nach guideóidh sé le neartú na Gaeilge, nó, fiú, le caomhnú na Gaeilge, cur leis an tionscaláíocht sa nGaeltacht, mura mbeadh an Ghaeilge i

## Déan de réir do sheanmhóra, a Chathail

rém ag an leibhéal réigiúnach agus ag an leibhéal náisiúnta.

D'fheadfadh a mhalairt a tháirt, dar leis, D'fheadfadh an tionscaláíocht úd scrios a dhéanamh ar an nGaeltacht.

Bhí sé ar na cainteoirí a dúirt go raibh gá agus gearghá le struchtúr innheánach (más sin an téarma cur) sa nGaeltacht, mar atá bóithre, gutháin, uisce reatha agus mar sin de.

Aontaíom ar fad leis an gceist seo. Táim geall le bheith cinnte go n-aontaíonn Debbé liom sa mbéid sin, bóidh gur fíor gur ag ithe a chéile atá sinn ar chúrsaí eile.

Is amhlaidh a luíom an chaint sin le réasún. Ach tá rud amháin nach luíom leis an réasún céanna. Deir Cathal Mac Gabhann rud amháin, rud atá fíor, agus cleachtáint sé rud ar fad eile sin eagrais tá faoina chúram, mar atá Gaeltarra.

Dúirt muid cheana sa pháipéar seo nach i an Ghaeilge an teanga is tábhachtaí i nGaeltarra ach

### Cúimhne

an Béarla.

D'fheadfadh Gaeilge bheith lochtach ag duine a d'fhóidh Gaeltarra ach sooth an Bhéarla bheadh a dhíth.

Nach i mBéarla a chuirtear agallamh ar chailíní na Gaeltachta agus iad ag lorg job i nGaeltarra? Céard i teanga Gaeltarra ach an Béarla?

Bréagnaítear sinn, a Chathail, más féidir. Ach ní móide gur féidir.

### Bóthar nua

BLIAIN NÓ dhó ó shin bhí se ina mhana ag Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta go raibh gá le bóthar nua ó Bhearna go Cárna.

Deamhan bréag bhí sa mhana ach an fhírinné ghlán. Tá an bóthar sin a dhíth ar an nGaeltacht thiar i gcónaí agus go dtí go mbeidh sé

Seo an grúpa a bhuigh craobh na Mumhan i Scór 78 i Luimneach, mar Our Lady's Hospital Ballad Group, a bhí ag seasamh do Mhúscarf agus do Chorcaigh. Feictear iad i Múscarf Átha Cliath, Aibreán 22. On gclé: Úna Ní Chearbhaill, Eibhlín Ní Dhuinnín agus Póla Ní Aonghusa, bail ó Dhia ortha.

déanta is fánach bheith ag clamlhsán faoi thionscaláíocht.

Ní thiofaidh aon tionscal ar fiú cac an diabhal é go dtí go mbeidh an bóthar nua leathan bré sin ar fáil. Agus cúrsaí eile lena chois. Séarachaí, a dhúine. Gutháin nó mógaí gutháin ar féidir brath air.

Goide an áit a bhfuil Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta anois? Ceannsaite agus ceannaithe, faraoir. Tá a phraghas féin ag gach éinne.

### Míoriúilt 'Inniu'

IS BEAG nar thit mé as mo sheasamh an lá faoi dheireadh nuair a léas príomhscéal de chuid 'Inniu'.

An "seans deiridh" a bhí ann, dar leis an pháipéar, chun an Gaeltacht a shábháil. Ar éigean a chreid mé an feic. Ní scríobfadh muintir fhaitheach "Inniu" ar an dóigh údai!

(Ar leanúint ar lch. a 3)

## Gaeilge do na cimití

EVEN IN the most shoneen (recte seoinín) dominated areas of our country, under a quisling central and local administration, there can hardly exist an adult who does not know all about the "poor mouth" or "putting the poor mouth" on a story.

As an nGaeilge, ar ndóig, don abairt seo; agus ar na saothair ab fhearr a scríobh Brian Ó Nualláin i gceachtar den dá theanga bhí "An Béal Bocht" (agus sin ag magadh, achán seans, faoi shaothair léannta darbh teideal "An Béal Beo": Ionann "beo" agus "sábhair" sa chás seo, más ionann saibhreas agus eolas).

Ach i "Corra Cainte as Tír Chonail" le Seán Mac Máoláin (3/6 on nGiúm i 1933) is é an béal bán is túisce tá faoi chaibidil, féach: Tá béal bán go leor ag Pádraig (tá plásaíocht go leor aige).

Ach bíonn an béal bocht ag Séamas ar fad (bíonn sé i gcónaí ag gearán nach mbíonn a sháith airgid aige). Tá siad i mbéal na tíre (tá muintir na tíre uilig ag caint ortha). Deirtear fosta go bhfuilid tógtha i mbéal.

Ná bí ag gabháil ar bhéalaibh Dé. Deirtear sin le daoine a ghníós barraíocht mairgní fá bhás duine eile. Ionann "ag gabháil ar bhéalaibh Dé" agus ag cur do thola féin roimh thoil Dé.

Tá siad ag ithe bidh as béal a chéile (is amhlaidh atáid an-mhór le chéile). Thit sé ar a bhéal is ar a shrón (thit sé agus a bhéal faoi). Labhair siad as béal a chéile (labhair siad i gcuideachta a chéile).

Béal gan smíd atá i gConaill - duine fiontach tosach tá ann. Ná bí id bhéal mór leis na peas - ná bí ag labhairt an iomarca leis na póilíní.

-Cearnach

## Ladhar an Chroimpáin agus all that

Because the real words and, therefore, the meaning of an Irish placename are concealed in the anglicised form, it is not always obvious how to pronounce it.

A person with a knowledge of Irish could, of course, without difficulty, say the original Irish form of it; and although most Irish people with very little knowledge of the language would make a fair "stab" at pronouncing the anglicised forms of most Irish placenames, there are names which provide considerable difficulty.

However, if it is remembered that the name is almost invariably made up of two words with "an" or "na" frequently in between, one is more likely to arrive at the correct pronunciation.

Indeed, we are always amused when foreigners - and particularly the British - make a "hash" of an Irish placename. The story is often told of the Englishman who related of his arrival at "Done-lag-hair-ey" or at "Cob-H". (talk about Block-H!)

Further, it is worth remembering that there may be more than two words in a placename (recall Muchanach iúir dhá Sháille) and this is particularly helpful when one comes across a place with a name such as "Levallinree" not merely as a help to understanding it but in pronouncing it.

This name may be broken down into four syllables - Le-wal-in-ree - and we must decide which syllable

or syllables are stressed. And do the above syllables suggest any Irish words?

"Ree" is simple enough, being "rí" (a king); "in" is not so far from "an" (an); "wall" is "bailé" (with the b aspirated, giving us the v sound); and the e at its end is merged with the an.

Le is the hardest part although there is really only one Irish word with such a sound, leath (a half). All of which gives us Leath-bhailé an Rí - the Half Townland of the King!

Did you hear what the American woman said in passing through that nice Limerick village of Oola (ulla): "My! What a strange name, Zero-zero-L-A".

-Lugum

# BUILDING INDUSTRY IN CRISIS

THE BUILDING industry is a reliable guide to the reality in the Irish economic situation. Indications are that this industry is very sick throughout the entire 32 Counties, as news of collapsing firms indicated last week.

A Dublin firm of building contractors, stated to have liabilities of more than £1,500,000, had a provisional liquidator appointed over its affairs by the High Court Dublin, last week.

The firm, Lakeglen Construction, Ltd., Upper Leeson St., at present is developing sites in Co. Dublin as well as in Ballina and Bishopscove, under contract from the National Building Agency.

Mr. Francis Murphy, for the company, said that there were 300 people employed, but the company had little or no money.

Mr. Arthur Finnegan, director, said the weekly wage bill was about £35,000. Most workers had been paid up to March 3. If work on hands was not completed, it was anticipated that the assets would realise about

£280,000.

It was as a result of economic conditions and cash flow problems that the company had been unable to meet its liabilities. Mr. Finnegan explained. These amounted to £1,250,000 last October.

### Belfast firms

On Friday March 3, 350 workers employed by the east Belfast building firm, Thomas McKee and Sons, were told the firm was to close and there were no wages for them.

McKee, involved in public works contracts, recently had received £800,000 on loan from the Northern Ireland Development Agency.

This closure follows closely on the heels of three other Belfast building firms which have experienced difficulty, the most notable

being 75-year-old McCreadies, long thought of as the most stable.

The end product of this is that no schools, hospitals or major road works are being constructed and building firms are involved in a cut-throat battle for a continually decreasing market.

These closures are taking place in the predominantly Loyalist east Belfast, where Harland and Wolff is also threatened by the world slump.

### Only socialism

Unionist workers are becoming increasingly aware that unemployment is not confined to Republican areas.

Unemployment strikes today regardless of politics, colour or creed, within the capitalist economies; only socialism can guarantee jobs for all.



These were some of the workers, members of unions in the van Hool plant, who met in Liberty Hall on March 13. Will the concession of making buses for Irish transport be given to foreigners? There is a sound case for turning over Van Hool to the workers, to be run as a co-operative.

## Assassination attempt in the Creggan

IN THE early hours of Friday morning, March 10, another assassination attempt took place in Derry. A red Cortina, the registration number of which is known and is being investigated, waited for two hours at the top of Creggan's Iniscarn Road.

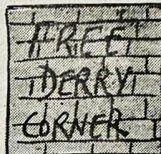
At about 02.30 hours it sped off in the direction of St. Mary's Church. As the car neared a youth, who was walking up Iniscarn Road, a single shot was fired from the vehicle. The aim was poor and the youth escaped.

The car had two men in it, one of them in his forties, the other in his twenties. A full report was made to one of the local information centres. The matter is being investigated.

### Other attacks

This is not the first time such an attack took place in Creggan. On August 10 last year, at the time of Elizabeth's visit, there were three similar attacks on youths walking through the Creggan estate.

In the light of the murder of Colm McNutt in



December, and the recent murder of Paul Duffy by the SAS, the people of Creggan and other Republican areas are advised to be on full alert for such suspicious cars and behaviour and to report such incidents immediately to the nearest Republican information centre, where it will be investigated promptly and fully.

Republican Information Centres: 15 Cable St, Bogside (Telephone, 68926); 224 Lecky Rd., Brandywell (Telephone, 67749); Creggan Shops, Shantallow; Caravan at shops.

### Baby lifted

In Derry last week a baby of 18 months was lifted! This child - no doubt in the Brits' eyes a very

advanced child for her age - was travelling in the van Hool plant, who met in Liberty Hall on March 13. Will the concession of making buses for Irish transport be given to foreigners? There is a sound case for turning over Van Hool to the workers, to be run as a co-operative.

The car was stopped by state gunmen at a checkpoint on the Letterkenny Road. The car, with all its occupants, was escorted back to Derry by heavily-armed Brits in Land-Rovers.

At the home of some of the children, the six older children were released, and the convoy moved off, in full view of many eyewitnesses.

The baby's mother, the taxi-driver, and the other adults were present and the taxi-driver's brother. Plus, of course, this very dangerous suspect, the 18-month-old baby girl.

All disappeared under Crown escort in the direction of Fort George, the Crown's search centre.

### Reported to centre

The worried mother of the other children, seeing this, rushed over to the nearest Republican information centre with a report.

Brits and RUC men looked very foolish indeed in the interval following. The Brits-at-the-Bridge said: "Ring the RUC; they'll know; we know nothing!"

Finally, after other military were contacted, an admission that ONE of the four had been taken to Fort George was obtained.

The others, including the baby?

"We have no record of anyone else having been taken to Fort George!"

### New Crown policy?

Finally, after all four had been released - all four, including the baby, had in fact been taken to Fort George for search and questioning! - we have a few questions.

We can't help wondering if it is new Crown policy that men, women, and in this case, even wans, can be lifted without any record or report of this being kept?

More so, we wonder about the Crown officers. Are they planning the arrest and detention of 18-month-olds in their latest effort to defeat Republicanism?

Or is this age group Mason's new scapegoat?

## KNOW YOUR ÉIRE NUA

THE BRITISH colonial presence in Ireland over the centuries has done incalculable harm to the spirit and wellbeing of the Irish nation. With British withdrawal, the tremendous burden of the remnants of their domination will rest heavily on the shoulders of the Irish people.

The Republican Movement believes that the most realistic and effective way of dealing with this complicated burden is to build a new Ireland of four provincial federal units based on self-governing communities.

Needless to say, this programme of national reconstruction cannot be imposed on the people of this island. We must attract the Irish people to our solution and convince them that a "four-province federal Ireland" offers them security and opportunity and peace and justice for all.

It is the people of Ulster who daily suffer the consequences of the imposed British strategy.

Therefore, it is of utmost concern that they understand clearly the inherent strength and viability of the Éire Nua solution.

We outline below (with acknowledgements to Freeman, "An Phoblacht" Éanair 9, 1976), exactly what Sinn Féin offers to the people of Ulster in the new Ireland.

### Our aim

An Ulster of self-governing communities in which the people control their own affairs: their own employment, their own natural resources, their own schools and police services, their own wages and prices, their own housing and environment. An Ulster which Ulster men and women can call their own and in which they can take pride.

### Our means

In Belfast and in each of the nine counties: DISTRICT COUNCILS for every 10-40,000 people - according to population density. Representation for COMMUNITY COUNCILS on the District Councils. The District Offices to deal with Social Welfare, Primary Education, Trading Practices, Employment Conditions, Job Opportunities, Agriculture, Fishing, Small Industry, Co-operative Enterprise, Housing, Lands and Planning Permission.

The Districts to be grouped under FOUR REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS and an ULSTER PARLIAMENT (with no obligation

## Government of Ulster by the people of Ulster

to power-sharing); and this Parliament linked federally with similar Parliaments in Leinster, Connacht, and Munster. A POLICE SERVICE controlled by and responsible to the District Councils. AN ALL-IRELAND FEDERAL PARLIAMENT in Athlone, which will deal with matters as defence, Foreign Affairs and National Finance.

Banks under public ownership. Mineral Resources exploited by an Ulster state agency.

An All-Ireland Constitution negotiated by the four provincial parliaments. A statute of Basic citizens' rights.

## le Crístin Ní Éilias

12th OF MAY POSTER PUBLICATIONS  
FREEDOM POSTERS  
GIANT SIZE POSTER OF  
CHE GUEVARA 30 x 40  
from The Cuban Original  
£1.00 U.S.A. & Europe 3 dollars.  
GUEVARA BADGES 39p or 1 dollar  
on coloured background.  
BY POST ONLY TO C. DILLON  
35 YORK ROAD, RATHMINES  
DUBLIN 6.

### EASTER RISING 1916 POSTERS

Full size posters from original prints  
JAMES CONNOLLY  
18% x 25% Gloss Texture

P.H. PEARSE  
18% x 25% Borderless Silk Texture

## An seans deiridh

(Ar leanúint ó lech. a 2)

Ach, ar ndóig, ní foireann "Inniu" a scríobh an cuntas ach Mac Aodh Bhui sa Ghaeltacht thuaidh, bail ó Dhia air. Bullaí fir. Is é an t-iontas é gur thug muintir "Inniu" an spás dó agus nár rime sí a chuid cainte a thuairillí le peann na cinsireacha.

Udarás na Gaeltachta bhí idir camáin agus Fionntán. B'fhor dó. Seo an Ghaeilge i réim ag leibhéal an réigiúin. Muna ndéantar an tUdarás a bhunú ar bhonn an daonlathais gan teip tá deireadh leis an gclúiche ach ab é míorúilt Dé.

Chan thuil na míorúiltí chomh fairsing agus a bhíodh.

CAITHEAR Ciarán Ó Feinneadha a mhóladh as Seachtán na Gaeilge i mBalle Átha Cliath. Is beag nár mharaigh sé é féin. Bhí toradh ar an obair. Chuir sé (agus coiste na cathrach de chuid Chonradh na Gaeilge ag cuidiú le go tréan) ócáidí taibneamhacha ar fáil do phobal na Gaeilge agus do phobal na leathGhaeilge.

Mar sin féin, mar a rhuabhrugh an tAthair Colmán Ó hUallacháin, B.B., dúinn ar na mallabhair, ar Raidió na Gaeltachta, ní hiad na hócáidí taibneamhacha Gaeltacha a chuirfeas an teanga ó chiontúirt. Ní ar an amháin a mhairneann na fir!

Ní lochtaíom Ciarán. Fuair sé job agus rime sé go héifeachtach é. Ach ní taibneamh agus pleistúir a réiteós cúrsaí ach cogadh.

Romham i lathair na huairé tó tuairisc i nuachtán a deir go mbeidh RTE-2 le feiceáil againn mí an Mheithimh seo CHUGAINN.

RTE-2 an Bhearla a bheas ann. Sin an plean. BBC i mbreagóicht agus corr-rud as Meiriceá chun an blas searbh a bhaint de bhéal, mar a déarfá.

Sin mar a bheas mura gcuireann muid cogadh mór

ach Jack Lynch agus a mhuintir, ar Mhontrós agus eile, láithreach a bonn. Caithefar gach dá bhfuil ar fáil againn a chaitheamh leo. Gach brú a úsáid.

Ná déantar dearmad faoi seo, nach bhfuil aon mheas ar theanga nach droideamh go dtí go bhfágáinn sí a cearta. Eire atá uainne, gach orlach di, ón spéir go dtí an tharraige.

# Sinn Féin float steal headlines for H-Block

WHY THE official opposition in the 26 Counties to publicising the horrors of H-Block, Long Kesh Concentration Camp, and Crown torture in general in the Six Counties? That official opposition was obvious in the centre of Dublin city on St. Patrick's Day.

Firstly, a Sinn Féin body, McNulty-Cannon Cumann, had to take ingenious precautions, disguising their float for what it was, in order to take part in the parade. It appeared to be the Wee Folk Play Group until it got close to the stand when, with a quick change, it became a H-Block cell in Long Kesh.

That was necessary because if the float had appeared in its final form at the start it would not have been allowed to participate.

Why not? The Leinster House administration successfully prosecuted the Crown in Strasbourg and everyone in

## Le Dara Mac Dara

Leinster House knows that torture is continuing in north-eastern Ireland.

Everyone in Leinster House also knows that 80 per cent. of those "on the blanket" in Long Kesh Concentration Camp are there not because they have been proven guilty of some offence by the normal processes of law but because they have been tortured to produce confessions.

These confessions are the only "evidence" for their conviction by special judges in special courts administering special law.

The opposition to telling the truth about Crown torture and H-Block in the centre of Dublin on St. Patrick's Day

The float was unveiled in front of the V.I.P.s in the reviewing stand outside the G.P.O. and caused embarrassment, as it was preceded by the joint Catholic-Protestant-Friendship Band from Northern Ireland, and followed by the Garda Band.

● Embarrassment? "Herald" exposes the guilty conscience of quislings...

by the Leinster House authorities and their lackies would suggest that those same Leinster House authorities are part of a conspiracy to keep the truth about torture and H-Block from the Irish people and the world.

Seldom has this conspiracy been so clear for all who wish to see to understand. Seldom has Leinster House guilt been so evident.

About a year ago they were painting out the slogan: Brits out, peace in. They were down on their knees to the Brits to remain.

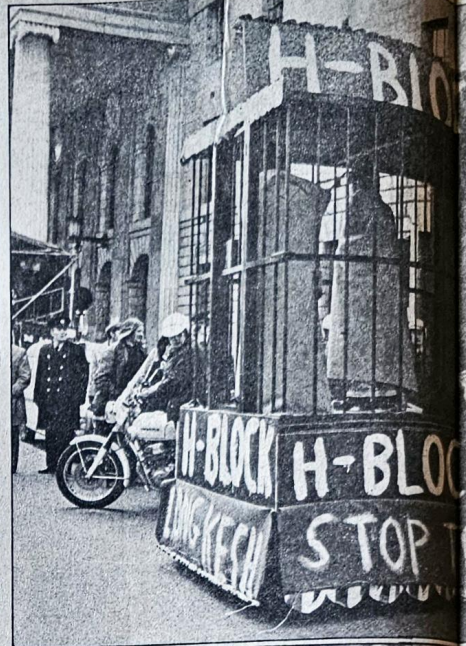
Now, everyone is saying "Brits out" and "on to a federal government for a united Ireland" because the Sinn Féin campaign succeeded; because that is what the people want; and because the politicians know they have to give the people what they want — or pretend to give them what they want — or face considerable unrest and, perhaps, worse.

### Sinn Féin success

In less than six months from now, those same guilty conspirators, the quislings of Leinster House, will be calling for an end to torture in the Six Counties; they will be demanding that the H-Block prisoners be released, and they will be pressing the Crown for an announcement of a withdrawal date.

They will be doing these things because of Sinn Féin's political successes, because Sinn Féin will have convinced the people, and because the people will be pushing the politicians very very hard, indeed.

Consider, for a moment, however, the peculiar mentalities of James Morrissey and Kerry McCarthy who wrote this first paragraph to their account of the H-Block float episode in the "Evening Herald" of St. Patrick's Day: "A Provisional I.R.A. float



disguised as a Wombles exhibit in the Dublin St. Patrick's Day parade today was dragged away by gardai."

On what evidence was this float thought to have been the property of the Irish Republican Army? Talk about leaping to conclusions! That was a veritable stampede in search of the most sensational conclusion possible in the circumstances.

The allegation has been splendidly done and a political coup. It made very clear the shameful collaboration of Leinster House with Crown torture; it showed how guilty the Leinster House authorities feel about all this; it proved their fear that the truth of Crown brutality will get out, resulting in such an outcry here and abroad that it will be brought to an end.

Congratulations to the McNulty-Cannon Cumann for an imaginative and skillful operation which hardly could have been done better by professional publicists with

(Ar leanúint ar lch. a 5)



## Cluskey: A question of sour grapes

MUCH OF the bitterness expressed by the Labour Party leader, aroused on radio and elsewhere, may just be a simple matter of sour grapes. Cluskey's irritation at not having been interviewed for TV programmes commanding peak audiences, the President of Sinn Féin, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh suggested in a statement prepared on March 16.

Due to telecommunication's difficulties the statement was not made available to the media until March 18.

Here is the statement in full:

"Contrary to Mr. Cluskey's accusation in Leinster House yesterday, I am not a 'god-father of violence'. Neither am I a 'spokesman for a para-military group', as was implied by an RTE reporter when introducing an interview with Mr. O'Kennedy on the 'News at One-Thirty' on RTE radio today.

"I was interviewed on the Thames Television 'This Week' programme on March 9, as President of Sinn Féin. I did not know that Mr. Andy Tyrre of the U.D.A. also was being interviewed on the programme. If I had known it would have made no difference to me.

"Incidentally, leading UDA members and spokesmen were entertained by T.D.s in Leinster House in late 1974, that is, following Loyalist bombing in 'Dublin' and Monaghan, which killed 33 people in May of that year. They also were introduced to the then Taoiseach, Mr. Cosgrave, on the same occasion.

"During the 'This Week' interview I was questioned regarding the possibility, which I regard as inevitable, of British withdrawal from Ireland.

"Also, I was asked about Sinn Féin's proposals, enunciated first in 1971, for a new federal Ireland of the four provinces with devolution of power to local communities, and Mr. Lynch's, Dr. FitzGerald's and Mr. Hume's ideas on a federation of the old Stormont and Leinster House, of the present Six Counties and 26 Counties states.

"Perhaps Mr. Cluskey was piqued because he was not interviewed himself? If the

Labour Party have not produced proposals and policies on this subject since 1971, they should refrain from attempting to censor and stifle those who have.

"Does the Labour Party contaminate itself by sitting on more than 20 local bodies with Sinn Féin councillors?"

"To be specific, what about Galway Co. Council, where one Labour councillor sits down with two Sinn Féin representatives?"

"Sinn Féin is the only organisation with elected representatives to be banned from RTE. Now Mr. Cluskey wants the ban extended to the BBC and ITV.

"Censorship and suppression of political ideas and opinions are no substitute for concrete proposals and policies," the statement concludes.

## Amnesty pleads with doctors on torture

Doctors supporting Amnesty International have written to 17 fellow-doctors or psychiatrists in Chile, South Africa, Soviet Union and other countries over their alleged collaboration in the torture of political prisoners.

An international medical seminar organised in Athens by the London-based civil rights group condemned torture as a "traumatic disease" and called on the

United Nations to set up a special fund to guarantee free medical treatment for victims.

● Note that doctors are collaborating in RUC torture in Castlereagh and other centres without one public complaint to the Irish Medical Association, the British Medical Association or other bodies by doctors in these islands. Do they need a nudge from Amnesty?





# RUC homosexual attacks in Castlereagh

A NEW element - homosexuality at its most violent - has been introduced by RUC torturers to the Castle-reagh interrogation centre, according to statements received by the Association for Legal Justice from prisoners recently arrested, tortured and released without charge.

Another disturbing element in these torture sessions is collaboration by doctors who examine victims and, apparently, pronounce them fit for further suffering.

Last week's "Republican News" published statements illustrating this new, horrifying dimension to torture by a force which has the approval of Gerry Fitt and his SDLP.

According to the ALJ statement, the torture consists of beatings, punches and slappings, squeezing of genitals and attempts to force victims to collaborate in homosexuality.

The statements have been signed, witnessed and forwarded to the Amnesty International team which visited

Belfast recently; to the Leinster House regime; and to Cardinal-elect Tomás Ó Fiaich.

"It is the Association's considered view that such continued ill-treatment of arrested persons not only constitutes a flagrant breach of the European Convention, but is in addition, a major cause of upset and resentment in the community at large," the ALJ said.

Rev. Denis Faul, Dunganen, said last week he was sending to Amnesty international in London a full report of a number of complaints received from relatives of men arrested in Belfast and in the Coalisland area, describing brutality by detectives in Castlereagh, Belfast and Gough Barracks, Armagh, respectively.

Father Faul said two Coalisland men had entered formal complaints alleging torture on February 26-28.

They had complained to their relatives that they had been beaten in the stomach and slapped about the head.

One said his face had been used to strike him in or about the stomach.

The other made a further allegation that after his doctor had seen him on Monday evening, he had been aroused early on Tuesday morning, the day he was to appear in court.

He was beaten about the stomach and the back and now had great pain in his back.

A third man appeared in court with a black eye, and another reported bruising at the back of his neck.

Father Faul said these actions, if true, were contrary to the law of the land and the European Convention for Human Rights, Article three.

## Cáisc, 78

An Lurgain: Assemble Easter Sunday, at the following places and times - **Derry-macadee**: Ballinamoney Collages, 11.30 house, to St. Patrick's Cemetery; **Maghera**, cemetery, noon; **Portadown**, Drumcree Cemetery, 13.00 hours; **An Lurgain**, Francis Street, 14.00 hours, to St. Coleman's Cemetery.

**Ard Mhacha**: Assemble Moy Road, Banbrook Hill, 11.30 hours, Easter Sunday, to parade to St. Patrick's Cemetery.

**Baile Átha Cliath**: Assemble at 11.00 hours Easter Sunday at University College Church, St. Stephen's Green, to march to Glasnevin Cemetery at 11.30 hours.

**Béal Feirste**: Assemble at Clonard Street, Easter Sunday at 13.00 hours to march at 13.30 hours to Milltown Cemetery (note change from traditional assembly point).

**Dún Dealgan**: Assemble Easter Sunday at 15.00 hours at Market Square, to march to St. Patrick's Cemetery.

**Dun Laoghaire**: Assemble at 11.00 hours Easter Monday at Baker's Corner to march to Dean's Grange Cemetery.

**Luinmeach**: Assemble Easter Sunday at Bedford Row at 13.00 hours to march to Mount St. Lawrence Cemetery, where the oration will be delivered by John Joe McGill, Sinn Féin ardhombhairle.

**Londain**: Assemble at 14.00 hours Easter Sunday at Birchington Road (opposite Kilburn Square, Kilburn High Road).

**Tír Eoghain**: Assemble on Easter Sunday at the following places and times, **Mo**, 09.45 hours; **Edenderk**, 10.30 hours; **Eglis**, noon; **Coalisland** noon, **Clonee**, 12.15 hours; **Carraig Mhór**, 15.00 hours.

hurting anyone or causing any disturbance and without breaking any law.

After those few words of praise they were told they could leave and did.

**Key to pictures:** Top of page, the quick-change float being pulled out of the parade and into Moore Street, to protests from the crowd who pleaded that the float be permitted to continue in the parade.

Following two pictures show two of the blanket men who appeared suddenly out of the crowd, to be led away by Gardaí Barry Fitzpatrick of Bray and Sean Ó Gallachóir, Ballymun, Dublin.

Below, left: A British flag is burnt almost opposite the GPO stand just before the military, leading the parade, come into view. **Pádraig Ó Tiarnáin** was fined and bound to the peace as a result.

## As lár an chogaidh

FROM THE WAR ZONE

AT LEAST one foreign soldier, said to be a SAS member, was shot dead last week but Crown casualties were believed to have been much higher because of an ambush a few days earlier, when one enemy vehicle was put out of action. The Crown is making every effort to dislodge casualties only when there is no option for consideration of morale, known to be very low.

Here are the details of operations during the week covered:

### FRIDAY, MAR. 10

**Kilreare:** The New Point Inn was damaged when two incendiary devices exploded.

**Lambe:** A shot was fired at a Crown force (RUC) patrol on Moss Road.

### SATURDAY, MAR. 11

**Benburb:** The Crown forces (RUC) barracks came under rifle attack.

**Ballymoney:** A furniture store in Drumadown Road was damaged when a fire-bomb exploded.

### SUNDAY, MAR. 12

**Derry:** A Crown forces (military) mobile patrol was ambushed at Heater Road, near Killea, by an ASU, using an M-60 machine gun and semi-automatic rifles.

According to a statement from the West-Ulster Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, more than 500 rounds were fired, putting one vehicle out of action. The volume of fire would indicate many casualties, the statement added.

### TUESDAY, MAR. 14

**Cloughmills:** The Co-op store in Drumadown Road was damaged when a fire-bomb exploded. Ten minutes

later another device exploded in the adjoining Spar supermarket, causing extensive damage.

### THURSDAY, MAR. 17

**Belfast:** Two men were shot and seriously injured by a Crown forces (SAS) undercover murder squad. Many eye witnesses reported that both men had been unarmed and that shots had been fired into them as they lay on the ground injured. Crown forces gave a number of conflicting accounts of the attempted murders.

A booby-trap bomb, hidden at a spot used by Crown forces (military) as a check-point at Hannastown, was discovered and defused by enemy forces.

**Maghera:** One member of the Crown forces, reported locally to be SAS, was shot dead and another seriously injured. A man later was taken to hospital with gunshot wounds.

## Beannachtáí

Easter Greetings to Paddy Shanahan in Portlaoise Prison and to all his comrades from Paddy's Loving Wife, Lil and Family.

Happy Easter to our brother, Paddy Shanahan, from your sisters, Margaret, Julia and Family.

### Monaghan Sinn Féin

Hope Arms Hotel, Castleblaney  
Easter Sunday Night and in  
Four Seasons Hotel Monaghan

on Friday March 31  
Dancing: 22.00 - 01.30  
Supper and Bar Extension

## Work now to make sure of winning the peace

FOR MANY years, the Republican Movement has been fully aware of the urgent necessity to inform the people of Ireland of the policies of the Republican Movement and our programming for the new Ireland. As a result, the education programme of Sinn Féin has been intensified considerably.

Over the last three weeks, internal and public seminars and lectures have been organised by our comhairleachtair in Belfast, north Dublin, Down, Wexford, Waterford, Derry and south Dublin. Arrangements are being made to hold similar educational sessions in Leitrim, west Tyrone and Donegal.

Speakers taking part in these seminars included: Desmond Fennel on "A Community of Communities: Federal Structures"; Aindrias Ó Ceallaigh on "Socialism and Republicanism"; Fra Browne on "Local Involvement"; Niall Ó Faodhagáin on "Improving Sinn Féin Organisation in Your Area"; Crístin Ní Éilias on "The Éire Nua Solution".

Risteárd Behal on "The Relevance of the Outside World to the Irish Struggle"; and Nollag Ó Gadhra on "The E.E.C. Elections: What Can We Do?"

### Most realistic

We believe that the policies of Éire Nua and the proposed structures of the four-province federal Ireland represent the most realistic solution to the Irish dilemma and we are confident that the Irish people will understand the value of our ideas.

The Republican Movement has the means to win the war but it must be made abundantly clear to all our people that we also have the means to win the peace.

## Sinn Féin float steal headlines

(Ar leanúint ó lch. 4)

thousands of pounds at their disposal.

Listen to the people's comments. They loved it. People protested strongly at the Sinn Féin float have been taken out of the parade. No wonder the Leinster House crowd is worried.

The McNulty-Cannon Cumann planned the float coup a year ago. A few weeks ago, to divert suspicion, the Cumann made it known in Sinn Féin circles that no stunt was being planned for the St. Patrick's Day parade.

It was then that individuals from other Sinn Féin cumainn decided to try to publicise the torture conditions of the prisoners of war in H-Block by appearing clad only in blankets.

The driver of the horse-pulled Sinn Féin float was **Paid Fanning** (a train driver), accompanied by his children, **Fiona** and **Faolain**, who masqueraded as Wombles.

The men "on the blanket" inside the cage were **John MacDonnell** and **Alan Crowe**.

All were taken to Store Street Garda Station where no charges were made.

Indeed, a Garda officer told them that they had made their point well, without

## Historic posters

INSIDE, G.P.O. 1916

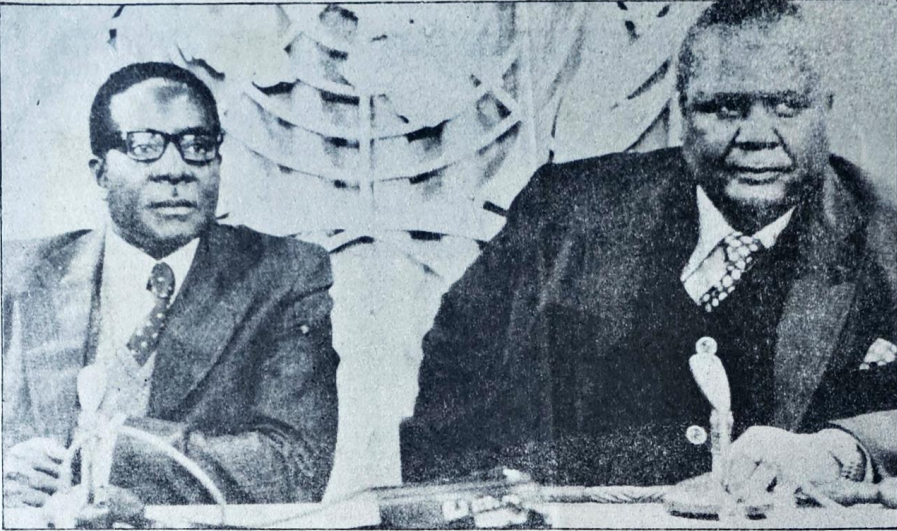
Featuring Connolly, Pearse, Clarke, and other 1916 leaders. 20 x 30 Matt Texture. A beautiful and historically valuable poster. All posters £1.00 each, U.S.A. & Europe 3 dollars. Post Paid, by post only to 12th of May poster Publications, to C. Dillon, 35 York Road, Rathmines, Dublin 6.

## U.N. rejects Smith pact

The Zimbabwe freedom fighters' leaders, Robert Mugabe (left), and Joshua Nkomo, attended a vital session of the United Nations Security Council on March 8 and predicted that Britain would seek international recognition for Smith's black puppets. It has not come to that ... yet.

The U.N. Security Council stated on March 15 that any "internal settlement" Ian Smith reached would be "illegal and unacceptable". The U.S.A. and Britain have rejected this ruling, to continue their quest for a compromise and so preserve capitalism in that country.

The Council last Tuesday ended five days of debate by voting 10—nil, with five abstentions, for a Third World resolution that was a far cry from the outright rejection or strong condemnation of the Smith regime that Black African states had sought.



# Bloodbath on withdrawal?

*Most unlikely, says  
Rev. Desmond Wilson*

ONE OF the arguments for keeping the British army in north eastern Ireland is that there would be a bloodbath if it were to leave.

No one has yet made an analysis of the situation which would justify such an argument.

On the other hand, if we trace the argument, we find that it came not from an analysis but from a simple declaration by the London government that a bloodbath would in fact take place if the troops were

withdrawn.

This declaration was accepted and repealed, without analysis, by politicians, academics, churchmen and others.

Eventually, it became a principle upon which a case was built up for keeping the

troops there, against all the evidence that the presence of the soldiers was not contributing to peace but impeding it.

**Moral duty**

The British Government often said that it has a moral duty to maintain the troops

in Ireland as a protection for one of both parts of a divided community, to uphold law and order and to uphold established government.

But the moral duty of the government is to do whatever will contribute to peace, not to uphold a particular form of law and order, or to continue holding a ring between two sides.

There may come a time when the military presence in a divided community will impede the establishment of order, keep two sides apart and make stable government less and less likely.

If this should be so, the duty of government is to do what contributes to peace, even if this means abandoning the tactics which it has used so far.

It may be the moral duty of the British government, for the sake of peace, and to prevent a bloodbath, to withdraw troops.

**Ancient pretence**

The pacification of the natives through the presence of a civilising army is one of the oldest pretences of government.

We tend to assume that with the disappearance of empires and colonies, governments do not say such things any more, but they do.

When it is said about the natives of north-eastern Ireland, that they need strong military control in order to prevent them killing each other, the argument must be seen for what it is.

It is a tactic of government control, not a moral response to a real need.

Anyone who says this must answer a number of questions.



"Are you capable of using unnecessary violence when required?"

He must, for example, prove that the bloodbath idea has come from the mouths of Whitehall rather than from the minds of Irish people.

When that is done, the bloodbath argument loses much of its force.

He must also answer the question, if a bloodbath is not necessarily going to follow a British army withdrawal, what is?

Here there is need for a rational analysis such as we have not had; up to the present, the bloodbath declaration always stopped people in their tracks and further discussion was impossible.

If the troops are withdrawn, people will see to their own law and order.

There is a deep longing in people's minds for security.

**Bad law**

It is wrong to say that armed citizens are against law — they are against what they see as bad law.

The police, deprived of the brute force of the military, will have to treat with the citizens for the first time, to try to co-operate with and protect them instead of dominating them.

This will bring the police to their true position in society. The police must please the people.

This does not mean that they allow people to get away with crime — it does mean that they must be seen as a protection, not a threat, for all the citizens.

No amount of fresh, new policemen will bring about this change of attitude.

But if policemen learn they can get promotion by

being honest, just, law-abiding and non-violent, they will be honest, just, law-abiding and non-violent.

That is not how promotion goes at present, as Roy Mason publicly counts the numbers arrested, put in prison, killed.

The argument that if we remove the troops we leave the country open to the "men of violence" is a false argument based upon the premise that the natives are inescapably violent and unable to make compromises with each other.

People ask, if the British army were withdrawn what would we do for an army?

The only answer a pacifist can give is: Don't have an army, demilitarise the north of Ireland.

If ever a place needed it, and deserved it after all these years of war, Northern Ireland does.

**Demilitarise it**

It would be an example to Europe that demilitarisation is possible and useful.

As I write this article a spotter plane is roaring overhead.

I am convinced that it is there, as the daily and often nightly flight of helicopters is there, not only to gather information, but to frighten the people, to show them who is boss.

I am interested when I read that exactly the same thing happens in black areas of America, and in other countries.

As I see it now, after all these years, we have had enough of it.

(Reproduced from "Dawn" magazine.)

## POSTMHÁLA • POSTBAG • POSTMHÁLA

WHO IS this man trying to fool? Since he arrived at Stormont Castle so many months ago he has spent his time making sure that the world knows his version of how the situation here is developing.

This version the greatest of all "daggers" aimed at the heart of British imperialism, the Republican Movement, is on the run; the people are "disgusted with the violence" and are turning to the "security forces" to protect them from the "mad Provos" and the "godfathers of terrorism".

Yet, while he sits on his well cushioned seat (he needs it, to see over the table) the "violence" has increased by leaps and bounds, not decreased; the economy of the Six Counties is slowly but inexorably going to the wall; and the people of the Six Counties continue to give aid and succour to the Republican Movement's political and military struggle against the British establishment, a fact amply demonstrated by the recent support at H—Block rallies.

The people of the Six Counties (and this includes all of the people) are sick, sore and tired of listening to Mason's blatant lies and his

# WHO IS MASON TRYING TO FOOL?

specialy concocted statistics.

They want peace and justice. Not the "peace" and so-called justice of the old Stormont system which the Unionists demand and which the Brits are slowly coming around to acceding to, nor the so-called peace and justice which Brit politicians want to enforce with the rifle butts of the British army.

The people of this part of Ireland are demanding in ever increasing numbers a peace and justice which will bring exactly that, peace and justice.

How can it be achieved? There is only one way and that way has already been long and dangerous.

We must establish in Ireland an economic system which allows all the Irish people and not a tiny five per cent. of the population to profit from the wealth produced by their labour

To complement this system we need political structures which place the power of decision-making in the hands of the people where it has never been and not in the hands of a small, rich, established clique, where it has always been.

That economic and political system (of which Eire Nua gives a sample) can be brought about only when the system of illegal partition has been disposed of and when the Brits have, like the snakes in the legend of St. Patrick, thrown back into the sea from whence, they crawled.

He says the RA is beaten, that its final day has come. He claims they've it defeated, that the IRA is done.

Roy Mason sits in Stormont

his advisors by his side boasting of his successes while the war goes on outside.

—An Fear Bag  
Cage 12, Long Kesh, Concentration Camp.

## CLASS STRUGGLE

THE FUTILITY of making a God out of Karl Marx (or of Mao Tseung or anyone else) has been suggested in other articles in this series, it having been pointed out that Marx's ideas were not original.

It was pointed out also that Marx borrowed from Ricardo who, in turn, borrowed from Adam Smith (1723-1790) in "The Wealth of Nations". And Smith was no socialist.

Nevertheless he writes (chapter five): "The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use it or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labour which it enables him to purchase or command. Labour, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of commodities".

He adds, later: "Labour was the first price, the original purchase money, that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased; and its value, to those who possess it, and who want to exchange it for some new productions, is precisely equal to the quantity of labour which it can enable them to purchase or command".

And again: "Labour, therefore, it appears evidently, is the only universal, as well as the only accurate measure of value, or the only standard by which we can compare the values of different commodities at all times, and at all places".

Man is the only creature who can create a surplus of wealth by his efforts over and above what he needs to sustain himself.

It is this surplus which creates the possibility of exploitation, on the one hand, or a progressively pleasant standard of living, on the other, depending on whether the system is capitalist or socialist.

This matter of surplus labour, of man's right to better himself by the riches involved, or the alleged rights of others to rob him of the fruits of his labour, goes back hundreds of years, well before Karl Marx.

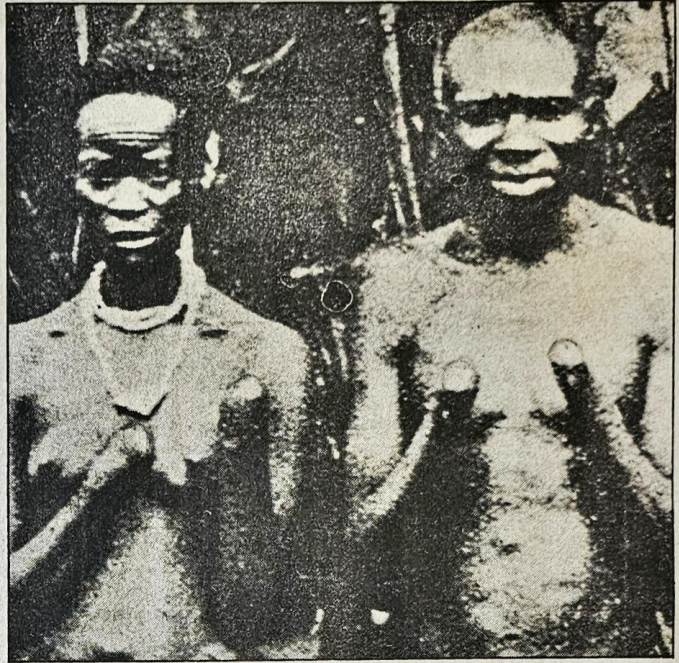
## From Adam Smith to James Connolly

The worst human condition is when man is a slave, a unit of production to be used to enrich his exploiters.

Man obviously was a slave in the rubber plantations of the Congo, the conditions of

## Le Deasún Breatnach

which were exposed by Roger Casement, and when workers were mutilated for not working hard enough for the Anglo-Belgian stock companies.



This picture, reproduced from "Socialist Worker" (March 4), was taken in the Congo. The men pictured were workers in a rubber plantation.

The bosses had their hands cut off because they were not working hard enough. The bosses were representatives of British and Belgian businessmen. Ireland's Roger Casement helped to expose these barbarities.

"Socialist Worker" points out that a few weeks ago the British Tory leader Margaret Thatcher spoke in glowing terms "of the British character and the good old days when Britannia ruled the waves". Cutting off of workers' hands was part of those "good old days".

strike, also envisaged political action from a more orthodox political source, the Irish Labour Party, which was founded by James Connolly in Thuries.

Connolly was, however, the complete revolutionary and the 1913 general strike convinced him of the need for the workers to be armed and armoured. That was why he formed the Citizens' Army.

### IRB member

From about the age of 15 Connolly was taken into the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood by his uncle in Scotland. On coming to Ireland the first thing he did was to make contact with the IRB.

There was never any conflict between him and the IRB and in 1916 he was one of the IRB leaders who saw to it that a revolt would take place.

Connolly saw the need to ally his socialist comrades with Irish nationalist and conservative elements on the basis that the national question must be solved before the social one. (Leannar de)

## Le Maire Comerford

THIS is a postscript to my review of Kevin Boland's book, "Up Dev".

It is not to be wondered if young Kevin Boland, entering politics under the leadership of De Valera, took as serious a view of the pledge on partition by Fianna Fáil as people older than he took of the Oath to the Republic.

This is the party pledge since 1926: "I... hereby undertake that if elected, I will support the Fianna Fáil (Republican Party) in every action it takes to secure the independence of a United Ireland under a Republican form of government and, in accordance with its constitution, I will not take any position involving an oath of allegiance to a foreign power, and I further undertake that if called upon by a two-thirds majority of the national executive of Fianna Fáil to resign I shall immediately do so".

### Infalible leader

Kevin thought De Valera was the perfect leader and the spokesman who made no mistakes.

Kevin Boland was a secretary of Fianna Fáil and member of the government during their years when coercion, internment, even executions, were used in the Twenty-Six Counties in order to cut off support and comfort for the three quarters of a million people held in slavery under British power through the medium of the Stormont regime.

"Up Dev!" is Kevin Boland's exposure of the Fianna Fáil policy for ending the partition of Ireland.

## Postscript to a review

This policy did not vary much between the parties for about 40 years, from 1932 to the early 70s. De Valera and the policy had Boland's allegiance until 1970. Disgraceful neglect of duty by virtually all leading Dublin politicians - but particularly of course from those of Fianna Fáil, from de Valera to Lynch - cost many thousands of lives, as well as countless loss of population in the north-east, where unemployment is still running at the level dictated by British policy, constant over the years.

### Reasons for book

Kevin Boland defines the purpose he had in writing this best-seller thus:

A. "To set down the reason why we believe that a firm declaration by the British government, of its intention to withdraw completely from Ireland... is the essential requisite to provide for permanent peace in Ireland..."

B. "To remind the Irish people... that it is the settled policy of the three established political parties in the Twenty-Six Counties and of the SDLP, to induce the British to stay."

C. "To proclaim that it is a matter of the greatest national urgency that the Irish people, at home and abroad, find a way to put forward the national claim,

which has been reneged by the professional politicians."

### Democratic claim

He goes on to show that the Irish claim is just and democratic: "It is necessary to establish that the claim for basic integrity (which need not necessarily mean a single set of political institutions) and for the independence of Ireland is just and democratic."

Between the time of acquiring this book and that of reading it something appears to have happened to the fact stated in paragraph B.

I leave it to readers to make their own decisions and in that light decide whether Boland's "bomb" may have helped to produce a change of attitude by Fianna Fáil and which was conveyed to the public by Lynch via Radio Éireann recently.

### Pact broken

It will be recalled that FitzGerald and McCluskey agree, on behalf of Fine Gael and Labour, that Lynch, in that interview, broke the all-party agreement on Border and related matters.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, Airey Neave, and all the Unionist factions, from West to Paisley, joined in the repercussions. The most interesting reaction of all was when Callaghan and company were rendered speechless in the London Commons.

Man was still a slave, though not so obviously so, when exploited by William Martin Murphy and his fellow employers at the beginning of this century in Ireland, working very long hours, living in terrible conditions, barely existing on a minimum wage, while the bosses grew fat on the surplus labour and the robbed, surplus wages.

But, in fact, man remains a slave as long as he is not enabled to avail himself to the full of one hundred per cent of his labour. The only time he can hope so to enjoy to the full the produce of his labour is when he is in control of the society in which he lives.

That is where politics and economics meet.

In another edition we told how a man in charge of a Dublin political bookshop pointed out to us that James Connolly was not considered by his party to be a Marxist, correctly so, in our view. We would regard him as a syndicalist.

This political system is described as a movement to secure ownership of industry by the workers through direct action" (i.e. strikes and, in particular, the general strike).

### Georges Sorel

The syndicalists, we are told, would establish an administration based upon the control exercised by the workers in an industry. Possibly the most important syndicalist theorist was Georges Sorel (1847-1923), who published his "Reflections on Violence" in 1908.

Connolly was influenced by Sorel and other French thinkers but, perhaps, more by British and American syndicalists. Both he and Larkin were particularly influenced by the American organisation, the Industrial Workers of the World, also known as the Wobblies, established in 1905.

The idea was to organise all the workers within one

great trade union founded on the class struggle. The IWW aroused considerable and violent boss reaction and was suppressed in 1918 but not before Connolly had founded the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union on exactly the same basis, aided by Jim Larkin (the Workers' Union of Ireland of like structure was formed by Larkin on his return from America and when he was excluded by the hierarchy of the ITGWU).

Syndicalism was put down in a bloody way in America. It declined in France and Britain. Some of its principles were distorted by Mussolini in the formation of the fascist trade union movement, the effect of which was to put the workers in chains.

The Italian system was used as a model for enchaining the Iberian workers until very recently, when the power of the *sindicatos* was smashed by an alliance of Catholic Action (Acción Católica) and the Communist (Moscow aligned) Party (Partido Comunista).

### Spanish revival

Genuine syndicalism, however, remained a powerful force in the Iberian peninsula right up to the end of the Spanish Civil War, in April, 1939, and now is beginning to emerge again under socialist leadership.

Syndicalism in Ireland, I believe it is fair to say, died with Connolly, the Irish labour (movement becoming a carbon copy of British reformism, until the Republican Movement revived some of its elements about eight years ago ("about eight years ago" because Republicans were discussing the theories for some time before the Éire Nua documents were published).

Sinn Féin, in Connolly's time, was a conservative party which would encourage the growth of a native Irish capitalist class.

Connolly and Larkin, in founding the ITGWU, and in seeking to take control of the country by industrial action, particularly by the general



Seamus Ó Conghaile



Pádraic Mac Piarais

# ROLL OF HONOUR

## Óglaigh na h-Éireann

### CO. ANTRIM

- Gerard McAuley Fian 1969
- Liam McParland 1969
- Peter Blake 1970
- Liam McGoldrick 1970
- Michael Kane 1970
- Henry McIlhone 1970
- Tony Henderson 1971
- Terence McDermot 1971
- Martin Forsyth 1971
- Charles Hughes 1971
- Seamus Simpson 1971
- Dorothy Maguire, C.namB. 1971
- Maire Meehan C.namB 1971
- Eamon McCormick Fian 1971
- James Saunders 1971
- Billy Reid 1971
- Patrick McAdorey 1971
- Tony Nolan 1971
- Gerard McDaid 1971
- Phelim Grant 1972
- Michael Sloan Fian 1972
- Charles McCann 1972
- Tony Jordan 1972
- John Finucane 1972
- Danny O'Neill 1972
- Albert Kavanagh 1972
- Gerard Crossan 1972
- Tony Lewis 1972
- Sean Johnson 1972
- Tom McCann 1972
- Sean O'Riordan Fian 1972
- Patrick Campbell 1972
- Michael Magee Fian 1972
- John Dougal Fian 1972
- Michael Clarke 1972
- Ann Parker, C.namB. 1972
- James Quigley 1972
- Daniel McAreevey 1972
- Patrick Maguire 1972
- Joseph McKinney 1972
- John Donaghy 1972
- David McAuley Fian 1972
- Joseph Cunningham 1972
- Gerard Bell 1972
- Patrick Campbell Fian 1972
- Joseph Campbell 1972
- Bernard Fox Fian 1972
- Gerard Steele 1972
- Robert Dorrian 1972
- Joseph Magee 1972
- Samuel Hughes 1972
- Charles McCrystal 1972
- John McErlan 1972
- Edward McDonald 1972
- Jackie McIlhone 1972
- Joseph Fitzsimmons 1972
- Martin Engelen 1972
- Joseph Downey 1972
- Seamus Cassidy 1972
- James Reid 1972
- Louis Scullion 1972
- Robert McCrudden 1972
- Sean Hughes Fian 1972

### CO. ANTRIM (continued)

- Arthur Liggitt 1973
- Edward O'Rawe 1973
- Tony Campbell 1973
- James McCann 1973
- James Sloan 1973
- Stan Carberry 1973
- Patrick McCabe 1973
- Brian Smyth 1973
- Tom O'Donnell 1973
- Sean McKee 1973
- Francis Dodds 1973
- James Bryson 1973
- Patrick Mulvenna 1973
- Freddie Hall 1973
- Ann Marie Pettigrew C.namB 1973
- Martin Corr Fian 1973
- Michael Harley Fian 1973
- Patrick Teer 1974
- Gerard Fennell 1974
- M. Skillen 1974
- Jus Kelly 1975
- John Stone 1975
- Robert Allsopp 1975
- Paul Fox 1975
- Laura Crawford, C.namB. 1975
- Seamus McCusker 1975
- Sean Bailey 1976
- James McGrillen 1976
- James O'Neill 1976
- Paul Best 1976
- Sean Mac Dermott 1976
- Martin McDonagh 1976
- Rosemary Bleakley, C.namB. 1976
- Joseph Surgenor 1976
- Frank Fitzsimmons 1976
- Paul Marlow 1976
- Daniel Lennon 1976
- Máire Drumm 1976
- Trevor McKibben 1977
- Brendan O'Callaghan 1977
- Tommy Tolan 1977
- Paul McWilliams, Fian. 1977

### DERRY

- Thomas McCool 1970
- Thomas Carlin 1970
- Joseph Coyle 1970
- Eamonn Lafferty 1971
- Jim O'Hagen 1971
- James Sheridan 1971
- Martin Lee 1971
- John Bateson 1971
- Colm Keenan 1972
- Eugene McGillan 1972
- John Starrs 1972
- James Carr 1972
- James McDaid 1972
- John Brady 1972
- Seamus Bradley 1972
- Michael Quigley 1973
- Joe Walker 1973
- Gerard Craig 1974
- David Russell 1974
- Ethel Lynch 1974
- Brian Meenan 1974
- Pat McDaid 1974
- Jim Moyne 1975
- Bernard Coyle 1976



### DOWN

- Peter McNulty 1972
- John Carlin 1972
- John Curran 1972
- Colm Murtagh 1972
- Patrick Hughes 1972
- Oliver Rowntree 1972
- Noel Madden 1972
- Leo O'Hanlon 1973
- Alphonsus Cunningham 1973
- Vivienne Fitzsimmons C.namB 1973
- Edmund Grant 1973
- Brendan Quinn 1973
- Patrick McKeown 1974
- Paul McCorrian 1974
- Michael Hughes 1974

### TYRONE

- Eugene Devlin 1972
- Tobias Molloy 1972
- James McGinn 1973
- Denis Quinn 1972
- Dessie Morgan 1973
- Kevin Kilpatrick 1973
- Sean Loughran 1973
- Patrick Carty 1973
- Dan McAnallen 1973
- Patrick Quinn 1973
- Seamus Harvey 1973
- Gerard McGlynn 1973
- Patrick MacDonald 1974
- Kevin Murray 1974
- Sean McKearney 1974
- Eugene Martin 1974
- Hugh Gerard Coney 1974
- Paul Duffy 1978

### FERMANAGH

- Louis Leonard 1972

### SLIGO

- Kevin Coen 1974

### DUBLIN

- Tom Smyth 1975
- Patrick Cannon 1976

### ENGLAND

- Michael Gaughan 1974
- James McDaid 1974
- Brian Fox 1974
- Proinsias Stagg 1976
- Noel Jenkinson 1976

### CORK

- Tony Ahearne 1973
- Dermot Crowley 1973

### ARMAGH

- Michael Crossey 1972
- Julie Dougan 1972
- Michael McVerry 1973
- John Green 1975
- Sean Boyle 1975
- Francis Jordan 1975
- James Loughrie 1975
- Sean Campbell 1975
- Peter Cleary 1976
- Seamus Harvey 1977



### CAVAN

- Jack McCabe 1971

### DONEGAL

- Peter McElear 1976



Tomás Ó Cléirigh



Sean Mac Diarmada



Tomás Mac Donnchadha



Eamonn Ceannt



Ióseph Máire Ó Pluincéad