

# United Irishman

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE LUNASA (AUGUST) 1975 • XXXIII • VIII • 10p. (30c.)

## ENERGY PROGRAMME NEEDED NOT A-BOMBS

See pages 8 & 9

CRAIG contemplating



the possibility of a new Ulster flag without the crown

### *6 Cos. U.D.I. is a non-runner economically*

The continued efforts of some Northern Unionist politicians to float the idea of an Independent Six County State are bound to come to grief on the hard rocks of economic reality. That is if people like John Taylor are talking about independence in any meaningful sense.

The facts of life in terms of bread and butter are there for all to read. A unilateral declaration would just about cripple the North's hard hit manufacturing industry if Britain decided to exercise sanctions. Sixty-three per cent of all manufactured goods go to England.

Add to that that the British control 45 per cent of all larger companies, employing over 250 people. The Americans have a 20 per cent slice of the Northern cake and other EEC countries have cut themselves in for a solid 10 per cent.

There is also the very contentious matter of how much the British Exchequer actually in money terms pumps into the fairly stagnant Northern economy. Their own claim, that last year it was the tidy sum of £313 millions as published in the Northern Ireland Office's paper Finance and the Economy has been disputed, but the UUUC economic advisor Professor Kennedy Lindsay has been peculiarly quiet ever since.

It certainly does look that no matter how the accounting is done that the North currently sits on the back of the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street. And the same dame is beginning to get restless.

That is no reason to believe that the British-American economic policy is felt to be threatened by the Unionist unrest. No one in London or Washington is likely to view the UDI enthusiasts as budding Castros or Allendes.

People like Sammy Smyth, John

Taylor, Bill Craig and Dr. Paisley are simply concerned with paper constitutional changes and it is very unlikely that there is any radical economic programme floating around the Newtownards Road, the Shankill or Glengall Street.

The future therefore for the UDI proponents is very bleak indeed. There is not even an emasculated Free State on the horizon, as native Northern capital could hardly float a rubber dinghy never mind keep Harland and Wolff from being scuttled.

Any offer now from the 26 County government to look at future Northern political and economic arrangements might not finish up in the waste paper basket. Particularly if the South was seen to be taking a harder look at the future returns from the rich natural oil and gas deposits.

If Mr. Cosgrave's government's statement at the recent Helsinki conference about 'peaceful reunification' has any content at all, then it is about time that the Department of Finance studied financial arrangements.

Where is the cash to come from? It is here that the Labour Party could make a lasting contribution to the problems of North and South by demanding a State controlled oil and gas industry to enable 'peaceful reunification' of the country.

This  
Month

SPY GUN EXPOSE  
DUBLIN PORT  
DEVELOPMENT

NORTHERN  
DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS  
RTE II = BBC I DEIR CRUS





The prompt action of a special section of "D" Company, Belfast Command, IRA undoubtedly saved the life of a young ex-internee who found himself being kidnapped by British Army Capt. C. C. Eldred on July 16.

Following a car accident in the Upper Falls the plain clothes British Army undercover agent asked the other driver into the car to discuss insurance. Accelerating down the Falls Road he seemed to be heading for a no-man's land area. The car crashed into a lamp post at the junction of Leeson Street and the Falls Road when the former internee saw a weapon hidden beneath a coat near his feet, the driver panicking as his passenger tried to stop the car.

In the subsequent search of the car the IRA discovered an American machine pistol known to be on the British Army top secret list, a dossier of known Provisionals, a code book and a tape of a conversation between the driver and his radio contact.

The "D" Company unit stated subsequently that as part of their regular patrols was to watch for strange vehicles in their area they had been aware of at least three cars, normally carrying two passengers operating in the Falls area from Hasting Street Barracks. The weapon discovered, pictured here along with an Armalite rifle is a USA made Ingram, M 10, 9mm and is capable of having a silencer attached. Locally it is felt that the British Army agent may have been on an "observe and kill" mission, as the area in which he was travelling has been the scene of many unexplained murders.

## Language conflict

Conradh na Gaeilge has called for greater co-operation between struggling language groups throughout the world. In a message sent to the international seminar on Language and Decolonisation held in Fredericia, Denmark, the organisation says:

"It is increasingly being understood better that the elimination of colonialism requires somewhat more

than the attainment of political autonomy and economic control by peoples now under imperial domination. It is the general practice of colonialism — and almost its universal norm in Europe — to impose the language and culture of the colonial power throughout its domain and to carry out a conscious policy of assimilation.

To this end it utilises the institutions of education and the mass media and manipulates the cultural superstructure. In the contemporary world it sponsors a dehumanising mass "culture" which (with great profit for small groups of cynically motivated people) tends to destroy personal and communal values.

Faced with this conflict peoples now freeing themselves from imperial subjection in Africa, Asia and the Americas as well as in Europe need to embark on a programme of cultural decolonisation — and many have already begun this process.

"In Ireland this struggle has reached a particularly crucial stage. There are efforts on behalf of the neo-colonial and neo-Unionist establishment to downgrade the Irish language and eliminate it from public life. These efforts include the phasing out of the language from the schools and increased Anglo-Americanisation of the Irish Television Network (including a proposal to rebroadcast the English State Television Service throughout Ireland.)

"Conradh na Gaeilge proposes a campaign of decolonisation to enable a free Ireland to take its proper place in the international community rather than be a divided exploited appendage of the English state. This is an aspect of the anti-Imperial struggle in Ireland which merits more publicity and attention.

"Next year Conradh na Gaeilge is convening a Celtic Language Conference to further co-operation in this field. While the conference will deal primarily with the problems of the other Celtic peoples with which Ireland has particular ties of language, culture, geography and political interests it will be open to all interested parties. Representatives of other struggling language groups and of organisations with an interest in cultural decolonisation will be particularly welcome."

## OPEN THE GATES

### LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS

H. Turley, 5 years  
B. O'Hagan, 7 years  
M. O'Hagan, 7 years  
P. Breen, 7 years  
G. Heatley, 5 years  
J. McLoughlin, 5 years  
G. Duff, Life  
J. Kearney, 8 years  
K. Brady, 7 years  
J. Parker, 3 years  
G. Dickey, 4 years  
D. Lagan, 4 years  
R. Steenson, 3 years  
M. Lambert, 7 years  
F. O'Connor, 3 years  
J. J. McCaugherty, 8 years  
J. Marley, 2 years  
P. J. McFarlane, 2 years  
J. J. McLoughlin, 2 years  
M. Smith, 3 years  
J. McCracken, 2 years  
P. J. Monaghan, 6 years  
F. Weir, 10 years  
J. Shanks, 15 years  
P. J. Kelly, Life  
M. Mallon, 7 years  
A. Cassin, Life  
J. McVeigh, 5 years  
C. N. Degan, 5 years  
J. J. Calhoun, 5 years  
P. O'Hare, 7 years  
C. P. Wisdom, 6 years  
J. Higgins, 4 years  
K. Higgins, 6 years  
J. Smith, 15 years  
M. Donnelly, 5 years  
J. J. Curry, 6 years  
G. K. Loughlin, 12 years  
S. Magee, 10 years  
D. Russell, 6 years

B. Trainor, 5 years  
T. P. A. Russell, 3 years  
M. McVeigh, 6 years  
J. Goodman, 8 years  
D. Nocher, 2 years  
E. McDonald, 2 years  
A. McDonagh, 5 years  
B. Mackin, 12 years  
L. McAnoy, Life  
L. Lynch, 4 years  
A. Rock, 3 years  
M. McGreevy, 1 year  
T. Molloy, 1 year  
R. Hassan, 7 years  
J. McTasney, 4 years  
J. Flood, 2 years  
A. Braniff, 4 years  
J. McCullough, 6 years  
L. Corr, 6 years  
W. Campbell, 6 years  
T. McDonald, 6 years  
A. Redden, 4 years  
J. McGuinness, 6 years  
B. Stewart, 4 years  
P. Campbell, 4 years

### LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS

S. Headley  
C. O'Neill  
M. Snodden  
B. Burns  
J. Delaney  
D. McHenry  
G. McCarthy  
J. Carlin  
P. O'Neill  
M. McCormick  
M. Brennan  
N. Cullen  
D. Wisdom  
B. Coleman

M. Delaney  
G. Green  
M. Carson  
P. Black  
B. Doran  
P. Corberry  
T. Cunningham  
E. Maxwell  
S. Gibson  
K. McKernan  
B. O'Neill  
F. Quinn  
G. Martin  
R. Millar  
M. Dragan  
S. Bunting  
M. Russell  
J. McKenna

### ARMAGH REMAND PRISONER

Ann Boyle

### LONG KESH DETAINED

James McLaughlin  
D. O'Hagan

### ENGLAND

Noel Jenkinson, 30 years  
Bob Gallagher, 6 years  
Michael Egan, 4 years



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## O'LEARY REMEMBERED

Martin O'Leary, the young Cork Republican who was killed during an operation in support of striking miners in Co. Tipperary in the summer of 1971, was commemorated in Cork on July 6th. A parade of several hundred people, headed by a colour party marched to the Republican Plot in St. Finbarr's Cemetery where Martin O'Leary is buried. Those participating included the Cork Volunteers Pipe Band, the Martin O'Leary Memorial Band, Derrymacash Co. Armagh and contingents from Republican Clubs in North Armagh and Belfast.

Giving the oration, Tony Heffernan, Joint General Secretary of Sinn Fein said that Martin O'Leary, political activist, worker and soldier was the prototype of the modern revolutionary. "No task was too trivial, no effort too great, no job too dangerous for Martin O'Leary if it would advance the cause of his people". "This commemoration is no emotional ritual, no

attempt to glorify or romanticise death. It is a solemn political exercise in which we must rededicate ourselves to building the Socialist Ireland for which O'Leary died. As Republicans we stand around this grave with feelings of sorrow and feelings of pride. Sorrow that a revolutionary, so young, so capable, so dedicated, so energetic and fearless was lost to the Irish Revolutionary Movement.

Pride at the manner in which he gave his life for the Irish working class. His death was a grievous loss to his comrades, but his death has proven to be an inspiration to all of the Movement. Martin O'Leary will have a place of honour when the history of the Irish revolution is written."

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The Mellows McCann Republican Club in the Markets' area of Belfast had a novel solution to the heat wave. Sand bags and tarpaulins quickly provided the basis of a swimming pool.

Members of the club soon had it constructed and were catering for streams of budding young Olympic swimmers. The Markets' area of Belfast (one of the oldest) is scheduled for redevelopment under the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the Republican Club is to the forefront in demanding not only suitable housing but adequate recreational facilities for the hundreds of children in the district. The next swimming pool should be more permanent.

## TYRONE RIGHTS DEMOS

As part of the Six County wide demonstrations against internment the Tyrone Executive of Republican Clubs will be supporting the NICRA sponsored march from Coalisland to Dungannon.

Speaking in Coalisland on Sunday July 27, Councillor Eugene Lyttle said, "There is a moral obligation on all people who seek justice in our society whether they be Loyalist, Nationalist or Republican to show their abhorrence to imprisonment without trial by continuing to protest in a peaceful manner until Long Kesh is closed.

The people must not allow themselves to become apathetic to internment nor must they be fooled by the

recent promises of Mr. Rees." Councillor Lyttle concluded, "It is only when the masters of internment are shown that internment is opposed by everyone who wants peace and justice that internment will be brought to an end".

## I.R.A. defence action

In a statement signed J. O'Hare, South Down/South Armagh Command of the IRA claim successful retaliatory attacks on the British Army arising from the continued harrasment of the people of Derrybeg estate and the vicious assault on an 11 year old boy.

"On Friday 19th July a unit attacked a British Army patrol in Sandy Street, Newry and wounded one British soldier. On the following day in the centre of Newry at Ballybot Bridge the IRA opened fire on two British jeeps and claim at least two casualties. One of which was undoubtedly serious as it was necessary to remove the soldier by helicopter.

The South Down South Armagh Command of the IRA state that when and where necessary it will take action against the British Army in keeping with our policy of defence and retaliation as set out in 1972."

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# United Irishman

## INTERNMENT

August 9, 1971 is a date imprinted in the minds of thousands of Irish people. Associated with it are the names of Hollywood, Girdwood, Ballykinlar and Long Kesh. Places of detention, violence, torture, of sickening inhumanity, where the young, the old, the lame and indeed the blind were detained; Torn from their homes in a manner which would have earned the admiration of the Nazi SS conducting a pogrom against the Jews.

In a statement issued by Sinn Fein this month to mark the 5th anniversary of internment that is pointed out that the "British Government have now the dubious distinction of maintaining Europe's largest concentration camp. Internment without trial is an act of violence against those people who are interned as well as against their families and the community from which they have been snatched. As violence begets violence it is little wonder that the past five years have been the most violent and bloody period in Ireland this century."

Indeed and this is the point. The aim of the British was to create an increasingly violent situation where politics, real politics would be frustrated and the British army let loose to lance the "Irish boil". Memories of Aden and Malaya provided the rationale for the kind of British terrorism which has dominated the North ever since.

The need in this coming month for an all out assault by the forces of democracy on sectarianism has never been greater. Recent killings, claims and counter claims are evidence that the enemies of the working class are preparing for their kind of "solution". The Republican Movement will be using every means at its disposal to rally support for anti-sectarian activity.

It is the duty of organised Irish workers to press for even greater action in this field from their unions and political parties.

## UNIONS

The continuing Governmental pressures on the Trade Union Movement to renegotiate the National Wages Agreement is a fundamental sign of the crisis which exists in the 26 County economy.

It is a crisis as we have often said in the past which defies resolution as long as capitalism remains the dominant ideology in the country. Inflation and the other symptoms of a tottering western capitalism are a result of production for profit and not for use. And naturally employers and their political servants will try to place the blame and push the responsibility for improving the situation onto the working class. What then is to be done?

Believers in imminent revolution have the answer, resist until the General Strike. Fortunately that myth has no hold on Irish workers. Employers who see falling profits welcome strikes, it saves money, their money.

At the same time the hard won gains of organised labour cannot be handed over to this or any other capitalist government. If there must be re-negotiation then the Unions must strike a hard bargain, which should not be limited to pay talks.

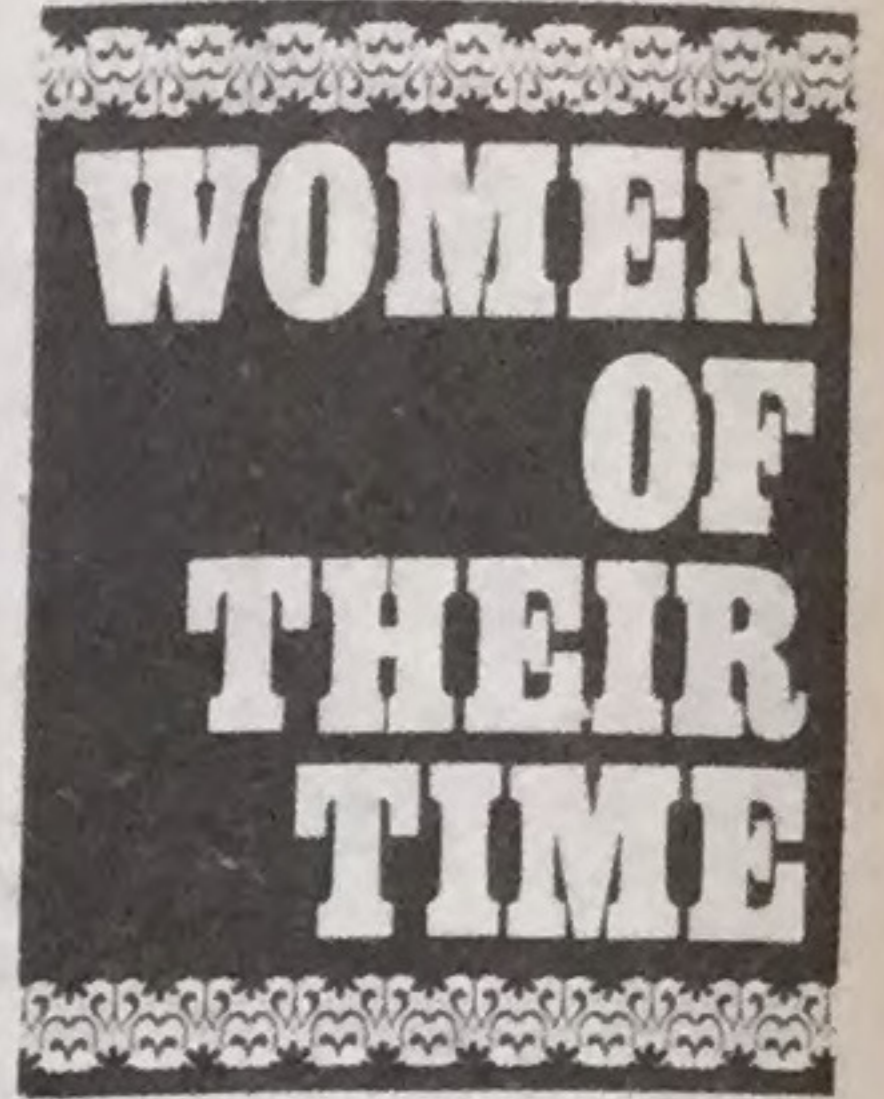
It is important that the Unions remember that they speak for the majority of the Irish people, who create the wealth. If temporary setbacks are on the cards then let the hardest possible bargain be struck for the issues which effect our future.

Mary (Mother Jones) was one of the most remarkable figures in the history of the American Labour Movement. She was born in Cork in 1830 and emigrated to Canada where her father worked as a railway construction labourer. She lived to be 100 years old and spent more than half that time fighting fiercely on behalf of the working class.

She married a member of the Iron Moulders Union in 1861 and went to live in Memphis, Tennessee. In 1867 a yellow fever epidemic swept Memphis, killing mostly the poor and the workers. Mother Jones' husband and four children died.

She then went to work in the dressmaking business in Chicago. Working for the rich she had ample opportunity to observe the harsh contrast between the luxurious lives of the aristocracy and the wretched existence of the working class. In the evening she attended meetings held by the Knights of Labour.

This was an organisation formed at this time to fight industrial slavery. She became a member and became active in the efforts of the working people to better their conditions. She won recognition as a fiery speaker, a



fearless agitator and a brilliant strike strategist. She was continuously arrested, deported and threatened by gunmen. She refused to be intimidated and carried on fearlessly.

Following the First of May Massacre of workers outside the McCormick Harvester Works, in 1886 she went from strike to strike organising, agitating and encouraging. She began in the anthracite area of West Virginia and for the next 20 years she was with the coal miners in practically every struggle.

She was hunted out of hotels and families who housed her in company towns were dispossessed. When halls and meeting places were closed to



● Pray for the dead but fight like hell for the living.

## Licence to print money

The Northern Ministry of Commerce granted a petroleum exploration licence to the Marathon Oil Company on August 16th, 1968. The licence was granted under a law passed in 1964 which provided for such developments.

Marathon, under the terms of the licence, can search, bore-out and get petroleum over an area of 500 sq. miles comprising part of the Antrim coast and adjacent waters also, the waters of Belfast Loch to the north of the Medil-line.

Marathon will be assisted in their exploration by a 30

per cent grant from the government.

The ministry decided to grant a licence to Marathon, they say, because they were convinced that Marathon were equipped both from a money and other resource point-of-view, to find oil and to exploit the find.

Marathon have not, so far, shown a wish to exploit their licence but there is no doubt that they are just as willing to rob the North as they are to rob the South.

## Oil companies

In the South the Anglo-American oil companies continue to hold the country to ransom but they are very afraid that the proposed new oil refinery in Dublin bay — which would be outside their control would mean an end to their ability to dictate terms of trade in this country. One

wonders how much of the recent Aer Lingus loss shows as a plus in the oil companies accounts.

## GAELTARRA

## AGUS NA

## MAITHE

Os rud e go rabhamar ag caint ar chursai iascaireachta an mhi seo caite nior mhiste sciúird bheag eile a thabhairt ar an abhar. Faoi lathair, ta gach cuma ar an sceal anois go mbeidh monarca Erbel in aice an Daingin i lamha na n-iascairi ar an mbaile sin. Airiann san go



# Miners' Mother Jones

her she spoke in open fields. She organised womens' armies with mops, brooms and dishpans, to chase scabs. During a huge mining strike she led one of these armies 16 miles over the mountains to bring a scab mine into the strike.

*"From that day on the women kept continual watch of the mines to see that the company did not bring in scabs. Every day women with brooms or mops in one hand and babies in the other arm wrapped in little blankets, went to the mines and watched that no one went in. And all night long they kept watch. They were heroic women. In the long years to come the nation will pay them high tribute for they were fighting for the advancement of a great country".*

The scabs joined the strike, every one of them, when confronted by Mother Jones at the head of her army. Another time when the wives of miners were picketing a mine in protest against scab labour and were arrested, Mother Jones organised them to sing to their babies all night long while serving a 30 day prison sentence. The sleepless town was so annoyed that the sheriff was forced to release them in a few days.

## Mutilated

In 1903 she went to Pennsylvania where there were seventy five thousand textile workers on strike. Of this number ten thousand were little children. These children were stooped, skinny and round-shouldered. Although the state prohibited children under twelve years to

work many were under ten as their parents were forced to swear a false age, due to the fact that it might mean starvation to their families if they did not work. Mother Jones decided to bring the children on a march from Pennsylvania to Long Island to gain publicity and confront President Roosevelt with the evils of child labour.

She stopped at town after town and showed the people how the mutilated limbs of these child workers went to make profits for the rich. The strike was lost and thousands of children were sent back to work but soon after, due to Mother Jones, a law was passed that kept thousands more children out of the textile mills until they were fourteen years of age.

## Toddlers

She then went to Alabama and saw the miserable conditions of the workers in the cotton mills. The workers lived in shanties with broken windows, sagging doors and rotten flooring. Tiny babies of six years old with the faces of sixty did an eight hour shift for 10 cents a day. If they fell asleep, cold water was dashed in their faces and the voice of the manager yelled above the ceaseless racket of the whirr of the machines. Toddlers of four years old were brought to the mills to 'help' their older brothers and sisters of ten years old but their labour was not paid. At five thirty in the morning long lines of little grey children came to the factories. They would sleep over their lunch of cornbread and fat pork. Sleep was their only recreation.

Mother Jones said "On Sundays went the babies of the mill to Sunday School, to hear how God had inspired the mill owners to come down and build the mill so as to give the little ones work that they might



● Mother Jones from Cork.

develop into industrious, patriotic citizens and earn money to give to the Missionaries to convert the poor unfortunate heathen Chinese."

*The child labour reports of the period in which Mother Jones made her study put the number of children under fourteen years of age working in mills as fully 25 per cent of the workers; working for a pittance, for eight, nine, ten hours a day, a night. And Mill owners declared dividends ranging from 50 per cent to 90. "Child labour is docile", they say. "It does not strike. There are no labour troubles".*

The mill owners, who were mostly Northern capitalists wanted child labour because it was docile. Any attempts of the Southern States to reforms were defeated by the Northern capitalists with threats to close

the mills. Through Mother Jones and the ceaseless agitation of the unions the most outstanding evils of child labour were done away with.

The greatest part of Mother Jones' life was spent with her beloved miners. "Mother, we need you to help us win this strike" would send her dashing off to West Virginia, Colorado, Pennsylvania or Alabama. She was once asked where she lived. She replied, "Sometimes I'm in Washington, then in Pennsylvania, Arizona, Texas, Alabama, Colorado, Minnesota. My address is like my shoes. It travels with me. I abide where there is a fight against wrong". During her life she warned rank and file union members against leaders who put their own interests ahead of labours'. Until her death she stoutly affirmed her one great faith. "The future is in labours' strong rough hands".

She died in Washington D.C. at the age of 100. She is buried in Mount Olive Cemetery, Illinois, surrounded by graves of miners. In death, as in life, she is with her 'children'.

**"PRAY FOR THE DEAD, BUT FIGHT LIKE HELL FOR THE LIVING"**

The slogan coined by Mother Jones has been carried across the world to be flung in the face of exploiters from the USA to Australia.

Mother Jones was no instant revolutionary for many she seemed too willing to compromise, recognising as she did that "liberals" were capable of humanitarian acts.

At the same time she refused to compromise on the fundamental aspect of socialist belief. Labour could not sit down with capital to the benefit of labour.

Undoubtedly she would have had some caustic reply to De Valera's advice that "Labour must wait".

bhfuil an toin titithe as an mhonarca a bhi ag Erbel anois. Is mor an chaint agus an cibeal a bhi ar siul an la go raibh an 'Oscailt Oifigiuil' ann don mhonarca seo beagan beag blian o shin. Ta ceann eile anois a 'choiriu' sa Daingean 'se sin an mhonarca a bhi ag Basket Sea Foods nair agus ata anois le cabhair o Ghaeltarra a chur i dtrea do Silver Seal mar a bhfuil iar-bhainisteoir Erbel; agus ta iar-bhainisteoir Basket Sea Foods i mbun a ghno fein in aice laimhe.

## Suncalta

La eigin seriofar cuntas ar an airgead go leir ata 'suncalta' ag Gaeltarra i gcurtai iascaireachta ar an mbaile seo. Ta gach cuma ar an sceal na fuil ar siul ag Gaeltarra ach job

lan-aimsireach ag diol as na billi agus na botuin. Agus ni stadann se ansan mar go bhfuil billi eile ag meadu aris mar a deirtear linn. Bionn go leor le clos fes na hOscailti eagsula ach is beag fen ndunadh. Le deanai osclaidh sceim Tithe Gloine ar an bhFearann in aice Bhaile 'n Fhirtearaigh agus bhi Flea agus Feasta ann dos na ceadta - agus dioladh as; ach ce a dhiol as - airgead an phobail do chairde Tom O'Donnell agus an Chomharchumann ar an mBuailtin - agus bhi na maithe ann man Dick Burke, an Cruiser agus Tom fein - gan dabt bhi an tEasbog O Cathasaigh ann chun an curam uile a bheannu.

## Eilifinti?

Cad a tharlos don mhonarca ata i mBaile 'n Aonaigh

nuair a imeos an cailin Danmhargach as? Fe lathair tathar ag diol as 'oilunt' a chur ar an fhoireann ata fe stiur an chailin seo agus ta Gaeltarra ag ioc as an georas taistil leis. Murar feidir leis an ngno seo 'praifid' a dheanamh is ait an sceal e - le Gaeltarra an mhonarca leis. Ta ceann eile a togaint a bheidh 'nios oiriunai'. Ta san go maith, ach na beadh an sceal go deas da mbaileodh an cailin deas seo lei i gceann roinnt bheag blian - eilifint eile ag Gaeltarra? Agus an tionscnamh tithe gloine - is deacair a ra go bhfuil aon seans mor aige mas ag brath ar thrala a bhionn se, fiu gur bhrea linn go leir go n-eireodh ar shon na n-oibrithe ata ann.

An chead la eile beam ag cur sion or 'campaign' ata ar siul fe lathar ag 'oifigeach'

on gComharchumann ar an mBuailtin chun aird Chruise a tharrac ar fein, ce go gcaitheann se go leor ama, an fear ceanna, ag caineadh Cruise; ach ta an chuma ar an sceal go bhfuil Cruise nios cliste na mar a mheasann se.

## Strabane I.R.A. statement

In a hard-hitting statement issued last month the Strabane Unit of the Irish Republican Army reject suggestions by Mr. Ivan Cooper and others that they have been engaged in anti-civilian activity.

The statement points out that on the contrary they

have only taken action against individuals who have been involved in "serious criminal activity against the working class". In a reference to threats from the Provisional Alliance the Strabane I.R.A. points out that they have every right to protect their membership from harassment from whatever source it may come from.

The statement emphasises that in "each of the incidents in which these people were involved careful investigation was carried out by the Unit's intelligence section and only then was a decision taken to deal with the ringleaders".

"We would also emphasise that in the absence of a Civilian Police Service acceptable to all sections of the community, the I.R.A. have no alternative but to adopt such measures", the statement concludes.



Those Loyalist Constitutional lawyers who had believed that the relationship of Northern Ireland to the United Kingdom was a Federal one got a rude awakening in March 1972 when the British government suspended the Northern Ireland "parliament" with one stroke of the pen. Loyalist working people who had been led to believe that the North was a slightly junior partner of England discovered to their horror that in fact they were an English colony.

The British government's Finance and the Economy Document published at the end of last year shows what this means in economic terms. The "commanding heights" of the economy has long since passed out of local hands. While it is widely accepted that this development resulted from the conscious choice of the Northern bourgeoisie to turn themselves into the local landstewards of foreign monopoly capitalism it is often forgotten that the massive expenditure on grants, advance factories etc. which made Northern Ireland attractive to the monopolies, had to be agreed by the British government.

The weak position of the Northern Bourgeoisie made them incapable of putting up any serious independent resistance to direct rule when it came. The British government did away with their parliament at the stroke of a pen. What did they put in its place?

### Stormont

Governments may change but the permanent institutions of the state such as the police, army, civil service etc. remain unchanged. Thus when the Stormont parliament was abolished nearly all the civil service were kept on under direct rule. Similarly with the police and the army. The introduction of direct rule meant a massive increase in the numbers of civil servants employed in Northern Ireland.

While many of these were recruited in Northern Ireland the higher grades were almost exclusively British civil servants seconded from Britain. Frequently the press announces that Mr. X has been moved from the foreign office to Northern Ireland. In proportion as the number of civil servants in the north have increased their degree of accountability to the parliament of the UK has decreased.

The Northern Ireland Convention which has no powers is not able to supervise the civil servants. Frequently the Convention chairman, Sir Robert Lowry has had to remind convention members of just how little they can discuss. The second important pivot of the British State machine in Northern Ireland is the army. Like the civil service the army's role has increased in importance through involvement in the North.

Senior army officers no longer conceal the fact that they view their time in the North as a valuable training ground in the techniques required to deal with a hostile civilian population in an urban context. It is generally accepted that the military brass in Northern Ireland wield considerable power, so much so that when the British secretary stands up to them he makes the headlines.

Although there may be occasional tensions between the Civil service and the army both affectively operate in harness. Surveys of the class background of both the army brass and the top grades of the civil service reveal them as being of the same class background as Britain's financial and industrial oligarchy. Thus a highly complex military and bureaucratic apparatus is running the North in the interests of Anglo-USA imperialism.

### Bill of Rights

The battle for a Bill of Rights for the North is now entering its final phase.

This is shown by the frantic manoeuvring which the British government is currently engaged in to postpone the day when Westminster has to pass a Bill of Rights. London's chosen instrument for this task is the Feather Commission. As NICRA recently stated "It is trite to say that if Lord Feather's Standing Advisory Commission has begun to take an interest in the case for civil rights in Northern Ireland, it is certain that their aim is to delay such a measure for as long as they can"

Lord Feather has announced that the Commission will spend at least one year in studying whether or not a Bill of Rights is really needed.

Lord Feather's Advisory Commission was established by the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973. None of its members has ever been active in the civil rights struggle. Each one is an establishment figure.

It is not surprising then that there is very little confidence about the ability or indeed the desire of the Feather Commission to advance human and democratic rights. As the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions declared recently "The Committee is concerned at the lack of effort on the part of the Government in tackling these issues (broadening human rights) and is dissatisfied with the in-effectiveness of the Standing Advisory Commission on human rights in Northern Ireland which has not as yet contributed to any significant degree towards the necessary solution to the problems".

London's hope is that the Feather Commission will stall any meaningful action for as long as possible.

There is now almost complete acceptance among all parties in the Convention that some sort of Bill of Rights must be included in any future settlement. Does this mean that every party in the Convention is now committed to a democratic settlement for the area?

A Bill of Rights which was prepared by the Ulster Citizens Civil Liberties Centre might have represented a significant advance from the days when Charlie Hull led his Loyalist Association of Workers in marches calling for the introduction of internment. But the proposed Bill contains most of the contradictions which characterise Loyalist community organisations.

The UCCLC state that the aim of the Bill is "to educate the people of

**1. GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY FOR ALL CITIZENS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.**

**2. GUARANTEE THE END OF REPRESSIVE LAWS, WHICH BREACH COMMON LAW, AND CONTRAVENE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LEGISLATION.**

**3. GUARANTEE THE OUTLAWING OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ANY CITIZEN FOR REASON OF BELIEF, RELIGION, POLITICS, SEX, RACE OR COLOUR.**

**4. GUARANTEE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES ACCEPTABLE TO THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE CITIZENS.**

**THESE GUARANTEES MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY SUITABLE AND MEANINGFUL MACHINERY FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION.**



Mr. Rees Northern Ireland Secretary of State would seem to have no control over the activities of the British Army.

It is only the War Office who can say what instructions are given to their agents.



## Human rights must be

# fully guaranteed

the U.K. about their human rights and to stimulate some concern over recent legislation severely curtailing civil liberties". The UCCLC, almost as an afterthought, submit the Bill "to the people of Northern Ireland in its campaign to demonstrate their support for establishing such protection in the future constitution of Northern Ireland".

Nowhere is it clear in the document what authority is expected to pass the Bill. It would seem that the thinking is that Westminster would pass a general declaratory Bill of Rights which would contain a catalogue of human, social and political rights. Then it would be up to Northern Ireland's devolved Parliament to draft codes safeguarding the rights enumerated.

### Loyalist

Such a procedure would have to await the re-establishment, if ever, of devolved government in Northern Ireland. It would also mean that questions of human and democratic rights would again be the responsibility of a Northern Ireland parliament. This would probably be dominated by the Loyalists and would also have powers to declare a state of emergency. During these periods a loyalist government would be able to utilise most of the powers of the Emergency Provisions Act. These currently give the RUC and the British army virtual martial law powers at present.

The Loyalist Bill of Rights does not consider questions of discrimination to be vital civil rights issues. Neither would it provide for

Proportional Representation in elections. It would allow for army and police "census" gathering. Finally the Bill contains some ominous hints about the way some loyalists are thinking. The Bill talks about the powers of military authority exercised in the field in time of war or in the occupied territories.

The Republican Clubs made it very clear in the Convention Manifesto that not just any Bill of Rights would do, for the North. Unlike those so-called socialists and Republicans who either scorn or ignore the struggle for democracy the Clubs have been to the forefront in the struggle for a Bill of Rights. But it has to be a Bill of Rights which "would defend the victory gained against discrimination in housing — extend anti-discrimination legislation beyond public employment to private industry — defend the franchise victories particularly PR in elections — provide for an unarmed police service free from party political control — abolish all repressive and discriminatory legislation and permanently ban internment — establish the right of political groups to freedom of organisation and expression — keep the courts and the judiciary removed from party political control".

The NICRA Bill of Rights would come closest to fulfilling these tasks. It also contains proposals for machinery to challenge any backtracking on any of the Rights guaranteed.

### Republican Clubs

The Republican Clubs have spelt out very clearly that any advance in the field of human and democratic rights would require legislation which would redress particular grievances rather than make vague and generalised declarations of rights however noble.

Thus the Clubs' document, which represents the first serious attempt to spell out what is meant by an "acceptable police force" called for a Bill of Rights which would repeal all the special powers and emergency legislation which has made the RUC into the para-military force it is today. The Bill of Rights would set strict legal limits within which police activity takes place and would give citizens redress against police criminality.

The Republican Clubs also recommended drastic structural changes which would bring the RUC under very strict democratic control — in other words, turn it into an acceptable police service. Finally, the Republican Clubs have spelt out the social context of a lot of the crime in the North. Much of the violence of young people can be attributed to the lack of proper facilities, such as cafes, coffee shops, cinemas, dance halls, etc. While the RUC may currently be engaged in youth work as part of their face lift, such work cannot eliminate the conditions which lead young people into trouble. These can only be eliminated when young people are given the sense of purpose and direction of plotting out and building a better future for themselves.



There are firm 26 County Government plans to have Ireland's first nuclear reactor operational by 1980. The plant to be located at Carnsore Point, Co. Wexford will be the first of 30. Ireland will then have joined the deadly table of countries capable of producing her own Atomic Bomb, (one per year).

The Irish People are entitled not only to know all the facts on the decision to "go nuclear" but to be fully consulted on this vital issue. The "United Irishman" believes that the Nuclear plan threatens the lives of our people of this and future generations; That it will contribute disastrously to the growing problem of atomic pollution on a world wide scale; that it is closely linked to the Government's decision to allow our energy resources to be exploited by foreign multinationals and that the scheme literally will cost more than it saves.

The appointment last month of Mr. S. Mulcahy as head of the Nuclear Energy Board means that immediate public debate must be opened on (i) the real dangers of nuclear power; (ii) its wastefulness and (iii) the threat to a genuine Irish energy and resources programme. Republicans have an energy policy based on the State ownership of all of our national resources including oil and gas and the expansion of our hydro-electric capacity. It is the only alternative to the extremely hazardous nuclear policy about to be developed without the support of the Irish People.

The pages of the "United Irishman" will be available to organisations and individuals who are concerned to ensure that a full discussion on, and opposition to, the nuclear programme is carried out in the interest of the Irish people.

# WEXFORD

Thirty years after Hiroshima, safety still remains the most emotive issue in the nuclear debate. Critics have continually pointed out the human and technological shortcomings of the nuclear industry - in many cases forcing it back on the defensive and opening up whole new areas to scrutiny.

There are three principal areas of concern.

1. Operational hazards of reactors.
2. Problems of waste storage and disposal.
3. Hazards of low level radiation.

Operationally the debate has centred on the American Light Water Reactors (planned for Ireland) and the possibility of 'loss of Coolant Accident' (LOCA). The LWR comes in for attention both because of the degree to which information is made available in the US and the consequent activity of critical groups and because the LWR is far and away the most common reactor type, both in the US and worldwide.

## Accident

To understand the possible significance of a reactor accident, it is necessary to appreciate what might happen if its contents were released. A 1,000 Megawatt (electric) LWR, a fairly average size as these things go, contains about 72 million curies of radioactive iodine 131 (much less than 1 curie can be fatal), sufficient to contaminate the atmosphere to a height of 6 miles over an area the size of the United States to twice the maximum permissible concentration.

The consequences of an uncontrolled loss of coolant accident in a large LWR, in which the activity of all the fission products might be more than ten thousand million curies could produce a disaster area, according to a 1965 USAEC paper, of 10,000 square kilometres and be fatal to people living several hundred kilometres down wind of the plant.

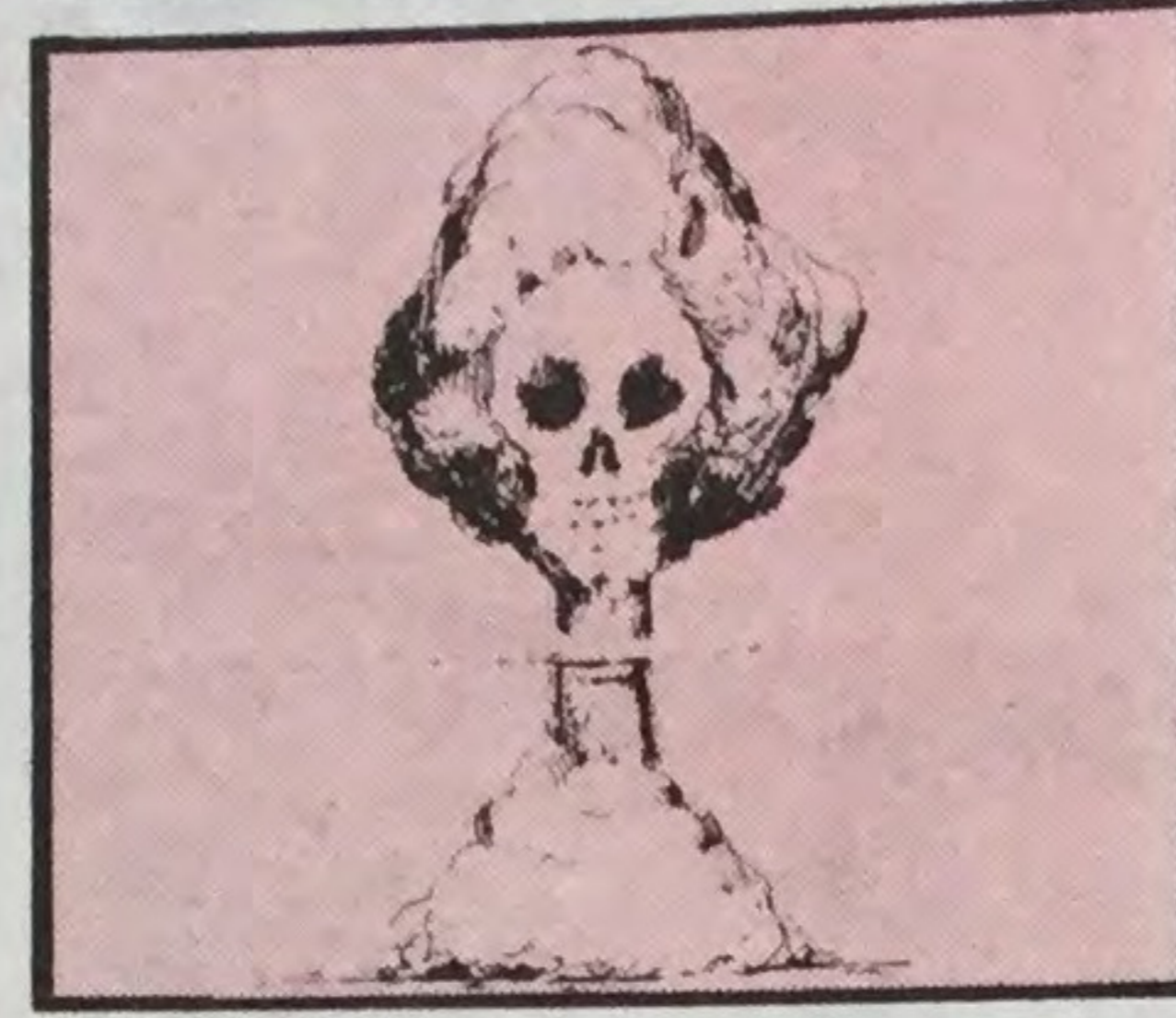
Sceptics point to the operating experience of LWRs in which component failures, operator errors, design and construction faults and violations of licensing requirements

*President Ali Bhutto has gone on record as saying that Pakistan must look closely at the possibility of acquiring nuclear weapons following the Indian test. The Shah of Iran intends to carry his Nation with nuclear weapons "if the small nations equip themselves with such armaments".*

have occurred disturbingly often. Recent failures include cracks in feedwater pipes in three Boiling Water Reactors which resulted in the shut down of all 21 US BWRs while inspection was carried out. The pipes concerned were reportedly manufactured to the same quality as the primary coolant pipes - whose failure could lead to a LOCA.

Apparent malfunctions are not the only cause of doubt about LWR safety. Critics have pointed out that they consider methodological flaws in the way the industry analyses its systems deliberate underestimation, or in some cases refusal to recognise possible risks. Risks ignored included the possible catastrophic failure of a steel

pressure vessel, widely considered to be incredible despite extensive British and West German data to show that failures might be expected two or three times in ten thousand reactor years. It is hardly



reassuring to hear a senior USAEC official say that 'No design was available which could withstand the consequences of pressure vessel failure so it was decided to take the risk'.

Ultimately, it may be the human being who is the key to the whole safety debate. No amount of risk analysis can take into account the mechanic who forgets to tighten a vital bolt, the technician who missets a safety device, the welder who heat-stresses a joint, the operator who leaves his control board untended while he fetches a cup of coffee. The dispute is intensifying between those who consider engineering problems and those who see people as the dominant element in nuclear safety.

After a few years of operation enough of the U235 has burned up for the reactor to require refuelling. After shut-down the spent fuel has to be removed, allowed to cool and then reprocessed to separate the actinides, mostly uranium and plutonium, from the highly radioactive fission products.

## Hazards

Once reprocessing is over the problems really begin. The hot, acid, highly radioactive waste has to be stored, disposed of or somehow rendered safe. Nobody has yet come up with a disposal solution which can be regarded as satisfactory. Present policy in most countries is to store the wastes in liquid or in tanks close to the reprocessing plant. However, the time-scale involved if the waste is to be stored until it is safe must make even the most sanguine enthusiast for nuclear power think twice.

The main long-lived fission products must be stored at least a thousand years, longer in the case of Iodine 129, Caesium 135 and several other isotopes. For the plutonium, most of which is still present in hazardous quantities in the wastes, the period is much, much longer. It cannot be considered safe for a period less than 250,000 years.

Taken literally the problem is of course insoluble - which is why the industry tends to ignore any but the shortest term considerations. Instead it stores the wastes as they accumulate, apparently hoping that some process, possibly magical, will be developed to take them off its hands.

Storage, however, is not without its hazards. Over two million litres

of highly radioactive wastes have leaked away from allegedly safe tanks, most of them the property of the US military. A case in point was Tank 106T at the Hanford Reprocessing plant in Washington state where 115,000 gallons of high level waste leaked away between 20th April and 8th June, 1973 despite the fact that the tank was monitored every day and was known to be leaking, a fact confirmed by high radiation levels in a nearby dry well. It was only after an emergency meeting in June that the operating company, Atlantic Richfield, stopped putting more waste into the tank.

So for the present and for the foreseeable future (and clear into the unforeseeable future as well) nuclear wastes will have to be guarded by the various national atomic energy authorities - or private companies deputed by them - institutions unlikely to last decades let alone the millennia required.

Wastes will have to be stored for geological periods in conditions of total security. This demands a degree of perfection in men and equipment which is historically unparalleled and far in excess of anything the nuclear industry has been able to achieve. Indeed, even the earth may not be capable of that sort of constancy.

*The recent agreements allowing Egypt and Israel to obtain reactors from the U.S.; Iran to buy Canadian, American and French reactors; Argentina to obtain knowhow from India and Japan to obtain uranium ore from Niger and take advantage of French enrichment facilities—all violate the terms of the 1970 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which forbids the provision of fissile material to countries refusing to put their nuclear programmes under international inspection and safeguards.*

Low level radiation, the result of both planned and accidental releases, representing the most insidious danger from the nuclear programme. That some release of radioactivity is inevitable is accepted by all concerned. Leakages and accidents occur in the best regulated systems and in addition reprocessing plants routinely dispose of large quantities of low level waste by pumping it into the ground or a convenient body of water.

## Cancer

What is a subject of very considerable argument is the harm that this radioactivity can cause. Chief catalyst of the debate has been the publication of a report prepared for the US Atomic Energy Commission by John Gofman and Arthur Tamplin in which they predicted that if the radioactivity produced by the nuclear power programme reached the guidelines allowed by the Federal Radiation Council (FRC) of 0.17 rads per year, (a rad is a measure of radiation dosage), it would lead to 32,000 deaths from cancer and leukaemia in the US.

Caesium 137 from a power plant can be deposited on grass, eaten by cows and then drunk by human beings, becoming progressively more concentrated in the process. If the maximum permissible concentration (MPC) for Caesium 137 in the air were maintained for one year



# A-BOMB!

in those circumstances, then the dose received from the milk would be 15,000 times more than the 0.17 rad protection guideline. Likewise eating 1 lb. of fish a week which came from water at the MPC could lead to a dose more than a hundred times the guideline.

Central to Gofman and Tamplin's argument is the assertion that there is no safe limit to radiation, that it continues to be harmful right down to the lowest levels and that there is no lower limit below which the bodies regenerative mechanisms can cope with the damage. The direct proof or disproof of this can only come from a very large and long term statistical investigation. Meanwhile so-called permissible limits are set in ignorance of the effects of those limits.

- (f) It should be safe in operation.
- (g) It should have minimum environmental impact and produce a minimum of dangerous or undesirable by-products.

It is not unfair to say that nuclear power meets none of these conditions and on several it fails miserably.

Lack of proven uranium resources, low investment in exploration and mining, coupled with financial difficulties and shortage of enrichment and reprocessing plant capacity are likely to lead to a severe fuel shortage in the early nineteen eighties — well before the oil is due to run out. Despite all claims and with fossil fuels increasing rapidly in price, nuclear power is still expensive 20 per cent more than modern coal fired power stations and nuclear capital costs are rising faster than conventional.

The world's major uranium reserves are

cannot be considered in any way resolved. The disturbingly frequent occurrence of basic component failures, to say nothing of violation of safety regulations, have done nothing to allay the suspicions which already existed.

On any reckoning even the fission products will have to be stored for upwards of a thousand years before they can be considered safe. What plans the various atomic energy agencies have to keep the actinides out of harms way, especially Americium which remains dangerous for ten million years, have not yet been revealed. The fact that no way, even in principle, has been found to dispose of these wastes has not prevented the planned huge increase in reactor numbers. The problem will be left for posterity while we consume the kilowatts.

Low level radiation, from accidental and planned releases and from contaminated cooling water, could cause thousands of cancers a year and perhaps induce genetic disorders. Plutonium, a by product of any reactor, is a unique hazard. It is one of the most toxic substances known and a few kilogrammes can be used to make a bomb. Proliferation of nuclear weapons through the spread of commercial reactors throughout the world is almost certain. The chances of other, non-governmental, hands on the bomb must be regarded as highly likely. Even given the major premise of the nuclear lobby, that fossil fuels are nearing exhaustion — itself questionable — any rational appraisal of the situation would demand a review of the alternatives. This has simply not been done — at least not in the sense that equal and unbiased consideration has been given to all possibilities. Instead any possible alternative is branded automatically, and not just by advocates of nuclear power.

## Sanity

When one course, solar power is a good example, is available in abundance, has been used by man in one form or another for centuries, is cheap and easy to exploit and will be around for at least as long as humanity, and the other depends on the extraction of rare metal, and its isotopic enrichment in perhaps the most difficult and expensive process yet developed, is attended by all sorts of dangers, all of them serious and some of them hardly understood, and could lead ultimately to the destruction of the world, it is difficult to follow the logic of those who deem the first impracticable and the second the energy source which will save mankind.

Only a tiny fraction of the money, talent, intellectual effort and political will which has been invested in nuclear power has been devoted to other possible sources. Little thought has been given to possible energy savings, (except when oil politics intervenes) the scope for which is much greater than is generally realised. Almost no thought at all has been given to the question of whether electricity, centrally generated and distributed, is the best way of doing things or whether a less centralised system, perhaps pluralistic in its sources, might be more human and efficient.

Time is running out in the nuclear debate. Within five years the situation may be beyond redemption. Sanity — and self preservation — dictate at least three demands:

1. No Irish nuclear power stations.
2. Nationalise our oil and gas resources.
3. Immediate expansion of hydroelectric plants.

Conventional Technological wisdom has as its centerpiece the idea of nuclear power as a cheap, clean, virtually inexhaustible source of energy, the fuel which will free the West from the domination of the oil Sheikhs. It must come as a considerable shock to the faithful that, far from freeing us from the oil yoke, nuclear power is likely to extend the period of dependence on fossil fuel — and some national nuclear programmes may never produce more energy than they consume.

Firstly very considerable amounts of energy have to be expended to build the plant, to mine, purify and enrich the uranium and to provide the other necessary materials — such as heavy water for certain types of reactor.

Secondly, and as it turns out more importantly, in the current situation the reactor cannot be considered in isolation but must be seen as part of

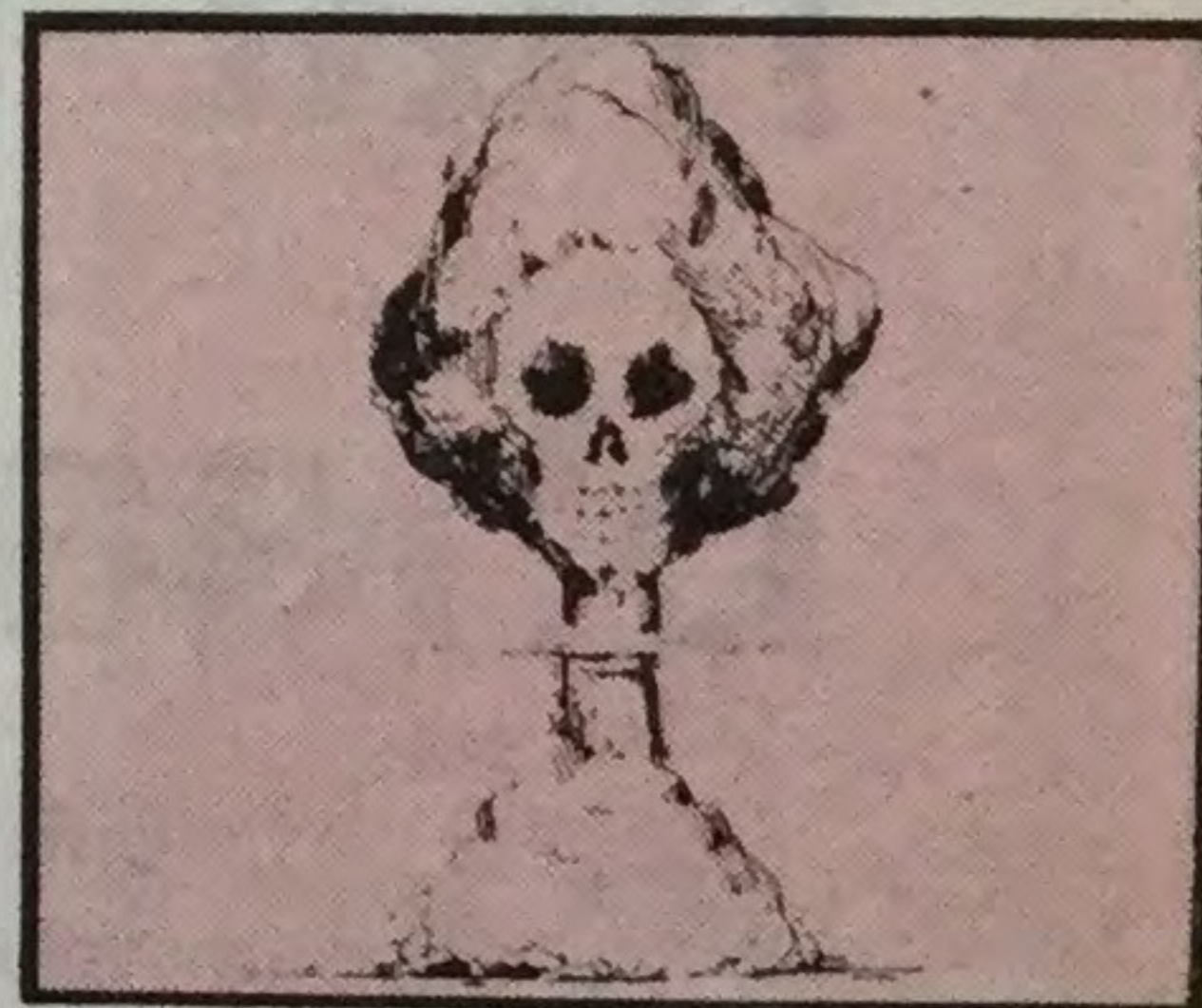
*South Africa, a country not technologically of the first rank, appears to have solved, with some West German assistance, the most difficult technical feat in the nuclear business, the isotopic enrichment of uranium and is reported to be building a plant at Valindaba near Pretoria—operating apparently on a technique not yet developed on a large scale anywhere else in the world, the Becker nozzle.*

*If the South Africans can do it then almost all of the countries on the list could do likewise and also build a plutonium separation plant to enable them to run a nuclear programme without outside aid.*

a programme, which is growing very rapidly. Some of the reactor output has to be invested in the building and fuelling of future plants and the proportion which must be invested depends — critically as it turns out — on the rate of growth of the nuclear programme.

In the British case, with the number of reactors planned to double every 4.3 years — slow by the standards of some other countries — analysis of the energy flows involved shows that even using high grade uranium ores only about a quarter to a half the energy which is supposed to be produced will be available for general consumption.

The rest will have to be reinvested to sustain the rate of growth of reactor construction. This means that either two to four times as much capacity must be built as was expected or else the electricity generated will be two to four times as expensive. For the current US and French programmes, which envisage doubling reactor numbers every 2.5 and 2 years respectively, energy analysis leads to the apparently absurd conclusion that all the energy they produce — and more — must be reinvested. In other words these reactors will receive a continuing energy subsidy from fossil fuels.



It has become an article of faith, almost an ideology in some quarters, that nuclear power is the only source capable of meeting the demands of the next few decades. Now the task of building the plants in the time required may turn out to be truly Sisyphean. Like a snake eating its own tail the nuclear programme could consume the energy it produces.

The impetus, at least in the West, is political and financial — to adopt an energy source more easily controlled and less of a burden on the balance of payments — the exact opposite of the likely effects of current nuclear programmes.



● Hiroshima, a charred atomic desert, 1945.

Considerable hazards are also presented by plutonium. This is one of the most toxic substances known. Quantities of the order of a microgram can cause leukaemia or cancer. Even smaller doses may be serious if the 'hot particle' theory of Tamplin and Cochran is correct. This asserts that a single plutonium particle in the lung, a millionth of a metre in diameter, delivers an effective dose to a tiny part of the lung of several thousand rads, more than enough to induce cancer.

## Safety

Any fuel which has pretensions to supplying a major portion of the world's energy requirements ought to meet certain basic criteria:

- (a) It should be in assured supply.
- (b) It should be reasonably cheap and easy to exploit.
- (c) It ought to be widely available and not limited by political or geographical factors.
- (d) It should be capable of being easily scaled up or down to allow for differing requirements and states of technological development.
- (e) It should provide substantial net energy yield after allowance for all necessary energy investment.

concentrated in a few areas, most of them not likely, for one reason or another to be large consumers in the near future. Once again the world may be divided into energy haves and have-nots. Furthermore nuclear power is a rich country's technology. It presupposes a well developed electricity distribution network and a large industrial infra-structure. The few efforts to sell nuclear plants to third world countries have been largely for propaganda and prestige, totally unrelated to the developing country's needs.

On perhaps the most fundamental criterion of all, that of a substantial net yield of energy, the question is still open. It seems possible that, with any of the planned national nuclear programmes, a large fraction of the output, and in some cases all of it, will have to be reinvested to maintain the rate of growth.

Over the operational safety of reactors and the storage and disposal of spent fuel, the question mark looms very large indeed. Discussion of the possibility of a "loss of coolant accident" in Light Water Reactors and the subsequent release of a large fraction of the fission product inventory — equivalent to the fallout from several thousand atom bombs — is a considerable literature in itself.

Despite a recently published report (which equated the chances of dying in a nuclear accident with those of being killed by a falling meteorite), the question



Nil an la fos leis an mBrianach faoin dara bealach telefise sna Se Chontae Fíchead. Ta se fein fos ag bru agus ag moladh go ndeanfai athchraoladh ar BBC Northern Ireland ina iomlan — ainneoin nach bhfuil se cinnte chor ar bith an feidir e seo a dheanamh. Ach is cuma leis an Cruiser faoi fhadhanna beaga den chineal sin — ta se chomh fiain ag iarraidh a ideal culturtha siud no a thuiscint siud ar ceard is cultur liobaralach

Eireannach ann (na habraimis Gaelach), go bhfuil se beag beann ar fhadhanna teicniula. Ta se chomh togha leis an liobaralachas seo, liobaralachas in ar seasamh i leith na Sasanach, go bhfuil se ag iarraidh an tir ar fad a mhunlu i ndeanamh uas-mhean aicme Bhlea Cliath, cuma an lucht Foxroch no Bhinn Eadair a bhionn i gceist.

Sodar i ndiaidh na n-uasal ata ann go bunusach, ach

e deanta go sofaisticiuil — teastaionn o Chonchubhar Crus a leiriu go bhfuil Eireannaigh sibhialta sa chomhtheacs ina nglactar leis an bhfocal sin go coitianta, agus os iad na Sasanaigh agus sean-impireacht na Breataine an dream ba sibhialta a bhí ann ariamh ní mor duinne, dar leis, bheith sibhialta ar a mbealach siud. Mar sin iompaimis chomh fada agus is feidir o aon cheo a mbeadh blas Gaelach (sa chiall coitianta) air — gan tracht ar bhlas naisiunta agus bimis sibhialta leis an mBBC.

Eagla ata ann dairire, eagla roimh an rud nach dtuigeann se fein — rugadh an Brianach in Eirinn, ta se in ann a bhealach a dheanamh a bheag no a mhór i nGaeilge (o phos se Maire Mhac an tSaoi) ach nil aon tuiscint aige ar chroí an naisiun Ghaelaigh. Caith isteach i dteach tabhairne e ait ar bith faoin dtír no i mBlea Cliath fein, ina mbheadh an choismhuintir ag ol pionta tareis obair an lae agus bheadh se cailte. Bi ag caint ar wavelengths eagsula. Agus cuimhnigh go bhfuil fear da leitheid mar Aire Rialtais o Phairti an Lucht Oibre againn.

Ni hionann seo ar fad agus a ra go bhfuil muid chomh togha leis an job ata deanta ag RTE go dtí seo go gceapann muid gur coir curam na dara bealach telefise a thabhairt doibh, ait a mbheadh si slán. D'fheadfai an la a chaitheamh ag caineadh RTE agus an dream ata os a chionn, dream ata go mor i munla an Bhrianaigh. Agus is beag seans a bheadh ag pobal na tíre seo i gcoitinne dul i gcionn ar dhream Eireannach i bhfeighil RTE 2, ach b'fhearr an caol-sheans sin na rabhadh lucht Londain a sha sios ar scornaigh.

Nach ait mar a thagann corr sa tsaol. Feach anois go bhfuil an Dr. O'Briain ag iarraidh seirbhis nuachta a chur ar fail don tír ina hiomlan, seirbhis a chraolann agallaimh le 'subversives' — ceard a dheanfaidh se anois le hAit a 31 den Acht Craolachain a thachtann agus a chlaonann seirbhis nuachta RTE 1?

# LORD HARRIS = CRUS

SCÉAL  
SCÉIL

## Duairt muid libh gur mar seo a bheadh...

Is beag an sasamh duinne a throid go laidir in aghaidh an Chomhargaidh ag iarraidh firinne agus firici an sceil a chur ar a suilibh do mhuintir na hEireann, gur feidir linn a ra go hard agus go rialta — duirt muid libh gur mar seo a bheadh. Ag snamh in aghaidh easa a bhíomar trath an reifrinn ag iarraidh cluas le heisteacht on goismhuintir. Bhíodar ro-bhodhraithe ag gealluinti breige lucht rialtais agus freasura, plamas lucht na ngnóthai mora agus na rainsearai, le heisteacht linne.

In aon seachtain amhain an mhi seo caite, rinne an Taoiseach, an Gearailteach, Justin Ceitinn, and Dr. O hIrgile agus George Thomson na hAlban, caineadh i mBlea Cliath ar an gComhphobal Eorpach. Ar ndo bhí cuiseanna eagsula acu go leir agus ní labhradh einne acu in aghaidh prionsabal an Chomhphobail fein — Eorpaigh

dhiaganta iad go leir — ach i ngan fhios doibh fein b'fheidir, sin go direach a bhí ar siul.

Siad O hIrgile agus Thomson an bheirt Choimisineir sa Bhruiseal is tabhachtai o thaobh cearta agus staid an duine aonair dhe. Bhí no ta se de churam ar Thomson pleananna a leagan amach a scaipfidh maoin naoi dtír an Chomhphobail ar bhealach coir a thabharfaidh caighdean maith maireachtala do chuile dhuine. Se an job ata ag O hIrgile na cearta sibhialta na ndaoine a bhfuil conai ortha sa Chomhphobal as chosaint. Is breá leo siud ata go mor i bhfabhar Eoraip Aontaithe diriu ar an da raonn seo — feigiunda agus soisialta — le leiriu go bhfuil an leas coiteann i gceist sa Chomhphobal, nach conradh tradala amhain agus Comhargadh ata ann.

Is leir on meid a bhí le ra ag Thomson



● An Coscarach agus Taoisigh an Chomhargaidh i mBlea Cliath.

agus O hIrgile go dtuigeann siad san sa deireadh thiar go bhfuil se fanach acu bheith ag iarraidh fiu pleananna leamha soisialta a leagan amach, mar nach nglactar leo. Ta se ag dul i gcionn ortha go mall nach bhfuil an Ghearmain Thiar, an Fhrainc no aon tír shaibhir eile sasta a gcuid maoin a thabhairt uathu ar mhaithe leis an dream nach bhfuil chomh maith as. Bhí Thomson ag caint ar Chomhphobal na bhear saibhir agus comhphobal eile don choismhuintir — nach mall sa la ata an tuiscint bhunaidh seo ag teacht chuig an bh-fear bocht.

Seard a bhí ag deanamh buartha don Coscarach agus don Aire Gnothai Eachtracha nach raibh an Comhphobal ag gníomhu mar aonad, go raibh 'morchumhachtai' na naoi dtír — an Ghearmain Thiar agus an Fhrainc, ag gníomhu ina gceann agus ina gceann ar bhonn idir-naisiunta ar mhaithe lena leas fein.

B'abhar gairi a bheadh sa mheid seo ar fad i ndairire — soineantacht agus easpa tuisciona ceannairi na tíre seo a cheap go neisteofai le tír bheag agus go mbeadh tíortha saibhre caipitleacha sasta airgead a chur ar fail chun cuidiu le cinn laga eile — b'abhar gairi a bheadh ann muna mbeadh leas eachnamaiochta na tíre seo ag braith go hiomlan anois ar an mballraocht so Chomhargadh. Agus ta an cuma ar an sceal go gceapann an rialtas go dtiocfaidh athru ar chursai amach anseo. Ni thiocefaidh go bhfagfaidh muid an club.





# Eagsulacht

ag an

'Twalfth'

Ta taispeantas ealaine de shaothar nua-pheinteiri na Ruise ceilte anois ar mhuintir na hEireann de bharr caimileireacht lucht polaitiochta anseo agus rud nios measa fos, nior caineadh bun-fhath na caimileireachta sin go hoscailte.

Se Paul Funge, ceannaire an ghailearai ealaine i nGuaire — an fear ceanna a bhí go mor chun tosaí san agoid a rinneadh i gColaiste na hEalaine i mBlea Cliath roinnt blianta ó shin agus a caitheadh amach as a phost ann de bharr na hagoide ceanna — a bhí leis an dtaispeantas a thabhairt go hEirinn. Bhí se i detangbhail leis an Roinn Ealaine i Moscow agus le hAmbasaid na Soibheide anseo agus na socraithe a ndeanadh. Bhí gailearaithe ar fud na tíre i mbailte coimeadacha ar nos Loch Garman, níos mó na sasta glacadh leis an dtaispeantas, ach ansin go tobann bheartaigh Bardas Atha Cliath nach scaoilfidis siud na peictiúirí isteach sa danlann.

Se Coiste 'Cultúrtha' an Bhardais a chinn air seo agus thugadar fath leibideach mar leithséal. Níor comhlionadh na gnath nosanna iarratais do thaispeantas da leitheid, aduradar. Chungch Cathaoirleach an Choiste sin, an tUasal Briscoe (ar dheis) — mac leis an iar-Ard Mhéara — ar an dtéifis ag miniu an sceil. Ní bhfuairadar liosta na bpeictiúirí a bhí le teacht aduirt se, agus thairis sin, aduirt se, bhí se den bharuill gurda dheoin fein a bhí Paul Funge ag tabhairt taispeantais on Ruis go hEirinn, dha



**EALAIN**

mba cheann oifigiúil ó Moscow e bheadh Ambasaid na Soibheide anseo ag ple leis.

Se firinne an sceil gur bheartaigh an Coiste Cultúrtha diultu don taispeantas le vota amháin, agus b'shin vota reitigh an chathaoirligh, Briscoe. Iudach e an fear ceanna agus bhain se usaid as a sheasamh ar choiste an Bhardais lena dhearcadh frith-Shoibheideach a shasamh.

Ní hionadh gur bheartaigh Moscow gan an taispeantas a chur go hEirinn chor ar bith. Is boichte muide da uireasa.

Bhí eagsulacht sna teachtaireachtaí a craobhscoileadh nuair a comoradh bua an Rí Liam ag Cath na Boinne don 285ú uair le deireannaí — Ard Mhaistir Mor Loiste Oraisteach na hEireann, an tUrramach Martin Smyth sasta go n-eireodh leis an gCoinbhinsean agus go bhfanadh na Se Chontae go sochar mar chuid don Ríocht Aontaithe, riaradh agus dlíthe da cuid fein aice.

A mhalairt a bhí in aige ag Ceannaire agus Leas-Ceannaire an Vanguard agus pobal na ndilseoirí a ngriosadh acu siud. Bhí dochas eigin ag Mr. Craig go bhfeadfai teacht ar chomhreiteach maidir leis an gcineal riaradh a bheadh sa Tuaisceart amach anseo. Gheall se go mbeadh a gcearta le fail ag an mionlach amach anseo agus bhí suil aige go mbeadh se ar a gcumas a ndilseacht a thabhairt don Stait in aith a bheith ag caitheamh i ndiaidh Eireann Aontaithe. Dúirt Mr. Craig go mbheadh se de dhualgas ag an moramh ó thuaidh a chinntiu nach n-imreofai leatrom ar einne toisc tuairimi airithe polaitiúla a bheith aige agus lean se air: . . . "one would also like to make it clear to the minority that, as well as having equality and justice in the fullest measure, they would have an

opportunity to play a worthwhile role in the parliamentary process of law-making and decision-taking."

Muna n-eireodh leis an gCoinbhinsean aontu faoin modh riarachain a bheadh ann chaithfi leanacht le riail dhíreach ó Westminster, aduirt Mr. Craig, ach chaithfi feabhas a chur ar an gcineal riail dhíreach a bheadh i gceist. Da dhonacht seo, b'fhéarr e na "an unwanted, unsatisfactory power-sharing executive," dar leis. Scaoilimis sin tharaim ar feadh noimead agus breathnaimis ar a raibh le ra ag a thanaiste siud, Mr. Ernest Baird.

Bhí seisean cinnte nach n-eireodh leis an gCoinbhinsean agus chuir se an míleán ar Harold Wilson agus a Rialtas, ar Rees agus Stanley Orme. Chuir siad seala an bhais air, aduirt se, nuair a duradar go gcaithfi an chumhacht a roinnt le ionadaithe an mhionlaigh. D'aon ghno a rinneadh seo dar leis, chun a chinntiu go mbrisfi an ceangal idir an Tuaisceart agus an Bhreatain — bhí bealach ealaithe ó Westminster aduirt se, agus chaithfeadh dilseoirí a bheith san airdeall ach bhí se dochasach, cuma ceard a tharlódh, go mbeadh an la le Uladh ach dilseoirí a bheith aontaithe.

Focla breatha misnigh ó lucht an Vanguard — iad ag iarraidh stadas reamh '68 a thabhairt ar ais, is stat neamhspleach mas ga, agus caint fos acu ar 'chearta'. Ní fheadar an soineanta ata siad fein, no an geeapann siad go bhfuil an mionlach nios soineanta fos no an buailim sciath a bhí an don Twalfth, cuid den deasghnath treibheach a mbítear ag suil leis ar an la sin. Biodh is nach bhfuil ann ach sin, is rabhadh eile fos e do Phoblachtanaigh go bhfuil cogadh cathardha ag bagairt ó thuaidh, cogadh a bhrufadh an mionlach agus an moramh ó cheile ar bhonn fuilteach seichteach in aith an fhíor-chogaigh — lucht oibre anotaithe in aghaidh gaimbini an chaipileachais.



# UNITE WORKERS

A Conference on Sectarianism and how to combat it was held in Derry City on the weekend of July 26/27th. The conference which was organised by the North West Area Executive of Republican Clubs was addressed by Pdraig Yeates, Sinn Fein Educational Department; Tony Heffernan, General Secretary Sinn Fein; Kevin Smyth and Sean O Cionnaith, Six County Executive of Republican Clubs; and Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein. The Derry conference of sectarianism is just one of a series at present being organised by the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs throughout the north.

Tomas Mac Giolla addressing the conference said:

"We in the Republican Movement gave the fullest possible support, co-operation and guidance to the Civil Rights struggle. We had analysed and understood its possibilities in 1966 and saw that it could smash the Orange Unionist power structure and bring Stormont to its knees, which it did.

"We did not, however, want Stormont replaced by Direct British Rule which we vigorously opposed. We demanded democracy and basic Civil Rights, not the abolition of Stormont. We saw the real revolutionary potential which would exist when Unionism had been shattered by open political action.

"We never intended or wanted the Civil Rights Campaign to be a prelude for a military campaign because we are aware that this would be counter revolutionary. We know that a purely military campaign would destroy the unity which the Civil Rights struggle was developing, that it would strengthen bigotry and sectarianism and eventually solidify once again the Orange Unionist structure. Our purpose was to eliminate sectarianism completely.

"But those who started the Provisionals took advantage of the sectarian emotions stirred up in 1969 and used them to strengthen their own support for a military campaign. The whole basis of the Provisional organisation was sectarian and the result of their campaign has been to develop sectarianism and fascism to unprecedented heights, to strengthen the hand of Paisley and Craig, to make a mockery of Wolfe Tone's Republican policy of uniting Catholic and Protestant workers and to confuse all the Irish people to such an extent that they now question whether the objective of a united Independent Irish Republic is a legitimate aspiration.

"During the early summer there was increasing talk of Civil War as sectarian killings and counter killings mounted. These were not the harbingers of Civil War but part of a deliberately created "terror situation" which the British forces are prepared to tolerate and in some cases encourage and execute. Their overall purposes was to "persuade" the politicians in the Convention to come up with agreed proposals which would be acceptable to the British Government.

"The real danger of Civil War would come if the Provisionals restarted their bombing campaign. There is increasing evidence that their militants are in the ascendant and in some areas are preparing for a resumption of their campaign of terror.

"The Loyalist Paramilitary groups are in any case acting on the assumption that the Provo ceasefire will end in the Autumn and some at least are openly threatening to carry out their own reign of terror if this does happen. It is in such a situation of terror and counter terror that widespread

Civil War could become a reality. This is particularly so now as the ultra leftists under the banner of the IRSP are determined to take a hand in promoting it.

This new group, small though they are, could be very dangerous in such a tense situation. They have been actively encouraging dissident Provisionals to restart their campaign and in recent weeks have had discussions with some leading Provos in Derry City. They have spent the summer whipping up support from their Trotskyist friends of the Fourth International on the continent. Their leaders have in the past made their position on sectarianism amply clear.

"It is a position totally opposed to that of the Republican Clubs and is one of the major differences of policy that exist between us. They have asserted that the Protestant people are all fascist thugs and gangsters and that they are pro-Imperialists, part of the enemy and must be treated as such. They say that we have our heads in the sand when we talk of opposing sectarianism and striving for working class unity.

"Their policy therefore is to promote open confrontation with the Loyalists. It is a policy which will of course get plenty of active support from the many sectarian bigots on the Catholic side, who care nothing for the human and national disaster which such a course would entail.

"We now call for public support for our policy of active opposition to all forms of sectarianism. We particularly call for the support of working class organisations such as Trade Unions and tenant or community associations since it is ordinary working class people who are suffering and will continue to suffer the effects of this cancer in our society. Those who preach sectarian hatred should be publicly named and shunned and no support whatever should be given to organisations which promote sectarianism by word or action. We are prepared to meet and work with any individual or group in an attempt to mount a campaign against bigotry and sectarianism. If we don't succeed in rooting it out or at least abating the present high fever, a barren and bleak future faces everyone in the North even if we manage to avoid Civil War.

"The best method of opposing sectarianism is to promote working class politics. There are now so many social and economic issues to be tackled that there should be little difficulty in getting workers to realise the hard economic facts. Their biggest fight now is to protect jobs and living standards. Their employers, who are also their political leaders, will be glad to see them at each others throats on irrelevant sectarian issues because what they fear most is workers united in struggle on economic and social issues. Unemployment is now running at 52,000 in the North and will probably reach 60,000 in the winter. In such a situation Craig, West and Taylor will not be seen as great friends of Loyalist workers.

"The other area in which sectarianism must be attacked is in the field of education. Little has yet been done here although it is here that future generations are being indoctrinated. The pursuit of a comprehensive and integrated secular education system is a fundamental part of the fight against sectarianism.

"This is a long and almost permanent struggle and we can expect few immediate successes but we must never let up."

pledge of welfare.

rights and happiness

national government

international government

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SEAN Mac DARA

P. H. PEARSE

JAMES CONNOR

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**Sinn Fein Platform**

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● Cllr. Montgomery chairman of the North West Executive.



● How soon before Mr. Cosgrave reviews Southern troops as part of NATO?

## Demand State Industry

At the A.G.M. of the North West Executive of Republican Clubs held in Derry, 17-7-75, the following Officer Board was elected. Chairman: Councillor Michael Montgomery; Vice Chairman: Con Tiney; Secretary: Ivan Barr; Treasurers: John McLoughlin and Martin McCoy; Education Officer: Michael Donnelly and P.R.O. Eamonn Melaugh.

Speaking to the Executive, Ivan Barr, Strabane, stated that over the last three weeks, Ivor Canavan (Alliance); John Hume,

(SDLP) and Glenn Barr, (Vanguard) have suggested vague solutions to overcome the problems of industrial stagnation in the North West area. Hume and Glenn Barr could offer nothing more constructive than a suggested conference to discuss probable solutions. Both neglected to offer any practical suggestions to help stop the drift towards industrial depression.

Ivor Canavan suggested a study of the North West to provide the necessary development in the area. We agree that something has to

be done to stimulate economic growth west of the Bann and at every election the Republican Clubs have highlighted this problem and made constructive proposals to get this matter implemented. Economics were totally ignored by the parties of Canavan, Glenn Barr and John Hume.

Before any solution is offered, it must be realised that the cause of the problem stems from the inability of private enterprise to provide sufficient job opportunities. The only real alternative is

state sponsored industry. We suggest that this can best be done by a concerted mobilisation of State resources to get industrial and commercial expansion going immediately.

What is needed to get these and other suggestions considered and acted upon is for the Mayor to invite all political parties to send representatives to a meeting to discuss a programme of action to pressurise the Westminster Government into accepting responsibility for promoting economic growth.

## Black Watch brutality

"The claim by British Army headquarters in Lisburn that Derick McCarthy, who received more than 50 stitches to injuries inflicted on him by members of the Black Watch regiment in Turf Lodge on Sunday night, 27-7-75, had been positively identified striking a soldier" is as ludicrous as their claim that Mr. McCarthy had "injured himself".

The claim, however, indicates what the Northern Ireland Office's response is

going to be to the demands by the Republican Clubs Executive that the members of the Regiment responsible should be charged with the assault on Mr. McCarthy and that the Regiment be withdrawn. Instead of bringing the culprits to justice the authorities apparently intend to prosecute the victim.

The people of Turf Lodge angered by the conduct of the Black Watch regiment on Sunday night are incensed by the utterances from the

Lisburn headquarters of the British Army since then.

On Monday morning Lisburn headquarters "denied all knowledge" of the Turf Lodge incidents. Later that day they said that rubber bullets had been fired at a crowd throwing stones. No mention was made at that stage of anybody having struck a soldier. Nor was any mention made of such an occurrence on Tuesday when the extent of the injuries inflicted on Mr. McCarthy

was publicised by the Republican Clubs.

In a letter to the Secretary for State (29-7-75) calling for the withdrawal of the Black Watch regiment the Republican Clubs pointed out that their continued presence in the Turf Lodge area "is bound to bring a violent reaction from a public outraged by the violence inflicted by the regiment on Derick McCarthy...". Their sense of outrage has been increased by the latest statement from Lisburn."

## ON THE NATO ROAD

Some years ago Mr. Cosgrave said that Ireland was not ideologically neutral. Mr. Lemass expressed similar sentiments when the main struggle in the world as between the forces of "atheistic communism" and "Christian western civilisation" and declared that Ireland was firmly in the Western camp. Thus despite official protestations to the contrary successive 26 County governments have rarely strayed beyond a crude cold war attitude to world affairs.

Even prior to Ireland's entry to the EEC, the first steps were being taken to assimilate the Irish army into the NATO structure. This process is now almost

complete and the Irish army is now indistinguishable from NATO armies such as the British one which is now operating in Northern Ireland.

Ireland's entry into the EEC has led to a further acceleration away from even the limited neutrality of the 1950's and 1960's. As the recent European Commission Report quite frankly admitted recently, European Union also means military union. Already Dr. Fitzgerald has chaired meetings of EEC foreign ministers which have discussed military matters. This is despite the fact that Ireland is not formerly in any military alliance. Thus Dr. Fitzgerald does not object in

principle to Ireland joining a European military alliance, all he objects to is the timing.

Sinn Fein warned against the military implications of EEC membership during the referendum. In a period of growing detente in the world it would be criminally irresponsible for any bloc of countries to form a new military alliance. For Ireland to become involved in an EEC attempt would be doubly irresponsible. Currently the EEC countries are seeking to establish areas of influence for themselves in parts of the world which formerly formed part of the overseas empires of countries such as France, Belgium and

Britain. Ireland with its past which is unique in the Common Market thus serves as an invaluable front man for the EEC in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Dr. Fitzgerald has allowed himself to be touted around the African and Middle Eastern countries as a sort of super salesman of the EEC and for the multinational firms which dominate it.

The only correct foreign policy for this country is one which is in line with our history. Ireland should not take part in any military blocs. Our foreign policy should vigorously support all efforts for peace and national independence in the world.



# Portugal on the road to a socialist society

The past year has been a terribly exciting one for the people of Portugal and progressives around the world are watching anxiously as the Portuguese embark on their own road to socialism.

For some of the Armed Forces leaders of the coup which overthrew the repressive regime of Marcello Caetano on April 25, 1974, a full fledged revolution involving a thorough reorganisation of society based on the principles of democracy and working class control is going beyond their aspirations for a more equal but nevertheless privileged social order. These people have fallen by the wayside as the flood of the Portuguese people with the Armed Forces Movement at the helm rush past, determined that the revolution will not be hindered from its completion. This has been evident during the past trying year when the Portuguese revolution met many serious challenges. But the people themselves who have suffered over forty years of the most ruthless and repressive regime are crying out that they will never turn back.

Without this determination the Portuguese people do not have a chance of succeeding. At this early stage they are already surrounded by enemies who would gladly see them fail and who have already tried to ensure that failure.

The first task of the Armed Forces Movement is to clearly point out these enemies to the people and explain their motives in preparing the Portuguese people for the defence of the important gains they have already made.

The work of the Armed Forces was essential to the running of the Portuguese economy. Under Caetano's regime one half of the yearly income was spent on financing the African wars. This money was raised by opening Portugal and her colonies to foreign investors and collecting tax and mineral royalties from them. In return the Armed Forces protected those interests which included the huge profits amassed by the elite of Portuguese society.

The Portuguese colonies were run with an iron fist and the arrogance and racism of the white colonial mind. Organised resistance to her became effective in the 1960s. The behaviour of the Armed Forces served as a catalyst for this organising. Massacres on a par with those being committed in Vietnam were the order of the day.

With the continued resistance to Portugal's presence in Africa, the Portuguese Government reached deeper and deeper into her NATO pocket, supplying her military forces with the most sophisticated weapons, defoliants and herbicides, which they used to starve the people into submission. Amilcar Cabral, the assassinated revolutionary leader of the now liberated Guinea Bissau once said, "Unaided Portugal would not be able to continue the wars. Portugal is using the best modern jet planes against us, yet in Portugal they can't even produce toy planes for children".

## Dictator

This supplementary aid from NATO was in actuality a violation of the NATO Charter which clearly states that NATO equipment is solely to be used within the North Atlantic defence lines of the countries participating in the alliance. The Portuguese territories in Africa were clearly outside this designated area. Portugal insisted however, that her national territory included the overseas provinces and NATO conceded this privilege most probably on the basis of the strategic location of her colonies and the fact that the Azores, described by one NATO official as NATO's most important base in the world, was Portuguese territory.

NATO is the United States' most important military alliance. Without it the air defence of the United States is impossible. Although NATO had been set up supposedly in defence of "freedom and democracy", Portugal was invited to join by the United States in spite of the fact that Salazar was a blatant dictator. The United States Government knew

that it could count on Portugal's anti-communism, on her stability and friendship.

While the Portuguese economy continued to decline, the Salazar and later the Caetano Governments put more and more emphasis on the African wars as the Third World became the battlefield for power and influence.

## Multi-nationals

It was within the realm of this foreign financial and military assistance that the Portuguese Armed Forces operated. Along with NATO they were protecting foreign capital investments which reached 40 per cent in the colonies by 1969. They were the protectors of the large Angolan coffee plantations and their magnets; they protected the columbotantalite industry in Mozambique, a touch steel used as a strategic metal by the US and Britain; and they were the protectors of the Gulf Corporation, the principle beneficiary of oil resources in Angola and one of the leading multi-nationals operating in the world today including in Ireland.

The Armed Forces had also become the instrument of order for the Portuguese elite, perhaps not more than ten families, who had the bulk of their huge fortunes invested in the "troublesome" overseas territories. Of the 40,051 companies listed operating in Portugal at the end of 1972, 168 accounted for 53 per cent of the total capital involved. Of these 168, many were polarized into single groups so that in actuality some seven groups dominated the economy. These seven including four large Portuguese families represented the economic base of fascism. For example the Espirito Santo family (one of Portugal's 3 most powerful monopoly groups) began with a commercial bank in Lisbon. From these profits they went on to finance exploitation in Mozambique and Angola, building up the base of their industrial empire. The empire included rubber and tyre production, cellulose and paper, cement production, breweries, banks, insurance companies, hotels and other tourist businesses. Their international financial connections included links with the Rockefellers, ITT and First National City Bank of New York. The cheap and in many cases forced labour in the colonies and the repressive police state ensured maximum profits.

Amidst this super exploitation by the rich against the weak, an awareness, a political consciousness began to develop within the Portuguese Armed Forces.

Essentially this consciousness developed out of a growing hatred of the ruling class, mainly the big monopolies in whose protection the Armed Forces were supposed to fight and die. In Portugal and her colonies, the strength and success of her cruel regime depended on the support of these same armed forces. Their growing hatred and political development made possible the fairly peaceful coup on April 25, 1974.

Within the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) there are different political opinions and different levels of political consciousness. They were united in the act of overthrowing the Caetano regime and for this they went from being the feared and despised

soldiers to becoming public heroes. The people had approved. The MFA had seized power in the name of the people and in order to protect that power they called on the people and all political parties to put the national interest before everything else.

Among the progressives within the Armed Forces Movement the ideal of the Portuguese road to socialism was being articulated. Spinoza, one of the leading figures in Portugal since the April 25 coup, however, did not have this in mind at all when he wrote his controversial book PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE in which he clearly advocated a neo-colonial relationship between Portugal and her colonies, a position advocated by the United States. This position would enable the "mother country" to maintain economic control over her former territories without suffering huge war expenses or the risk of changing world opinion. Spinoza wrote, "In the general context of an increasing need for space, for markets and for complementary economies our African territories are essential to us, not only for the progressive future of our country but also for its position in the world league". Spinoza had every intention of ensuring that Portugal remain in NATO, and he realised that it was Portugal's overseas territories which interested NATO most.

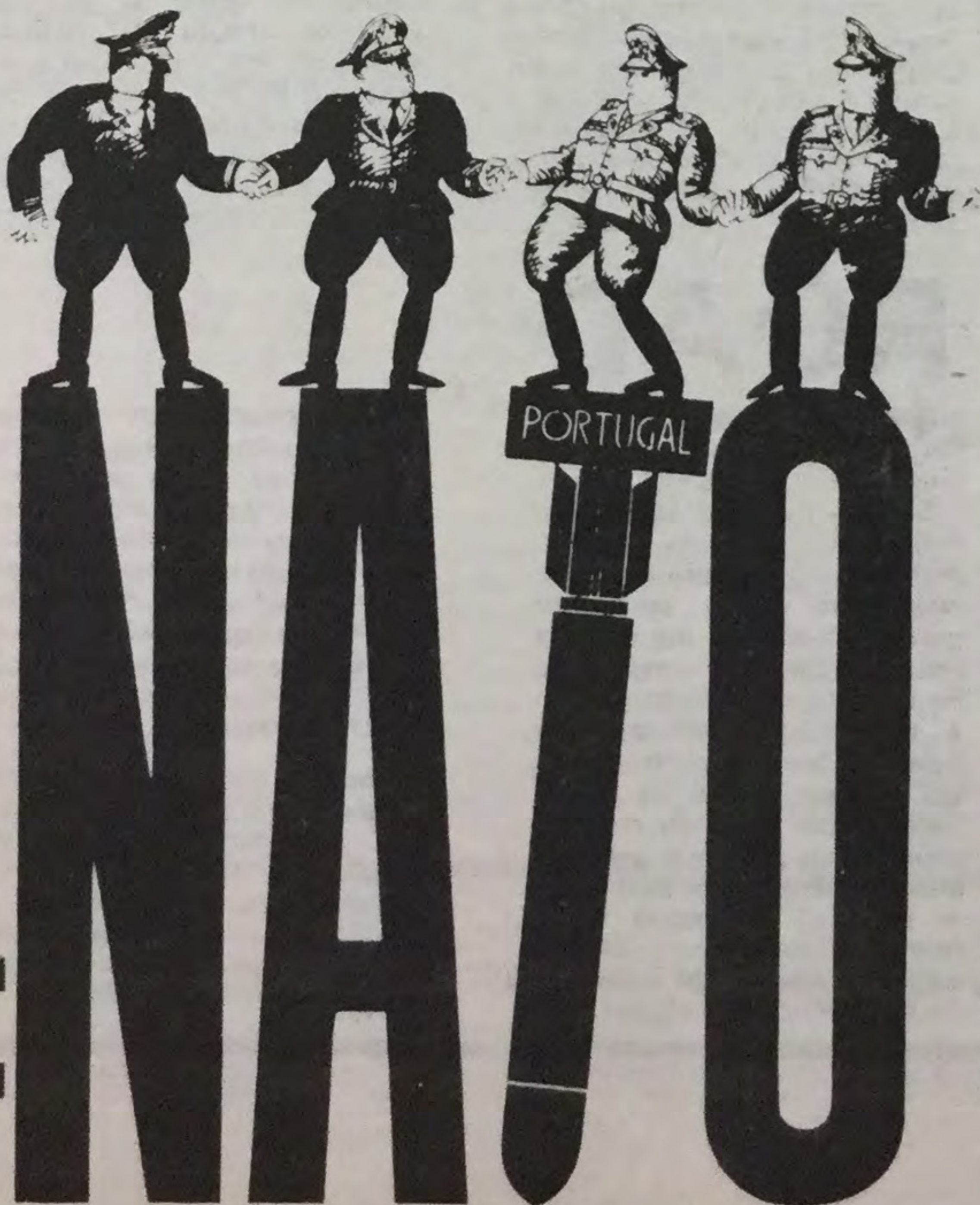
It was clear that Spinoza and his followers were threats to the development of socialism in Portugal as were the right and centre political parties which supported him.

The Armed Forces Movement met this challenge within their own ranks when it followed through on its unprecedented decolonialisation policy, recognising liberation movements in 3 African countries as being truly representative of their people. For this the MFA gained the description of the "fourth liberation movement".

## Disruption

The MFA saw itself as a caretaker government during a transitional period but it became more and more important in the face of reactionary forces that it assume the role of the vanguard of the Portuguese people, ensuring their democratic liberties.

The Armed Forces Movement clearly understood that there could be no political democracy in Portugal unless there was economic democracy, until the state apparatus which had perpetuated the exploitation of man by man, of the workers by the ruling class, was totally destroyed. As these policies which had not been clearly formulated beforehand but which had been learned in the experiences of the first year of the revolution were firmly stated in the name of the people, a number of political parties began to openly oppose the MFA, and thus the Portuguese people. Because they were organised and financially capable of influencing a section of the Portuguese people, they became the focus of the world press who presented these parties as the defenders of "freedom" and "democracy" in Portugal. In reality they were the tools of three leading Portuguese banking families who had the most to lose in the event of the development of socialism in their country. There would be other big losers too, namely the multi-





# The United WORLD

national corporations who with their military backup in the CIA, have certainly been at work in Portugal causing disruption and creating the impression that the MFA is not in control of the situation. It is known that the CIA, which tripled its staff in Portugal since the April 25 Coup, for instance, was involved in instigating a number of strikes in addition to having had a hand in the attempted counter coups during the last year.

The most successful attempt to upset the plans of the MFA's road to socialism has been the anti-communist campaign waged by the forces of the right through the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party was among those parties which signed the "Political Pact" before

programme, the Communist Party of Portugal has been able to organise workers around the demand for socialism and support for the Armed Forces Movement. The Communist Party has had good relations with the MFA because it is in agreement with its course. The MFA has asked for this same support from the other political parties, most of whom have refused to give it. There is another reason for the rapport between the Communist Party and the Armed Forces Movement. The Communist Party is convinced that the fascists and their allies will only be defeated by violent means and that although it is possible to win some of them over, the rest must be neutralised or they will continue to try and destroy the

landlords against "communists" and thereby ensure the defeat of progressives in the election. Large numbers of Portuguese emigrant workers in West Germany were forbidden from voting by absentee ballot in the election at the risk of losing their jobs. The most interesting communication involving West Germany was issued to West German businessmen by the West German Christian Democrat Information Service a few weeks before the attempted counter coup on March 11, 1975. "Consider well whether you absolutely have to travel to Portugal during the next few weeks. Influential circles of the 'Free World' are now undertaking feverish efforts to prevent a planned coup attempt by the communists and a following civil war. The leadership of these actions must of course lie in American hands. All politicians of these Portuguese 'democratic parties' will profit from this. A return to power by Spínola could be the result of this action, if it succeeds."

In its secret hideout in Spain the right wing "Portuguese Liberation Army" is preparing for the violent overthrow of the MFA. Among their plans are psychological as well as violent warfare, kidnapping ambassadors, the assassination of left wing and trade union leaders, provoking labour disputes and conflict within the MFA as well as sabotaging public services.

the liberated former Portuguese colonies in Africa are increasing the employment burden and the danger of counter revolutionary influence within Portugal.

The serious situation in Angola is also a threat to the success of the Portuguese revolution. Some of the Portuguese Armed Forces remaining in Angola have not benefited from the revolutionary experiences of the past year in Portugal and remain sympathetic to the wealthy landowners and industrialists in the former colony. They have been sited for collusion with the Portuguese police and the FNLA, a nationalist Angolan liberation group, against the progressive MPLA liberation movement. The continuing conflict between these two liberation groups has diverted the attention of the Armed Forces Movement from the other serious tasks at hand and has also made possible the infiltration and sabotage of the Portuguese revolution through its former territory, Angola.

## Solidarity

In a recent development in Portugal the Revolutionary Council of the MFA which has directed the country during the last year, has consolidated its power in three of its members. The Armed Forces Movement decided that "the authority and security of the revolution need a strong political direction". One of the tactics of those wishing to smash the Portuguese revolution has been to try and split the MFA. This last effort is an attempt to consolidate its forces and establish more discipline within its ranks. One of the main tasks of the Armed Forces Movement remains the ironing out of the contradictions within it.

The Armed Forces Movement seized power in the name of the people without a clear programme to direct them. There is a great need for the development of a revolutionary party with a clear political programme to fill this gap and to work hand in hand with the MFA. Perhaps the Portuguese

## National

While ensuring the safety of the Portuguese revolution, the Armed Forces Movement must continue to encourage the economic re-organisation of the state which is threatened with collapse. This has already begun with the workers taking over their factories and preventing the confiscation of the machinery by former employers; with the occupation of the banks by its clerks and the prevention of capital being taken out of the country; with the MFA's decree that it is ILLEGAL NOT TO FARM the large estates thus encouraging agricultural workers to take over



● Forward Revolutionary Process.

taking part in the election in April of this year in which they promised to support the Portuguese road to socialism as laid down by the MFA, placing the national interest before everything else. Although they received a majority of the votes (38 per cent) in the election, the Socialist Party has since refused to co-operate with the MFA and has retreated from its commitment to the "Political Pact" and the Portuguese people. Along with the other political parties of the right, the Socialist Party would not support the nationalisation of banks and insurance companies nor would they support the state takeover of the country's industries. The Socialist Party while willing to fight for a few concessions for the workers, is not willing to tamper with the power of the big monopolies. They are calling for the creation of a "western-style democracy". The words "freedom" and "democracy" have been distorted by the Socialist Party in order to assure the monopolies the freedom to exploit workers as they have done in the past in Portugal and as they do in the "western-style democracies" of the EEC. But the MFA is demanding true democracy and freedom for the workers, that is they are demanding the creation of a democratic state in which the workers will control the means of production and the wealth of their labour.

## Communist

The Communist Party of Portugal has consistently supported the MFA actions taken in protection of the Portuguese revolution and have encouraged them in developing the Portuguese way to socialism. They have also been the chief victims of the anti-communists campaign wage by the right. Although they received poor election results, they have been very influential in the trade union movement. As a disciplined political party with its own political

progress of the revolution and the revolution itself. This position is becoming more and more clearly the correct one. The elections in April should not have been held because they provided an artificial form of democratic participation in an atmosphere of distortion and counter revolutionary intrigue.

## Businessmen

The Armed Forces Movement must be vigilant against the threat of counter revolution. And even more important, the people must be vigilant. In order to prepare them for this the MFA must clearly define the enemies of the revolution and take steps to prevent them from organising and operating within the country. If the people have a clear understanding in whose interests these counter revolutionary forces are operating, they can be counted on to subvert these enemies from their course. They must understand that the anti-communist campaign being waged by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church is an attempt by the Church to maintain its authority in Portuguese society, an authority which rarely questioned the brutal fascist regime of the past 40 years. This same campaign is supported by the big business interests and the large ranchers and the people must ask themselves why they are waging this campaign against change.

The EEC has refused to give Portugal economic aid because she has not chosen to organise her economy to the liking of the ranchers and big businessmen of the EEC. The German Government, one of the leading forces in the EEC, has been involved in subverting progress in Portugal. Before the election in April the German ambassador to Portugal urgently requested funds for rural popular organisations from the West German Farmers Organisation. With this money they had planned to organise agricultural workers and



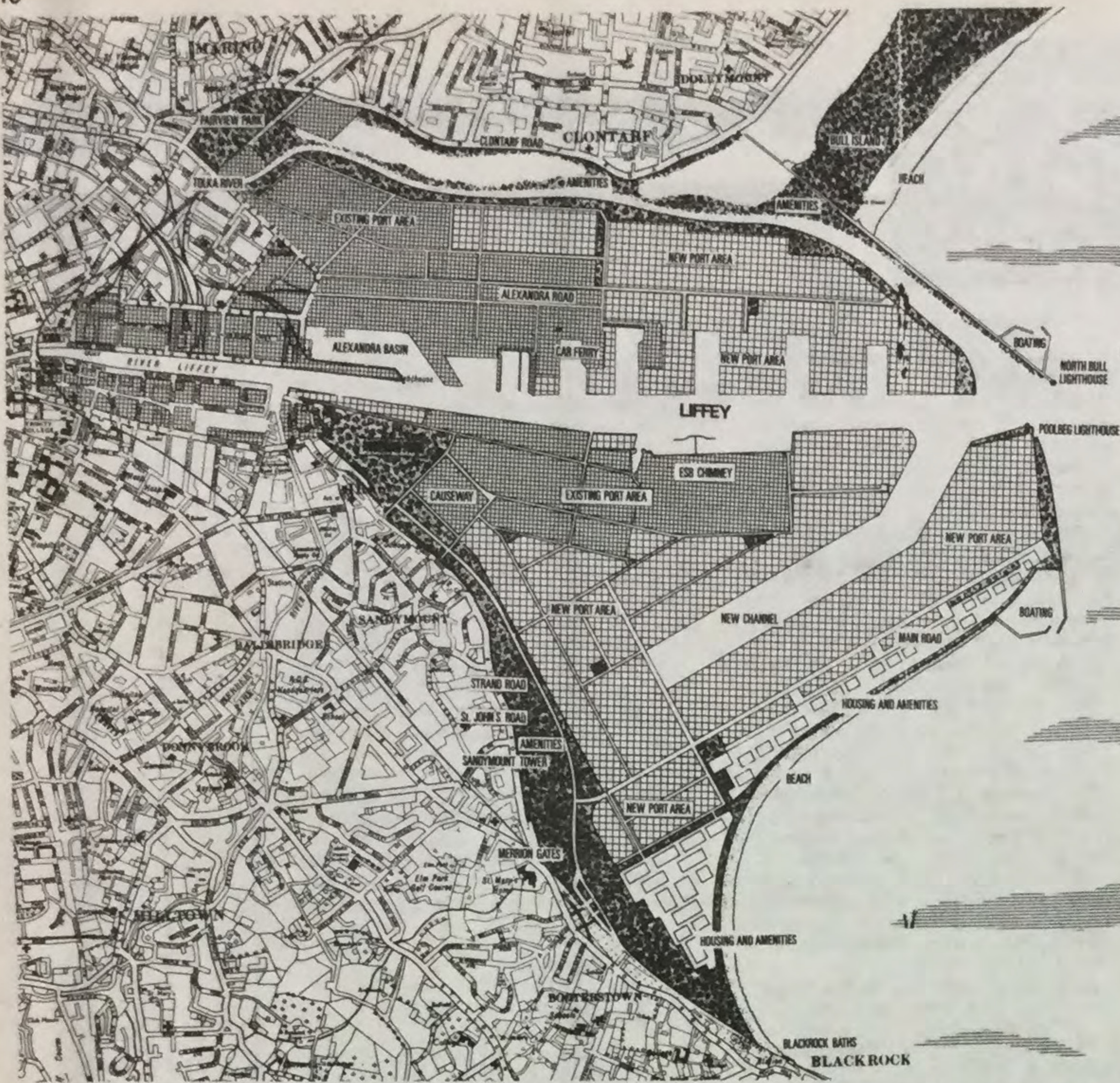
estates and work them. Keeping the Portuguese economy running is one of the prime tasks in the national interest.

Although the Armed Forces Movement has up until now not been able to form a government to its satisfaction and the satisfaction of the people due mainly to forces outside these two groups, it must develop an economic programme immediately. Portugal consumes billions of escudos more than it produces. Inflation is running at 30 per cent while unemployment has reached nearly 10 per cent. In addition the large numbers of disgruntled colonists (approx. 2,000 per day) returning to Portugal from

Communist Party given the opportunity to work politically in a democratic state without the threat of a reactionary campaign against them will assume this role. Perhaps the MFA has intentions of developing such a revolutionary party within its own ranks. It is the central task of this revolutionary party to unite every aspect of the revolution into a mighty, disciplined and cohesive force. It is this force which cannot be defeated.

We in Ireland must give our solidarity to the Portuguese people in acknowledgement of their gains and in an effort to help them to protect those gains and move on to building socialism in Portugal.





# Dublin Port Redevelopment

The campaign against the location of the proposed oil refinery in Dublin being carried on by some Dublin city Councillors has now been extended to include an unwarranted attack on the Dublin Port and Docks Board.

Far from being "uncooperative and undemocratic" the Board's approach to the long term development of Dublin would suggest a great desire to see every aspect of Dublin port and bay development discussed in an open and enlightened manner.

This month we give an outline of the views of the Port and Dock Board about the immediate need to plan Dublin's Bay for the future.

The Studies in Long Term Development of the Port of Dublin envisage not only Port development but also an estimated 8,000 new job opportunities; an impetus to the expansion of the national economy through an expanded port and a port industrial zone; housing for up to 20,000 people in an attractive setting; sites for parks, playgrounds, shops and every community facility; and a new five mile pleasure frontage on Dublin Bay, which would probably constitute the most valuable and most convenient amenity for Dublin yet provided, as well as being a very important tourist attraction.

This is not to be regarded as a plan in the more rigid sense of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act 1963. The Studies have been commissioned by the Dublin Port & Docks Board to provide an informed basis for examination and discussion. The aim is to stimulate public awareness, interest and response. Constructive views and criticisms are welcome from all sections of the community who feel they have a contribution to make. The Board will consider all such suggestions or criticisms.

The major part of Port planning was undertaken by the Board's chief officers and an outline sketch was published in 1965. It was then decided to widen the planning team so as to secure expertise in the wider fields of economic and social planning. The Board was fortunate in obtaining the services of two very distinguished Dutch experts:

**Mr. Bernard Fokkinga, Director of Town Planning, Rotterdam Municipal Authority.**

**Dr. E. D. J. Kruijtbosch, Director for Economic and Transportation Planning, Rotterdam area Planning Authority;**

and also the services of:

**Mr. J. F. A. Baker, former chief traffic adviser to the British Ministry of Transport.**

**Dr. Brendan Walsh, an economist with the Economic and Social Research Institute.**

**Mr. James Fehily, an Irish Landscape Architect.**

Certain conclusions are unavoidable.

(1) Dublin Port is expanding and must continue to do so. Statistics of tonnage handled at the Port clearly indicate that the volume of goods passing through the Port has almost doubled in the last 10 years. Dublin Port and Docks Board must therefore continue to plan the orderly development of port facilities to cater for the inevitable growth of trade through the Port.

(2) Job opportunities must be created at the Port. This is essential in view of the increasing Dublin population and the number of jobs which have been lost as a result of what is termed the transport revolution. The expansion of the Port can provide

these jobs both in the working port area and in the expanded port industrial zone which the Studies propose.

(3) The Social Environment. Fears have been expressed that if extensive Port development were to take place the residents north and south of the Liffey would be deprived of amenities to which they have long been accustomed and that new environmental hazards would arise. Particular care and attention have been devoted to these matters by the planners.

(4) The physical aspects of the development which the Studies propose. This section concerns itself with the areas which would be reclaimed should proposals in the Studies be implemented and where new housing, parks, beaches, storage, warehousing facilities and industries could be located.

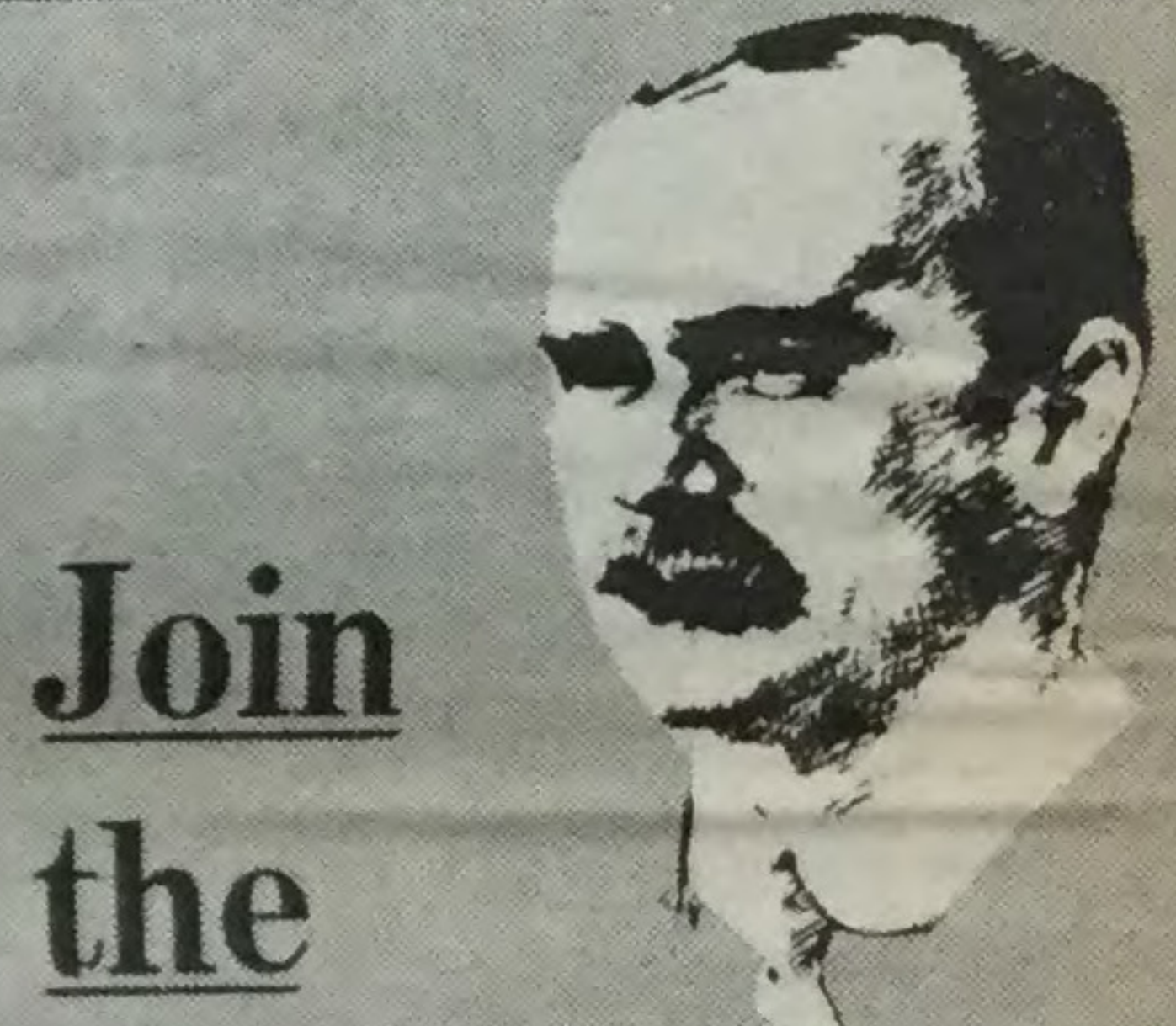
People who are not very familiar with the make-up and character of the trade of the Port of Dublin may be inclined to think of it in terms of a port which serves only the City of Dublin. The growth of the Port of Dublin is sometimes spoken of as if it were part of the problem of the growth of Dublin City, and as if the two were completely interdependent. There is, of course, a certain interdependence and a planning relationship but the Port of Dublin serves an area which reaches far beyond the City. Perhaps only those engaged in the business of transport can appreciate the important part the Port of Dublin plays in the economic life of the whole country, how vital its role, and the degree of national responsibility vested in the Port Board.

There is only one way in which Ireland can solve the joint problems of unemployment and emigration. This is by developing her international trade. Over 99 per cent of this trade by volume is carried by sea and more than 60 per cent of the general cargo, the most valuable constituent, passes through the Port of Dublin.

Dublin is the only example in the South of a large universal port and is also the only deepwater port on the east coast of the State. Moreover, it is one of the very few harbours in the State (and indeed the only general purpose port) capable of receiving ships of up to 200,000 tons registered tonnage. Forty-five per cent of the international trade of the South originates or terminates (in the case of imports) within 40 miles of Dublin Port.

Basically, the Studies were prepared because the Board realised that the Port was passing through a period of great change caused by a world transport revolution as significant as the changeover from sail to steam and by the expansion of the Irish economy.

To the Board the options were clear. It could either take the narrow short term view to meet current needs, i.e., a process of periodic bursting at the seams; or it could endeavour to take the broader view and visualise lines of development which could reconcile the long term interests of the nation, the city and the whole port community not only in terms of port services but also in terms of social needs, employment, housing and amenity development. The Board chose the latter course.



## Join the Republican Movement

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.  
We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.  
We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.  
We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.  
We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Further information available to prospective members at the following addresses.

ULSTER: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast. 12. Republican Club, 28 Gl. James's Street, Derry.

MUNSTER: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay, Cork. F. Reynolds, c/o 19 New Road, Kileely, Limerick. P. O'Callaghan, Cromane Killorglin Co. Kerry. An Runal, 113 The Quay, Waterford.

LEINSTER: Sinn Fein Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Rd., Bray.

CONNAUGHT: Paddy Kilcullen Kilmore, Bothar an Sop, Ballina, Co. Mayo. An Runal 35 37 Dominic Street, Galway.

I Wish to Join the Republican Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

To be continued next month



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