

United Irishman

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

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1976 THE YEAR OF INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

Little hope for our economy

The economic policies currently being pursued by both the Irish and British governments is likely to push our national unemployment figure up to 200,000 by this time next year. Britain with almost one and a quarter million on the dole will almost certainly add another 250,000 to this grim total. The stark reality is that most Western countries are now faced with what is becoming a permanent pool of unemployed workers.

Consider the figures in Ireland. In the South over 105,000 out of work and a staggering 10 per cent plus in the North (November, 45,392). Crucial industries such as textiles, shipbuilding and car assembly are threatened with total closedown. Belfast shipyards will be extremely lucky if this time next year they have a workforce of 5,000. The picture for the coming twelve months is black.

To add to our problems is the fact that the two economies with the greatest hold over Irish industry, Britain and America are both faced with continuous slumps in their key industries, heavy engineering, particularly steel and car manufacture. In spite of well publicised hopes of an 'upturn' in the American economy the facts are clear. Talk of an end to recession is simply a psychological exercise being pushed by the Ford Administration in the hope of conning the voters in the presidential elections, November '76.

The crisis in the British steel and car industries shows no sign of ending and the British problems are worsening by the continuous attack on the pound sterling. Both of these facts have serious consequences for the Irish economy. Consequences which the 26 County Government and the Northern Tory parties cannot either deal with or solve.

(It is important to note that while this is not a world wide problem it affects the so-called developed nations to the enormous total of 17 million unemployed.)

Not content with failing to tackle the vicious problem of lengthening dole queues, the promises and actions of both the Irish and British governments are additional attacks on the standard of living of both employed and unemployed workers.

Mr. B. Corish, 26 County Labour party leader and partner in the Southern cabinet promises a tough budget which will be more than likely similar to the British policy of wage freeze and cut backs in public spending — less education, less welfare and less employment in the state sector. At the same time public industries are threatened by private profit makers or come in for public attack for their refusal to hold back on wages, necessary investment and are therefore forced to pass on increased costs.

The threats to living standards are also due to the inflationary spiral, dearer food, dearer petrol, gas, oil etc.; prices have risen by an incredible 22 per cent over this past

twelve months and show no signs of slowing down. Even the business section of the community are looking again at government policies as they pay a swingeing 20 per cent for credit, forcing curtailment of investment in the private sector.

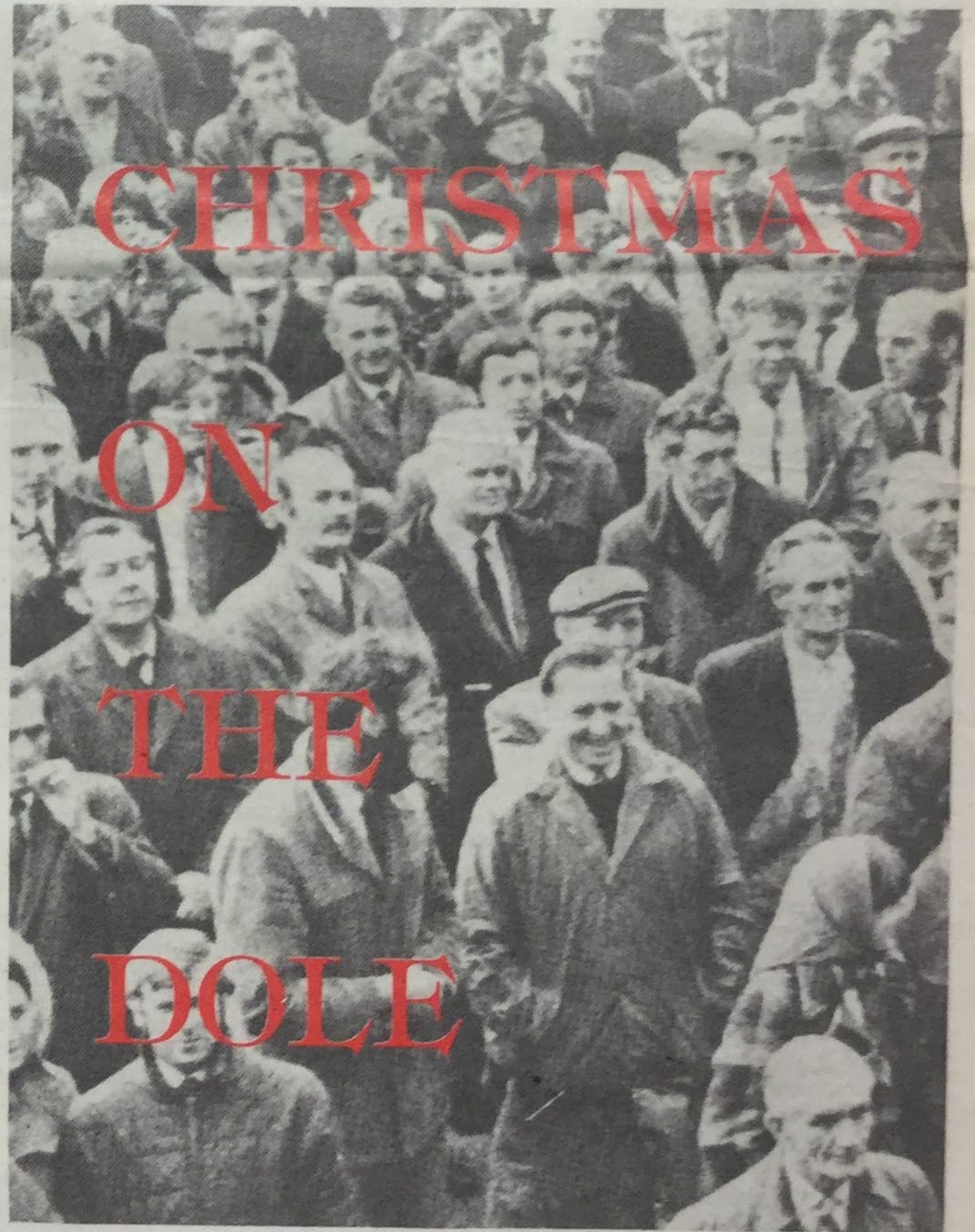
The extent of the crisis in Western Europe is highlighted by the manner in which Western Germany is acting within the European Economic Community. Once the staunch supporter of the Greater European philosophy the Germans are now hedging on every issue from the Common Agricultural Policy to welfare. Even Britain so anxious to join the club is edging towards the oil producing countries with her demand for special status as an oil producer.

The 26 County government choked as it is by foreign business interests is unable and unwilling to act like a sovereign power and use the examples of France on wine and now Britain on oil to seek special status. The total lack of even short term economic planning is a crime against the working people of Ireland.

It is clear that only positive action can halt the total collapse of the entire economy, action directed at controlling the sources of credit in order to expand the economy.

The necessary steps include the nationalisation of all sources of credit thereby enabling cheap money for building and the stabilisation of lending rates; the nationalisation of all our natural resources and the creation of a state controlled body drawing on the expertise of existing state companies to develop these resources from extraction to finished product; the creation of a national building company to immediately tackle the housing crisis and provide a much needed boost for a vital sector of the economy.

Finally there is our membership of the Common Market. There can only be one demand, withdrawal but in the meantime pressure must be mounted for full embargos on all imports which threaten Irish jobs.



This Month



THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION

IRELAND IN INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

THE REPUBLICAN CLUBS' STORY

DEATH OF A LABOUR PARTY

LETTERS

Comrades,
At a meeting of Kilkenny Ceanntair, Sinn Fein held in Mullinavat it was decided to send the following Telegram to the Executive of Republican Clubs, Belfast.

"The Kilkenny Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein wish to extend its sympathies to you on the recent deaths and shootings of your members — and supporters by the Provisionals.

"We fully support your policy of no retaliation as this would bring further hardship and suffering to the people of the North and would not advance the cause we serve which is the establishment of a 32 County Socialist Republic. We further ask you not to be distracted from your present anti-sectarian campaign and your efforts to expose those whose actions are designed to plunge the North into sectarian Civil strife, which is destroying the hope of ever uniting Catholic and Protestant workers."

The following statement was issued by the meeting which was presided over by Mr. Patrick Murphy, Inistioge and was attended by Mr. Sean Walsh M.C.C.

"The Kilkenny Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein, strongly condemn the murder and shooting of members of the Republican Clubs in Belfast by the Provisionals. The present murderous action is being carried out in an attempt to destroy political work being carried out by the Clubs — work which was gaining the support of people in the Republican areas.

"These vicious attacks have the support of the Provisionals Leadership and were supported by the Provisional Ard Comhairle in a hypocritical statement at the week-end. The action these people support include; The murder of a 6 year old girl who was shot during an attempt on her father's life. The shooting of a housewife whose husband the Provisionals were attempting to murder and the shooting of Republican Clubs supporters.

Terror

"We call on the public to completely reject the Provisionals and to withdraw any support or aid they may be giving. Further we call on the members of the Provisionals who do not support the present murderous campaign to resign from that Movement. These terror-acts being carried out by the Provisionals are only comparable to the action of the Black and Tans who tried to terrorise the people into submission and who will be similarly remembered. This campaign of murder against The Republican Clubs is being carried out while at the same time the Provos have a ceasefire with the British Army.

"It is significant that the British Army are giving the Provos a free-hand in their latest terror-campaign. They are indeed strange partners and it must call for a serious examination by those who support them. The actions of the Provisionals since their foundation with the

assistance of Fianna Fail have caused so much resentment, total rejection and confusion among the Irish people that it makes the unity of Ireland an almost impossible task.
PRO Kilkenny C.C.

Comrades,

The following is an account of the events in Newry concerning the harassment of a 14-year-old schoolboy by the British Army and the subsequent action taken by the Newry Republican Clubs' Executive.

On Tuesday, Nov. 4th at approx. 9.30 p.m., a youth of 14 was walking up Dorans Hill to his home in Barcroft Park, Newry when he met a six-man British Army foot patrol of soldiers from the Lancashire Fusiliers. One of the soldiers, a sergeant with a moustache, took the boy to one side and produced a knife. He threatened to kill him unless he gave information on people in the area. The soldier gave the boy a verbal list of 15 names of people he was to watch, 14 of these were Republican Club members and the other a member of the Provisional Alliance. The soldier was particularly insistant on getting information on the "Stickies". He gave the boy a phone number to ring on the following Friday at 10.00 p.m. The number was Newry 4101; he was to ask for Brian and give his own name as Cecilia. The sergeant warned him that if he did not ring with information, a "contract" would be put out for him.

Publicity

The boy was too terrified to tell even his parents the full story of what had happened but the information came to a member of the Newry Republican Clubs' Executive. The primary concern of the Executive was to protect the boy and it was decided that the best way to do this was to expose the incident to the maximum possible publicity. It was agreed that a member of the Executive should make the arranged phone call and pretend to be the boy (the boy himself was far too frightened to risk any further involvement).

At 10.00 p.m. on the Friday night the Executive member rang the number in the presence of other members of the Executive plus a legal representative and Noel Collins, a Republican Clubs member of Newry and Mourne District Council. The following conversation was recorded on tape.

CLUB MEMBER: Hallo, could I speak to Brian?
BRITISH ARMY: Who's speaking?
C.M.: Cecilia.
B.A.: O.K. Hold on, I'll get him for you. (Long pause.)
B.A.: Brian is not available at the moment. Will I do?
C.M.: What am I going to do?
B.A.: Do about what?
C.M.: Brian told me to ring and give information. What am I going to do?
B.A.: All we want is names and addresses.
C.M.: What if they find out?
B.A.: Nothing.
C.M.: He said he would put a contract out on me if I didn't give information about the Stickies.
B.A.: Put a contract out on who?
C.M.: On me. What am I going to do?
B.A.: Who do you know?
C.M.: Just the boys who run about.
B.A.: We want the names and addresses, that sort of thing.
C.M.: Anybody in particular.
B.A.: All the main boys.

At this point the legal representative took the phone and identified himself to the person at the other end. He promised to pursue the matter through the legal channels and was told "Don't bother, mate, don't bother". Noel Collins then rang the British Army H.Q. for the area at Bessbrook and spoke to the second

OPEN THE GATES

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- 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. Forker, 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
- 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
- P. Carberry, 2 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
- E. Kerr, 2 years

- M. Delaney
- G. Green
- M. Carson
- P. Black
- B. Doran
- E. Maxwell
- S. Gibson
- K. McKernan
- B. O'Neill
- F. Quinn
- G. Martin
- R. Millar
- M. Drugan
- S. Bunting
- M. Russell
- J. McKenna

ARMAGH
Ann Boyle, 8 years

LONG KESH DETAINED
James McLaughlin
D. O'Hagan

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

PORTLAOISE
Roland Giles, 6 years
John O'Neill, 5 years
Ray Lynch, 5 years
John Cosgrove, 6 years
Padraig McCoy, 5 years
John McCartan, 18 months
John Murphy, 18 months

LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS

- S. Headley
- C. O'Neill
- B. Burns
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- G. McCarthy
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in command, a Major Connolly. He was promised a full inquiry into the affair but the only result was a British Army statement which denied the use of a knife but failed to comment on any other aspect of the matter. The full facts and the tape-recording were made available to the press at a conference on the 8th Nov. (Efforts had been made to have Press men present when the phone call was being made but none were available at such short notice.)

The phone number used was traced to the Newry U.D.R. Centre and we find it significant that the person who answered responded to both code names without question.

P.R.O., Newry Republican Clubs' Executive.

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● John Brown (right front), guard of honour at Robbie Elliman's funeral.

Mr. Seamus Lynch, a member of the Six-County Executive of Republican Clubs, delivered the oration at the burial of John Brown, murdered by Provisionals on Tuesday 11th Nov.

"Comrades, Once again we are gathered at the grave of a murdered comrade. We have laid to rest Robbie Elliman, Tom Berry, John Kelly and now it is our sad duty to pay our final respects and last honours to John Brown. It is even sadder when we know that John had been part of the guard of honour for his comrades Tom Berry and Robbie Elliman. His loss to the movement is known by all of us here, but we can only offer our deepest sympathy to his sorrowing wife and family. Their loss and pain far surpasses any feelings we may have.

The callous brutal murder of John Brown has not only taken a comrade, a fellow-socialist from the Republican Movement, and deprived a wife and family of a loving father, but there are undoubtedly thousands of Irish people and foreigners, who are today mourning the loss of an outstanding sportsman, who represented his country and province with pride and dignity.

John Brown was not only an outstanding boxer, but he took a keen interest in handing on his skills to the young people in the Holy Family Boxing Club. I feel a deep and personal sense of loss for my own son was being trained by John. The Republican Movement offer to the Holy Family Club and the boxing community in general, their sincerest sympathy.

We in the Republican Movement have been accustomed to accusations and scurrilous lies as to gangster acts in which our members have allegedly been engaged. But I say here — let those people come forward and say when and where John Brown committed any act of the type to which they refer. I know, as does everyone who knew John, that these are disgusting slanders on a man respected by the entire community. Like his wife Marie, John was an active member of the McAuley-Millen Republican Club in the Ormeau Road area of the city. His work was in all fields of the Clubs interests, in the general promotion of the Socialist Republican Policies in the all too short period of four years he spent with us. These policies implemented and defended by John Brown, by his comrades Elliman, Berry and Kelly have stood like a guiding light to the working class above the sectarian violence and state repression of the last few years.

When right-wing southern politicians promoted a militarist struggle in the North,

designed to split and confuse even further the working-class, the Republican Clubs raised working-class issues which provided the rallying-point for left-wing politics in Ireland.

In discussing the political philosophy which divided worker against worker, Republican Club members like John Brown raised a working class voice which will spread across the streets of this city — a voice of political unity and common cause among all workers which cannot be extinguished by the assassin's bullet or by scurrilous lies. It is indeed hard to try to understand why John was murdered; it is harder still to try and forgive his killers. They are young men motivated with a blind unreasoning hatred of the Republicanism for which John gave his life. They seem to think that the Republicanism of Tone, of Lalor, of Connolly can be wiped out in a hall of bullets, that the struggle of the people for the ownership of Ireland can be halted by the murderous terrorism which they have unleashed on our members.

All we can say to them, comrades, is No! We have set our faces on the path towards a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic; John gave his life for that cause. In honouring him and all our fallen comrades, we must re-dedicate ourselves to the fight for socialism in Ireland. This is the only fitting way we can keep in our memories, as John Brown, Republican, Socialist and Comrade in the fight against the forces of Imperialism and for peace, freedom and socialism."

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LAST DATE FOR SUBMISSION OF DELEGATES' NAMES DECEMBER 26.

THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION

United Irishman

LAW

A catchcry in the mouths of politicians North and South has been the politics of law and order. Fine Gael, the Labour Party and Fianna Fail this past few weeks have been acting true to the words of the song — anything you can do I can do better.

George Colley and Cruise O'Brien on a recent RTE programme exemplified the poverty of thought of both the Coalition and Opposition parties on the entire question of violence in the Six Counties. Their remedies are from the same bottle, it is simply a question of the dosage.

One cannot be surprised at the type of treatment prescribed by Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. Their concern for the Northern patient is somewhat similar to the attitudes of British consultants at the moment. Money comes before medicine.

Both these parties are built on the profit motive. So that the North is only a problem to them to the extent to which it interferes or advances their business interests.

On the other hand, one might have expected the Labour Party to concern itself with causes, to propose solutions which tackle the root of the disease and to concern themselves with the cancerous sickness which infects the North and has caused so much suffering and death.

Support for the Criminal Law Amendment Bill by the Party Leadership will not save one life in the Six Counties. A thorough debate on the North would have at least demonstrated that the Labour Party cares for the worker in Belfast and Derry.

Still maybe the term worker is no longer fashionable in some circles.

FUTURE

This past year has seen the loosening up of the block of countries which make up Western Europe.

The dynamics of socialist change have replaced the fascist Portuguese regime, Italy has voted overwhelmingly to shift to the Left and Spain, free of the Franco tyranny is experiencing an upsurge of democratic energy.

Ireland however seems weighed down by the weight of the worst part of her history. Many will be glad to see 1975 draw to a close. Sectarianism, British imperialist control, unemployment, political apathy and neglect of our economic, social and cultural potential seem to be all pervasive.

It would be all too easy to despair, to miss out on the increasing understanding of the people and the growing desire for social change in the interest of the Irish working class.

Republicans must see this period as a time of opportunity, a time for preparation for the struggle to come. The next few years will undoubtedly bring the opportunity to begin the building of the Socialist Republic.

Operating out of the plush offices of "Interface Group Ltd." a few blocks from the White House in Washington, D.C., an organization calling itself the "Irish National Caucus" has sprung up seemingly from nowhere to become one of the best-known groups on the Irish-American scene. The Caucus purports to be a federation of practically every Irish-American organization in the United States, with the exception of groups such as the Irish Republican Clubs, U.S. and Canada and the National Association for Irish Freedom, which Caucus would characterize as "Marxist" and therefore unacceptable.

The ostensible purpose of the Caucus is "To establish Irish Freedom, Independence, and Sovereignty as an American political-moral issue, through every legal and political means available . . . We recognize exclusively the mandate of the First Dail Eireann, sustained by its adherents, Sinn Fein, that remains unbroken from Padraig Pearce to Ruairi O'Bradaigh." In less flowery language, the ostensible purpose of the organization is to lobby the U.S. government on behalf of the Provisional Alliance.

The bulk of the Position Paper and Platform of the Caucus deals not with the ostensible purpose of the organization, but with an attack on the Official Republican Movement. This is not in itself inconsistent with the claim of the Caucus to be a support group for the Provisionals. To determine the exact allegiance of the Caucus, however, it is necessary to examine the backgrounds of the individuals who operate the organization.

Executive Director of the Irish National Caucus is Sean W. Walsh IV. Immediately before his meteoric rise to preeminence among U.S. supporters of the Provos he served, according to the December 1973 Report of the Secretary of the U.S. Senate, as Project Director to the Ranking Minority Member of the Subcommittee on Central Intelligence of the Armed Services Committee of that august body. (This subcommittee consists of the "in" group of Senators who for years have seen to it that the actions of the Senate were tailored to fit the needs of the intelligence community; it should not be confused with the current Senate committee "investigating" the CIA.) Prior to this Mr. Walsh IV served in the U.S. Army Special Forces (Green Berets). This elite counterinsurgency unit is the U.S. equivalent of the British S.A.S.



The caucus clique, O'Brien, Gleason, McManus, Meany and Walsh.

Information Director of the Caucus is "Dr." Fred Burns O'Brien. "Dr." O'Brien lists his employer as the Customs Bureau of the U.S. Treasury Department. He freely admits where his paycheck comes from: he would, however, be less anxious to have it widely known that the Customs Bureau has been assigned the responsibility for the detection and apprehension of those who would illegally export arms and ammunition from the United States. (This role of the Customs Bureau was publicised last year in newspaper accounts of the Vesco gunrunning case.)

Fred Burns O'Brien's job as T-man does not seem to have proved incompatible with his serving over a period of years as "North American Editor" of *An Phoblacht*, or with his publishing of many wordy if content-free articles in the *New York Irish People*, organ of the Provos in the U.S. Far from having difficulties with his government job because of his "revolutionary" activities and his frequent denunciations in print of the U.S. government and its investigatory branches, Burns O'Brien was recently seconded to the White House to act as an aide to President Ford on amnesty questions!

No one denies that the day-to-day activities of the Irish National Caucus are run by Fred Burns O'Brien and his sidekick Sean W. Walsh IV. The question, however, remains: just who is "running" Fred Burns O'Brien and Sean W. Walsh IV?

Perhaps a better understanding of this matter can be obtained by examining the backgrounds of those of its impressively-titled officers who play a less active role in the Caucus.

The Chairman of the Board of Governors is the Hon. John M. (Jack) Keane, National President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America. The Hon. Keane set forth his perspective in a particularly frank manner in a public statement read before a recent Congressional "Pre-Hearings Forum" in New York. This unofficial forum, presided over by Congressman Lesten Wolff of New York, had long been heralded by the National Caucus and by the *New York Irish People*. The Hon. Keane set forth three reasons why the U.S. government should support the Provisionals in Ireland:

- 1) To assure U.S. access to the great oil wealth recently discovered in Ireland's coastal waters;
- 2) To assure U.S. access to actual and potential Navy bases in Ireland, strategically situated with respect to the crucial North Atlantic sea lanes; and
- 3) To prevent "communism" from gaining influence in Ireland. Perhaps the Hon. Keane is mistaken in his belief that the leadership of the Provisionals would

work to deliver these benefits to the United States. On the other hand, perhaps he is not.

Probably the best known figure in Ireland among the officers of the Caucus is the Rev. Sean McManus, C.Ss.R., National Coordinator of the Irish National Caucus. Known as the "Provo's Chaplain", Father McManus is perhaps most famous for talking an Englishman named John Stevenson out of his hunger strike to the death. Since his exile to America Father McManus has graced the rostrums of most major fund-raising affairs of the Irish Northern Aid Committee, the Provo's fund-gathering group. Each time a Provisional leader such as Rory O'Brady gets off a plane on a visit to the United States, it is likely to be Father McManus who is waiting at the airport to greet him.

But the key figure to an understanding of the role of the Irish National Caucus is its Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Thomas W. "Teddy" Gleason, Vice-President of the giant U.S. labour federation, the AFL-CIO.



In addition to having Vice-Pres. Gleason accept an office in the Caucus, the AFL-CIO has lent its prestige to the organization by officially endorsing the Caucus, and by having AFL-CIO President George Meany pose for publicity photographs with Fr. McManus, Sean W. Walsh IV and Fred Burns O'Brien. As the Caucus puts it, "This impressive broad-base of national support decisively launched the Irish National Caucus as a formidable political interest group."

It was indeed the backing of the AFL-CIO that gave the Caucus the credibility it needed to firmly implant itself on the Irish-American scene. And just why was that backing delivered?

All activities of the AFL-CIO on the international scene are handled by its International Affairs department. This department has been run for many years by Jay Lovestone, who was Director of the department until his recent "retirement"; he continues overseeing the department as "consultant". (The formal title of Director has passed to George Meany's son-in-law, who was personally tutored for the post by Lovestone himself.)

Head of the U.S. Communist Party until his expulsion in 1928, Lovestone proved to be a key figure in covert anti-Communist manoeuvres by the U.S. government, working with the wartime OSS and its successor, the CIA. In close collaboration with George Meany, Lovestone brought the foreign affairs operations of the AFL-CIO under the control of the International Organizations Division (IOD) of the CIA, headed by Cord Meyer. According to columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, "Lovestone takes orders from Cord Meyer of the CIA. No money for labour (internationally) is spent without Lovestone's approval." This same Cord Meyer was recently appointed CIA Chief of Station (COS) when the CIA expanded its staff in England following the upsurge of labour militancy there. Current responsibility for the International Affairs department of the AFL-CIO lies with the labour affairs division of the CIA's Covert Action Staff.

More information about the relationship between the AFL-CIO and the CIA can be found in such readily available sources as Philip Agee's book *Inside the Company* or the U.S. quarterly magazine *Counter-Spy*. Of more immediate interest with respect to the Irish National Caucus, however, is the relationship of the Provisional Alliance to that organization. The Provisional leadership is well aware of the dubious backgrounds of the Irish National Caucus and of Fred Burns O'Brien. Why is it, then, that Fred Burns O'Brien is put up in Daithi O'Conaill's house on his visits to Ireland? It is because the Provisionals leadership have the same politics and master as "Dr." Fred Burns O'Brien.

Who owns Ireland now?

FOREIGN COMPANIES OF COURSE

A World Conference on Multi-national Corporations was held in Toronto, Canada on November 14-16th. Organised by the World Peace Council in collaboration with the Canadian Peace Congress, the aims of the Conference were to discover and expose the activities of multi-nationals that lead to war, stress the impact of the multi-nationals on sovereignty and economic independence and to show how the lives of all the peoples are affected by the decisions of multi-nationals regarding investment, markets, labour forces and resource development.

Denis Cassin, Armagh, and currently National Organiser for the Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada, represented the Republican Movement at the Conference. In his address to the World Conference on Multi-national Corporations, he said:

"Ireland from an economic point of view can be called an under developed country. Under developed countries, historically, have been allotted the place of low-cost primary producers. We in Ireland differ from the usual pattern of under-development — we do not rely on the production of one main item for our economic existence.

Ranches

"We have been a colony of Britain for a greater length than any other colony; we have suffered the colonial state for, possibly, a longer period than any other nation on this earth. When we were first conquered by Britain, they took our lands and our woods. Rents from our lands provided investment for British industry, it helped to make the industrial revolution possible in Britain. Our woods were raw material to build Britain's ships; our hides and wool were taken to enrich Britain's trade.

"In the Nineteenth Century and right to the present day our people were driven from their farms so that the land could be used as cattle and sheep ranches to provide meat at low cost for the British markets. This is still the policy of the Irish government and is also

the policy of the imperialist powers with regard to the land in Ireland. In the North of Ireland one thousand people leave the land every year. In the South there is the same sort of situation. In 1946, 594,000 were engaged on the land, that was 45.7 per cent of the total labour force. In 1966, 345,000 were employed on the land, 30.9 per cent of the total labour force. In 1975, 247,000 are employed on the land, 25.1 per cent of the total labour force.

"The industrial picture in the South in the early years of this century, somewhat different to the industrial picture in the North. Britain's economic policy in Ireland was and is worked out to keep the population divided and on the divide and conquer principle to keep Ireland in colonial servitude at least cost to Britain. For this reason the British allowed a strong native capitalism to grow up in the North. Irish linen, mostly from the North became a big industry; the Belfast shipyard built ships such as the 'Titanic', in the early part of this century. During the war years the Belfast shipyards were, naturally, very busy.

"When the war ended native Irish capitalism proved unable to develop industry, in either the North or the South, a course which was necessary in order to provide enough jobs to contain popular discontent.

De Valera

"The North at once began to attract foreign capital by passing a number of Acts which offered certain rewards and inducements to foreign capital to come in. The South did not openly set out on a similar path until the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in the mid 1960s. Massive emigration from the South took place in the 1950s; there was, of course, also emigration from the North.

"In the 1960s, following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, foreign firms started to move into the South as well as into the North. They came to take advantage of lower rates of wages, tax concessions and outright grants.

"Foreign firms did, of course, move into the South during the De Valera protectionist period. Ranks, the flour milling monopoly bought up many of the small firms in that line of business in the South. The difference between what happened then and what is happening now is that in the 1930s and '40's when Ranks came, they took over existing Irish businesses on a narrow field — milling and baking — they continued to run these firms under their own names and few in Ireland knew that Ranks had moved into Ireland and had taken over the Irish bread and milling market.

"The position now is that firms move in under their own names and set up to make a

nut to fit a bolt which is made in some other place. The only secure basis for jobs in Ireland is the planned development of Irish industry sector by sector, based on the resources we produce on the national territory.

"Ferenka, to name just one of the firms which have come in (Ferenka is a subsidiary of a Dutch multi-national called Akzo) makes steel cords for motor tyres, for export — part of a product, take note — and completely dependent on the export market. And you can not put steel cord around the wheel of a French, German, Soviet, USA or any other car. It is necessary to sell that steel cord to a firm where it is needed to complete a tyre. This is, naturally, a very limited market and if the present outlet were to fail the Ferenka factory would close.



Denis Cassin, National organiser for the Republican Clubs, USA and Canada.

"When Ferenka came to Ireland they were given an outright grant of £11 millions; they were given other aid to the value of a further £2 millions. That means that it cost Ireland £13 millions to enable Ferenka to come to Ireland to manufacture steel cord for tyres which are made in some other place. The Irish government also gives Ferenka tax relief, total tax relief — they pay no taxes at all on exports for 15 years — on profits made on exports. All the money given to Ferenka in various forms has gained 1,200 jobs for Irish people and these jobs are not on any secure basis; Ferenka can leave at any time with all the money that we have given them in their pockets.

"These are the details about the firm Ferenka. Similar details can be given about

ICI in the South or Dupont in the North. The South is giving Courtaulds a grant of £5 millions to come to Letterkenny in Co. Donegal. Courtaulds will import fibres, at cost to our import bill, and then at Letterkenny one or two processes will be carried out and then the result will be sent by road to Derry City, a few miles away, but in the North, which makes the fibres an export — no tax on profits made on exports. In Derry one or two processes will be carried out on the Letterkenny material and the result, still not a finished product, will be exported to some other place which will gain further tax relief on profits.

"The man-made fibre industry in the North, the industry which was brought in to make good the jobs lost in the declining native linen and shipbuilding industry, is controlled completely by foreign multi-nationals. The following are the companies — British Enkalen, Courtaulds, Dupont, Hoechst, ICI and Monsanto.

"The Republican Movement believes that the industrial development of Ireland should be carried out on the basis of raw materials that we produce on the national territory. We produce large quantities of zinc, lead, silver, copper pyrites, gypsum, mercury, barite, dolomite and natural gas and oil has been discovered.

"The mine at Tynagh, another of our large lead, zinc and silver mines will be exhausted by the 1980s. Tynagh will become a hole in the ground and not one factory will have been built to process its products, nor one job created apart from the few jobs digging out the ore for export.

"We face the same situation with regard to our oil and gas resources. The companies who have the concessions (we have five of the seven oil sisters on our territory at present) plan to take out our oil as crude oil.

"These firms are owned by the Rockefeller and by the Mellon families. The banking side of these families loans money to the Irish government and this year one fifth of total government income goes to pay the interest on foreign debt."

During the discussion of practical ways and means in which peoples could combat the effects of the multi-nationals in their own countries Denis Cassin told the Conference about the Resources Protection Campaign in Ireland which seeks to educate the broadest number of people on the true facts about the enormous wealth of Irish natural resources and the need for our own people to demand that this wealth remain in Ireland for the benefit of Irish people.

The Sinn Fein pamphlet, "THE GREAT OIL AND GAS ROBBERY", was available to delegates at the World Conference on Multi-nationals.

S.D.L.P. FAIL TO MAKE IMPACT

Delegates at the S.D.L.P. 5th Annual Conference gave a standing ovation to only one of the visiting dignitaries attending — they nearly brought the roof down when the chairman of the Dublin Group, which has added thousands to the Party's treasure chest, was introduced to them. This reaction reflected the mood of the Conference and particularly of the Party leadership. Survival is now the name of the game for the S.D.L.P. Without the big money support from southern business-men — which the Dublin Group has been able to generate — the S.D.L.P. is in for a very lean and hard time ahead. Once the S.D.L.P. fail to convince these interests that they have a major say over the Nationalist population of the North then they know that they will be dropped. Already the new Fianna Fail policy on the North puts that party closer to the Provisionals than to the S.D.L.P.

The months ahead will be very difficult for the S.D.L.P. leaders. In the first place they will all soon be out of a job unless the British Government decides to keep paying them their Convention Members' salaries. The political staying-power of out-of-work politicians in the North is not good. As, the recent histories of Paddy Kennedy, Frank McManus, Bernadette McAliskey and Paddy O'Hanlon will testify. Now that the Convention has made its report the British may decide that there is no longer any justification in paying Convention Members this peculiar form of outdoor relief.

Secondly, a faction within the party, led by Paddy Duffy, the ambitious Convention member for Mid-Ulster, would prefer a policy which, if it were followed, would identify the party more closely with Fianna Fail than with the Coalition in the South and more closely with the Provisionals than the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland in the North. This faction will undoubtedly become more vocal in the months ahead unless the leaders can produce some tangible results. This is highly unlikely. Therefore, the unity of the S.D.L.P. will become a serious issue for the first time.

Thirdly, and more importantly, the S.D.L.P. policy is now in ruin. The 5th Conference revealed that the party's long-term thinking has degenerated into platitudes. The party's gran-

diose proposals on future political structures in the North have now been put on the long-finger. John Hume, the Party's leading theoretician has now been relegated to delivering moral homilies on "good traditions" and "bad traditions" in the North. Needless to say, the good tradition is his particular brand of Nationalism while the bad tradition is the hard-line Loyalism of the U.U.U.C. His presentation of the current situation in the North has more the characteristic of the spoiled priest in him than the serious politician.



● John Hume to replace Gerry Fitt?

On Community Relations the most the leadership could do was condemn para-militaries. The Party — whose leader once called a victory by Glasgow Celtic, a "victory for our side" — and which when it was in the Executive with Brian Faulkner, scrapped the Community Relations Commission, is hardly in a very fit position to adopt too high a moral tone on the question of Sectarianism.

On the question of Policing, the Party accepted the policy document which one delegate rightly called "an academic exercise", and in effect accepted the RUC as it stands.

All in all it was a sad conference for a sad party.

The right to picket now in danger

The right to picket during an industrial dispute has always been regarded as a part of the foundation of a democratic society. Employers have never liked to see pickets outside their business houses, factories, building sites or coal yards; they came to accept it as the normal exercising of a democratic right.

The small business person is a part of democratic society — they are not strong enough to be other than that: they all compete against each other and naturally want a say in the society where they carry on business activities. In a society of that nature even small business people cannot prevent some of the benefits of democratic society being enjoyed by trade unionists.

In Britain the victory of the Labour Party in 1945 gave the trade unions the opportunity to remove some pieces of anti-trade union legislation which had been created by the courts. The struggle to remove legal problems created by the Taft Vale judgment and the Osborn judgment was a part of labour and trade union activity in Britain for many years.

Small scale business may be democratic in many ways but monopoly capitalism is, without doubt anti-democratic — the big monopolist firms created fascism in Europe before the last war.

Monopoly capitalism is now moving into Ireland on an ever increasing scale; sometimes it is actually being paid to come in. This development is a result of the EEC and of the take-over of this country by the banks and the merchant banks — many owned by USA monopolies.

It is against this background that the present anti-trade union drive must be considered. A USA company in dispute with the union catering for the workers in their establishment were able to get a court order which outlawed an official picket. This order also outlawed an Irish Congress of Trade Union 'all out' picket.

Another USA company likely to welcome and to benefit from the new restrictions on Irish trade unionism is the giant General Motors Corporation of USA who are at present putting an end to one section of the car assembly industry in Ireland.

The more monopoly capital comes into Ireland the more repressive the laws, either made by government or made by the courts, will become. When one remembers the composition of the 1945 Labour Government and the fact that even that sort of a government thought it necessary to introduce legislation to reverse law made by court decision one wonders at the inactivity and the silence of the present Irish Labour ministers on this question.

Welfare Allowances Bill — Poor Law 1976

Following the rapid passage through the Dail of the Supplementary Welfare Allowances Bill, the government is now preparing to introduce the new scheme by January 1st. The Supplementary Welfare Allowances Scheme will replace the existing Home Assistance service which derives directly from the Poor Law and contains many of its degrading features.

The new Bill has been heralded as one which will restore personal dignity to the recipients of welfare payments. Mr. Frank Cluskey, 26 County Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Social Welfare (on right) has even gone so far as to say that the Bill would redress the present disgraceful system and do away with the Poor Law mentality. However, on closer inspection of the Bill there is little evidence to substantiate these claims made by Mr. Cluskey. In reality, the Home Assistance service is likely to be changed only in name.

The new service will still be confined only to those in crisis situations or to those who do not qualify for any of the other state welfare schemes. In other words it will remain a service of the "last resort" for those in need. Needless

to say, this type of image does little to encourage potential users.

Applicants for Supplementary Welfare Allowance will still have to submit to a degrading investigation of their means by untrained Assistance Officers. Although the establishment of a minimum allowance as of right will curb some of the discretionary powers of these officers, they can still use their discretionary powers to grant additional payments over and above the minimum allowance.

Since the minimum allowance for a single person is £7.35 per week and for a married couple with one child £15.15 per week it is likely that many will be dependent on the Assistance Officer for a "realistic allowance".

Contrary to Mr. Cluskey's claims the poor law values of "the work ethic" and "self-help" are evident in the Bill. For example, in the case of industrial disputes, there are limitations on the Supplementary Welfare Allowance rights of workers on strike or laid off because of a strike. The worker is entitled to nothing in respect of his own needs and can only claim on behalf of his wife and children.

Thus a single person on strike or laid off because of strike in which he has an interest is liable to be com-

pletely disqualified from supplementary allowance. However, means tested assistance can be paid for the wife and children of a man on strike. This means that the striking or laid off worker is made dependent



Frank Cluskey, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Social Welfare.

on his wife and children and the effect is simply that family income is drastically reduced.

The method of financing the new scheme also highlights the government's half hearted attempt at reform. When the initial proposals for reform were being put forward it was stated that the new scheme

should be totally financed from central funds (the existing Home Assistance service is financed totally from local rates.) Under the terms of the Bill however, 40 per cent of the cost of the new service is to be borne by local rates while the Exchequer will bear the remaining 60 per cent of the costs. The government's decision not to finance the service completely from general taxation is indicative of their view on redistributive taxation as a source of extra welfare finance.

No adequate system of social welfare can be created without a serious redistribution of income. Most of the deficiencies of existing schemes of social welfare have arisen as a result of efforts by politicians and administrators to deal with poverty as if it were an isolated phenomenon, which could be solved by diverting small sums of extra income to the poor.

The new Supplementary Welfare Allowances Scheme is a classic example of this approach and as such is automatically doomed to failure. The attempt to reduce poverty by the reform of a means tested service can only be self defeating. The abolition of the Home Assistance service, not its reform, is what is called for.



● The backyard of one Fenian Street "home".

Fenian Street again — a prime speculation area for profiteers

Beware of landlords who come bearing gifts! That is the advice that Andy Smith, of the Sinn Féin Citizens' Advice Bureau, has given to several young couples living in a house in 11 Fenian St., Dublin. Why? What was so sinister about the landlord's offer to repair the houses, if they vacated them temporarily, and give them first option on returning to the renovated flats at £8 per week? Well, if you are a resident of what is becoming one of the prime speculation areas in Dublin, hungered after by many a would-be "developer", then you are right to be wary of any offer which involves you leaving, even temporarily your abode. There is no guarantee that, once out, you will return to your former flat and if you do no security against £8 rent one week becoming £10 the next, £14, £16 or £20 the next or any other figure calculated to force you out and then leave your home free to be "redeveloped".

The house in question is badly in need of repair, there is no doubt about that. If anything, it should be condemned as unfit for human habitation and the occupants rehoused out of it. But the snag is that the families in 11 Fenian St. are squatters and on no account will Dublin Corporation rehouse squatters. The fact that the couples are not squatters from choice but because, for years after moving into the house, they never saw the landlord is not considered. To rehouse one group of squatters from private accommodation would involve rehousing all and would reveal the critical shortage of housing there is in this town. On the one occasion on which the landlord turned up they offered to pay him regular rent but were turned down. There were better pickings to be had elsewhere, it seems.

The sudden change of heart, and possibly of landlord, came 4-5 weeks ago when an Englishman, a stranger to the couples, walked in and made his "get-out-and-come-back-at-£8-offer" having announced that he was the new landlord. However, the couples are not convinced that this was not a trick by the old landlord, to get them out under pretext of a change of ownership. What

makes the couples so suspicious of the offer is the fact that the house is in such a bad condition that it would cost a fortune to repair it properly; far more than £8 a week rent, from eight couples, would cover. Either the landlord is going to deliberately lose money in a humanitarian move to give them a decent home with no benefit accruing to himself, or else the house is not to be so much repaired as redeveloped into a shiny, spanking new office block where there will be no room for young married couples and their like.

The sewage outlet pipes are broken and every sort of filth and refuse is carried direct to the basement where it has been rotting and festering for years. The entire basement area is covered in an inches-deep layer of sewage and dirt; a happy hunting ground for the rats that scamper around in full view of everyone. There would have to be a lot of money to be made to justify repairing a house in that condition. Far easier for the landlord to knock it down and build an office block on the site.

Fenian St. is no stranger to such manoeuvres. Next door there is already one office block; houses just down the street were knocked down, despite weeks of camping on the pavement outside by the ejected, homeless occupants, and another office block will appear there shortly. It was permitted by the Minister for Local Government, Mr. Tully, in the teeth of opposition from every group, organisation and individual in the surrounding area. Judging from the record in the rest of Fenian St. the couples in this remaining house have every right to be suspicious.

The terrible irony of this situation is that the Corporation will not condemn their home as unfit simply because they are squatters and there are too few houses. Yet, not far away, in Pearse St., sound houses which could accommodate many young local families have been condemned, not by the Corporation but by speculators who want to develop the site as offices and who wrecked them prior to attempted demolition. Housing shortage or no housing shortage, the Corporation have let them get away with it.

ICELAND PUTS THE BRITISH OFF THE SEAS

Joey Murrin, chairman of the Irish Fisheries Organisation hit out strongly last month at the failure of the 26 County Government to defend the fishing grounds. Mr. Murrin claimed that if anyone was looking for a reason as to why fishermen were so worried about the future then there was no better reason than "the failure of successive governments to defend the fishing grounds". He went on to point out that the unilateral action of Iceland demonstrated what could be done "to protect the very basis of the fishing industry itself, which is access to its fishing grounds, and the conservation of the harvest it reaps from them". Mr. Murrin described the current situation as desperate, calling for

desperate remedies.

"The Skipper", the journal of the fishing industry in a careful analysis of the Icelandic decision to extend her fishing limits to 200 miles points out that Britain is now isolated in her gun-boat policy. The USSR has accepted the Icelandic proposals, as has West Germany which is now restricted to catching 5,000 tons of cod.

Britain according to the journal is also trapped by the fact that Iceland is a good customer for British goods and at the same time "an uncertain member" of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The author of the article clearly knows his economics and his politics.

THE REPUBLICAN CLUBS



POGROM

A RECORD OF RECENT EVENTS IN BELFAST.

PRICE 20p.

All receipts to the Belfast Victims' Fund.

Published by the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast 12.



REPUBLICANISM

One of the most disgusting aspects of the propoganda campaign waged by the Provisional Alliance against the Republican Clubs has been the lying accusations that our members were engaged in acts of petty gangsterism against the people of Belfast.

In these pages we show what the activity of the Republican Clubs really is not only in Belfast but throughout the Six Counties. These pictures and the stories accompanying them are but a cross section of the day to-day activity of our members in the North.

The Republican Clubs are a component part of Sinn Fein. Formed in the mid-sixties in the first effort to smash the ban on open Republican political activity in the North the Clubs have been in the forefront of the struggle against the reactionary British policies in Ireland ever since.

The Clubs alone carried the banner of Tone, Pearse and Connolly during the period of gross political apathy prior to the emergence of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

The Six County Secretariat is now the Co-ordinating body for more than seventy clubs operating throughout the North. It administers the activity of the clubs ranging from social and advice centres to internal education and public political activity.

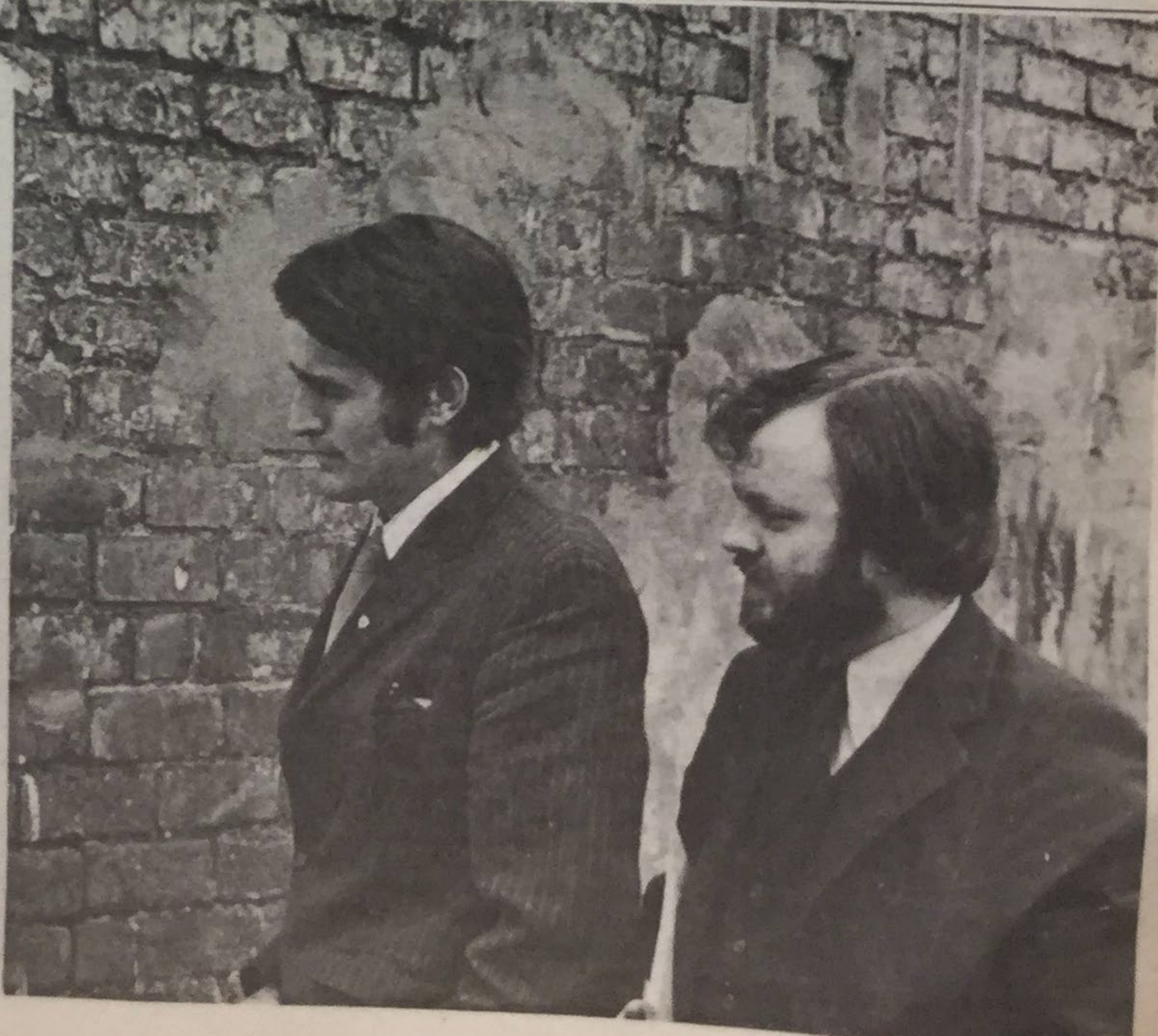
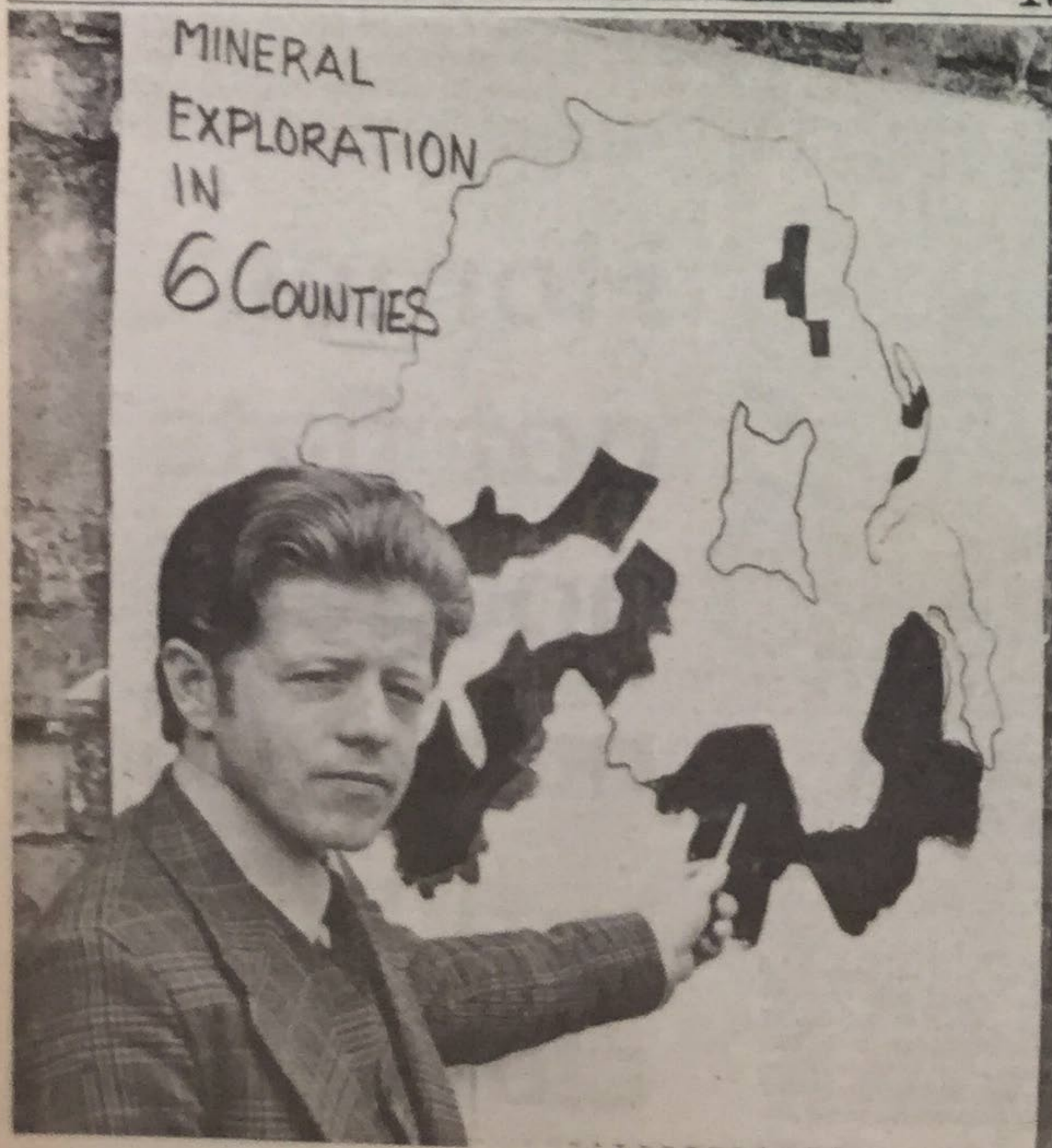
Members are asked to engage in widespread political and educational activity. For example pictured on this page are members from Belfast, Derry, Newry and Tyrone. The bookstand (top) outside of Beagon's Bar, Falls Road (bombed recently by Provisional Alliance) has been manned by members of the Sean South-Paul Crawford Club in spite of gun and bomb attacks.

Derry city club members (left) bring home the reality of life in the North with their poster campaign on unemployment. A campaign which attracted widespread interest and support locally.

And below three Assembly candidates point out the possible mineral wealth which could go to solve the economic problems facing the Six Counties.

Public book sales are not confined to the city, all clubs are expected to develop close contacts with their local community through this type of activity and Ballymurphy News, Connolly News (both Belfast) and the Plough (Newry) are good examples of local clubs to keep in touch with the people in the area.

Overall the Republican Clubs are the only socialist Republican organisation actively pursuing the interests of the Northern working class.



The Republican Clubs fight

RIGHTS AND R.U.C. THE TARGETS

Republicans play a considerable part in the struggle for Civil Rights in the North. They see their involvement in this struggle as an integral part of the struggle for a Democratic Socialist Republic in Ireland. The full-flowering of democracy and civil rights is only possible in a society which has freed itself from imperialist domination and has set about the task of building socialism. However, the recent history of the North has shown that it is possible to extend democratic rights even within the existing system. To do this it is necessary to organise and mobilise sufficient forces in this country and win the solidarity of democratic forces abroad, particularly in Britain.

Republicans have been actively involved in the Civil Rights struggle from the start. This does not mean that Republicans see Civil Rights agitation as just another "front" activity for their objectives. But they are involved in Civil Rights to win Civil Rights and democracy for every person in the North irrespective of particular allegiance.

Provisionals have condemned the Republican Movement for demanding Civil Rights in the North. They say that such rights are "British rights" and therefore Irish men and women should have nothing to do with them. Yet the Provisionals negotiated with the British authorities, and until recently were in

constant contact with them through the Incident Centres. By doing this they recognised the de facto reality of British control in the North. And tried to get all they could for their organisation on that basis.

Republicans in struggling for Civil Rights also recognise that the British control the North but they seek to shackle the British in their exercise of that control. The Bill of Rights, which Republicans demand for the North, would provide safeguards for everyone in relation to British Army and RUC activities. If such a Bill was so advantageous to the British as the Provisionals claim then why haven't they been prepared to grant one before now.

Even the Provisionals themselves are sometimes forced to abandon their rhetoric. They claim to be working for a British declaration of intent of withdrawal from the North. They have to make this demand on the British Government because it is British Civil Servants and Troops which are currently controlling the area. Therefore, if the Provisionals can demand a British withdrawal why can't they also demand Civil Rights, without which that withdrawal might simply be a prelude to a fascist takeover?

The answer lies in the general anti-progressive nature of Provisionalism which is afraid of mass-political action

which could get out of control. The Provos overcame the classic dilemma of petty-bourgeois organisations which are caught between the masses and reaction. The launching of the Provisionals' bombing campaign drove mass-politics underground and left the way clear for the Provisional Military elite to lose all the gains which had been won by the mass-politics of Civil Rights. Whatever their intentions the effect of Provisionalism has been to help reaction.

At this time there are three main aspects of the Civil Rights question in the North which Republicans are highlighting.

The first demand is for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. At the present time the British seem determined to remain in the North. There are sound economic, political and strategic reasons why they are maintaining this position. Republicans reject Britain's claim on Ireland but they say, as does the Civil Rights Movement, that if the British are determined to stay in the North then people there have a right to demand certain guarantees from Britain that their rights will not be violated. These rights are spelt out in the Bill of Rights.

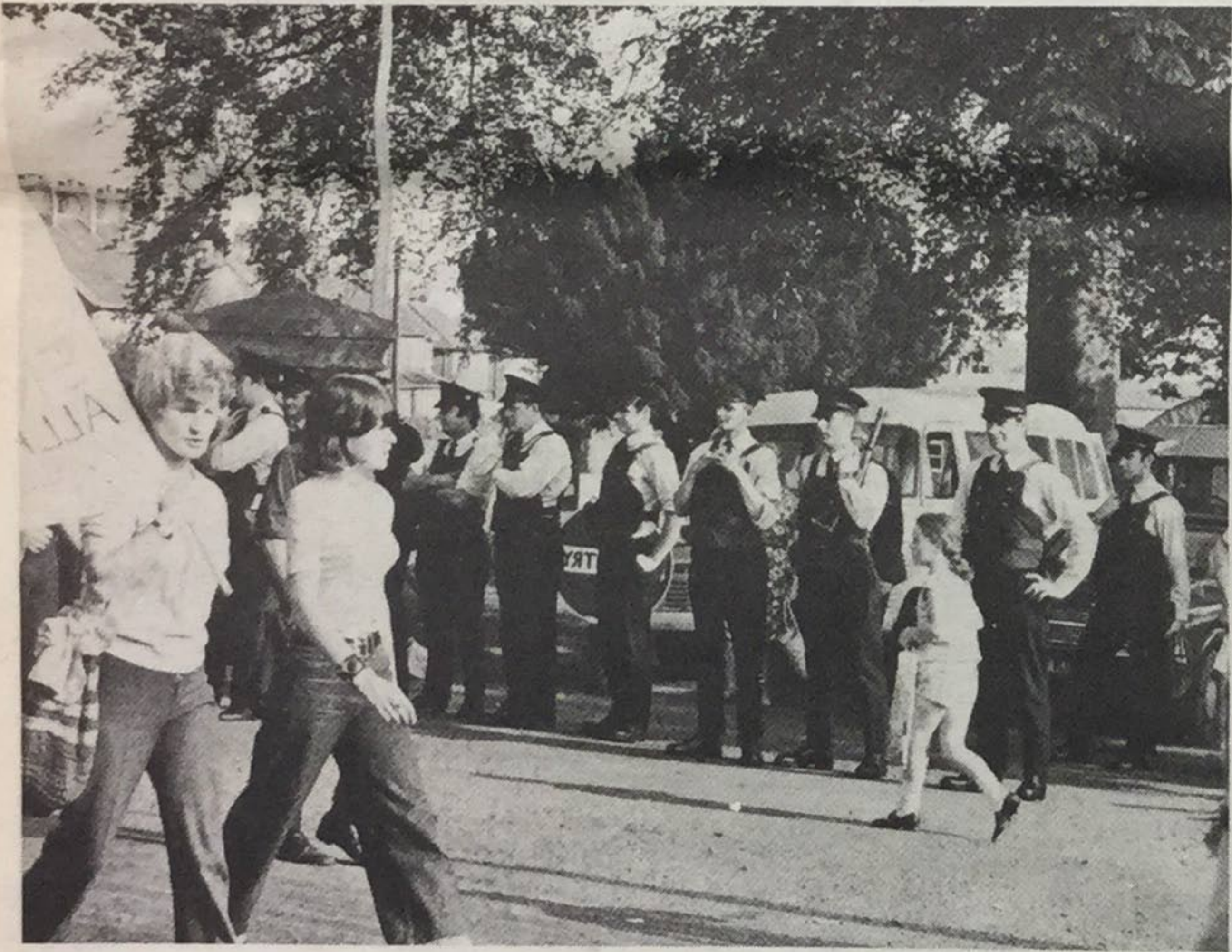
Currently, it is only Republicans and other forces involved in the Civil Rights Movement which are making these demands on Britain. The Loyalists want Britain to stay to back up a restored "Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People" type of political settlement; the SDLP, the UPNI and the Alliance Party seek a British presence in the North to guarantee protection for their interests and plum jobs for their leaders; even the Provos, despite their rhetoric, make very few demands on the British which seriously effect the day-to-day operation of British policy in the North.

The Civil Rights demands which Provos and ultra-Leftists like to caricature as reformist are thus a much greater danger to British policy than Provo bombs and ultra-Leftist attitudinising. This is especially the case when it is remembered that the Trade Union Movement in Britain and the North is committed to the Civil Rights demands.

The second issue which Republicans have emphasised is the question of policing. The RUC is the same partisan and anti-democratic force as it has been since its establishment. Yet the Provos have so weakened popular resistance to this force that it is now quite conceivable that moves to have it re-introduced into all areas may succeed. The SDLP have given their tacit agreement to this. Republicans emphasise that drastic reforms must take place in the RUC as part of a programme of democratic reform.

Finally, the question of sectarianism has been particularly highlighted by Republican Clubs. The British created a sectarian state in the North of Ireland, they maintained this state for over fifty years. By this method the British ensured that divisions within the working-class were maintained. Thus when Republican Club members embarked on an educational campaign to highlight this fact they not only infuriated the bigots on the Catholic and Protestant side but they also took a step to undermine British policy on the North. But it was the bigots who struck; club members were assassinated by the UVF and a vicious Provo pogrom was unleashed.

The Republican Clubs have been to the forefront in the struggle for Civil Rights in the North. In this struggle they have been laying the basis for a new and better society, freed from sectarianism and exploitation.



Club members active for Civil Rights since the first march.

The struggle for housing in the North was probably first highlighted by the squat at Caledon where SDLP leader Austin Currie first made his name as a Civil Rights activist. Republicans are still fighting for homes long since Mr. Currie imposed his 25p fine on rents and rates strikers while a Minister at Stormont.

The Clubs were not only the mainstay of the housing battle on the Civil Rights front but were also actively engaged in fighting for better housing and the preservation of communities threatened to be torn apart by road planners and building racketeers.

One of the best examples of Club activity was the Lower Falls Housing Action Group formed in 1970. Prior to this period the Clubs had endeavoured to persuade local people that the then Housing Executive planners were inhuman, destructive of the Community and would provide substandard homes. Unfortunately, the voices of Mr. Gerry Fitt and local cleric Canon Murphy were stronger. People moved into the new slums, the high rise flats and tower block formed a concrete jungle in the Lower Falls, Belfast.

The campaign begun in the '70s was faced by the opposition not only of the clerics but by the Housing Trust and Stormont. For in their campaign the Clubs sought to join forces with groups and individuals on the Shankill facing similar problems. By 1971 it was agreed that approaches to the Housing Executive would be by the Falls and Shankill groups acting together. Internment removed some of the activists but subsequent efforts to reopen negotiations with the Housing Trust were

blocked by the RUC Special Branch under the instructions of Mr. Roy Bradford.

A battle may have been lost but not a war. The Clubs hammered away at the new Housing Executive and, supported by the people in the Lower Falls, they won the bulk of their case. No more high rise flats, no tower blocks and more houses. Unfortunately, the sectarian killings prevented joint action which would have gained the same victory for the people of the Shankill Road.

But joint action by the Falls, Shankill, Sandy Row and Markets residents did achieve a major victory over the planning bureaucrats in Belfast's City Hall. And the Clubs played a leading role. The plan to bulldoze a ring road through the working-class areas of central Belfast was opposed most strenuously by Republicans; the Clubs' booklet giving the economic and social facts behind the plan gave heart to the people in the different zones affected to force their opinions on the city's councillors.

Belfast Councillors Sullivan and McDonagh fought the case through the Committee stages and undoubtedly were instrumental in forcing a change of heart on the planners.

Club members are active in tenants' associations throughout the North, their role here is as tenants assisting with problems of rent, repairs and development. At the same time the political aspect of such organisations is not forgotten, in particular the possibility of fighting sectarianism at the level where the killers operate. Joint Tenants' Associations are becoming a vital part in the struggle to bring class politics into the Northern arena.



Divis Flats a jungle for the young.

**Homes
not flats
houses
not roads
— and the
clubs won**

for a United Working Class

The statement last month by the bishops of the different Christian denominations in Derry supporting the protest meeting against sectarian murders at the city's Guildhall is to be welcomed. Although somewhat belated, it represents an increased awareness of the need to fight sectarianism.

As we point out on page 10 it is unfortunate that the clerical organisations fail to recognise the manner in which they have helped to perpetuate sectarianism in both parts of Ireland through their desire to control the educational system. The Republican Clubs have never claimed that separate educational institutes were the cause of sectarianism; rather have they pointed out that the schools are a result of the sectarian nature of the two States.

On what do the Clubs base their policy on religion? And what have they tried to do about the serious division in the Northern working class?

Fundamentally, the Republican position is firmly located in one of the first political principles enunciated by Wolfe Tone — to unite the people of Ireland irrespective of their religion. Tone saw quite clearly that religion was used to keep sections of the Irish people in subjection. From his time it has been common ground among all those engaged in the struggle for Irish freedom that religion must be a private matter and not a political rallying point.

Recognising how both the Orange and Hibernian Orders were manipulating both sections of the Northern community in the interests of a handful of politicians on both sides, the Clubs sought to break the log-jam through democratic struggle for Civil Rights. The struggle for

democracy was in fact a fight against all the bigoted reactionary elements who dominated Northern political life for 50 years.

Unfortunately, unscrupulous politicians have turned that struggle into what is virtually civil war. The Republicans, practically alone, have stood out for the politics of progress against reactionaries of all types.

It is not enough, as many do, to pay lip service to non-sectarianism. Organisations must demonstrate that they are positively anti-sectarian. The current Republican Clubs' campaign centred around the slogan 'Sectarianism Kills Workers' is a lead to all political, industrial and community organisations who profess to be concerned about the vicious slaughter of innocent people during this past six years.

Efforts by the Republican Clubs to put the war against sectarianism at the centre of the Northern conflict are not of recent origin. They began some years ago.

The Clubs, through their members on the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, pressed for a meeting with the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to discuss the sectarian question. Unfortunately, that meeting bore no fruit. The I.C.T.U. failed to tackle the

problem along the lines suggested — a massive education programme at shop floor level.

The Clubs, thrown back on their own resources again, began a small campaign. Thousands of handbills condemning sectarianism were printed and efforts were made to place advertisements in the Northern press. Only the Irish News was willing to accept the advertisement. The other Belfast papers refused.

The impact was marginal. The fears of the Clubs, since they influenced the I.R.A., May 1972, to halt all aggressive military action that the North was being driven to Civil War, grew stronger. The decision was taken by the Secretariat to hold a workshop weekend for Northern members on the topic of sectarianism and class politics.

Since that weekend a poster campaign was begun. Thousands of posters with the slogan 'Sectarianism Kills Workers' have been distributed throughout the North and thousands more handbills are currently being delivered to every home possible.

The Clubs once again appeal to all industrial, political and community organisations to join in this campaign to safeguard the lives and jobs of working people.

POSTER CALENDAR 1976

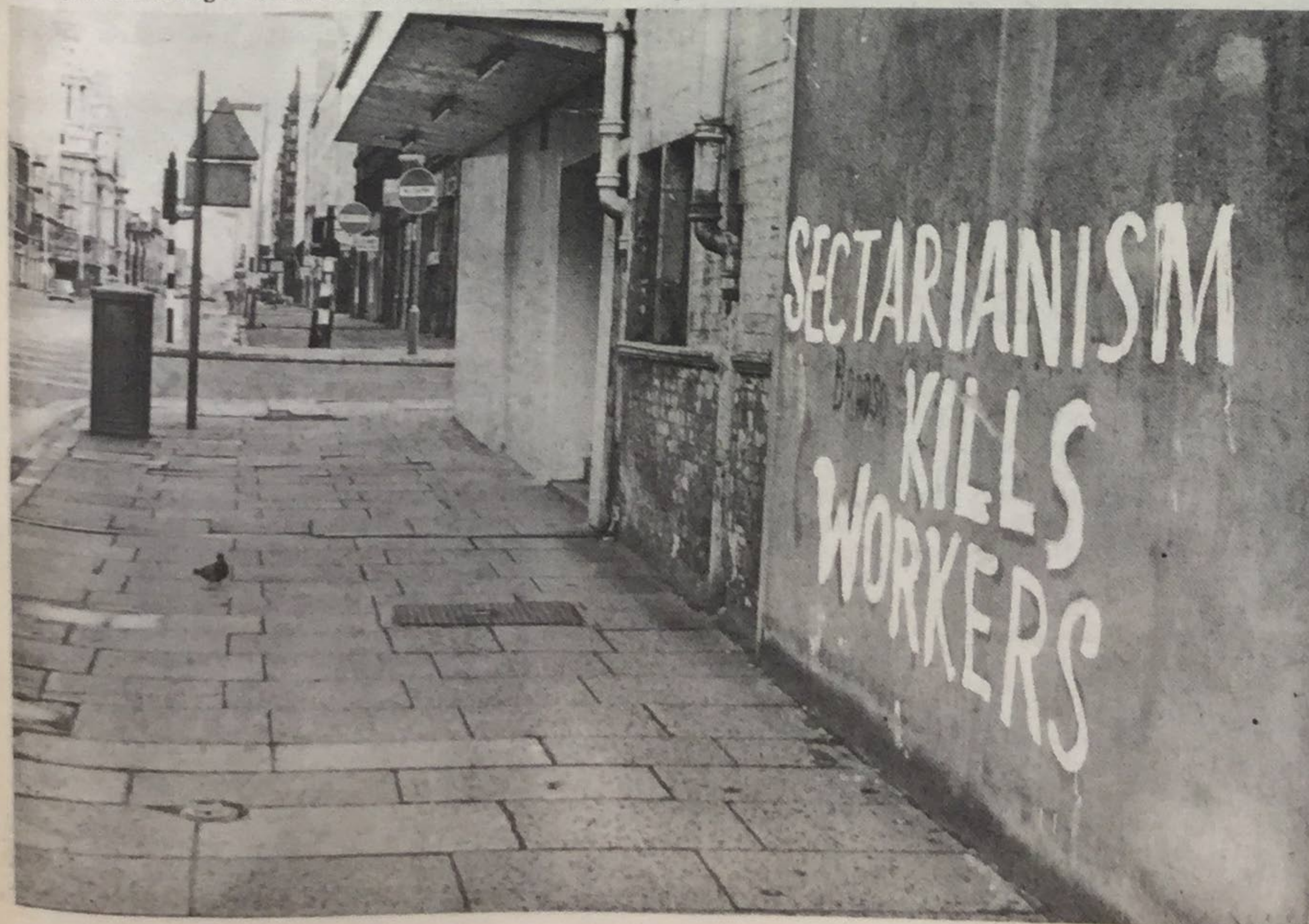
Illustrates Republican Clubs Activity. Housing, Rights, Resources, etc.

Limited Edition PRICE (incl. postage) 55p.

Write: John Hunter, c/o 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast 12.

Published by the Six County Secretariat of Republican Clubs.

Although the first slogan was defaced members of the Perry-McMillan Club replaced it in Belfast's City centre.



Not only a slogan but a campaign



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 Gt. James's Street, Derry.

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

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

CONNAUGHT: Paddy Kilcullen, Kilmore, Ballina, Co. Mayo. An Runai, 35/37 Dominic Street, Galway.

I Wish to Join the Republican Movement

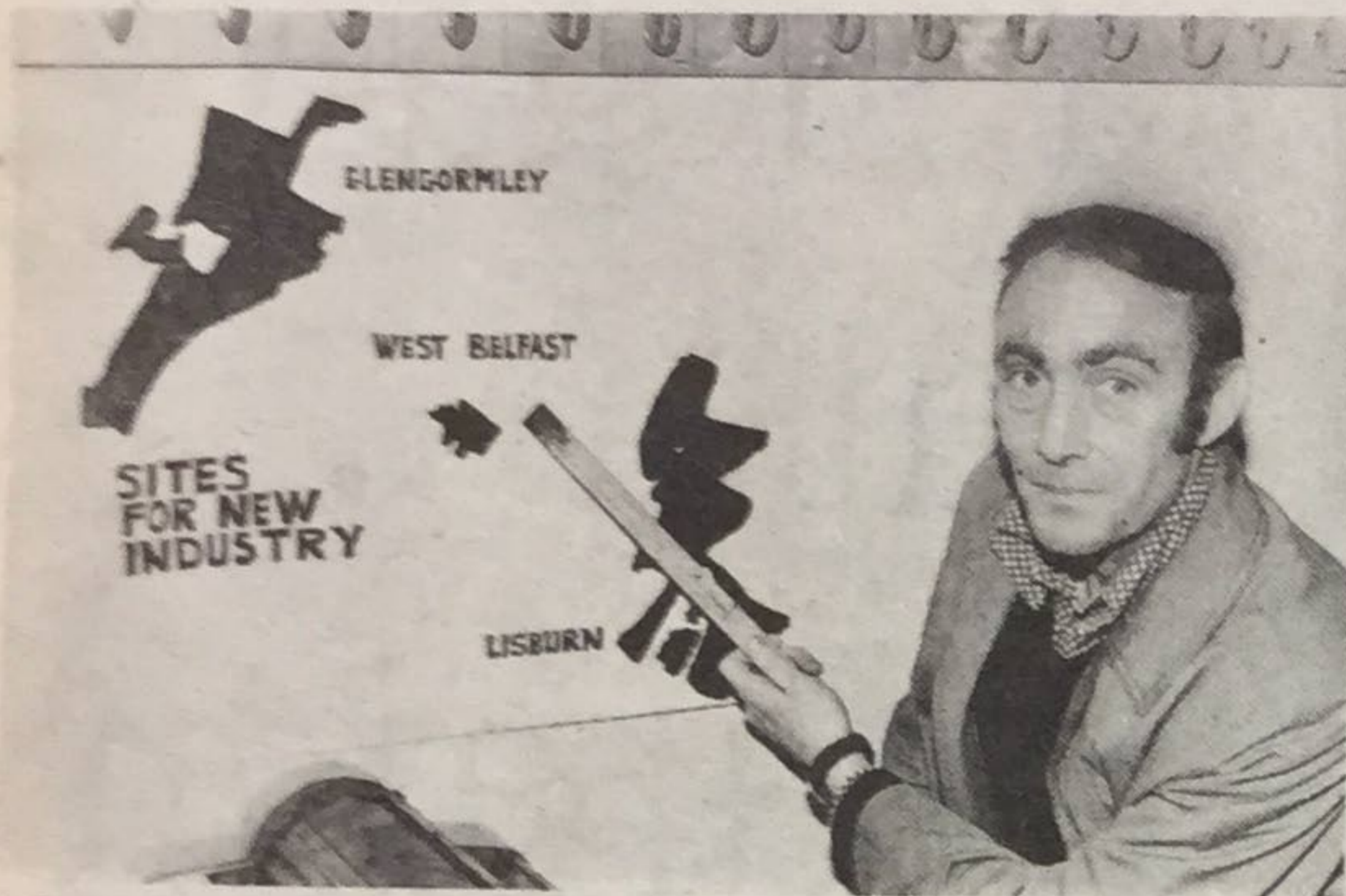
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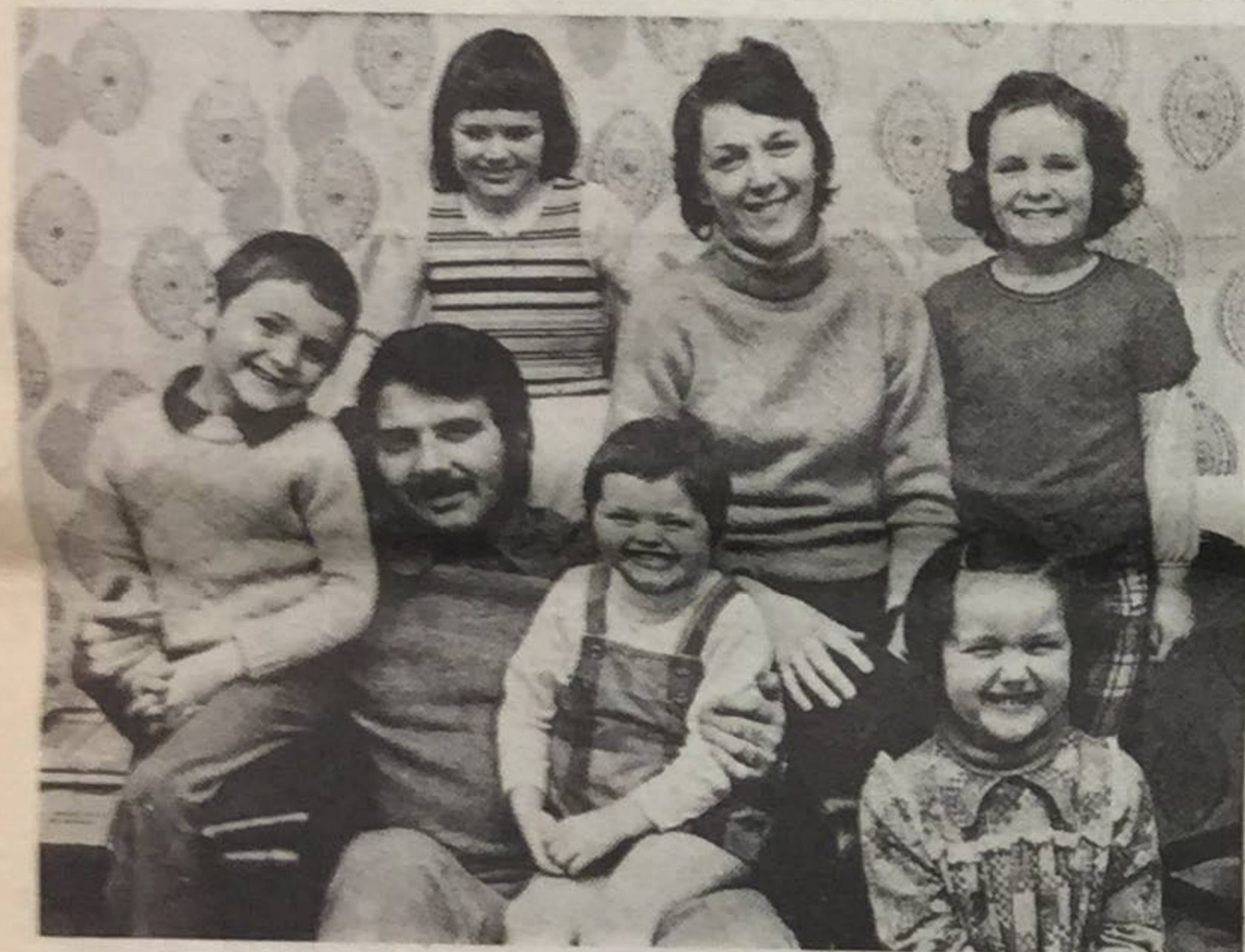
ACTIVE ON ALL ISSUES



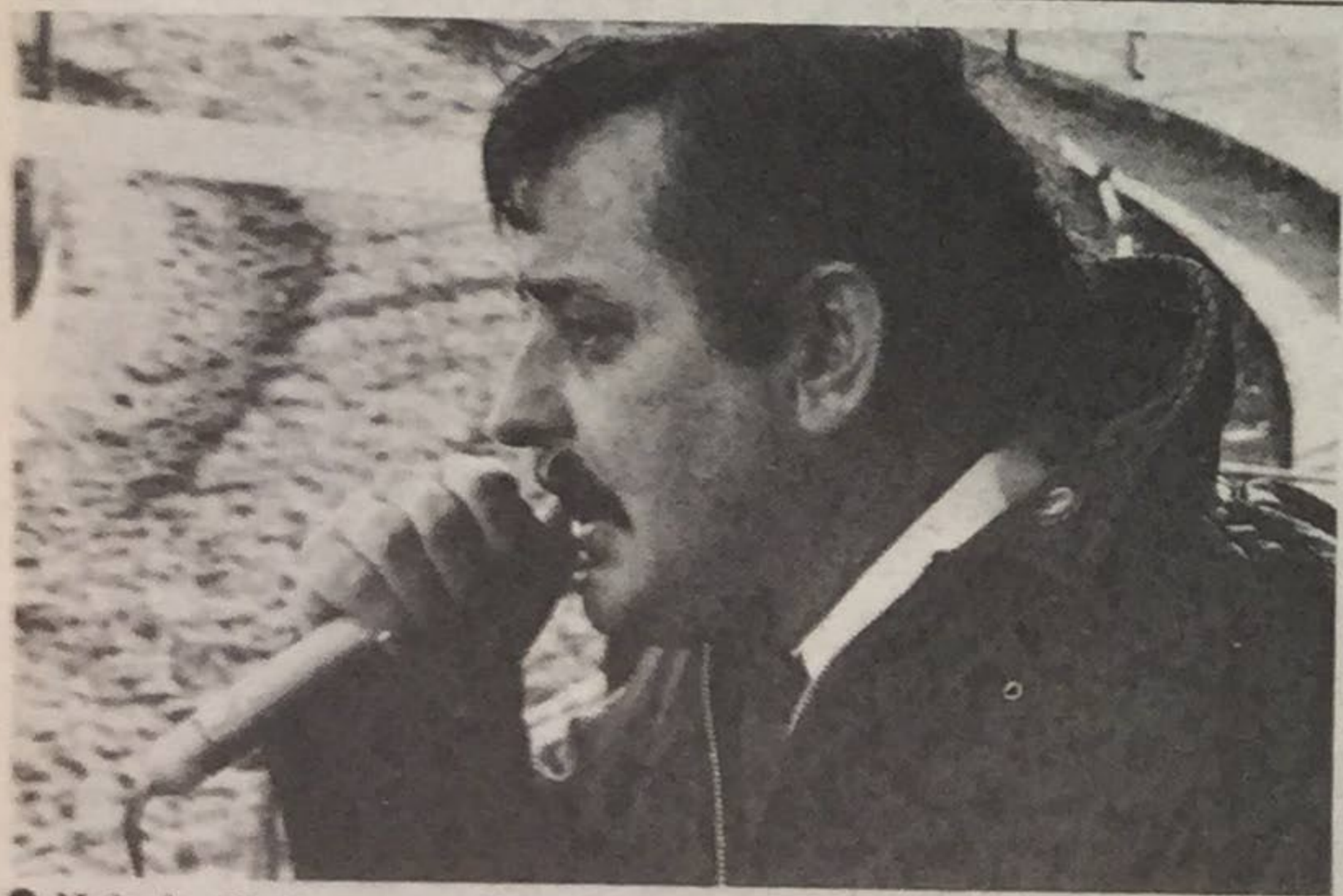
● The Press Conference to launch the Republican Clubs' policing document.



● Councillor McDonagh points to industrial growth spot.



● Councillor Montgomery (Derry City) and family.



● Malachy McGurran at election time.



● Helping to clear up during U.W.C. strike.

Growth

The expansion and development of the Republican Clubs is obviously one of the prime concerns of the Six County Secretariat. And even during this difficult year the hard slogging necessary for the growth of the Movement has been going on. A success story is the creation of the South Antrim Executive based on the electoral constituency, the largest in these islands. This new Executive comprises five clubs the Henry Monroe, Lisburn, Martin O'Leary, Bawnmore, Patricia McKay, Twinbrook, Billy McMillen, Antrim and Wolfe Tone, Lenadoon.

Basing the new Executive on the electoral area will provide the important machinery for future political struggle in a constituency which incorporates all the problems of the North from sectarianism to farming.

Further growth in the Antrim region is in Larne. Here the new club have chosen the apt name of Samuel Neilson, the '98 Presbyterian patriot. The Neilson club will now form part of the North Antrim Co-ordinating Committee until a full regional Executive can be established.

Internment

Information about internment and Long Kesh Concentration Camp is vital in the struggle against repression. The prisoners with the aid of the Secretariat have been producing their own paper for over two years, an Eochair (the Key). Copies of the paper are sent all over the world in an effort to combat British propaganda about conditions in Europe's only concentration camp.

The effectiveness of the prisoners' contribution to the struggle can partially be gleaned from the following report which arrived in Dublin this month. From Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A., the local radio station carry as a central feature in their news report from Northern Ireland the editorial from an Eochair attacking the proposed building of a maximum security prison in the North.

An Eochair is the voice of imprisoned Republicans in the North, it is making a major contribution both at home and abroad to keep the issue of repression alive.

Councillors

The Republican Clubs have nine councillors active on the local government scene. In Belfast, Jim Sullivan and Bernie McDonagh, Derry city, Mick Montgomery, Newry, Noel Collins and in Derry county Francie Donnelly, Tyrone Frank McElroy, Eugene Little and Jim McQuaid and in Armagh Barney McKeown.

It is impossible to deal here with the entire range of activity in which the councillors engage and have engaged while outside the council chambers. However Councillor Donnelly at his first meeting in Magherafelt District Council succeeded in persuading the council to pass a resolution condemning the continued existence of internment. Donnelly like the other councillors will be placing a resolution calling for determined and active opposition to sectarianism in the North.

Economic and social matters are top

priority with the Republican representatives and Councillor McDonagh spearheaded the Republican demands for industry in the West Belfast area. The Republican campaign conducted directly with the Northern Ireland Office sought to prevent the zoning of the area (pictured on the left) solely for homes. The efforts of McDonagh and Sullivan to obtain jobs in West Belfast has been widely reported in the Northern press.

All the Republican councillors are available to the people either at their offices in Belfast, Newry and Derry or directly at their homes. They deal with problems ranging from rent bills to old people's meals. An invaluable service to the people.

Elections

The participation of the Republican Clubs in elections has often been attacked from the ultra-left as reformist. The accusation comes usually from maniacal fringe groups who fail to see the importance of presenting policies to the people so that they can see the need for change and support those policies which will benefit them.

From 1964 when Liam McMillen stood in West Belfast and was the subject of attacks from the right-wing politicians and the RUC led by Ian Paisley, the Republican Clubs have seized every opportunity to present the party programme to the people. Westminster, local government, Assembly and Convention elections saw Republican candidates in the field throughout the North.

Although the overall percentage vote obtained by the Clubs was on average 5 per cent, important totals were registered in Mid-Ulster and North Armagh. Councillor Donnelly and Malachy McGurran (pictured left) were in the field until the last counts.

During the course of these election campaigns thousands of leaflets and posters were distributed and displayed throughout the North. The Republican Clubs presented the only anti-sectarian working class alternative to an electorate doped and duped by both Orange and Green Tories.

CONDOLENCES

The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein wish to extend their deepest sympathy on their own behalf and on behalf of all members of the Republican Movement to the bereaved families of all those murdered during the Provisional attacks on our Belfast members.

Although we have suffered grievous loss in the deaths of our Republican Club members Robbie Elliman, Tom Berry, John Kelly and John Brown we know that their families feel an even deeper sorrow. A sorrow which the years cannot erode, but we sincerely hope that their sacrifice for the cause of Republican Socialist Ireland will one day bear fruit.

To the families of Jim Fogarty, Jackie McAllister, Comhgall Casey and little six year old Eileen Kelly, who have given so much on account of their support for our Movement, we tender our deepest sympathy.

The Ard Comhairle also sends its best wishes to those wounded in these murderous attacks and hopes for their speedy recovery.

Mac Giolla restates Civil Rights demands

The President of Sinn Fein, Tomas MacGiolla, speaking at a delegate meeting of Tyrone Republican Clubs in Coalisland on November 16th said:

"The political stage in Northern Ireland has been dominated throughout 1975 by the Convention. Now that the predicted report has been produced the life of the Convention is drawing to a close. This report is expected to be rejected by the Westminster Government and meantime direct rule will continue. Thus 1975 has been a totally sterile year politically.

"During the Convention Elections last spring, the Republican candidates pointed out that this was precisely what would happen. They pointed out that an agreed report would be politically impossible to achieve and that even if it were, the British Government had no intention of accepting it. They have already made their decision in regard to the future government of Northern Ireland and used the Convention merely as a stalling tactic to prepare the ground for the implementation of Britain's 'agreed solution'.

"The Republican candidates therefore suggested that the Convention should be used to make progress in areas other than constitutional arrangements. They proposed that the Convention should discuss Policing, a Bill of Rights and economic development. Throughout the past summer I myself, have urged on a number of occasions that pressure should be brought to bear on Convention members to discuss the question of policing and a Bill of Rights. It seemed at one time in early August that the Bill of Rights question would be discussed in the Autumn session. However some questionable manoeuvres involving the Chairman and party leaders succeeded in stifling all further discussion in the Convention and the Bill of Rights was never raised.

Convention

"Every political organisation in the North and many in Britain and the South have agreed on the need for a Bill of Rights. This need exists irrespective of what form of Government will exist in the 6 Counties. The need is even greater under Rees' martial law than under the old Stormont system. Then why do the elected politicians refuse to tackle the issue? In particular the SDLP came to power on the Civil

Rights ticket and should therefore carry out the mandate they got by pressing for a Bill of Rights. This could still be done now and would at least restore some initiative to the hands of the people of the North. There is nothing to prevent the Convention members meeting again to discuss the Bill of Rights issue.

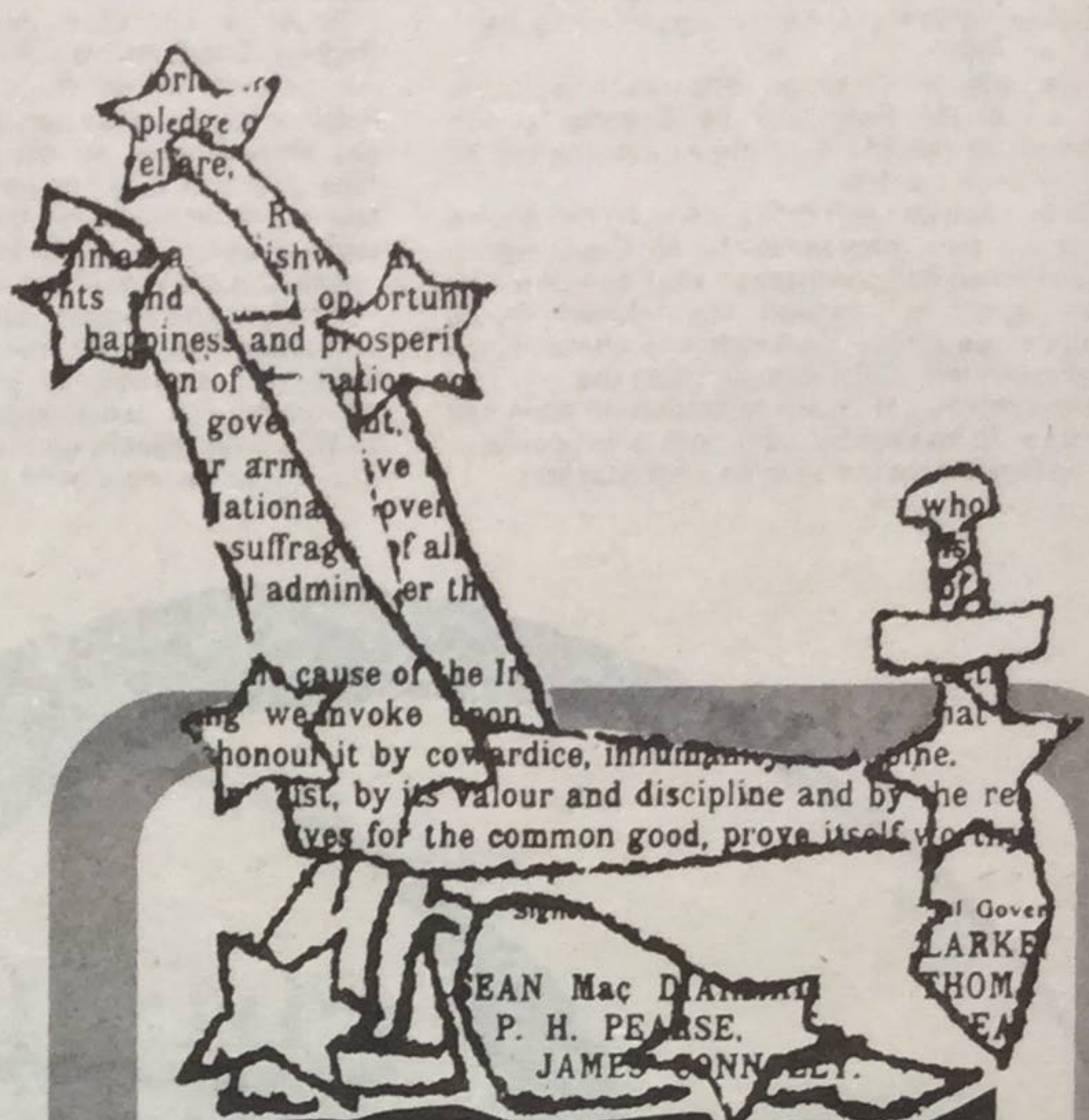
"Another question which should be tackled by the Convention is the question of policing. I believe that substantial progress could be made on this issue also. With this in mind we issued a document last spring setting out the Republican proposals for a Police Service. These proposals received wide acceptability at a number of meetings throughout the North. The main proposals were, 1) That the Police Service be under control of a Central Civilian Control Body, consisting of nominees of social organisation of the people, 2) That the Police Service be unarmed, and 3) That there would be an adequate complaints and inquiries procedure.

Policing

"The only effect of these proposals so far is that a number of Northern politicians, including at least one SDLP politician, have begun referring to the RUC as a 'police service' (which they are not) rather than a police force which they are. There is a widespread desire for some sort of policing in every community in the North. However, in many areas throughout the North the RUC are not and never will be acceptable. One of the most useful aspects, from the callous calculating point of view of Mr. Rees, of the past two weeks vicious pogrom against Republicans is that he hopes it will have softened people up to reluctant acceptance of the RUC. He may be right.

"There is no doubt that more people in Republican areas of Belfast would now be prepared to accept the RUC than was the case last week. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority totally reject the RUC. But they do require some form of policing. I believe that our document on policing provides the answer they require. It is up to other political groups to provide their answer if they disagree with us.

"If we can get some movement on one or both of these issues, Policing and a Bill of Rights, then the year 1976 may not be one of total political sterility".



Sinn Fein Platform

SINN FEIN CONDEMNS ZIONISM

The International Affairs Bureau of Sinn Fein deplors the negative vote of the Irish representative at the United Nations on the issue of Zionism and Racism. Far from the resolution being "a sop to those more militant Arab countries who wanted to expel Israel" as described by Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, it is a world recognition that the State of Israel was founded, by force against the wishes of the indigenous population and at the expense of one million Arab refugees.

Racism is no less obnoxious because it is practised by people who hold a common religion. Dr. Fitzgerald and the U.N. support sanctions against Rhodesia because of the discrimination in that country against its black native population. Is it any less reprehensible to discriminate in Israel against an Arab native of Palestine in favour of a European simply because he professes

the faith of Judaism? An objection to Zionism bears no relation to Anti-Semitism but this comparison is used by Zionists who have equated the Palestinian demand for a return to their homeland with Hitler's massacre of the Jews. This has influenced those who feel a sense of guilt for the atrocities of Dachau and Auschwitz.

But the gas ovens of the Third Reich will not be avenged by the diaspora of the Palestinians or the oppression of those still living in Israel. For far too long world opinion has been manipulated by emotionalism and high-pressure propaganda to support the obnoxious phenomenon that is Zionism. Slowly, however, it is becoming obvious that the Palestinians claim to live in peace and equality in their own country is valid and incontrovertible.

Fior Ghaeltacht agus Breac Ghaeltacht

Nuair a chuir stucaire as Gaoth Dobhair isteach ar Tom O'Donnell in Ard an Ratha le gairid duirt se nach Ghaeltacht ar bith a bhi in Ard an Ratha agus mar sin do nach raibh an duais de £2,000 tuillte acu ar chor ar bith. Bhael bhi cuid mhor den heart aige mar is fíor bheagan Gaeilg ata in Ard an Ratha.

Ta an sraid bhaile sin go seoinineach ceanna le ach an bhaile beag eile sa Ghaeltacht ach labhronn na daoini ins an cheanntar timpeall air Gaeilg ceart go leor.

Ce bith acu an raibh se ina intinn ag mo dhuine an cheist faoi teorainneacht na Gaeltachta a thogail no an ead paroisteach a bhi ag cur air, nil fhios agam, ach deirigh leis tabhairt ar an phaipear seo scrudu a dheanamh ar cheist seo na Gaeltachta arís. Ceist iontach casta ata ann mar deantar moran cur i gceill fa dtaobh do agus mar ata fhios ag an saoil ba seort "peil polaitiochta" a bhi sa Ghaeltacht o thainig an Saor Stat ann.

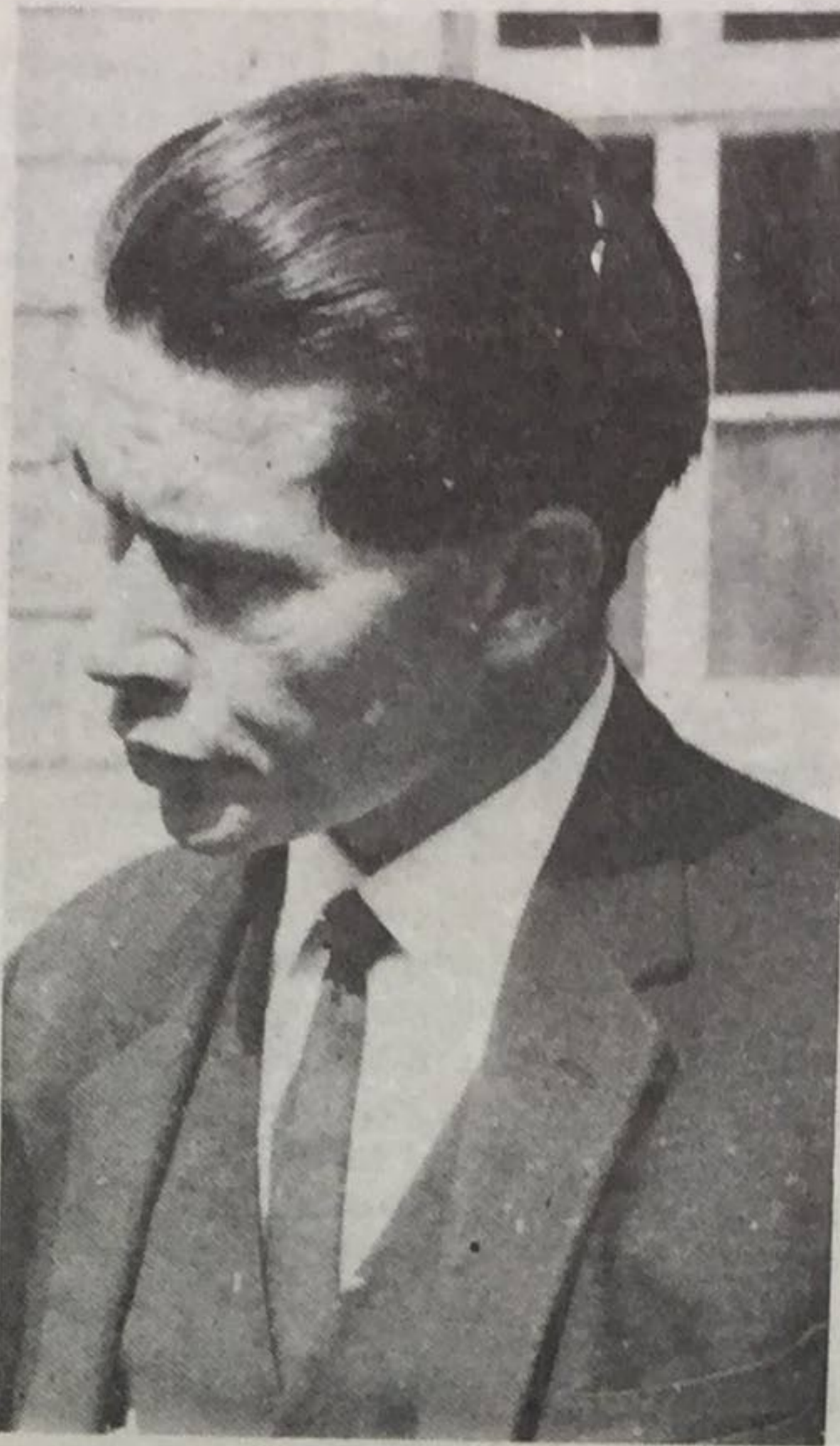
Ag an am sin (Comisiun na Gaeltachta) duradh go raibh 300,000 duine ina gconai sa Ghaeltacht agus an uair dheireannach a thainig figiuri amach duradh go raib 72,000 duine ina gconai sa Ghaeltacht.

Bhuel ní chreidfinn fein ceachtar den da fhighiur. Dearfainn go raibh mortas naisiunta ag cur as don chead fhighiur agus cur i gceill polaitiochta ag cur as don dara fhighiur. Ach is lear rud amhain agus se sin gur thaining laghdu tubaisteach ar dhaonra na Gaeltachta idir an da linn. Agus rud eile do bhi fhios ag na hudaireis go raibh an banu seo ag dul ar aghaidh ag rata nios gaiste na mar bhi se in aon ait eile sa tír.

Ach ba "sacred cow" an Ghaeltacht; coinsios an naisiun, rud a fuair mairtiri bas ar a shon &rl agus mar sin beigean an fhirinne a cheilt. hAthraíodh na teorainneacha agus na hainmneacha o Ghaeltacht go Gaeltacht ad infinitum le cur ina lui ar na daoini nach raibh forsaí an

eacnamaíocht chaipitileacht ag scriosadh na Gaeltachta.

Rinne Cumann na n-Gael (Fine Gael) agus



● Tom O'Donnell, Aire na Gaeltachta.

Fianna Fail an cleas seo le dall na mullog a chuir ar dhaoine agus ta suil agam gur thuig mo stucaire gur sin a bhi ar suil ag Tom O'Donnell agus nach raibh muintir Ard an Ratha ag iarraidh ceann gasta a chuir treasna air Gaoth Dobhair.

An mbeadh se mi-charthannach a ra gur cheannaigh Tom O'Donnell moran mor tacaíochta sa Ghaeltacht o rinneadh Aire do? Torthaí fo-thoghchan Mhuigheo mar chruthu air sin.

An mbeadh se mi-charthannach a radh gur mian leis an Ghaeltacht a leathnu (?) le tuilleadh tacaíochta a cheannacht?

Ta se ag brath a shlaithin draíochta a leagan ar mhoran ceanntracha a bhfuil an Ghaeilg marbh ionntu le cianta agus Fine Gael Buffer Gaeltachta a dheanamh astu.

Nil 72,000 duine ina gconai sa Ghaeltacht (Pobal a bhfuil an Ghaeilg mar ghnath theanga labhartha ann.) Is deacair a radh go beacht ce mheid duine ata ach dearfainn fein nach bhfuil moran thar 35,000 duine ann. Figiur i sin ata ag dul i laghad i gconai.

Ar choir surve eile a bheith ann le fail amach goide iad na ceanntracha ata ina nGaeltacht agus goide iad na ceanntracha nach bhfuil. Tuilleadh ama 's airgead amu mar i dtratha in ama a bheadh an surve cribhnaithe bheadh se as data no nios measa na sin ní bheadh an fhadhb ann feasta agus ansin bheadh fadhb damanta ag lucht scríofa "Spikes" pholaitiochta na dTeachta Dala. Chaithfeadh siad Gaeltacht ur a chumu (ar shli go mbeadh se ag fail bhais dar ndoigh) no thitfeadh ar gcoras polaitiochta as a cheile.

Caithfeadh a bheith ionnraice faoi an cheist seo, ta dochar milltineach deanta ag cur i gceill na gComisiun, na bPaipear Bhana, na ndaonaireamh & rl. Ta fhios ag muintir na Gaeltachta ca bhfuil a theorainn agus nil gar feasta a bheith ag cur and dubh ina gheal orthu.

Se rud ata o na Gaeltachta agus o na ceantair tuaithe eile ina bhfuil feirmeoiri beaga ina gconai na seans a theacht i dtír.

Ni theastaíonn o mhuintir na Gaeltachta a bheith i "reservation". Ni theastaíonn uatha a theacht i dtír in oileain bheaga in Iarthar a bheadh banaithe. Ma tugtar an seans doibh, agus da gcomharsanaí beidh an Ghaeltacht slán agus beidh na pobail eile slán fosta mar ta fhios ag la gur faoi scath a cheile a mhaireas na daoini.

SURVEYITIS — *galar Ghaeltara*

Ta an mearu ceanna ar Ghaeltarra Eireann 's ata ar achan nduine eile sa tír seo — se sin "surveyitis". Ta nios mo airgead caite orthu seo sa tír seo na mar ata caite ar aon chaitheamh aimsire eile. 'Se ar bpríomh tionscal e faoi lathair, silim fein, agus dalta achan tionscal eile is leis na Meiríocanaí an mhor chuid do.

Cinnta ta surveanna ag teastail o ham go ham ma theataíonn uait eolas cruinn a fhail le beart eicint dearfa a dheanamh go h-eifeachtach. Ach ní he sin an fath a ndeantar surveanna sa tír seo. Ní he go deimhin ach le h-eolas chlaonta a chuir ar fail le rud airithe a chuir ina lui ar dhaoini nach dtaitneofadh leo.

Se toradh Surve Ghaeltara na nach mian le ach 3.48 p.c. (buachaill) and 3.7 p.c. (cailín) de dheagóirí Gaeltachta a dhul ag obair i monarcain. Leithsceal maith do Ghaeltara 's don Rialtas, dar ndoigh, gan nios mo monarcain a chuir ar fail. Go deimhin thuig fo-eagarthoir an Irish Times e sin nuair a chuir se an ceannteideal, "Irish speakers won't be factory fodder",

ar a dtuairisc ar an surve. (Ta di-mheas fear an choilear bhain ar lucht-oibre monarcain ion-tuigthe ins an cheannteideal sin fosta ach sin sceal eile).

Rud amhain bunusach nar smaoinigh lucht an surve air na nach bhfuil tradisiun ar bith de oibriú i monarcain sa Ghaeltacht mar ata i Sasana, cur i gceas, agus ca tuige a dteastofadh uatha oibriú i monarcain nuair nach raibh a muintir ag obair ionntu rompa. Bheadh sa chomh maith agat ceist a chuir ar lucht ar mhaith leo dhul le talamhaíocht. Gheofa an p.c. ceanna mar fhreagra. Se tradisiun muintir na Gaeltachta, o thaobh oibre dho, na talamhaíocht / iascaireacht no imirce.

Leiríodh an tradisiun seo go h-índireach sa surve nuair a duirt 55 p.c. de na buachaill gur theasaigh uatha fanacht sa bhaile (45 p.c. imirce) agus 35 p.c. de na cailín (65 p.c. imirce). Agus dar ndoigh nuair a cuireadh an cheist orthu faoi oibriú i monarcain cen freagra eile a thabhorfadh siad ach dreir a dtradiúin oibre. Ní feidir le mac an chait ach luch a mhairbhú.

Duirt 1/3 de na daoini a chuireadh an cheist orthu nach bhfuigheadh siad an job a bhi ag teastail uatha sa bhaile. Bheadh se nios firinneach acu a ra nach bhfuigheadh siad job ar bith. Ach níor thug an surve an seans sin doibh.

Muinteorai, stat sheirbhísi, gardai, saighdiúirí, banaltraí, fir poist agus a leitheidí eile an taon seort a bhi le fail ag muintir na Gaeltachta go dtí le gairid agus ar ndoigh sin iad na jobs ata an taos og ag suil leo go foill mar ta neart taithí acu ar mhonarcain, ar thit an toin astu, le dul ina muinín.

Ní leor na seort sin postanna le fostaíocht iomlán a chuir ar fail sa Ghaeltacht. Ní chruthaíonn siad maoin no buanacht oibre o ghlun go glun. Tionscail throma bunaithe ar amh abhar na tíre seo ata ag teastail i.e. tionscail bunaithe ar tairgí ola 's mianai, tionscail bunaithe ar thairgí talamh 's muir.

Nil eagla da laghad orm nach gcuirfeadh tionscail da leitheid dotháin eagsulachta jobanna ar fall leis an mhor chuid de na daoini a shasadh.

Ní feidir le monarcain bheaga (as

aon oíche) an t-eagsulacht jobanna seo a chuir ar fail na an buanachas ach oiread a bhunofadh tradisiun tionscalaíochta ar dhubhsbraith daingean.

An mian le Gaeltara bru a chuir ar an rialtas na mianraí a naisiunadh agus tionscail a bhunú orthu (roinnt de na tionscail sa Ghaeltacht)? No an mian leo leithsceal a dheanamh ar shon an Rialtais eirí as infheistiu i dtionscail sa Ghaeltacht? Leigh seo agus bain ciall as: — Factory employment is the major type of employment in Gaeltacht areas. It is not, however, the type of employment to which even a sizeable minority of respondents aspire for their future occupational roles".

Agus an sli as —

This does cause a certain dilemma for the administrators. It would seem that the time has come for intensive discussion on the type of employment which would satisfy aspirations and the type of employment which realistically can be provided within an economic framework".

Sin leithsceal ma chuala me leithsceal ariamh!

CAOINEADH AIRT UI LAOIRE

GACH EOLAS Ó EAMON SMULLEN

C/o Sinn Fein 30 Plas Gardnar, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

**NOLLAIG SHONA AGUS
BLIAN ÚR FÉ MHAISE
D'ÁR LÉITHEOIRÍ UILE.**

B'Fhearr doibh dhul isteach i Fine Gael anois laithreach



● Roddy Connolly agus Brendan Coris ag machtnamh?

Dia go deo linn. Narbh dheas an feic iad caipitligh agus soisialaigh beil Phairti an "Lucht Oibre" ag a gcomhdhail bhliantuil le deireannai, polasaithe dli agus cirt a geomradaithe faisisteacha sa Chomhrialtas a gcosaint acu go tiubh. Caithfidh se gur iompaigh Seamus O Conghaile agus Jim Larkin ina n-uaigheanna nuair a chonaiceadar 'slanaitheoiri' an lucht oibre, 'fir labhartha' na coismhuintire ag tabhairt tacaiochta ar chuile ghne de pholasai rialtais do Fine Gael na leinti gorma.

Daoine measula anois iad Teachtaí Dala Phairti an Lucht Oibre agus bhi an cuma ar na hionadaithe aitiula ag an gComhdhail go rabhadar ar aon intinn leo faoin seasamh seo. Ar ndo einne nar *sonaigh le tuairimi agus polasaithe lucht an ardain ag an gcomhdhail ud*, cinntíodh nar tugadh cead a chinn do. Bhi an cathaoirleach brea ud, Roddy Connolly, diograiseach i

mbun na hoibre seo, ag cur deireadh obann leis an diospoireacht (niorbh diospoireacht e ar ndo) ar cheisteanna contuirteacha agus ar nos cursai an Tuaiscirt, no an Bille um Dhli Coiriuil Dlinse. Ni fheadar car fhoghlaim se a cheird mar bhainisteoir staitse.

Ni hamhain nar tugadh cead d'einne pairti parlaiminte an Lucht Oibre a chaineadh — nior ceadaíodh ach oiread go gcaithfi anuas ar airi no ar pholasaithe Fine Gael. Ta an Brianach, Breandan Mac Fheoirais, Michael O Laoire agus Justin Keating fein nios mo na sasta bheith i gcumhacht. Agus ta blas na cumhachta anois acu agus ni cheadoidh siad aon chorrail i measc gnathbhaill an phairtíthe a chuirfeadh a stadas i mbaol. Nach raibh siad ar fad maraithe i Muigheo Thiar ag obair ar son Fine Gael ar mhaithe leis an gComhrialtas.

Ba dheacair e a thogail ar an te a cheapfadh gur geamaireacht bolscaireachta a bhi i gComhdhail

Bhliantuil an 'Lucht Oibre', geamaireacht a cuireadh ar staitse do Fine Gael chun a chur ina lui ar an bpairti sin go raibh a gcuid droch-smaointi soisialacha agus liobaralacha fein curtha amach as a gcloigeanna ag dream an 'lucht oibre'. Daoine measula na gcultachai mohair anois iad teachtai an 'Lucht Oibre', iad chomh sibhialta ceanna lena geomhghuallaithe i bhFine Gael.

Tog cas Mhuigheo Thiar. Nior bhac Pairti an 'Lucht Oibre' le iarrthoir a chur san iomaiocht sa bhfo-thoghchan ud agus an leithséal a bhi ag CCO'É. 'Pairti bocht muid i bpairti an Lucht Oibre, ni aemhainn duinn iarrthoir a chur chun tosaigh muna mbionn se ionann agus a bheith cinnte go n-eireoidh leis.' Nil se de mhisneach ag an bpairti sin a bpolasaithe measula a chur os comhair coismhuintir na tire, ina ailt seo molann siad don choismhuintir ceanna vota a chaitheamh ar shon Fine Gael, pairti nach bhfuil cail

orthu faoina ngiomhartha siud ar mhaithe leis an 'bhfeair beag'.

Ba ionraice do Chrus O Brian a smaointe breatha faoin dTuaisceart; do Mhicheal O Laoire a pholasaithe frith lucht oibre; do Justin Keating a fheallpholasai faoi shaibhreas aiceanta na tire; do Sheamus O Tuicheadaigh agus a leithséal de pholasai tithlochta; don Tanaiste agus da leath-pholasai leighis — b'fhearr doibh an meid omois beil ata fanta acu don rud ar a dtugann siad san soisialachas agus ballraiocht Fine Gael a tharraingt chucu.

Ni bheadh orthu a bpolasaithe a athru beag na mor agus chinntíodh se a seasamh mar realta, sa mballe no sa Chomhargadh. Ar ndo ni rabhamar ag suil le diospoireacht dhairire faoina ceisteanna ba choir a bheith ag deanamh buartha do phairti lucht oibre ach is cinntegar bhain comhdhail na bliana seo an chraobh chomh fada agus a bhaineann le measulacht, le feinsasamh agus cloiginn i dtalamh.

RTE agus an scaglan ola i mBlea Cliath

Sar-chlar abea clar Seven Days ar an scaglan ola i mBlea Cliath — taighde maith deanta air, scannain bhreatha den chathair on aer agus leagan amach soileir ar an leiriú. A chruthu gur clar maith a bhi ann an clampar a thog Dublin Bay Loftus, an Comhairleoir Vincent Manning (ex ACRA) agus daoine eile a chuireann in aghaidh na scaglainne i mBlea Cliath. Bheartaigh foireann Seven Days ar scrudu a rinne siad san ar an gceist gur cheart ar shon fostaiochta agus uile, an scaglan seo a lonnu i mBlea Cliath agus nach mbeadh ollthruailiu i gceist. Chuir Manning i leith na foirne sin gur clar de chuid Sinn Fein a bhi ann toisc gur ghlacadar siud sa deireadh an seasamh ata againne o thus.

Is fada o chonaic muid clar den chineal seo, clar conspoideach mas maith leat, o fhoireann Feach. Agus tareis an tsaol cen mhaith clar cursai reatha nach n-ardaíonn ceisteanna conspoideacha. Se an t-eagarthoir no an leiritheoir agus na tuairisceoiri a shocraíonn abhar clar cursai reatha — no d'fheadfadh an bunsmoineamh bheith ag tuairisceoir

amhain agus go gcuirfeadh se os comhair an chuid eile e.

Ta coras ag RTE o thaobh leiritheoiri nach mbionn sasuil i gconai o thaobh claracha cursai reatha dhe. Is feidir leiritheoir a athru o chlar go clar, rud a dheantar rialta go leor — d'fheadfadh duine a bheith ag gabhail do chlar 'light entertainment' seair amhain agus cursai reatha anuas air sin — no aistriú o dhramai go cursai reatha mar a rinne leiritheoir Feach le gairid.

Caithfidh tuiscint ar chursai nuachta a bheith ag leiritheoir clar cursai reatha le job maith a dheanamh — ta an dream ann adeir go mb'fhearr an post sin a bheith ag iriseoiri, ce nach bhfuil na scileanna cui ag an ngnath iriseoir on dtaobh teicniuil dhe. B'fhearr meascan, agus ta teacht ar an ainmhi airithe sin in RTE, duine a bhfuil traenala leiritheora aige ach gur iriseoir e. Abhar conspoideach e seo idir baill an NUJ agus baill an WUI, ceardchumann furmhor na leiritheoiri. D'fheabhsodh reiteach sasuil cursai reatha sa staisiun 'naisiunta' craolachain.

COGADH NA DTROSC ARIS

"Britannia rules the waves..." meas tu? Scriobadh an mheirg do na longa cogaidh agus chuaigh siad i gcoimhlint leis an namhad — cabhlach traileiri na hIoslainne. Ach ni raibh cead acu deanamh leo mar ba mhian leo agus iad a chuir go toin poill agus an "spot of bother" a ghlanadh suas. Mar a deir siad fein faoi gheaitsi na hIoslainneach "that's not cricket". Bhi an domham-mhor ag gaire futhu mar se seo an dara huair a bhuaill siad sclath agus ni bheidh nios mo eifeacht aige an uair seo na mar a bhi an uair dheireannach.

Ta "cogadh na dtrosc" buaite cheanna fein ag na hIoslannai. Mar adeir siad faoi chluiche aon taobhach iomanaiochta — "it's all over bar the shouting".

Chonaic an Ghearmain Thiar nach raibh moran maith a bheith ag gurnail amhail madadh drochmhuinte agus rinne siad a margadh le rialtas na hIoslainne. Thug siad aitheantas da n-eileamh — crioche iascaireicht 200 mile on gcosta agus fuair siad, ar a shon sin, cead oiread airithe eise a mharfhu sa limisteir sin.

Fair play

Caithfidh Sasana an rud ceanna a dheanamh mar cuirfidh a gairde i NATO d'iachall orthu e a dheanamh.

Oilean iontach beag ata san Ioslainn ach mar sin fein d'eirigh leo a gcearta a eileamh agus a bhaint amach le danaiocht agus gliocas. Muna bhfuil tu trean ni miste duit a bheith glic. Mar a dearfadh Fear na Gaeltachta, "fair play" dhoibh.

An bhfuil contuirt ar bith ann go n-eileofadh an tir seo crioche iascaireachta 200 mile ona gcosta? Nil contuirt ar bith ann. leoga, mar ta siad chomh meatach 's chomh fabtach 's is feidir le rialtas gaimbineach a bheith. Nil se ina nadur fiu seasamh ar son ghaimbineachas duthchasach (?) mar bhi Art O Griofa. Ta siad chomh lag sin is nach bhfuil feidhm ar an mhonopolochas maoin a bhaint doibh — tugann siad doibh in aisce e. Cur i gcas ola, mianraí 's gas — shin siad chucu e — is beag nar bhruiigh siad orthu e!

Goide a thig linn a dheanamh?

Nil gar duinn dul i muinín an rialtais. Caithfear iad siud a scannradh agus a bhru romhainn in aindeoin a dtola go bhfuighidh muid seans an saibhreas ata san fharrage a fhail dhuinn fein sul a mbionn se banaithe glan.

Se tionscal na hiascaireachta ata ag fulaingt torthai meatachta an rialtais agus siad san a chaitheas tus a chuir leis an cogru mar siad san a chhead fhorsa sa chogadh seo — cogadh athghabhala na mara.

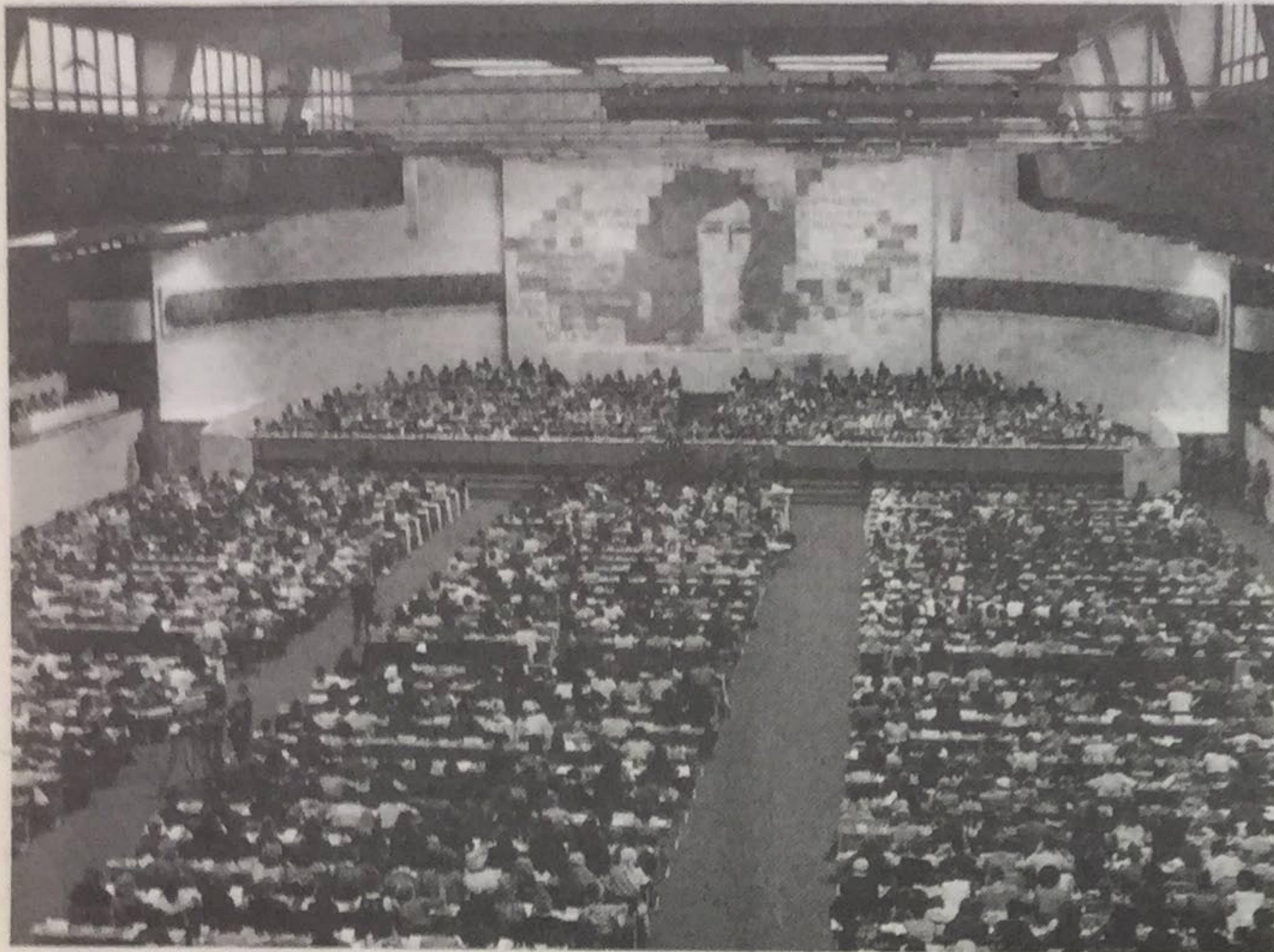
Nil gar ar bith a bheith ag clamhsan faoi thraileiri Ruiseach, Seapanach, Sasanach & ri a bheith ag togail eisc sa limisteir sin — goide eile a dheanfadh siad ach eisc a thogail nuair nach gcuirtear ina eadan. D'eireofadh siad as da bhfeiceadh siad gothai troda ag teacht ar rialtas na hEireann. Ta nios mo cumhachta ag Naisiun Bheaga na mar a shileann siad.

Mar sin is lear go gcaithfidh na hiascairi tus a chur leis an chogadh agus ma ghníonn siad go dana briomhar e brughfidh siad an rialtas rompu agus beidh an chhead chath bainte acu i cogadh seo na h-athghabhala.

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WOMEN'S
YEAR



At the International Women's Conference in Berlin.

International Women's Year has seen the convening of many conferences, seminars and the like focusing on the condition of women in contemporary society.

Ireland has seen a few such conferences this year but in addition to women in our own country coming together to share their experiences and discuss programmes of action for the future, some organisations have carried their programmes on women to the international sphere.

One such international event was the two-week Moscow Conference on Young Women held in October.

The theme of the Conference was "Young Women in Contemporary Society and their Participation in the Struggle for their Rights, for Peace, National Independence and Development, for Social Progress."

The Conference was organised jointly by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Committee of Soviet Youth Organisations and the Komsomol. There were an estimated 400 delegates from 140 countries. Altogether 97 nationalities and a large number of international trade union organisations took part.

Ireland was represented with three delegates, one each from Sinn

Movements, Struggle for Social and Political Progress and Participation in State Leadership and Society Management.

3) PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

Sinn Fein's delegate, Peigin Doyle, addressed the Commission on Contemporary Production and Young Women. In acknowledging the common condition of women throughout the world she said, "A young woman taking part in production is an individual who is the product of a certain environment, cultural values, class background and perhaps religious beliefs, the object of particular laws, the end product of an educational system, often the target of degrading and sexist advertising which will colour her image of herself and lower her expectations of her life. While for discussion purposes one can isolate the role of young women in "Contemporary Production", we cannot isolate the woman in working life from all these surrounding pressures and we cannot find a solution to her exploitation and oppression without taking all these factors into account."

She went on to deal specifically with women in the Irish context: "Ireland has the appearance of being an advanced, relatively prosperous Capitalist country. In fact it is a modern neo-colony, dominated by the monopolies and multi-national corporations of Anglo-American imperialism. Ireland belongs rightly to the sphere of the Third World countries.

"This has made our economy particularly vulnerable to the profit-making whims of the monopolies. They can and frequently do, close their factories at a moment's notice. Workers' STRUGGLES for better wages and conditions are met with the threat of immediate closure and redundancy. This has particularly affected the working pattern of women who are regarded as a secondary labour force and it has made them more liable to lose their unskilled and ill-paid jobs. Women's work in Ireland is traditionally unskilled but this tendency has been

Wages, Rights Attitudes — Women on the march...

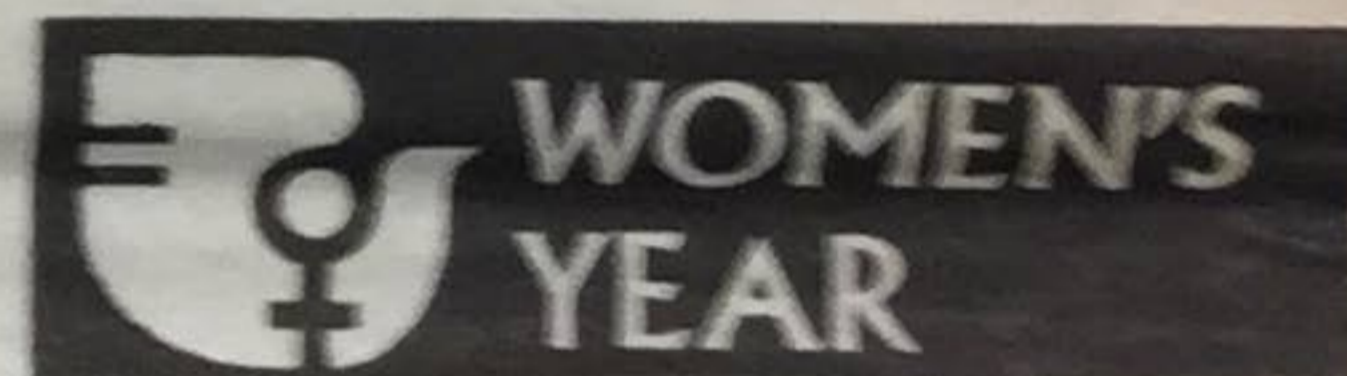
accentuated by monopoly control because they will only establish one, unskilled, section of their manufacturing process in our country and because they exploit women as cheap labour."

During the course of the Commission reports on production there was recognition of the fact that women are confined to certain jobs and that this factor depresses their general wages. The Sinn Fein delegate explained, "Women outnumber men in industries such as textiles, clothing, footwear, nursing and the lower levels of medicine, service industries, the lower levels of teaching and so on." This was especially true according to delegates from other Capitalist countries attending the Moscow Conference.

Peigin Doyle explained to the Conference that legislation relating to pay discrimination or job discrimination is either non-existent, not enforced, discriminatory or will only affect a small proportion of working women.

"Equal Pay Legislation is due to be implemented from December 1975 but is limited to establishing equal pay for equal work or work of

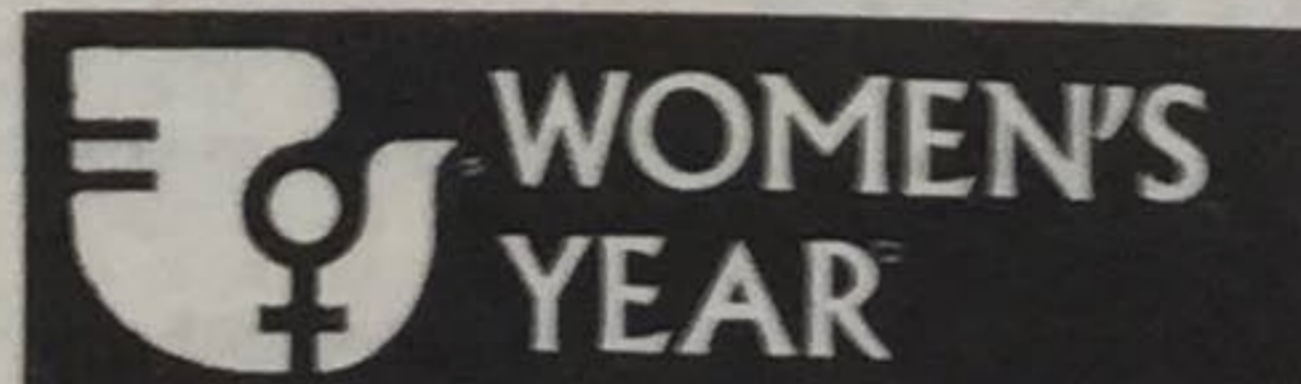
explained that women in the North of Ireland are subject to harassment and military atrocities by British soldiers and right-wing, sectarian murder gangs. "For them," she said, "often the main priority is to stay alive. They are over 50 per cent of the area population but are not a major political force in their own right. Eight thousand of them are



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unemployed and the unemployment of women is directly related to the general high unemployment in the North of Ireland. Women there, as anywhere, are used to keep wages down. Companies can afford to pick and choose and employ those whom they can pay least. Those in employment are afraid to complain about their conditions because they can too easily be replaced. About 30 per cent of female workers in the Six Counties are in trade unions. Although English equal pay legislation is supposed to apply there employers can and will choose to ignore it."

The Moscow Conference on Young Women afforded a valuable opportunity to strengthen links between our struggle and the struggles of the peoples of the world. One of the most important tasks before these women and indeed ourselves is to raise the consciousness of people throughout the world on the need for a new deal for women. Peigin Doyle summed these sentiments up when she told the Moscow Conference, "If we in Ireland know and understand problems and developments in America, Australia, the USSR or wherever, it will be no loss to the women in those countries. It will certainly be our gain."



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equal value. There is no provision for a legal minimum wage which would make women's pay equal to at least the lowest male wage. This will mean that about 80 per cent of women workers, confined to 'all-female' jobs, for which they cannot claim a wage equal to a man's, are unaffected by this legislation."

The dual oppression of women in the Six Counties also came under discussion. The Sinn Fein delegate

Women's Rights in Ireland

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Fein, the Connolly Youth Movement and the Union of Students of Ireland.

The Moscow Conference was broken down into three Commissions:

1) CONTEMPORARY PRODUCTION AND YOUNG WOMEN, including Scientific and technical progress, Policy of Monopolies, Discrimination Against Young Working Women, Problems of Employment, Labour Remuneration, Vocational Training, Labour Protection and Social Maintenance and Participation in Production Management.

2) YOUNG WOMEN AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL LIFE including equal Juridical and Real Rights, Equality in Family and Maternity Protection, Participation in the Activities of Political Parties, Trade Unions and other Public

The United WORLD

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IRELAND — PREJUDICE, INEQUALITY, HYPOCRISY

In Ireland, women make up 26 p.c. of the labour force. Their position in the labour market has four main characteristics:

1. Unequal Pay.
2. Concentration in the services and in unskilled and lower paid jobs.
3. Inadequate and in some cases no education and training for a trade or profession.
4. An increase in the number of married women at work but a lack of protection or services, e.g. maternity leave and creches.

At the census of population taken in April 1971, there were 287,300 women returned as being at work. Women workers, therefore, form 26 p.c. of the total workforce. Of the 278,300 women at work, 23 p.c. are engaged in manufacturing industry, 23 p.c. in professional services, 17 p.c. in the distributed trades, 9 p.c. in agriculture.

There are no comprehensive figures on the earnings of women at work. There are, however, figures available for average weekly earnings in manufacturing industries — and the indications are that they are representative for all women workers' earnings. The average weekly earnings of adult male industrial workers engaged in manufacturing industries in September 1974 amounted to £43.57, the

From that date a woman will have a legal right to the same rate of remuneration as a man provided that she is employed by the same employer in the same place of employment and that both are employed on like work.

As has been stated before in the United Irishman the Act as it stands is entirely inadequate and will make virtually no contribution to raising the level of women's pay. The vast majority of women are employed in what are classified as "all female grades", typists and factory workers making up the bulk of women employed. These areas of work are unskilled and low paid. The Southern Act falls short of the Northern Ireland Act.

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In other words, any reference to women's rate must be eliminated. Mr. O'Leary, Minister for Labour, has refused to include such a provision in the Irish Act. The Minister is well aware that unless the Irish Act is amended to include such a provision, it will have little impact on the problem of equal pay and can make no practical contribution to raising women's pay in the private sector. We would state here to those people who at this time are attacking the public sector — that this is the only area where the Equal Pay Bill has been implemented.

Another question we would like to deal with is the employment of married women. A number of spokesmen have claimed recently that the employment of married women is a big factor in our high rate of unemployment and that married women are blocking jobs for young school leavers. These spokesmen are ignoring the facts. 78 p.c. of working women in Ireland are single; the remaining 22 p.c. are either married or widowed. In fact, out of 278,000 women in the labour force, only 39,200 are married women.

The position in the Republic, where only a minority of working women are married, is in marked contrast to many other countries where the majority of working women are married. A prohibition on the continued employment of a woman after marriage clearly constitutes discrimination and is recognised as such by the I.L.O. and the U.N. ("everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment").

Irish Delegates to the World Congress for International Women's Year in Berlin, GDR — (Oct. 20-24, 1975) comprised — Maureen Johnston (C.P.I.), Madge Davidson (N.I.C.R.A.), Patricia Redlich (A.S.T.M.S.), Catriona Dooney (U.S.I.), P. de Brun (Sinn Fein).

The Congress was opened on Monday morning, 20th October by the President of the International Preparatory Committee, Freda Brown. In her welcoming speech she stated that "over 1,737 participants were present representing 135 countries and 75 international and regional organisations." She outlined the three main themes of the congress: Equality, Development and Peace.

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Meetings took place between the Irish and British Delegations. Internment, Sectarianism and the N.I.C.R.A. proposal for a Bill of Rights were discussed at length. It was suggested by a British Delegate that since the Irish delegation was so small, that the British delegation should show solidarity by mentioning Northern Ireland in their speeches in every Commission.

Leaflets and literature pertaining to the Irish struggle were distributed to the British Delegates. The British Delegates were particularly interested in the suggested Bill of Rights and asked for suggestions on how they could raise support and pressurise their Government into action on it.

Since the time-table of the Congress was so rigid, it was very difficult to find time to talk to people about the Irish Question. However, the Sinn Fein representative was able to have discussions with delegates from Western Countries of the Third World, and Eastern Europe. Messages of solidarity, literature etc. were exchanged. A highlight of the week was a visit by the Irish Delegation to the Warva plant — a bulb making factory in the centre of the city. The factory was destroyed during the War against Fascism but had since been rebuilt and enlarged.

Over 5,000 people were employed — of these over 3,000 were women. The creche and kindergarten were the first place visited — one of the five provided for the workers in the factory. The creche catered for babies from six weeks — 3 years of age, and the kindergarten from 3-6

years. These were staffed by fully qualified nurses, teachers, cooks, etc. The cost to parents using these facilities was approximately £4 a month.

In the rural areas of the G.D.R. there are 'full-time' creche and kindergarten where children are looked after from Monday-Friday. These cater mainly for those workers who travel a distance to their work, and where normal day facilities would be unsuitable.

The gynaecologist explained to the delegation about the strict medical examination system which operated in the factory — every worker is checked once a year, every two years each worker gets an extra two weeks paid holidays (for health reasons). If a woman becomes pregnant she is immediately put on a special diet, e.g. extra protein, vitamins, etc. and is then given full-paid maternity leave.

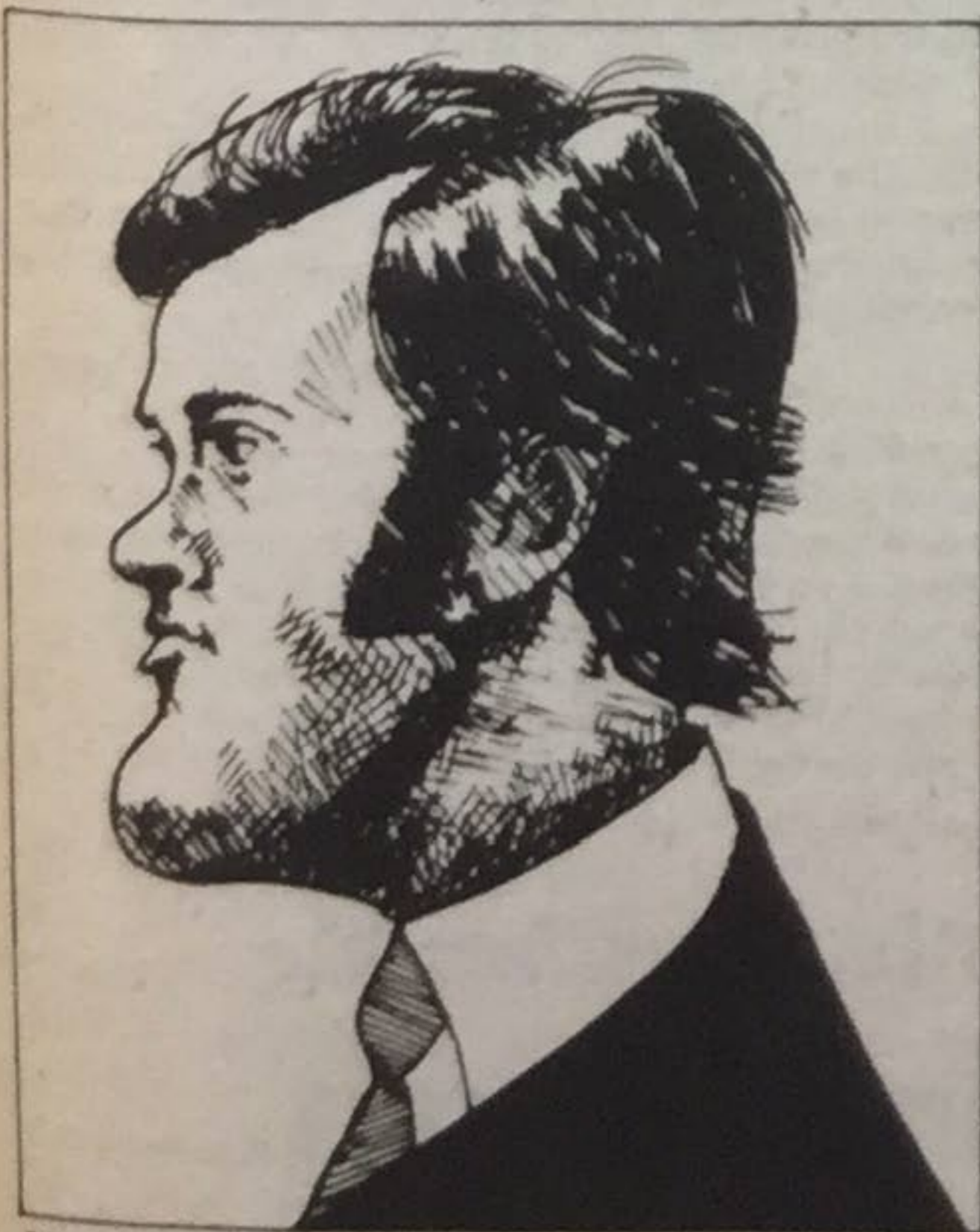
The assistant director of the factory stressed the fact that their women workers were gaining more successes every year in higher education. This was one of their main objectives in the factory — to ensure the continuing education of all their workers, for them to achieve higher qualifications (always with full pay if they went back to college). The participation of women workers was high on all levels of production and management in the factory. On leaving the factory the Sinn Fein

WOMEN'S YEAR

representative presented the factory director with the posters "Sectarianism Kills Workers". The Director expressed her thanks and said the posters would be displayed in the factory.

The Sinn Fein delegate found that the G.D.R. representatives attached to the Irish Delegation had a thorough appreciation of the problems facing the Irish Revolutionary Movement. In particular the difficulties facing the Republican Movement in their opposition to the right-wing and Trotskyist groups was readily understood as the G.D.R. had faced both types of opposition in setting up of the Socialist State.

Time and time again throughout the Congress it was stressed that while women all over the world were being denied equality of rights, the struggle for their emancipation could not be seen apart from the struggle of all oppressed peoples.



Mr. O'Leary, Minister for Labour under attack from Unions. average hours worked being 43.8 per week. The adult female industrial workers' weekly earnings averaged £22.05, the average number of hours worked being 37.2 per week. The women's hourly earnings were 59 p.c. of men's.

In July 1974 the Irish Parliament passed the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act, which comes into operation on 31st December 1975.



PEOPLE IN POLITICS

LICENCE

Jamie Flannigan, head of the RUC is to retire next year and undoubtedly the man happiest to see him go will be Merlyn Rees, British supremo in the North. Rumour has it that the fierce row which broke out between the two arose over Flannigan's refusal to grant a gun-licence to a certain person. Rees blew his Welsh stack, demanded Flannigan's resignation and found himself confronted with the threat of mass resignations at Castlereagh. Apparently Ian Paisley has the story but as yet hasn't moved, maybe he wants a gun-licence for someone also? Source of the row, by the way, is reported to be none other than Seamus Twomey, chief of the Provisionals.

SEVEN DAYS

Last month's Radio Telefis Eireann programme by the excellent "Seven Days" team on the knotty problem of an Irish owned oil refinery to be located in Dublin Bay has annoyed that "radical-left" group of so-called Community Councillors. No less a person than Carmencita Hederman, a well loved resident of Dublin's Liberties has been writing to the Irish Times complaining about the RTE programme. Anyone who was sitting on the fence on the question of the oil refinery should now find it easier to make up their minds when the opposition is examined.

The United Irishman gave the Dublin Port and Docks and Sinn Fein sides of the case for the refinery; a case as yet which no one group or individual has refuted. A Sinn Fein leaflet setting out the facts is also available: write c/o, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

ELECTRIC

Salmon and eels (not electric) were the subject of a report last month from the Electricity Supply Board, Dublin. Apparently at Shannon in spite of a fall in the value of the sale of salmon, down by £5,000, "combined revenue for salmon and eels totalled more than £100,000 for the first time." Some catch.

The Board's report also suggests that "water pollution control should be vested in either a central authority or in a number of agencies based on a river catchment." Good idea, but why doesn't the ESB go further and demand that all internal waters come under their control? They have the expertise, the enthusiasm and the interest to ensure the correct development of inland fishery.

MOSCOW

Congratulations to the Editor of the Belfast Provisional Alliance paper, "The Republican" News for his issue of November 15, 1975; not on the incredible series of lies, half truths and cover-ups, but for his diligent use of our literature.

Page 8, under the heading "The North-Key to English Influence in Ireland" has a straight lift from our submission to the World Congress of Peace Forces of in all places, Moscow.

An interesting aspect of the "lift" is the manner in which our attacks on the Anglo-American control of our country has been carefully doctored to exclude the Yanks. Still I suppose money talks, particularly Yankee dollars. But someone slipped up in the passages taken from another of our publications, the United Irishman, Nollaig, 1973, the Anglo-American influence is referred to on the Oil and Gas question. Time to check out the sub-editor.

POLICE

Former SDLP Councillor Tom Donnelly (Nth. Belfast) had been hitting the national headlines with his hysterical support for the Royal Ulster Constabulary. There are times one would have imagined that he was an embarrassment to the big-wigs at Castlereagh police headquarters.

His role had been to holler out what many of the party's leaders had been saying semi-privately.

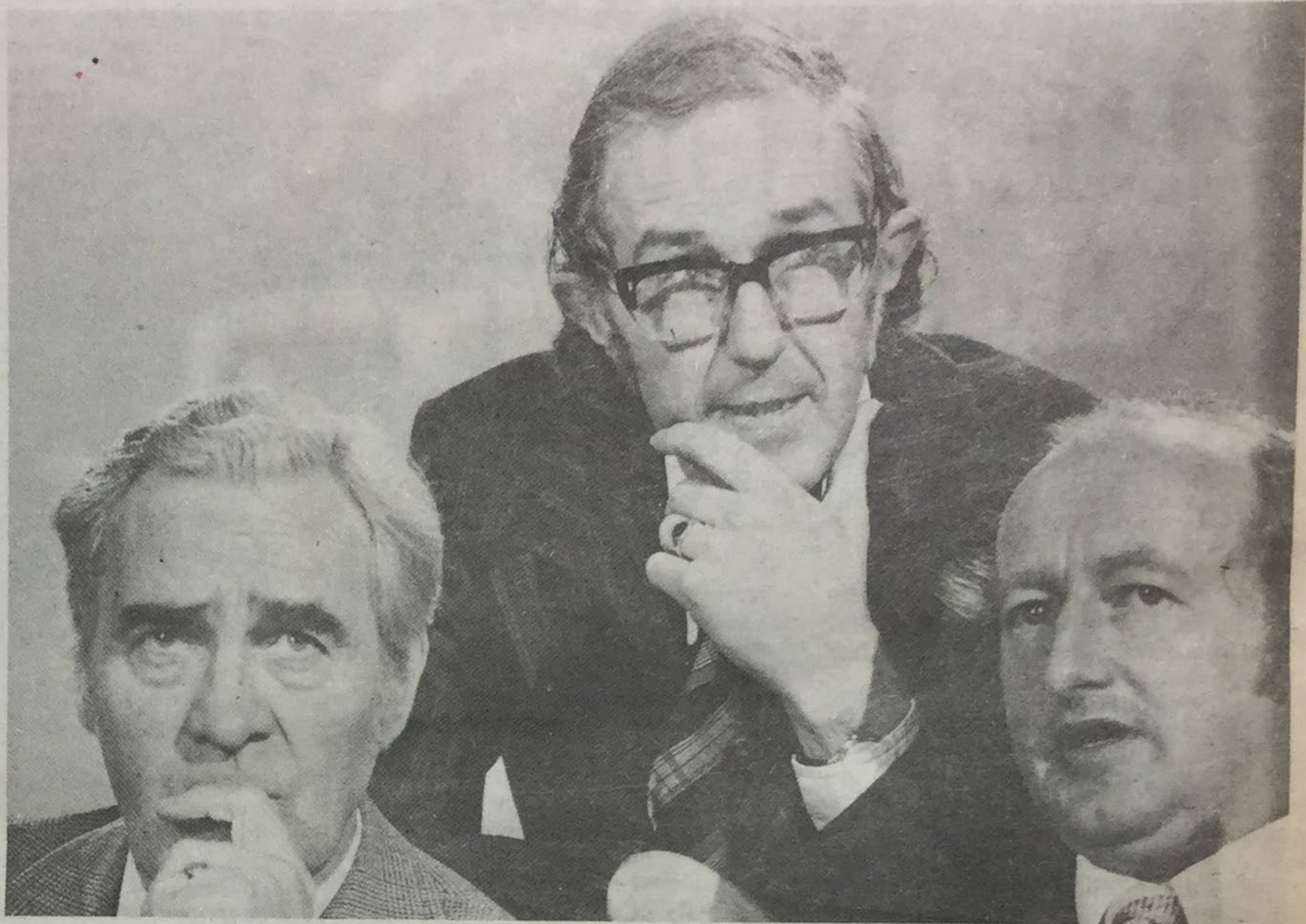
Why was Tom Donnelly picked for this unenviable lead part? A good guess might be that following on a North Belfast Community Conference sponsored by RUC Community Relations Officer, Trevor Forbes at Corrymeela, Ballycastle (May 30, 31) Donnelly reported back highly annoyed at the impact of the Republican Clubs police service proposals.

Two Republican Club observers at the conference had distributed their document containing the only hard proposals yet developed to reform the RUC.

Donnelly was forced to admit in front of high-ranking RUC officers, including Jamie Flannigan, that the SDLP had nothing in writing on the topic.

Some weeks later Donnelly along with local Unionist Councillor Carson came out with a blunt statement of unconditional support for the RUC. If you can't think, just shout out and keep at it.

What ever happened to the Southern Labour Party?



● Corish, Halligan and Higgins seem to be watching the exit of socialism from the Labour Party.

To all intents and purposes the Labour Party is dead. It has been failing for some time now but the coup de grace was administered on the week-end of Nov. 21st-23rd and all in all its demise is probably the best thing that could have happened in the interests of the Irish working class. For the Irish Labour Party often promised but never delivered. Out of office they said 'we have radical and Socialist policies but we are always in opposition so what can we do?' They asked their supporters for the go-ahead to form a Coalition with the ex-Blue Shirt, right wing Party of Fine Gael. Then, they said, 'we would have a say in Government and then our policies can be put into effect.'

To calm the fears of the doubting Thomases who found such an alliance distasteful they promised an eleven point programme which would be agreed between the parties before the marriage took place. The majority of those who supported the idea of Coalition were opportunists, avid for power and the spoils that power brings with it. There were, however, many sincere people who believed what they were told by their leaders, who smothered their nagging doubts and believed that their Party would somehow force their policies on the majority Party within the partnership.

The possibility that anyone could be so naive, given the past performance of the Labour Party can only be explained in the light of the euphoria of the late '60's. Gone, it was believed, were the days of William Norton and his son, the slum landlord. Gone too, though he still remained in the party, was the wheelchair socialism of Steve Coughlan. The '70's, it was announced with much sounding of trumpets, would be Socialist, and there would be no going back on this promise. To prove their radicalism they opposed the Forcible Entry Bill voted against the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill, bombs notwithstanding, and opposed the EEC albeit half-heartedly.

They went into the 1969 election with optimism and enthusiasm but, unfortunately for them, they also went into it with Conor Cruise O'Brien, Justin Keating, and David Thornley added to a lot of dead wood already in possession of seats.

For many months, indeed for over a year, the new Government was indulged even by people who had opposed the whole idea of Coalition. Rome wasn't built in a day and the structure of nepotism and corruption that had been brought to perfection by Fianna Fail would take some time to dismantle. Eventually, however, reality penetrated the fog of self-delusion of even the most naive member of the Labour Party.

Conor Cruise O'Brien embarked on his self-appointed task of keeping Ireland safe for British imperialism. While the telephone system became the scandal of Europe and the cost of postage doubled, he made speeches on "law and order" and "security" and the Irish Language and indeed everything except Posts and Telegraphs. He promised that a new Broadcasting Bill would be introduced which would be more repressive than the old one with less loopholes through which subversives could wriggle on to the air waves.

Justin Keating, the ex "Marxist" with complete control over the disposal of Ireland's Natural Resources and undoubtedly the full backing of the people and the I.C.T.U. to use that control in the best interests of the people, squanders an opportunity to produce an estimated £8 million in wages per year by providing a smelter to process ore produced in Navan.

Instead he has given the Tara Company in Navan the right to take out all the ore from that mine in 13 years, the fastest possible rate of extraction and the lowest possible rate of wages for Irish workers since, at present, it is mostly Canadian miners who are working the mines.

It is estimated that a smelter alone would employ 1,200 technicians, 320 fitters, 208 electricians, 280 craftsmen, 560 general workers and 720 staff.

David Thornley simply went to pieces and the Forcible Entry Bill and the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act were not only not repealed but were enforced. It is true that Frank Cluskey was responsible for some important Social Welfare legislation and the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Bill gives grudging recognition to the principle of equality for women even if it falls far short of actual implementation. But all the while the party that was making the real gains was not the Labour Party but Fine Gael. For it was a Fine Gael Coalition, taking credit for the progressive legislation while at the same time, aided by the antics of the trendy revolutionaries, they convinced the people that they stood between them and complete anarchy.

The minority voice within the Party became weaker and weaker. With some, compromise became the order of the day and with others disillusion and apathy destroyed their potential as even a respectable 'ginger group'. The Liaison of the Left continued, it is true, and won the battle against the threat of dismissal but after the latest Party Conference they must be wondering if they won the battle and lost the war.

For the Conference utterly routed any left-wing potential of the Irish Labour Party. The weak attempts of some delegates to stem the tide of conservatism and reaction proved nothing but their disarray and the futility of competing against old hands at suppression and censorship like Roddy Connolly.

The leadership of the Labour Party have asked for increased support so that when they are returned with more deputies they will be able to produce the goodies as promised. What the next General Election will produce is an increased Fine Gael vote and a reduced Labour one for the Labour Party cannot see or does not care that it is being used to keep Fine Gael in office and by the judicious allowance of restricted reforms and the forcible extraction of support for their law and order policy from Labour, to vastly increase support for Fine Gael in the next election.

The Labour Party is dead, long live Fine Gael.

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