

# UNITED IRISHMAN

An tEireannach Aontaithe Meitheamh (June) 1978.

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## R.U.C. HANGMEN

On Wednesday, May 10, the police at Castlereagh Barracks, the main interrogation centre in the six counties, announced that 27-year old Brian Maguire from Lisburn had been found hanged in his cell. Arrested on the day before his death, Maguire was being questioned about the recent killing of RUC photographer Millar McAllister.

The RUC said that Maguire had committed suicide by using a torn sheet, but this claim has been sceptically received. One man who was held for three days in Castlereagh within the last month told the "United Irishman", that it would be virtually impossible to commit suicide there, since, apart from continuous surveillance, the cells themselves are specially designed to prevent suicide attempts.

The RUC statement is regarded as ludicrous, since there are no sheets issued and literally nowhere in the cell to which a sheet could be tied. Again, on entry to the barracks, all personal possessions are taken from detainees, and their own clothes are exchanged for a denim boiler suit.

The probable truth, according to civil rights activists, who remember the Peter Hands case and are aware that the half-throttling is widely used by the RUC to force "confessions", is that the RUC killed Maguire while trying to force him to make a statement.

Having consistently denied allegations of RUC torture even when presented with overwhelming evidence, Chief Constable Newman has now appointed his buddy, Mersey-side Chief Constable Rawlinson to

investigate the Maguire death.

However, weary cynics here recall the appointment in 1969 of Commander Drury from Scotland Yard to investigate the RUC murder of Samuel Devenney in Derry. Drury stated that he had been met with a "blank wall of RUC silence", and went quietly back to London, where he was later arraigned on corruption charges.

The Rawlinson inquiry will be a white-wash job. What is needed is a thorough-going public inquiry, not simply into the Maguire case, but also into the entire operation of the torture centres by the RUC.

Not all statements are obtained by torture however. A smart Special Branch man in the South Down area has hit on an efficient method of getting convictions without a lot of blood, bruises and screaming. Since verbal statements are admissible as evidence under the emergency laws, the constable simply invents them, and forwards a transcript to the court.

Not surprisingly, the Maguire killing publicity overshadowed another death in which the RUC were also involved. On Wednesday May 10th, as the news of the Castlereagh killing leaked out, the badly decomposed body of John

McMahon was pulled from the River Lagan in Belfast. McMahon had been missing since January 19th of this year.

An allegation by his parents that he had been in police custody before his disappearance was admitted by the RUC, who said, however, that he had been released after a few hours. Subsequently it emerged that he had been seen in a police car after his release.

Commenting on this, the RUC mysteriously stated that McMahon had approached a mobile police patrol and told them that two strange men were following him. The RUC claim that they drove him around in an attempt to find these men, but having failed, they dropped him off near his home. He was never seen alive again.

All these incidents are taking place at a time when the RUC have a lavish advertising campaign to improve the image of the Force. Also they are taking up a higher military profile throughout the north. Armed with Sterling sub-machine guns, and Mark 1 carbines, the RUC recently have started to patrol areas of the border usually covered by the British Army.

The civilian policing service sought ten years ago by the civil rights marchers is still as far away as ever.



● RUC Chief Constable Kenneth Newman.

## END OF THE ARMS TRAIL?

On May 23 Minister for Finance George Colley circulated a report in the Dáil to the effect that the Government is to drop its attempts to recover £20,500 from German arms dealer Otto Schleuter.

This is the £20,500 which Schleuter had received from Ireland for an arms cargo in the Autumn of 1969. It was part of the £100,000 "Grant in aid for Northern Ireland Relief" which the then Minister for Finance Charles Haughey took from the Exchequer and used to such disastrous effect.

An anonymously published booklet called 'Fianna Fáil and the IRA' was issued in 1970 and claimed that Haughey and Blaney used these funds to undermine the Civil Rights struggle, buy traitors to split the Republican Movement and set up and arm the Provisionals.

We are still suffering from the results of this work. Copies of the "Voice of the North" newspaper, paid for out of Government money, were found in the boot of a car at the scene

of the New Forge Lane explosion which commenced the Bombing Campaign of the Provisionals.

The United Irishman in its November 1969 issue was the first to disclose details of the Fianna Fáil government's operations in the North. The exclusive report on Haughey and Blaney's manoeuvres was not followed up by any of the daily newspapers. Not until six months later did they believe the story.

Many questions still remain unanswered. One was asked by this paper as far back as 1969 — how could Jack Lynch, Taoiseach not know what was happening?

In February 1970, the Department of the Taoiseach paid out more than £5,000 for the printing bills of the "Voice of the North", as produced by Seamus Brady. The proof is in the official Government report of the Public Accounts Committee established to discover the whereabouts of the famous £100,000.

## New Light on Nuclear Power

The most powerful arguments yet heard against the building of a nuclear power station here were presented at a press conference by Sinn Féin The Workers' Party on the 11th May. The occasion was the launching of a four page leaflet "A Nuclear Power Station for Ireland?"

Opening the press conference Tomás Mac Giolla, the President of the Party referred to the "offhand and casual manner" in which Mr. O'Malley Minister for Industry, Commerce and Energy dismissed the idea of a public enquiry.

Both he and Economic Affairs Director Eamon Smullen then proceeded to give the economic facts which have not got any news coverage here.

Fact 1: Uranium is a very scarce commodity. In the USA the reserves of high grade uranium ore is only 690,000 tons. Since each 1000 mw station requires 11,150 tons in its 40 year life the USA has only sufficient supplies for 62 power stations.

Fact 2: Prices of uranium ore are escalating at an exceptionally rapid rate. In 1967 the General Electric Co. projected that future prices of high grade uranium ore over a long term

would be around \$4 to \$4.50 a pound.

Fact 3: A nuclear power station is very costly to build. In 1975 estimated costs were £200 million. Current ESB estimates are £350m. By the time construction would start the cost would be well over £500 million.

The leaflet contains these and other interesting economic facts and explains, how a nuclear station works. It recommends use of low grade coal, of which we have large supplies, as an alternative fuel. It also says the ESB should be allowed to get into the oil exploration business.

# INSIDE

### Why Republicans Oppose Federalism

# UNITED IRISHMAN

An tEireannach Aontaithe

The Fianna Fáil Government will be issuing a Green Paper this month. A Green Paper is a discussion document in which a Government sets out what it intends to do about a particular problem — in this case the economy.

The idea is that everyone will have an opportunity of saying their piece and making representations or submissions before the Government finally makes its decisions and draws up its plans.

When these plans are finally made they are issued in the form of a White Paper.

That is the normal arrangement. The Fianna Fáil Government, however, does things in reverse. They issued their White Paper last January setting out their decisions and plans for the economy. Now six months later they are issuing a Green Paper!

The areas from which Fianna Fáil are going to take money are spelled out clearly in their White Paper.

The White Paper says "it is the Government's intention... to moderate the growth of public expenditure in 1979" and points out that "two thirds of the increase in public expenditure as a proportion of the G.N.P. in the period 1971-77 was accounted for by the social services."

Then under Social Services it says "advances in the Social Services are almost totally dependent on the availability of adequate public resources. These resources are likely to be under severe strain over the next few years and will have to be carefully husbanded for essential purposes."

But the White Paper was most revealing in its proposals for Housing. "The level of activity in the Local Authority Housing programme and the extent of the exchequer subsidies will have to be subjected to continuous critical review in the light of available resources."

It then goes on to say the Government will "encourage" applicants for Local Authority Housing to "purchase their own new privately built houses".

So what does all this mean? The Government has over-borrowed. They must now start paying back. So they must take money from someone to pay back the banks. Who are they going to take the money from? Well, not the wealthy of course, they already removed the wealth tax.

The money is to be taken from the working class as usual. Those who pay almost 90% of the income tax are now to be told they will get less and less for it.

The Green Paper is intended to make this dirty deal sound good. It should be publicly burned.

## Letters

Dear Sir,

The Chile Committee for Human Rights (Ireland) would like to announce, through your columns, the launching of its campaign on behalf of Chile's missing political prisoners. After the grisly military coup which took place on September 11th., 1973, and which led to the murder of over 30,000 supporters of the democratically elected Popular Unity Government of Dr. Salvador Allende, who was himself murdered, over 2,500 people, who were arrested by the secret police, simply disappeared. Some of these people are very probably still alive in secret detention centres, though the bodies of

others have been found dead, bearing marks of mutilation and torture.

The Chile Committee for Human Rights (Ireland) invited groups of people in Ireland to adopt a missing prisoner in Chile. The group could be a trade union section, a professional body, a Church-based group, a student group or any other group of friends. The committee will then be able to provide groups with the name and address of a missing prisoner; if you indicate the nature of your group, the committee may be able to send you the name of someone with the same trade, profession, or interest.

You then write to the

prisoner's family in Chile, asking where he lived, studied and worked and other details of his life. Having received these details you can then write to the head of the firm, trade union or college, the mayor of his town, the local police station, regiment or whatever and make inquiries as you would about any missing person, saying that you are concerned to trace his whereabouts. Even though you may suspect that your prisoner is dead, you should not give up hope until there is proof of this.

Yours sincerely, (Rev.) Kevin P. Casey, S.J. St. Francis Xavier's, Gardiner Street, Dublin 1.



Several hundred people led by the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band attended the funeral of Jim O'Regan who died in Cork on May 10, after a long illness.

As a tribute to his lifelong service to the Republican and Socialist movement the coffin was draped with the tricolour and Starry Plough.

Jim O'Regan was one of that gallant band of 300 Irishmen under Frank Ryan

who fought in the International Brigade in defence of the Spanish Republic against fascism.

When he returned to Ireland he rejoined the Republican Movement and was subsequently sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in England. He served nine years in Parkhurst and Dartmoor where his health was permanently damaged.

When the bodies of Barnes and McCormack — two of his comrades who had been executed in England — were returned to Ireland in 1969 it was Jim O'Regan who was selected to address that vast crowd at the interment in Mullingar.

Cristóir De Baróid addressed the gathering at the graveside and Frank Edwards also spoke

A Chara,

Following Dr. Noel Browne's vicious attack on the Republican Movement, surely it is time to reappraise your often stated policy of co-operation with the so-called 'principled left' in Ireland (in particular of course the S.L.P.).

It was reported that Des O'Hagan also spoke at this meeting. We are not told what his reaction to this outburst of Dr. Browne's was.

Perhaps you could let U.I. readers know what your reaction is to this particular speech and what effect it will have on your general relations with the S.L.P.

Le Meas,  
Eric Conway  
Navan, Co. Meath

(See Page 5, this issue. Editor.)

## FILMS

### Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoire

Inspired by the famous 18th century epic poem 'Lament for Art O'Leary', this film has won critical acclaim both in Ireland and abroad. 60 mins.

### Going... Going... Gone!

The story of how Irish resources — and jobs — are being stolen with the help of some of the finest Irishmen money can buy. 35 mins.

Further details from:— Margaret O'Leary, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Name .....  
Address .....

## UNITED IRISHMAN

An tEireannach Aontaithe

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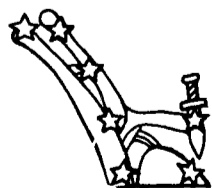
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The Cork office of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party is at the Thomas Ash Hall on Fr. Mathew Quay, a few minutes walk from the city centre.

The offices, which have recently been refurbished, are open daily. People interested in finding out more about the Party's policies and activities are welcome and literature detailing our policies can be obtained from this office.

# Fianna Fáil must stand by election promise

The lead and zinc smelter promised in the Fianna Fáil election manifesto is fading further and further into the distance.

It is now becoming obvious that the New Jersey Zinc proposal to build a smelter was never a serious one. After all if any multinational mining group were to build a smelter to take the Tara ore surely it would be either Cominco or Noranda.

They have a stake in Tara Mines and they are in the smelter business. Noranda has a smelter in Valley field, PQ, Canada, with a capacity of 225,000 tons and Cominco have a huge smelting and related industries complex at Trail, B.C. Canada.

The New Jersey Zinc proposal was simply a diversion. It took the heat off the Government and damped down the growing agitation for the building of a smelter led by the Resources Protection Campaign.

Now that New Jersey Zinc

has pulled out Dessie O'Malley is frantically looking around for another smokescreen. He will now probably use the Soviet offer as an excuse for long drawn out negotiations. Meantime he gives the impression of some action by announcing that the IDA are seeking planning permission for a site for a smelter in Ballylongford.

But the Resources Protection Campaign are not just looking for a smelter. They are looking for a State smelter which would ensure that the refined ore is used for industrial development and creation of downstream jobs.

Even if the New Jersey Zinc proposal went ahead their smelter would export the refined ore. A zinc smelter in itself would not make much impact on our growing unemployment. It

would provide just 400 jobs. Its main value would be as a generator of new industries.

The Cominco Smelter at Trail processes lead and zinc ore from mines in British Colombia and produces several different raw materials for industry. Apart from the lead and zinc the following by-products are recovered by further processing; zinc oxide, sulphur dioxide gas, sulphuric acid, antimonial lead, bismuth, cadmium, gold and silver.

All of these products, and all of the industrial jobs they could create are at present being exported, and still there is no decision by the Government on the building of a smelter.

If there is much more delay half the Navan ore will have been exported before a smelter could be brought into operation. What is the cause of the delay? Why does the Fianna Fáil Government not go ahead and build a State



● Des O'Malley deep in thought as he tries to think of a solution to his dilemma.

smelter, as promised in their election manifesto? "The State should retain control of the conversion process of minerals, oil, gas etc. to assure they are used here to maximum benefit. A state owned smelter could be established here for £40 million. It is in the industrial use of these refined metals

that their real value to Ireland lies. There are tens of thousands of jobs only waiting to be created."

All they need to do is give the ESB the go-ahead. They have the expertise and they could raise the money. After all they can raise £350m for a nuclear power station! About £50m would build the smelter.

## BANK PROFITS COULD PAY FOR SMELTER

Bank profits this year could pay the cost of building a lead and zinc smelter if the banks were State-owned, Mr. Proinsias de Rossa told a Sinn Féin The Workers' Party meeting in Finglas.

"The two main banking interests in Ireland have again

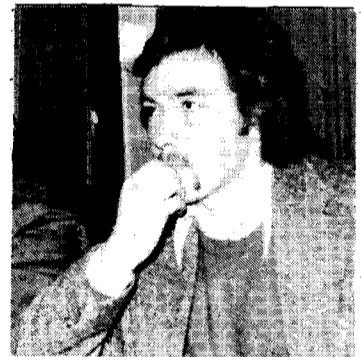
made a profit of £80 million.

The banks now wished to increase profits by a further increase in the bank rate. This would mean a further increase in costs for Irish industry and make job creation even more difficult, he said.

## Youth demand

Speaking on the IDYM "Jobs for Youth" campaign, Philip Moran, the National Chairperson pointed out that they totally rejected the Fianna Fáil Government's approach to youth employment.

"They seemed to regard young workers as being in some kind of limbo between childhood and adulthood. Their job creation schemes ranged from surveys to



● Philip Moran.

environmental clean-ups."

"Since we now have the vote at the age of 18 surely we are entitled to full adult status at that age. This means adult jobs and adult wages."

## Cabhair

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

Funds are urgently needed for ● Republican Prisoners' Welfare ● Aid for Dependents ● Legal Aid  
All Contributions Acknowledged

The Electricity Supply Board is in the course of inflicting a major wound on its own commercial viability. Over £1,000,000 in existing profitable business is to be sacrificed to "outside independent contractors" according to an internal secret memorandum now in the hands of *The United Irishman*.

The memorandum reveals both the policy aim of withdrawing from profitable contract areas like standard low voltage installations and outlines the steps by which it is to be achieved. This withdrawal by the ESB will have two immediate consequences: unskilled and inexperienced "independent contractors" will rush in to fill the vacuum and the high standards of domestic electrical installation currently established will rapidly become a thing of the past.

No concern voluntarily gives up business it has profitably built-up and conducted over the years. Why is the ESB acting in so apparently irrational a manner? In line with Government policy of stripping profitable sectors of State and semi-state industry to provide lolly for the boys who keep the party in funds.

Another immediate effect will be a big cut back in the intake of apprentice electricians into the ESB. As the secret memorandum states: "With the reduction in the number of available electricians this may be difficult in

## Profitable sectors of State industry being run down

some districts as electrician staff will not be recruited for Contracts work other than high technology."

Already Local Authority housing lists have begun to lengthen as State funds normally available are savagely cut back.

Road freight, one of C.I.E.'s most profitable sectors, has already been reduced in this fashion and a threat of total closure has recently been made.

Even major public works are being affected by the Fianna Fáil drive. The Department of the Environment plans to cut public expenditure on roads and the Minister, Sylvester Barret, is publicly encouraging the idea of private toll roads and bridges.

Far from expanding the Public Sector to provide for employment as demanded by the Congress of Trade Unions and Sinn Féin The Workers' Party the present Government is actively cutting back on profit bearing areas within the State companies to feather the nests of its ravenous friends in the private sector.

As Government policy forces one or other of the

successful State enterprises to sacrifice a profitable area of activity the eager and waiting "independent contractors" get the tip-off and are ready to move in. Result? Jobs in private enterprise are expanded, the Fianna Fáil target is nearer achievement as well-established State industry created by tax-payers' money and public service workers is cannibalised.

There is no need to underline the absolute bankruptcy of such a proceeding. The E.S.B. Government induced "suicide" in the area of contracts is another example swelling a growing list. State guaranteed service and standards in domestic electrical wiring is to become a thing of the past while householders are to be left to the mercy of the 'fly-by-night' moonlighters who will inevitably increase even at the expense of existing responsible independent contractors of which there are not a few in the country.

(The United Irishman will provide any E.S.B. Union representative or interested member with an opportunity of inspecting this memorandum on request.)

# WHY REPUBLICANS OPPOSE FEDERALISM

*For almost 200 years the objective of the majority on this island has been to unite all of the people in a single unitary Republican State.*

*This Republic is now being opposed by the Provisionals, Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the right wing of the SDLP.*

*This is the second of a series of three articles which examines the case of the Federalists and explains why Republicans oppose it.*

One of the most important dimensions of the problem of ongoing discussion about concepts concerned with political action in Ireland is the long-standing absence of any serious native left intellectual school of political thought.

None of our institutes of higher learning has produced a focus around which young intellectuals could gather in a manner similar to their counterparts in other European countries.

This is not to say that politics is a matter for intellectuals. But the result of this has been that political ideas have become a form of debased coinage, changing hands rapidly and unscrupulously as the part-time owners seek to discard them for some new glittering forgery.

Such is the case with the proponents of federalism. It is a proposal derived not from any serious form of political thought and is remarkably similar in character to the "politics of the latest atrocity" mentality which flourished so intermittently in

the North.

The emphasis is on symptoms and not on causes and while arguments advanced seem the essence of simplicity, how can one talk about the need for a Bill of Rights when people are literally being blown to pieces in restaurants and shops? The logic appears irrefutable.

However, it is just such a vision of the world that hides the seeds of fascism. It may be early days yet but the words of Bertolt Brecht should be foremost in the minds of all those who are concerned for democratic politics, "This was the thing that had us nearly mastered! Don't yet rejoice in his defeat, you men. For though the world stood up and stopped the bastard, the bitch that bore him is in heat again."

Federalists indicate the sort of society they advocate when they draw analogies with Switzerland or the USA. But that is not all.

In a territory so small as Ireland faced with problems of a kind which could lead to

fascist states they are in fact calling for an end to politics and therefore a stifling of public discussion on matters of absolute importance. Matters such as the solution of chronic unemployment.

Ireland, North and South, as part of the EEC is faced with a community unemployment rate of 5.7%, should Greece, Spain and Portugal be admitted that figure would be more than doubled. More significant still according to EEC Commissioner Vredeling is the fact that "the proportion of our young among the unemployed is now 38%, although young people only make up 17% of the working population".

This fact placed in the context of growing ultra-left and right-wing terrorism as experienced in the North, Italy and West Germany means that the struggle to maintain democratic politics and solve unemployment must be the absolute priorities, in the face of creeping fascism.

Where in the past Ireland was not geared towards the solution of the needs of thousands in search of work, except through the emigrant ship, the material resources are now available in abundance to place the country on a full employment basis for the first time in

history. To do so requires at least a strong central economic planning authority capable of managing the exploitation of this vast wealth in the interests of all the Irish people.

It can be no accident that many of the leading supporters of a "federal solution" are totally hostile to the idea of state ownership and state planning. Their positions in the world of business, banking and the professions accurately reflects their political interests.

Tomás Mac Giolla, President Sinn Féin The Workers' Party, speaking in Carrickmore in July 1972 has the following direct criticism to make of regional proposals. "We must remember that regionalism has already failed in this country. The regional government of the 6 Counties, even with the financial support of the central government in London, did not succeed in producing an area which was capable of sustaining its population. Even before the 6 Counties suffered any of the shocks of the late 1960s, unemployment there was at a disastrously high level.

If the answers do not lie in any of the deformed regional proposals, what solutions can be put forward of a realistic kind which would enable the development of an Ireland not

Councillor Malachy McGurran denounced the recently voiced SDLP support for Federalism as yet another example of the SDLP hanging onto the coat-tails of the Provos.

"The decentralisation of power inherent in a federal system", he said, "operating in a population as small as that in Ireland would guarantee continued governmental instability and would certainly undermine the strong initiatives that are necessary to solve the crucial social and economic problems of the Irish people."

"The only way forward to guarantee lasting stability and progress must be based, not on seeking accommodation with the vicious agents of sectarianism but in going to the heart of the matter and seeking to eradicate them by working class unity."

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sunk in mediaeval religious disputes or unable to care for its people in providing for their material and spiritual needs?

*The final article in this series will deal just with that topic next month.*

## Belfast

Commenting on the latest unemployment figures, Mr. Brian Brennan, Republican Clubs Candidate for West Belfast, declared that the human misery hidden in the figure of a further 2,000 unemployed school leavers was an indescribable tragedy that demanded urgent positive government action and not words of pious concern.

"Such a tragedy has long been in the making and the Government's own economic forecasts have indicated that the only way forward is through major state manufacturing industry. Yet despite the fact that the Quigley Report has been on their desk for some 18 months now we have yet to witness any serious Government undertaking in this field.

More disturbingly, the very necessary framework within which such development can take place, viz, the creation of a public sector planning and research unit has yet to be undertaken.

## the party platform

### Cllr. Sullivan

Republican Clubs Councillor Jim Sullivan, Vice-Chairman of Belfast City Council Gas Department, reacted angrily to Minister of Industry, Don Concannon's statement last month announcing that the price of gas to the consumer was to increase 10%.

"Private companies are being subsidised out of public funds to maintain a criminally high cost of essential fuel supply to the domestic consumer.

"Continued handouts to the 14 uneconomic suppliers is a decision that cannot be justified in economic terms. A decision on the future of the gas industry here is needed now."

### I.D.Y.M.

At a recent meeting of the Tyrone Area Executive of the

Irish Democratic Youth Movement, the present inadequate educational system in Northern Ireland was severely criticised and labelled as a fosterer of sectarian divisions and hatred.

In a statement, issued after the meeting, the IDYM Executive stated — "Education in Ireland must be taken out of the hands of the religious orders, sponsored completely by the State and placed under the control of management boards consisting of teachers, parents, students and representatives of community bodies and trades unions."

Emphasising the ill effects of single sex schools on the mature development of young people the statement continued: "Such archaic institutions must be phased out.

The present system of education refuses to provide

adequate facilities or incentives to girls to study the full range of science and technology courses — subjects which are becoming vitally important with the industrialisation of Ireland.

"The Irish people must face the fact that the education system here portrays the worst features of any society. People must realise that it is organised solely along anti-democratic, sectarian and class lines.

## Dublin

The Martin O'Leary cumann of Kilbarrack, Dublin, welcomed the news that Mr. Collins is reconsidering his decision to build a women's prison in the area.

"We are disappointed, however, that he should let this be known through a press leak rather than by informing local organisations, who have made repeated representations to

him on this issue.

"We believe that a women's prison in Kilbarrack would take up valuable open space needed for amenity purposes in the area.

"The original decision to spend £4 million building a prison to house a dozen women is sheer lunacy. These women would be better off if decent rehabilitation services were provided.

## Cut-backs

The Dublin Executive of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party called upon the Fianna Fáil Government to reverse its policy of cutting back on local authority housing as outlined in its White Paper earlier this year.

"It is a scandalous situation when 7,500 people are on the Dublin housing list on May 1st, an increase of 50% from April.

If Fianna Fáil are serious about solving Dublin's housing problem, they must immediately set up a State Construction Company to increase Local Authority housing."

# The Rejection of Connolly

Dr. Noel Browne's sweeping attack on Irish Republicanism received widespread publicity in the newspapers on May 9. The Irish Times were so pleased by his sentiments that they published the text of his speech a week later.

It is important to understand that this was not just an unthinking emotional outburst by the unpredictable Noel Browne. It was preplanned. He spoke for three quarters of an hour from a prepared script which he had already given to the news media.

The other SLP speaker at the same meeting, David Neligan, also was critical of Republicans, and in particular of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party who, he said, "would have to prove their socialism". This of course, is true of everybody — including David Neligan.

Socialists must prove themselves, not just once in a lifetime, but every day and that is precisely what the

members of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party are doing.

In a letter to the Irish Times, which was eventually published in censored form on May 24, Sean Garland, General Secretary of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party, gave the background to the meeting at which Browne and Neligan made their attacks. The Party was invited to send a speaker to a discussion on "Republicanism and Socialism" organised by the internal Education section of the SLP.

Since it seemed to be an effort to bring together the parties to the Left Alternative in a rational debate, it was decided to send a speaker and Des O'Hagan, Director of Education, went along.

Des O'Hagan who spoke first examined what he called "the variety of claimants to the Republican title" and pointed out that a "similar situation exists in relationship to socialism". Then tracing the "dominant strands of republican thinking through

the years" he asserted "the socialist character of republicanism". He discussed the developments in republicanism since 1962 and said:

"What happened in the period 1962-1977 was that 'Republicanism' was transformed from a diffuse, nationalist, primarily militaristic philosophy into a progressive, socialist, republican philosophy based on organisational principles similar to those advocated by other internationalist parties of the working class."

"Finally, comrades, Sinn Féin The Workers' Party is convinced in spite of setbacks, that Republicans / Socialists can create a serious unity, a unity in which the necessary leadership will accumulate with the Party showing the greatest capacity and initiative for mobilising the Irish working class. This we should accept. It should not be a matter of contention among us."

"Rather let us turn our

minds to deciding who are those with whom we will and must work. Having done so, great things are open to us; failing this the judgement of the Irish working class will be deservedly harsh."

Unfortunately both Browne and Neligan chose the devious course. Their objective seemed to be to propagate the idea that no republican could possibly be socialist, despite the clear historical evidence to

the contrary.

Cathal Goulding, who has been a life long republican and socialist was given space by the Irish Times to reply to Noel Browne. An extract from his reply is given on this page. It should be noted that, despite what Browne and Neligan have said, he ends with a call for socialists and republicans to reject terrorism and to work together.



● Noel Browne inspects the British Army barricade in Derry some years ago with fellow Labour Party members.

## Right Wing Defeated

In 1962 a new leadership was elected to Sinn Féin, following the debacle of the 1950's. This leadership immediately began a total reappraisal of the Republican position.

Two major decisions were made. (1) The objective was no longer "get the British troops out of the North". It was "defeat imperialism and capitalism in all of Ireland". (2) The means were no longer "organise a military campaign". Now, they were "organise the Irish people in mass struggle on all the issues which affect them — political, social and economic". Later, it was recognised that to do this it was essential to build a party of the working class. It

took almost a decade to do this.

As a result of these decisions, the Sinn Féin party was totally engaged in agitational activities on social, economic and cultural issues in the South and began slowly to build the framework for a Civil Rights Campaign in the North. At no stage was it planned, or even anticipated, that these campaigns would be a prelude to a further outbreak of militarism.

In fact, it was recognised that anything in the nature of a military campaign would be reactionary, counter-revolutionary and would play into the hands of the British Imperialists.

These decisions were not taken, of course, without great tensions building up within the organisation. Many members moved away from us to preserve intact their true-blue interpretation of physical force Republicanism which had been a total failure and ended only in a tricolour on a coffin.

They took no part in the Civil Rights struggle, except to condemn it, but emerged from their ratholes to grab the Fianna Fáil money and guns in August 1969.

But some of the more dangerous and dedicated haters of socialism stayed on, awaiting the opportune moment to repeat the split of the 1930's. They thought they would be able to expel the socialists and grab the leadership themselves. Unlike

the 30's however, when the socialists were the minority and left to form the Republican Congress, when the split came in January 1970, the right wing was defeated by a two-to-one majority. The minority left Sinn Féin and formed the Provisionals in a little basement room in Parnell Square.

Far from supporting the Provisional, or any other, campaign in the North, Sinn Féin The Workers' Party recognise that it has done precisely what we forecast. It has defeated the Civil Rights' struggle, something which no British force could do, and it has set Irish workers at each other's throats, when the Republican objective is to unite them.

Dr. Browne rightly condemns those who tried to equate Republicanism with a certain strand of right wing, sectarian, Catholic nationalism. He, unfortunately, refuses to recognise that there were always others who upheld the secular and socialist tradition of Tone and Connolly, despite the clear historical evidence of their constant struggle.

As a socialist, Dr. Browne should welcome the fact that in Sinn Féin the secular and socialist tradition at last won out in 1970. Now is the time for all socialists and Republicans who repudiate the sectarian ultra-nationalist terror campaign in the North, to work together on behalf of all the Irish working class.



● Cathal Goulding.

## scéal scéil

### Scoileanna nó Príosúin

Nuair a bhíonn caint ar shrian a chur le caitheamh airgid an Stáit bí cinnte gur sheirbhísí mar sláinte agus oideachas atá i gceist. Tá géar gá le an-chuid airgead chun cúrsaí oideachais a fheabhsú sa tír. Tá an t-airgead seo ag teastáil go h-áirithe sa gcóras bhunscolaíochta.

Is náire mór don Roinn Oideachais droch-stáid bun-scoileanna na tíre agus a chuid scoileanna fhéin ach go háirithe. Tá na scoileanna seo

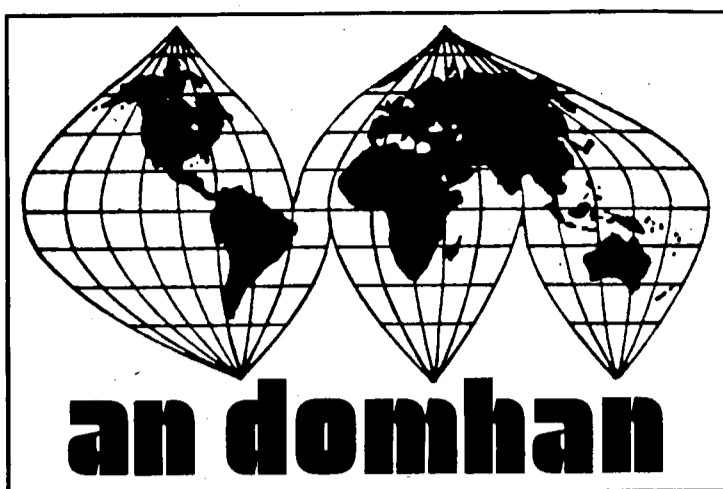
suite i bhfearann na Roinne i Sráid Maolbhríde agus tá an tAire Oideachais mar bhainisteoir orthu.

Tá sean-fhoirgneamha na scoile ag titim as a chéile. Na leithreasáí a úsáideann na páistí agus iad amuigh sa gclós tá siad tirm, salach agus neamh shlántúil. Níl fiú áit súgartha ceart ag na páistí.

Chomh maith le droch staid an-chuid dhos na scoileanna is fadhb mór é líon na ndaltaí 'sna ranganna. Go mór mhór

sna mbailte móra, bíonn an oiread sin páistí sa rang amháin i roinnt scoileanna go mbíonn sé fíor dheachair ar mhúinteoir ar bith smacht a choinneáil orthu gan trácht ar iad a mhúineadh.

In áit na mílte púnt a chaitheamh ar phríosúin dho páistí, nach mbeáir oideachas maith agus postanna a chur ar fáil dho dhaoine óga. B'fhéidir ansin nach mbéadh gá le príosúin.



● The Irish delegation at the World Trade Union Conference. From left, Betty Sinclair, Seamus Lynch, Tom Moore and Leslie Taggart.

## Cuba's Agricultural Revolution

By the end of last century there were three well-defined social classes in Cuban agriculture:— the big landowners (latifundists), the landless rural labourers who worked for them, and a small farmer (peasant) class.

Formal independence from Spain came in 1902. Between then and 1959, U.S. capital penetrated deeply into the agricultural sector and many of the big estates passed into North American hands. Thousands of peasants were robbed of their lands.

The 1959 revolution inherited a classical neo-colonialist situation — a rapidly growing population, almost total dependence on one export product (sugar) and on one market (the U.S.A.), with most of the best land owned by a tiny minority of multinational firms and native landlords. Half a million rural labourers depended for a living on the sugar harvest, when work could be found cutting cane and transporting it to the mills. For the remaining six to eight months of the year, most of them were idle.

The main tasks facing the revolution, given the structure outlined above, were therefore as follows:— (a) the complete restructuring of land ownership, (b) the need to increase

agricultural production, (c) the need to eliminate rural unemployment, (d) diversification of agriculture, by product and market. All four factors were interdependent.

INRA, (The National Institute for Agrarian Reform) was set up in 1959 to guide the new agricultural policy, the cornerstone of which was the transformation of the land ownership system. This began in May 1960 with the First Agrarian Reform Law, which limited the size of holdings to 1,000 acres.

At first, many of these latifundia were organised as co-operatives, but this policy was soon revised and all holdings over 1,000 acres became State (collective) farms, employing rural labourers. Medium sized farms stayed with their owners and small tenant farmers were granted the land which up to then they had rented from others.

The Second Agrarian Reform Law, of October 1963 affected over 5,000 proprietors. Holdings between 150 and 1,000 acres in size were nationalised (with compensation). Exceptions were made where the land was very poor or exceptionally well used. The State now owned nearly 80% of the land:— the world's highest percentage.

The strategy of turning expropriated latifundia into collective farms solved the rural unemployment problem, as well as making mechanisation and increased productivity possible. With rural development came a slowing down of the exodus from countryside to town.

There are still relatively few co-operatives in Cuba. These involve the pooling of land and other resources by small farmers, who may then join the collective as full members, receiving a share of the income created.

As well as growing the food needed by its members, the co-operative specialises in one product, such as sugar, tobacco, coffee or vegetables, for sale under contract to the State.

The small farmer class will continue to exist for many decades to come, as most of the peasants wish to retain their holdings. The revolution pursues a policy of gradually persuading them, through the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) that productivity and efficiency can be increased by joining together in co-operatives.

Their numbers will slowly diminish as older peasants die, sons leave to work in cities or on collective farms and as co-ops are formed.

An essential element in Cuban agricultural policy is the combined and synchronised development of industry and agriculture. Cuba is an agricultural country and, as such, her industrial development must be based on and must further strengthen her agriculture.

Difficulties remain:— climate, high population, low sugar prices. But the Cubans have laid the basis for agricultural progress far into the future and have a right to feel confident as they continue the transition from backward agricultural to advanced industrial nation.

Czechoslovakia's capital city of Prague was the venue for the 9th World Trade Union Conference held from April 16 to the 22nd.

The Irish delegation consisted of Tom Moore (Regional Committee of ATGWU), Leslie Taggart (Chairman of Regional Committee ATGWU), Betty Sinclair (ICTU) and Councillor Seamus Lynch (Sinn Féin The Workers' Party).

The Congress spent most of the week on two Draft Documents (1) Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights and (2) Document on Policy and Action. Each organisation or Union elected someone to speak on their behalf.

As a result of the very high level of debate and the remarkable comradeship shown by the delegates it should be said that the Congress was a great success.

## Ninth World T.U. Congress

In between sessions at the Congress the Irish delegation met and talked with delegates

from other countries advocating support for the Better Life For All Campaign as the short term solution to the violence in Northern Ireland. In particular they had many good and worthwhile discussions with the British delegation on problems facing the Irish and British working class.



● Tomás Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party (third from right) attending a reception in Brest Town Hall. At left is Deputy Mayor Yann Daumer who welcomed the visitors.



● Cuba's second city — Santiago de Cuba. Rural development has drastically reduced the numbers of people leaving the countryside for the cities.

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## BOOK REVIEW

*O Snodaigh in Uachtar*

*African Workers and Apartheid* by David Davis. IDAF Fact Papers on Southern Africa No. 5 (March, 1978). 50p.

This pamphlet, published by the International Defense & Aid Fund during this, the United Nations' International Anti-Apartheid Year, gives a very detailed description of South Africa's very complicated and extensive system for the suppression of its Black workers.

Detailed explanations and statistical tables reveal the use of migrant labour, work permits, labour bureaux, statutory colour bar agreements, wage fixing, and a host of other regulatory devices and laws as they are used by the racist government in its bizarre attempts to maintain productivity under the system of apartheid.

Wage tables and the organisation of trade unions are also described.

This booklet should be required reading for all trade unionists, all students of African and third-world problems, and all progressive-minded people.

It would also prove to be very useful in reference libraries.

Tionoladh Ard Fheis Conradh na Gaeilge i dtús mí Bealtaine. B'é toghachán an Uachtarán an rud ba mhó suime de bhárr an iomaíocht tréan idir Padraigh O Snodaigh agus an tAthair Mac Gréil.

Bhí na caomhnaigh uile ar thaobh Mac Gréil ach bhí an bua ag O Snodaigh cé nach raibh morán eatorra.

Ag trácht ar an ngaeltacht in a oráid do thagair O Snodaigh do cheist Udarás na Gaeltachta a rádh:

"Aiteanna go bhfuil pobail Gaeltachta iontu tá a gcearta le cur chun tosaigh. Nuair a

éilíonn muid údarás daonlathach cumhachtach don Ghaeltacht mar a d'éiligh muid sa phaimfléad *Polasaí Gaeltachta* ní ag caint ar chaomhnán atá muid — óir is mian linn muid uilig anseo a bheith ar aon chéim ó thaobh na Gaeilge de is atá pobail na Gaeltachta, is mian linn leathnú na Gaeltachta.

Ach tá muid ag trácht ar phobail, ar chearta phobail — nó le casadh a bhaint as port ó bhéal Shéamus Uí Chonghaile is ró-chuma linn an Ghaeilge in éagmais lucht a labhartha.

Gealladh agus gealladh údarás ag an rialtas deiridh

abhus go dtí go raibh na geallúintí san ag dul isteach sa bhéaloideas maraon le taoscadh na Sionna fadó. Ach an rud a bhí beartaithe — cé gur ionsaí ar fhéinmhuinín an phobail an síor-chur ó dhóras nó an síor-mhaolú — is fearr nár tharla sé ó b'é an rogha ba mheasa díobh san uilig a tugadh dóibh a bhí glactha. Tá súil againn go dtuigeann an Rialtas úr é seo agus más mall féin iad ag comhlíonadh an gheallúint toghchánaíochta san uathu anuraídh, tá súil againn go bhfuil dóthain foghlamtha acu gan an pobal a mhaslú le h-ath-éisiúint bhille an comhrialtais.

Loirg muid mar shampla smacht don Udarás san ar chúrsaí pleanála — d'éiligh muid fosta go mbeadh teanga is cultúr pobail san áireamh i gcúrsaí pleanála mar atá faoi láthair, ach más amhlaidh nach an chluas bhodhar fhéin a fuairéamar san iomlán, níor airigh an pobal thiar ach go háirithe gur éirigh linn an pointe bunúsach san a chur abhaile go n-uige seo.

## IDYM publish monthly paper

The Irish Democratic Youth Movement have just produced their first monthly news-sheet "Challenge" and an initial print order of some 3,000 copies has been sold out within 2 weeks of being available. Editor of the new paper is Dubliner Noel McFarlane, who has been with the IDYM from its inception in 1976.

The Belfast Branch alone have sold 500 copies and confidently expect to be able to reach the 1,500 mark within a few months.

The emphasis in the first issue is on the worsening unemployment situation, both North and South, and contains a number of suggested initiatives for job creation.

The sectarian attitudes of two of Ireland's most prominent right-wing clerical figures, Bishop Lucey and Rev. Paisley are analysed and there is an International Affairs column, devoted to Cuba, written by a 13 year old Howth girl.

## RECORD REVIEW

The London-based 'Belts and Braces Roadshow', a Socialist theatre Company, had a big hit in Cork late last year with a revue called 'Not So Green As Its Cabbage' which centred around Northern Ireland and its problems, political, social and economic.

They have now released an LP entitled, "Treasonous Thinking", recording the original songs and music from that rock musical. 'Not So Green As Its Cabbage' describes in song and monologue the "Ireland where it is not so green, where the saints are not much help and the scholars are feeling the educational cuts, where the whiskey is produced by Americans and the zinc mines are in the hands of the Canadians."

The two main characters in the revue, whose thoughts are expressed through the lyrics, are a working class Protestant loyalist who supports the union with Britain and expresses a sense of having been betrayed since the changed economic climate of the '60's and '70's which have made it difficult for Britain openly to support the sort of blatant sectarian state which had existed in Northern Ireland since its formation.

And a working class Catholic woman whose struggle for existence has led her to conclude that only a socialist society will be able to concede her demands for civil and human rights — a socialist society which must be fought for by a united working class.

Side Two of the LP features three songs from other

productions by the Belt and Braces Roadshow. There are nine original songs from 'Not So Green As Its Cabbage' on this LP which is produced by a leading progressive record company in Sweden whose aim is to guarantee the distribution of progressive music and to resist the various forms of censorship and commercial interests which impede the development of music.

"Treasonous Thinking" is on sale at THE BOOKSHOP, 30 Gardiner Place, Price £3.50p.

The Annual General Meeting of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties will be held on Friday, June 16, at 7.30p.m. in the All-Ireland Club 6 Nth. Gt. Georges St. Dublin 1.

Current ICCL membership cards to be produced at the door. If you have mislaid your card please apply for a replacement. ICCL, Room 2, Liberty Hall, D.1.

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CRAC '78  
£100 PRIZE

Crac '78 takes place in Birmingham on the 15, 16 and 17 of September. This year the committee have put up a special prize of £100.

This will be awarded for the "best piece of writing — fictional or investigative, in Irish or English, on any subject with an Irish in Britain connection".

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## people in politics

### TOLLBRIDGE

Tom Roche of Roadstone is trying to persuade Dublin Councillors to let him build a toll bridge at Ringsend. He has set up a company called Ringsend Bridge Co. and estimates the bridge will cost £2 million.

Since about 7,000 cars a day will use the bridge he won't be long in getting his money back. It will be all profit then for ever more.

### BEGRUDGERS

The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Michael Collins (Labour) and Mr. Jim Mitchell (Fine Gael) hadn't a good word to say for the film "Down the Corner". This film which was scripted by Noel McFarlane, a young Ballyfermot man, and acted entirely by people young and old from Ballyfermot, was widely acclaimed by critics.

When the Ballyfermot Art Film Workshop sought a grant of £1,400 the Corporation Cultural Committee, after discussion, voted £1,000. Mr. Collins said "it was a bad film which started by showing people working in a foundry without any safety equipment". Surely he should take this up with the foundry.

Jim Mitchell was also critical and said the film didn't make any community contribution whatever. He probably thought he should have had the leading role!

### WALLEY WHO?

A certain Mr. Paddy Walley says full employment is impossible and that "we will have to change the concept of the work ethic" in order to keep the unemployed happy. His views were contained in a paper produced for the Irish Foundation for Human Development.

What is the Irish Foundation for Human Development or should we ask who is it? What is its purpose and who funds it? And who is Paddy Walley? The Irish Times describes him as a "leading social scientist". Is he? Where does he work? Who pays him?

We are not giving any prizes for the answers to these questions but we would like some help from our readers if they have the answers.

### GABBLE

Stirring times for new, improved Fine Gael boss 'Gabble' FitzGerald. Having ousted the old enemy from the Fine Gael leadership, he is dusting up his party's 'Republican' image; this year's Fine Gael Ard Fheis even had a resolution calling for a name-change to Fine Gael (United Ireland) Party.



• Dublin dockers marched to the Custom House in protest against the Amenities Order.

## Dublin Bay Loftus bans Port jobs

Mr. Sean D. Dublin Bay Rockall Loftus is fast becoming the greatest menace which the city of Dublin has had to endure since the black death.

His antics are costing Dublin workers the loss of thousands of jobs and are costing the tax-payers hundreds of thousands of pounds in long drawn out enquiries.

On Tuesday, May 23 a Ministerial Enquiry opened in the Custom House, Dublin, to hear objections to a Special Amenities area order which councillor Loftus succeeded in getting passed by Dublin Corporation.

The Dublin Port and Docks Board and the ESB are objecting to the order. Members of the Marine Port and General Workers' Union are so incensed by the antics of Loftus and the 'community lobby' that they stopped work for an hour in order to march to the Custom House behind their Union banner.

The port workers held a meeting outside the Custom House and presented an agreed statement to the enquiry. This outlined the loss of jobs in the port and the need for new industry.

Mr. Robert Hayes, General Manager of Dublin Port and Docks Board pointed out that as well as having the statutory obligation to run the Port the Board also had a responsibility to attract new jobs to the Port.

He pointed out that the work force in the deep sea section had dropped from 1500 to 450 and would soon be

down to 200 men. In the cross channel section employment had dropped from 1000 to 170 and the Board's own staff had gone down from 1600 to 850. This was a loss of 2850 port jobs. In addition there was a loss of many industrial jobs in the port such as Goulding Fertilisers.

Eamonn Smullen and Ray McGran also made submissions to the enquiry opposing the Loftus order on behalf of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party. Ray McGran pointed to the appalling unemployment rate in the inner city area adjacent to the Port.

He said a community of 5000 people in the Sherriff St. area, right in the heart of the Port, had an unemployment rate of 60%. These were the communities which are causing such great concern to sociologists in recent years and for whom special prisons are being built.

Probably the most disgusting aspect of all this is that the Loftus lobby is not so much interested in amenities as in property values.

## Newry Commemoration

Several hundred people attended the annual Commemoration to Coleman Rowntree and Martin McAlinden in Newry on Sunday, 21st May. Martin and Coleman were murdered by the British Army in May 1974.

Sean O Clonnaith, Ard Comhairle, Sinn Féin The Workers' Party speaking at the Commemoration said: "One of the facts of life in the North of Ireland is the brutal reign of terror which the British Army, the R.U.C. and the U.D.R. daily inflict on the people.

A weak British Labour Government makes

## W'minster election looms

A rapid sequence of events in May now makes an autumn election for the Westminster Parliament more likely than ever.

First the Unionist Party rebelled against Enoch Powell and helped to inflict a serious defeat on the Labour Government. Then David Steel advised Callaghan that the Lib-Lab pact was at an end.

Finally, two Labour MPs, John Mendelson and Frank Hatton, died within a few days of each other, and with a bye-election already due in Hamilton, Scotland on May 31, this left Labour with a minority of 18 in the Commons — 305 seats against 323.

But things weren't all black for Big Jim. National Opinion Poll, which gave the Conservatives an 11% lead in February, published their latest results on May 23 giving Labour a 4.9% lead. Tory party may have the least competent front bench spokespeople for a long time and Ms. Thatcher is hardly an asset to any party, but in the complex electoral situation which will involve the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists and the Liberals, any Labour victory is likely to be marginal.

The Republican Clubs, which is the organisation of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party in the six counties, is well advanced in its plans.

They have six candidates in the field; Councillor Malachy McGurran in Armagh, Councillor Francie Donnelly in Mid Ulster, Tom Moore in South Down, Kevin Smyth in South Antrim, Brian Brennan in West Belfast, and Councillor Seamus Lynch in North Belfast.

Bodenstown Commemoration, Sunday, 18 June. Buses will leave from Raheny, Finglas, Ballyfermot, Crumlin and Liberty Hall. Tickets and further details available from The Book Shop, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. Open 9.30 — 5.30 Mon. to Sat.

concession after concession to right-wing Unionism while Mr. Callaghan assures Mr. Lynch that there is not a scintilla of movement towards full integration with Britain.

Jack Lynch, the man who stood idly by in 1969 is now all for a United Ireland. Why? Not because he seriously wants a united Ireland but in order to stop the people down South worrying or talking about the 180,000 unemployed."

National Wolfe Tone Rally  
Sunday, June 18, 1978  
**BODENSTOWN**  
assemble Sallins, 2.30p.m.  
Chairperson: Tomás Mac Giolla  
Speaker: Seamus Lynch (Belfast)



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