

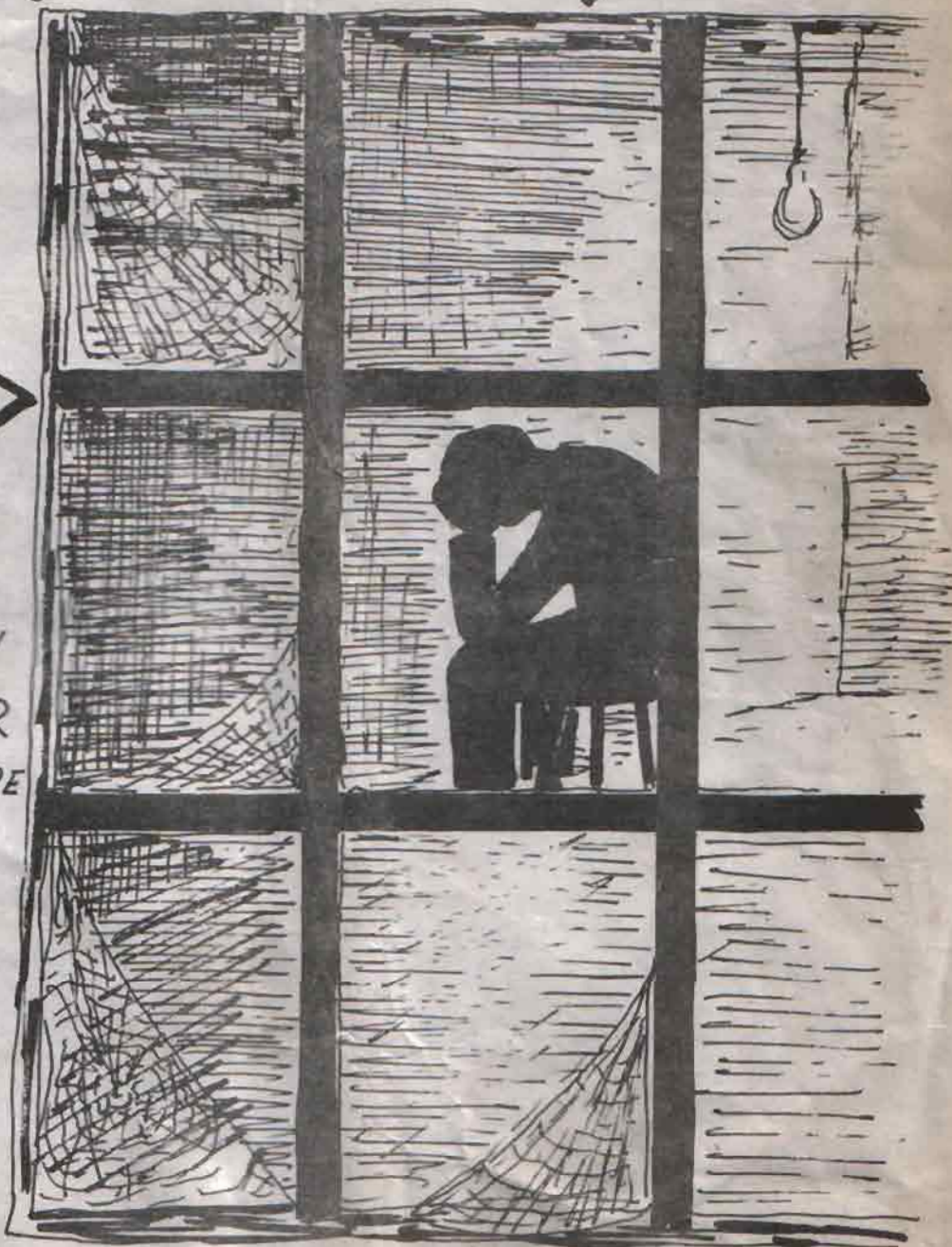
CF FORWARD 2p.

FOR YOUTH, INDEPENDENCE, SOCIALISM.

Marlboro House



THE Connolly Youth
Movement
DEMANDS ACTION
ON THIS HORROR
DETENTION CENTRE
FOR CHILDREN



PUBLISHED BY Connolly Youth Movement.

EDITOR'S COMMENTS

C A R E

On Thursday 29th. of June CARE, the association for the care of deprived children, published a document entitled "Memorandum on deprived children and children's services in Ireland". The document is a thorough indictment of the whole approach to young people in this country by official and semi-official organisations. It recognises that the main feature which creates "deprived" children is the conditions in which they are forced to live, through circumstances over which they have no control. The pamphlet goes on to recommend far-reaching proposals which, if implemented, would change the whole set-up here. It agrees, as we have said (see page 2) that the reformatories (jails) to which many unfortunate young people are sent every year should be controlled and staffed by people professionally trained in child welfare. It also calls for greater Government support for youth work, raising of the school leaving age, raising the age of criminal responsibility (at present 12 years of age!), an increase in children's allowances, etc. This is a very timely document in view of the present campaign for the abolition of Marlboro House. What is needed now is concerted action by all the organisations who are concerned enough about this problem to force some action out of the sadistic hypocrites who at present run this state.

CASHING IN ON MISERY

Anybody who bothers to read the "Evening Herald" (and somebody must) will have noticed on Wednesday 28th. of June a special pull-out supplement purporting to explain the drug problem in Ireland. The writer of this article, Mr. Jack Butterly, well known supporter of the Common Market, a man of at least 60 who, by all accounts, doesn't even drink, could hardly be expected to know what is going on among the younger generation. But the degree to which he missed the mark would be really funny if it weren't for the fact that many parents will believe his sensational and ill-informed rubbish.

The concern expressed in the supplement for the younger people in Ireland is nothing but blatant hypocrisy from a paper which doesn't even campaign for decent youth facilities. There have been 8 deaths due to drug abuse over the last year and we regard these as tragic indictments of the society we live in, but to see crocodile tears being shed by a newspaper which supports the wholesale slaughter of the Vietnamese people and children with napalm and chemical warfare is a disgustingly sick joke. The only reason they published this report is because sensational headlines sell newspapers. If they were really concerned they would do a comprehensive analysis of what causes the problem. They won't do this because the result would be an obvious condemnation of the whole rotten system of which they are a very important part.

In future issues of "Forward" we will feature a detailed analysis of the drug problem which will be a lot less sensational and a lot more real than the rubbish printed in the bosses' press.

BASIC SOCIALISM

It has become very fashionable these days to call yourself a socialist. People with completely different views, like Brendan Corish and Bernie Devlin are all calling themselves socialists. To ordinary workers this is a very confusing situation and only succeeds in putting them off politics altogether. In order to help overcome this situation we intend to publish in "Forward" over the next few months

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WHO NEEDS REFORMING?

One of the most vicious forms of violence being perpetrated by the powers that be in our society today is the quiet, systematic, and ruthless destruction of the human personality which takes place in Industrial Schools and Reformatories. The most unfortunate and vulnerable, the orphans, the mentally ill, the retarded, and the youth who are socially and economically deprived are being annihilated by criminal neglect. If there was profit to be made out of these young people then this would not be the case. In 1965 the Commission on Mental Handicap recommended a study of Industrial Schools and Reformatories; in 1966 the Commission on Mental Illness did the same, but it took until 1970, five years later, to produce a Report. Now, almost two years after the Report, nothing has yet been done. So for seven years more children have been maimed for life while idiots bullshit and do nothing.

If we look at the physical conditions first; the supposed "Reformatory" at St. Conleth's, Dainjean was built a quarter of a century before Wolfe Tone died and three quarters of a century before the Great Famine of the 19th. century. It was built then as an army barracks, not as a place to help young people re-adjust to an alien society. There is no hot water, the kitchens are where the stables used to be, the toilets are filthy, the people there are ill-dressed. This dump must be closed immediately and modern accommodation provided. The Remand Home in Marlborough House is equally unsuitable. The building was condemned as dangerous 17 years ago, before most of the young people held there were even born. There is no equipment for games, indoor or outdoor, no teachers or educational facilities exist, so the children have nothing constructive at which they can spend their time. St. Patrick's Institution is no better, with the "inmates" locked away like animals for 14 hours every day. No rehabilitation for these young people, just punishment.

The types of buildings are much too institutional in character, as is the whole approach to the children. This is harmful to the overall development of the children there; quiet kids may be pushed to the background and their mental and emotional needs go unnoticed and untended until they are forced to face alone a hostile, outside world which requires an initiative and adaptability they do not possess. These institutions tend to become de-personalised and are unable to give the love and care necessary for normal psychological development. So physically the Industrial Schools and Reformatories are grossly inadequate and must be immediately abolished and replaced with a better designed and more rehabilitative structure.

The staffing of these Institutions leaves even more to be desired. The majority of the Institutions are staffed by religious orders. The Report states that the Orders place people in charge that they cannot use anywhere else. They have no training for the job, and no courses are being carried out here due to "lack of demand". Clearly, for such a delicate job, only highly qualified people should be employed, and the cast-offs of the Religious Orders are just not good enough. Careful selection and training of staff are essential. It is about time that the Government took responsibility for the care and upkeep of these children, and not pass the buck on to people who do it out of charity. The care and welfare of these young people is their human right, not a charity. Staff for Marlborough House is recruited through Labour Exchanges, so no training or experience is necessary for the children's welfare and education. Unless this is immediately and radically changed hundreds, if not thousands, of young people will be intellectually and emotionally scarred for life. Their chances of living a happy and normal life fades further into the distance with each month that goes by.

So even if we accept the present system of Industrial Schools and Reformatories they stand absolutely condemned on the physical conditions and the staffing. However, we do not accept the present concept, and the reasons why will be dealt with in future issues of "Forward". In them we will show who goes into these loathsome Institutions, and why they go in. These articles will expose the class of these dumps and the damage they do to the developing young person, and why they should be abolished. The Connolly Youth Movement will work actively for the changing of this situation and will assist all other organisations in exposing and destroying these horrible, anti-human Institutions.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

The closure of the Crannac Furniture Factory in Navan, and the subsequent take-over of the factory by the workers, has once again highlighted the failure of the present Capitalist government to provide one of the most basic human rights - the right to work.

Crannac, which was formerly owned by Gael Linn, came to the attention of a Mr. Edward McElroy, a big furniture manufacturer and speculator from Castleblaney. Under the guise of wishing to expand his own furniture business he acquired the Crannac factory at a very low cost. One of the conditions of his getting the factory was that no worker in the Navan factory would be laid off for a period of twelve months. However, less than four weeks after the twelve months had expired (long enough for McElroy to make a tidy profit, of course!) he announced his intention of closing the Crannac factory.

WORKERS COMMITTEE:

The first indication the Crannac workers had of the threatened closure was the liquidation notices which appeared in the newspapers last April. They immediately formed a Workers Committee and sent deputations to local T.Os, and to the Government. The workers were assured that the factory would remain open. But on Monday morning, 1st. of May (May Day, the international day of all workers!) when the 50 or so workers turned up for work as usual the doors of the factory were closed, and the workers were met by the Liquidator, Mr. Luccan, who told them that the factory was closed down.

CO-OPERATIVE:

In the present state of increasing unemployment it would have been impossible for these men to get alternative employment. So, faced with the prospect of having to join the ever-increasing dole queue, they refused to accept their redundancy notices and decided to stage a sit-in in the factory. After a two week sit-in, and with only one manufacturer showing any interest in taking over the factory, the workers decided to take it over themselves and run it as a co-operative. An operation similar to this was carried out successfully by the workers in a shoe factory in Dundalk, thereby avoiding the closure of the factory and saving the jobs of the workers.

ROLE OF THE I.C.T.U:

The Crannac workers must be given all the support that they need in their fight against redundancies. The battle must be taken up by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions on a national level against all further closures and redundancies. With our entry to the E.E.C. we can expect more and more closures. The I.C.T.U.

fought against Ireland's entry into the E.E.C. on the grounds that entry would result in wide-scale factory closures and redundancies in many industries. This was clearly outlined in their paper on the E.E.C., "Economic Freedom". Congress must now take up the battle against the effects of entry, the closures and sackings must be fought.

As we "go to press" we have heard that the Crannac workers have managed to win their battle and run the factory under the co-operative control of the workers. This victory must surely give heart to all who are struggling against closures and sackings. Our members in the Trade Union movement will continue to raise the necessity for the I.C.T.U. to take a definite and effective policy in resisting all closures and redundancies.

UNEMPLOYED FIGHT

A progressive step in the fight against unemployment was taken with the setting up some months ago of the Unemployed Workers Association. Although fairly small in numbers it must surely represent the interests of all unemployed workers. The main activity of the U.W.A. over the last few months has been the holding of public meetings outside Labour Exchanges in Dublin and the selling of their paper explaining to all unemployed the need to organise and fight for their rights.

Recently the U.W.A. decided to seek a meeting with the Minister for Labour, Mr. Joe Brennan. The purpose of the meeting was to make the powers that be aware of the fact that a movement of the unemployed existed, and to put forward their demands to the Government. These demands are as follows:

1. That emergency measures be introduced to deal with the present crisis.
2. That the Government step in to prevent redundancies and closures.
3. That the 55,000 jobs promised by the Industrial Development Authority just before the referendum on the E.E.C. should be clearly mapped out stating;
 - (a) When these jobs would be available.
 - (b) What types of jobs would be available.
 - (c) Where these industries would be sited.
4. That in the meantime, to ease the situation of those becoming unemployed, the three day waiting period on unemployment benefit should be abolished, and that the benefits should be immediately raised to a realistic level.
5. That employers should be obliged by law to use the Labour Exchanges to fill all vacancies in their firms.

The Minister refused to meet a delegation, but agreed that they could meet a senior official from his Department. A meeting was then held a few weeks ago between the U.W.A. and officials of the Department of Labour and the Industrial Development Authority, at which the delegation put forward the above demands. The U.W.A. delegation was led by an unemployed worker, Mr. Brian Flynn and was joined by Matt Merrigan, District Secretary of the A.T.G.W.U., Des Bonass, Official of the A.T.G.W.U., and Des Geraghty, Official of the I.T.G.W.U. The meeting however was of little benefit to the unemployed of Ireland, as their demands were met with a series of obscure mutterings and excuses for non-action.

The next step for the U.W.A. is clearly (1) To strengthen and consolidate its position among the unemployed in Dublin; (2) To establish branches all over the

country;(3) To press the Trade Union movement for more active support by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions for the demands of the unemployed.

At the Annual Conference of the I.C.T.U., which takes place in Galway from 4th. to 7th. of July, there is a motion and an addendum on the agenda for discussion by the delegates, the motion, proposed by the A.T.G.W.U., reads as follows; "Conference views with alarm the high rate of unemployment throughout the country, both North and South, and calls upon the governments concerned to implement policies for industrial and economic expansion coupled with an extension of state-sponsored services, especially in the fields of productive employment". The addendum, which is proposed by the E.E.T.P.U., suggests that the following paragraph be added to the above motion; "Congress, in order to give strength to their demands, should organise all their unemployed trade union members into an Unemployed Workers Association, through the branches of members Unions and Councils".

It is to be hoped that Congress will adopt these policies and act vigorously on them. With such strong backing perhaps the next unemployed delegation will meet with more positive and decisive results from a meeting with the Minister himself.

GEORGI DIMITROV

June 18th. 1972 was the 90th. Anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov. The name of this great Bulgarian revolutionary is unfortunately not familiar to many of our readers. Dimitrov, at barely 15 years of age wrote his first article in defence of the workers, at 22 he was Secretary of the Bulgarian General Workers Trade Union, later became a municipal councillor, member of Parliament (the first worker in South East Europe to sit in Parliament), Secretary of the Trade Union Council, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, leader of the first anti-Fascist uprising in the world, General Secretary of the Communist International (Comintern), and first Prime Minister of free Bulgaria.

On June 18th. 1882 a Bulgarian peasant woman gave birth to a son in the field in which she was working. This small noisy bundle was later to become one of the most outstanding leaders ever produced by the working class movement. His early life was a life of hunger and poverty. His father had to give up his small hatters shop and move to a slum in the capital, Sofia. Here young Georgi grew up, had to leave school at 12 years of age and go to work as an apprentice typesetter in a newspaper. All the time he studied and educated himself. Throughout his early life he was active in the trade union movement, and at 19 years of age he joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (the forerunner of the Bulgarian Communist Party). On his 24th. birthday he led a massive strike of over 1,000 miners, the first on such a scale in the country, and he led it to victory. Later he was Chairman of the Balkan and Danubian Trade Union Conference.

Apart from the respect which Dimitrov had throughout the Balkans (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania) in the Trade Union movement, he was also making his mark on the Comintern, which the Bulgarian Communist Party had helped to form in 1919. At this time the forces of fascism were on the move throughout Europe, and on June 9th. 1923 a fascist coup d'etat took place in Bulgaria. This was helped by the fact that the Party at the time was influenced by sectarian ideas, and did not take the proper steps to defeat the threat which faced the working people. Dimitrov drew the lessons from the mistakes of June 9th. and formulated his famous teachings on the United Front, that is, that a united front of all workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals and small businessmen should and must be formed to defeat fascism. It

was through the disunity of the working class in Germany that Hitler and his fascist murderers came to power. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the first anti-Fascist uprising in the world took place in September 1923. However, there were still many lessons to be learned. Through indecision and slowness the heroic uprising was crushed in blood. Dimitrov, leading an undefeated detachment of fighters, managed to fight his way through to the Yugoslavian border. Although the rising was defeated it was the sign of things to come and sounded the beginning of the end for fascism in Bulgaria.

For most of the next ten years Dimitrov travelled all over Europe as a functionary of the Comintern, helping to mobilise forces against fascism and war. However, the year of 1933 in particular will go down in history as the year in which this heroic man stood alone against the might of Nazi Germany. These events, which were to shake fascism to its very foundations and to ^{help} awaken the world to the terrible threat facing it, began on the 27th. of February 1933. Hitler and his bloody crew had decided that it was necessary to smash the German Communist Party completely and to discredit Communism in the eyes of the world. Their method was to burn down the Reichstag (Parliament) in Berlin and to blame it on "Communist terrorists". Dimitrov, who arrived in Germany at this time, was arrested and, with others, was charged with burning the Reichstag on the 27th. of February.

For five months he was kept in heavy handcuffs in his miserable cell. Condemned criminals only wore handcuffs at night, but Dimitrov was handcuffed all day and night (except for 15 minutes to dress himself) for five months! By the time the trial opened a huge international campaign was being waged for the release of Dimitrov and the other prisoners. Dimitrov had rejected the advice of the "defence" Council appointed by the Nazis, and had decided to defend himself. He knew it was not just a group of individuals who were in the dock on criminal charges, it was Communism which was on trial, and fascism was the prosecutor, judge, jury, and (they thought!) the executioner. Although he had an excellent alibi (he wasn't even in Germany when the fire broke out) he would not defend himself on that basis, it was as a Communist that he would fight. During his imprisonment before the trial he received the shattering news of the death of his wife, but even this cruel blow could not deter him from his task.

Throughout the trial Dimitrov poured scorn on the miserable efforts of his enemies to discredit him and the cause for which he had fought all his life. Such was the effect of his exposure of fascism before the world press that the German radio refused to cover the trial after the first day on which Dimitrov spoke. The succession of liars and Nazi agents which were paraded by the prosecution were demolished, until, in desperation, the Nazis had to bring in the big guns to silence this small Bulgarian. Dimitrov refused to defend, he was attacking, and so the big witness for the prosecution was called, Herman Goering, Prime Minister of Nazi Germany. The Nazi press screamed with delight, "Goering will hook the six million communists on his horns and hurl them into the air!" Dimitrov toyed with Goering, played with him, provoked him, and let him demolish and expose himself in the eyes of the world. When the President of the Court insisted that Dimitrov stop making "Communist propaganda" he coolly pointed out that Goering by exposing himself was making propaganda for the Communists. Goering lost his head completely at this stage and had to be restrained, while Dimitrov was removed from the court.

After that it was "all over bar the shouting". Fascism stood naked, exposed and condemned before the world. They were forced to find the defendants "not guilty". But Goering had said to Dimitrov in Court, "Be careful, look out, I shall teach you how to behave once you are out of the courtroom". Although acquitted, Dimitrov was returned to the Gestapo dungeons, and the international campaign was now to ensure that Goering could not carry out his threat, by winning the immediate release of

Dimitrov. Finally, on February 27th. (appropriately enough!) 1934 Georgi Dimitrov looked for the last time on the soil of Nazi Germany, raised his clenched fist in the defiant Communist salute, and climbed aboard a plane for Moscow.

Throughout the War he continued to guide and lead the struggle against fascism, and on September 9th. 1944 the banner of the victorious Fatherland Front was raised over Bulgaria. Until his death in July 1949 Dimitrov continued his work for liberty and socialism as Prime Minister of Bulgaria and as outstanding leader of the world Communist movement. His inspiration lives on through the many articles and speeches which he left behind, many of them addressed to youth, and which sum up the life of this heroic man. "One cannot live without an ideal" - Georgi Dimitrov.

WAGE AGREEMENT

Many of us have either read or heard of the long struggle engaged in by the Trade Union movement in the early years of the century for the right of recognition and for the right to enter into free negotiations on behalf of their members. The introduction and acceptance of the principle of National Wage Agreements in a "free enterprise" economy such as that existing here is a denial of this right of free collective bargaining.

National Wage Agreements must be seen in the context of an attempt by the employers and their Government to discipline and shackle the Trade Union movement, to keep wages at a minimum, while making no effort whatsoever to come to grips with spiralling prices and rising costs, not to mention profits and dividends. If the Government was serious and sincere in its desire for "price stability" and "social justice" it is reasonable to expect that by now we would have seen some action on costs and prices, in fact this is where the action would have BEGUN. It should have begun there because of the fundamental qualitative difference between wages and salaries on the one hand, and profits and prices on the other. Wages and salaries are always determined by negotiation and bargaining - any increase is subject to discussion and agreement in advance. In contrast to this, profits and prices are not subject to negotiation - an employer does not have to negotiate with his workers to secure an increase in his profits, nor does the producer or retailer negotiate with the consumer to secure a price increase.

The First National Wage Agreement, signed on 21st. of December 1970, was agreed to by the I.C.T.U. in the face of a threat by the Fianna Fail Government to bring in anti - Trade Union legislation. During the period covered by this Agreement there was a rapid increase in redundancies and closures, which sent the already high unemployment rate soaring. This was a direct result of the policies pursued by the Fianna Fail Government, and in particular of the effects of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. Being unable or unwilling to deal with the situation so created by themselves, they sought to lay the blame on the backs of the Trade Union movement and the workers by saying that redundancies and closures were a direct result of high wages and labour costs. Instead of resisting the restrictions imposed on them with all the power of the organised Trade Union movement, Congress entered into negotiations on a national level with the employers. Hence the result: the First National Wage Agreement with the numerous restrictions on wages, conditions of employment, the power to strike, etc. One of the clauses in this Agreement stated; "It is essential that the rate of increases in costs and prices be moderated substantially".

During the duration of this Agreement to date no Union has broken it, and in fact Congress has acted as the watchdogs of the employers, and even their police,

in many cases. The most notable examples of this were (1) when two unions were threatened with expulsion from Congress for attempting to break the Agreement to get a better deal for their members, and (2) the infamous directive from Congress during the E.S.B. strike when they actually ordered workers to cross the picket lines and take over the jobs of the men on strike. On the other hand one was unable to identify any activity on the prices front, except that they continued to rise! Thus while workers wages were only allowed to proceed at a snails pace, prices and costs forged ahead in kangaroo leaps and bounds.

With this First Agreement due to expire for some of the Unions in June '72, a special delegate conference of the I.C.T.U. was held in Dun Laoghaire on the 19th. of February to consider the position. The issue to be decided was whether the Executive Council of Congress should enter into discussions with the employers with a view to bringing back proposals for a second National Wage Agreement to another delegate Conference of I.C.T.U. The vote on the resolution was 171 for the opening of negotiations, 52 against. The views expressed by those opposing the motion were that workers should not be restricted and held responsible for a situation they did not create, and that in a "free enterprise" economy the workers should not co-operate with the employers in the maintenance of that economy. Those delegates supporting the resolution spent some time talking about the "free for all" which would follow if the workers were not restricted. As if the bosses were not already engaged in a "free for all" in collecting their profits! Discussions took place between Congress and the employers which resulted in proposals for a Second National Wage Agreement. These proposals were discussed at a Special Delegate Conference of the I.C.T.U. in Liberty Hall on 24th. of June. The rank and file Trade Unionists gave the employers and the Government their answer when they rejected the proposals by 253 votes to 103.

Let us examine some of the clauses contained in this Agreement which was rejected. Under the heading "Objectives" it states; "The parties to this Agreement subscribe to the following social and economic objectives: the achievement of full employment, real increases in wage and salary incomes, preferential treatment for wage-earners in the lower income group and the abolition of poverty". It is not the function, nor is it within the power of the Trade Union movement to "achieve" full employment and abolish poverty. It is the function of the Government, and the role of the Trade Union movement should be to force the Government to do this. Only if the Trade Union movement had a say in the economic and financial policy of the country could they aspire to such worthwhile objectives. Under another heading entitled "Special Economic Circumstances" a loophole is provided for the employers. This says that if the employer (no mention of the workers here) feels that he cannot carry out the terms of the Agreement he can appeal to the Labour Court, who will appoint an "independent" person to assess the financial state of the firm. Workers have long and bitter experience of "independent" and "impartial" experts telling them why they should let themselves be robbed. There is no such thing as "neutrality" in the struggle between capital and labour. On the question of equal pay Congress have once again accepted the unequal division of wages between men and women workers, even though equal pay for equal work has been the stated policy of Congress for many years.

We would see the immediate role of Congress as setting out an action programme for a Worker's Charter, which would include;

1. A national minimum wage.
2. An action programme to press the Government to end unemployment.
3. Equal pay and equal rights for women workers.
4. Force the Government to take immediate action against redundancies and closures.

5. Full rights for apprentices and young workers. The setting up of Junior Trade Councils and Junior Shop Stewards. More facilities for youth in Trade Unions.
6. That the full weight and power of Congress be used to protect the weaker Unions.

A full discussion on the National Wage Agreement will take place at the Annual Conference of the I.C.T.U. in Galway from 4th. to 7th. of July. We will be giving a complete report on the Conference in our next issue.

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BASIC SOCIALISM(continued from page 1)

a series of articles dealing with very basic ideas on what real socialism is and what socialists believe.

To start with, the idea of socialism comes from the fact that there are two main classes in capitalist society, those who own the wealth, factories, mines, transport, etc., in other words the "boss" class, or capitalists, and those who work for them, the working class. Wealth is created by producing goods. Since the goods are produced by the workers then they are entitled to the profit which comes from their work. This is the basic approach of socialism. However, instead of receiving the profit, the workers in a capitalist society are merely paid enough wages to let them survive, while the giant's share of the wealth is kept by the boss. The bosses try to justify this by saying such things as "we work harder", "we risk more", and "we're more intelligent", but it all boils down to the fact that wealth is created by work and those who do the work should get the rewards.

We say that the "means of production", in other words the factories, etc., should be owned and controlled by the working class, who are the majority of the people. This would do away with the situation where a handful of bosses can live like kings without doing a tap of work while the rest of the people are condemned to a life of drudgery. To change this situation and bring about socialism is not an easy task. In order to solve a problem you must know and understand your problem. Our future articles will be aimed at helping young people understand the problems involved, and what is meant by "the State", "socialist democracy", "internationalism", etc. In the meantime we would welcome any questions or comments our readers might have on any aspect of socialism or Connolly Youth Movement policy. All letters should be addressed to: The Editor, "Forward", 37 Pembroke Lane Ballsbridge, Dublin 4.

RENT STRIKE

The struggle in support of the demands of the National Association of Tenant Organisations(NATO) recently reached a new level with the eviction of Mr. and Mrs. Leonard and their four children from their flat at Cromcastle Court, Coolock. The campaign has centred around the following demands;

1. That Dublin Corporation be forced to recognise NATO as the representative body of all Corporation tenants, NATO to be consulted on all future changes in rents and conditions, and such changes to be the subject of discussion and negotiation.
2. That the proposed increase of 4p per room be withdrawn, and that rents should remain static.
3. That a complete new system of rents be introduced. Rents to be assessed on the

Title: Forward

Organisation: Connolly Youth Movement

Date: 1972

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