

ROSC CATHA

PUBLISHED BY CLANN NA hEIREANN

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A chairde,
On behalf of the Republican Movement let me extend a welcome to 'Rosca Catha'. The contribution of the Irish emigrant community to the struggle for freedom at home has been immense in the past. They will continue to play an important role in the fight for the final emancipation of the Irish people and the establishment of a Socialist Republic.

Clann has taken a major step towards mobilising emigrants effectively for this fight in its launching of an emigrants' paper. Through the paper it can educate and organise the mass of emigrants to fight to reclaim their birthright. It can also break through the mesh of lies by which the British establishment seeks to distort events in Ireland and divide Irish revolutionaries from the best elements in the British labour movement.

A union of the most conscious elements amongst the British working class and Irish workers in Britain is one of the most important tasks facing those committed to the establishment of a 32 county Socialist Republic. We are confident that Clann's initiative in this field through the launching of Rosca Catha will be rewarded with the success it deserves.

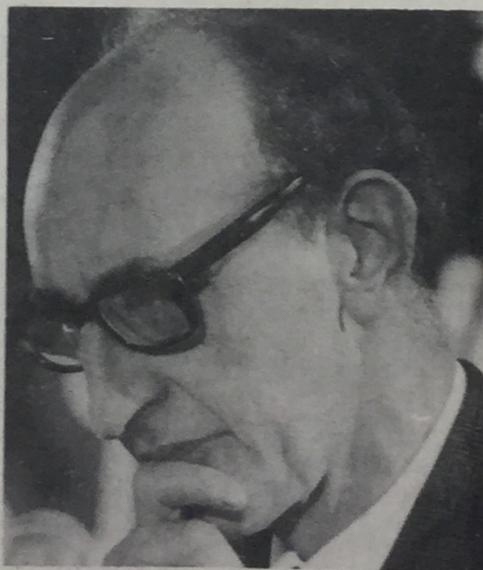
Cathal Goulding



A chairde,
On behalf of Sinn Fein I congratulate Clann na hEireann on its achievement over the last year which has enabled it to launch Rosca Catha. The paper's success over the coming months will provide a tremendous impetus towards the effort needed to harness the support of Irish people in Britain for our objective of a 32 county Socialist Republic.

Emigrants are the prime victims of a system of foreign domination and control by which Ireland is exploited. Their contribution to the struggle to reassert popular sovereignty over our country is vital if many thousands of more young people are not to follow in their footsteps. The most important role that the paper can play is that of educating the emigrant abroad into realising that there is no foreseeable end to emigration and its slow bleeding to death of our country, no foreseeable hope for the mass of emigrants ever being able to return home unless the struggle for a socialist republic is successful. They have their part to play by supporting the Republican Movement through Clann and its newspaper on the one hand, and by participating fully in the British labour movement on the other.

We wish Clann every success in its new venture; a new, and major, step has been taken with it, by our movement in England to enlist the mass of Irish emigrants to the fight for a Workers Republic.



Tomás MacGiolla
President, Sinn Fein

A NEW VENTURE

The first appearance of a new paper usually requires some words of introduction, if not actual justification. There exists, after all, a formidable array of political newspapers, and one might imagine that, between them, all possible viewpoints are amply covered. But, in fact, we believe that there is one serious gap which Rosca Catha is now being produced to fill. Clann na hEireann is a political organisation representing the Official Republican Movement in England, Scotland and Wales. As such we have a distinctive policy and a distinctive role. There are other Socialist organisations, there are other brands of Republicanism, but there is no equivalent for Clann's balance of the traditional Republican heritage enriched by adherence to the principles of Marxism. We fight equally for the political, economic and cultural reconquest of Ireland.

The steady expansion of the Movement throughout Britain shows that our standpoint evokes a ready response from those who have the opportunity to learn of it. Rosca Catha is launched to widen that circle, and to consolidate the organisation of those already within our ranks. The audience at which we aim, therefore, is primarily the Irish immigrant community. But we know that we have staunch allies in the British labour movement, and we hope that, as evidence of the solidarity which should exist between the working people of our countries, they will buy and read our paper. It has become almost a truism to state that the Irish people and the British working class face a common enemy in British Monopoly Capitalism. But, just as we emphasise to Irish immigrants their obligation to participate fully in the struggles waged by the British working class, so we stress to the British working class its duty to assist the cause of Irish National Liberation.

Lastly, a word of explanation about our paper's name. Non-Irish readers might like to know that it can be translated 'Battle-song', (but not, wits should note, 'War-Cry' - that would be Gáir Chatha). More generally, however, it means a call to arms or an exhortation before a battle. The policies and attitudes reflected in these pages constitute such an exhortation. This paper is not meant simply to be informative. Its function is to rally all those who refuse to accept injustice, exploitation and tyranny to do battle, so that these evils may be abolished for ever. They are man-made. They can be destroyed by men.

Ní Neart go cur le chéile.

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**ALL OUT NOV. 12th
A.I.L. DEMO
LONDON**

**WHERE IS
MICHAEL HARKINS?
Back Page**



The settlement agreed to by the negotiating committee which ended the recent builders strike was a disaster, particularly for those men who were on the picket lines for 10 weeks or more. The thousands on strike were more than optimistic about the outcome but their hopes were shattered when their leaders met the employers for a few short hours behind closed doors. The demand for £30 for a 35 hour week was shelved and £6 for craftsmen, £5.20 for labourers for a 40 hour week was foisted on the membership. Fleet Street and the BBC were standing by to conduct the publicity that would sell the sellout to the country as a whole. Areas of dissent such as Liverpool and Birmingham were ignored, even though the strike in those areas persisted for another week and viewers were feasted on small groups of workers in places like Weymouth,

Ullapool, Southsea and Paisley agreeing to the settlement. This agreement is supposed to run until 1974 and even allowing for the cost of living increases, the building workers will be decidedly worse off than they are now. Lessons have been learned, however - site to site and company wide rank and file contacts must be built up so that the leadership of the unions will not be in a position to sell out again. Subcontractors who operate on the Lump system, i.e. hiring and firing by the shift without 'books' or holiday pay must be driven out of the industry and every attempt must be made to bring about a 'closed shop'. The latter is difficult because of the transient form of the labour force but casting a glance over the progress during the past five years this should not be impossible.

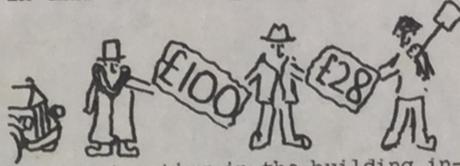
Yellow Saracens

In order to assist in Operation Motorman and to defeat the firepower of the IRA, the British Army called in men and equipment from overseas. One result has been the incongruous sight of Saracens speeding through the streets of Northern Ireland complete with their desert camouflage painting of sandy brown. One place their Saracens are definitely not coming from is Oman in the Arab Gulf for Oman is the venue of Britain's other, and no more successful, campaign against guerilla activity. Oman is situated on the Arab Gulf, north-east of Aden and south of Saudi-Arabia. The main area of conflict is Dhofar, the liberated province of Oman. The struggle, begun on the 9th of June, 1965, is being waged by the men and women of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf P.L.A. Britain has kept quiet about its involvement, except to publicly announce its part in supporting the coup in Salala, the capital in which the Sultan of Muscat and Oman was replaced by his son, a Sandhurst man and much more in line with twentieth century ideas such as napalm and airborne strike forces. Undeterred, guerillas captured a city some 40 miles from Salala on July 19, 1972 and inflicted 125 casualties on the enemy. Fighter bombers of the RAF (Strike Masters and Hawker Hunters) could not prevent defeat. Indeed, two planes were shot down and one helicopter. Salala, the capital, itself came under attack and the British were forced to step up their campaign, receiving active support from the USA through their puppet regimes of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Britain's war is no longer secret then. Special detachments of SAS

(remember Claudy?) have been engaged in the combat, and as the number of British officers and soldiers involved rises, the British press is forced to reveal Britain's entanglement. The Sunday Times recently published an article under the title of 'Oman's Sultan fighters repel guerillas in a British war down to its desert boots.' The London Evening Standard ran an advertisement for British contract officers in Oman. Britain's commitment is rising in this was because she fears for the stability of the whole Gulf area - there have been disturbances in Bahrein; there are border disputes at the present time between North (reactionary) Yemen and (the more progressive) South Yemen; and of course Aden (South Yemen) is still fresh in the mind. It is the type of fear that gripped America in Vietnam - if one goes then they all go. If they all go, then the oil goes. It is important that we actively support and publicise the struggle of the Omani people, because their struggle is our struggle. The Irish people and the Gulf people have established a solidarity in arms against their common enemy, British Imperialism. As Irish Republican Socialists, we must support the world fight against imperialism in Vietnam, in South America, in Palestine, in the columns of this newspaper. Next time you see a yellow saracen think of the ill-equipped tribesmen and women of the Arab Gulf held in subjection by British arms whilst their natural wealth (mainly oil) is taken from them. Remember too we are not alone in our fight. We are not alone either in the coming of victory.

Rashid Safi

The most insidious form of exploitation in the industry is in the sphere of subcontracting - an area where, by and large, Irishman exploits Irishman. How does this 'Lump' system work? It first became popular in the 'Cable Pulling' era of the early sixties. Murphy Bros., the 'green or the grey' were the most popular. The worker was hired at anything from £3 to £5 per day and he could sub more than half of this every night for food and beer. What was left for the pay packet was just sufficient to pay his lodgings and weekend entertainment and ensure that he would be sufficiently broke to be obliged to turn out on Monday. (Note who is a millionaire today and how little the shift pay has risen in this form of employment.)



Subcontracting in the building industry is spreading. Most private house builders do not employ labour except those who serve the tradesmen, i.e. brickies, joiners etc. All other labour is now supplied by a subcontractor. But the subbies surely have been killed off by the Government's new legislation that stated that 30% must be deducted from each weekly pay packet to cover insurance and tax contributions?! People do exist who think this is so but those who have taken an interest in the welfare of the Irish in Britain tell a different story. This form of exploitation has taken a more insidious turn. A new stratum of sharks is born. Most of these, again, are Irish and all they do is supply the 'Subbie' with the ready cash to pay his employees. On one hand he cashes the cheques (at a small percentage) that the subbie gets from the main contractor which is usually on a monthly basis. On the other hand he supplies the subcontractor with the cash to pay his workers each week (again at a percentage). This is usually 5 or 7%. This allows the subcontractor to keep within the law by booking a few men legitimately yet saving him from paying between 20 and 30% over and above his present outlay in wages.

Common sense tells us that he could not hire labour if he were to deduct 30% from their present rate of earnings; he would have to increase them. In most cases, however, he is able to get away with passing on to his employees the 5 or 7% he is paying to the 'money man'. The dangers in this new system are obvious. An additional parasite is now sucking their blood and still they have no protection against sickness, injury or old age. Many had to scab during the recent strike or starve because they or their families don't exist as far as the State is concerned. It must not happen again when the next clash with the employers takes place, which should be within 12 months - now is the time to be protected by the strength of the industry's safeguards.

News of the present racket will come as a shock to many, especially those who thought that Ted cleaned up this practice with a 'stroke of his pen'. As yet a full list of those involved in this has not been compiled and information is still required. It is hoped that shortly a substantial list of names and addresses of subcontractors and money men will be published, with sufficient evidence to justify our claim. The struggle to improve conditions in the building and Civil Engineering industry must be conducted more vigorously. Many workers, because of their mistrust of unions, do not know what facilities each site should have. This mistrust will only end when the workers realise that it is the unions who have been responsible for increasing their wages over the past twenty years. It must be realised that the union demands are always *minimum demands* which must be paid irrespective of weather. In this light the better paid will see common cause with the lower paid. The dockers and car workers are guaranteed in excess of £1 per hour simply because they employed a united front against the employers; the building and Civil Engineering workers will do likewise only when they can close their ranks.

JCB1

IFA - Who do they represent?

The Irish Farmers Association represents the 17 per cent of beef producers who get 53 per cent of the beef grants. It represents the 2 per cent with 40 cows and more. When the two-tier milk price system was abolished, large dairy farmers got enormous increases. A man with 50 cows got £551, a man with 75 got £1,068 and a man with 150 got £3,322. However, the man with 10 cows - the national average - lost money.

The Farmers Journal campaigned vigorously against the two-tier milk price system just as it is at present doing since beef grants have been reduced from £16 to £8 for more than 30 cows. This is not surprising, as the editor, Mr Paddy O'Keefe, owns over 200 acres in County Cork.

Typical of the leadership of the I.F.A. are people like Mr Paddy Raftery from Athenry, Co. Galway, who has 120 cows on his ranch. In County Galway, 80 per cent of the farmers have a ratable valuation of less than £20. Mr Raftery is Chairman of the Galway I.F.A.

In County Meath, Mr Joe Bruton has 1,000 acres. Mr Bruton is Chairman of the I.F.A. Livestock Committee, Chairman of the Dublin Port and Docks Board, and he writes an article in the Farmers Journal every week. That paper, some months ago, reported that land in the midlands is now worth £500 to £600 an acre. His farm therefore must be worth half a million pounds.

John Leeson of Bray, Co. Wicklow, President of the Leinster Milk (liquid) Producers Association (affiliated to I.F.A.) is an intensive tillage and beef producer as well as owning 5 tractors and 100 cows.

And what's the government doing about all this? Not very much. Mr Gibbons, the Minister for Agriculture, has 300 acres in County Kilkenny while his older brother has 600 acres.

With 'friends' like these no small farmer needs enemies. It is clear that small farmers all over the country must unite into an organised body before it is too late. Nobody but themselves can truly represent their interests.

From the Small Farmers Defence Association.

BUY THE UNITED IRISHMAN

NOT ONE BUT TWO

EVICTION '72

No part of Ireland was spared the evils of Landlordism, but no part suffered more than the West. One cannot go far in Connacht without seeing the roofless shells of what once were homes. There they still stand in silent testimony to the miseries wrought by the Crow-bar Brigade, the Process Server and the Bailiff. But it was in Connacht too that the Land League was born. On April 19 1879, in Irishtown, Co. Mayo, the cry went forth that was soon to echo throughout Ireland: the land for the people.

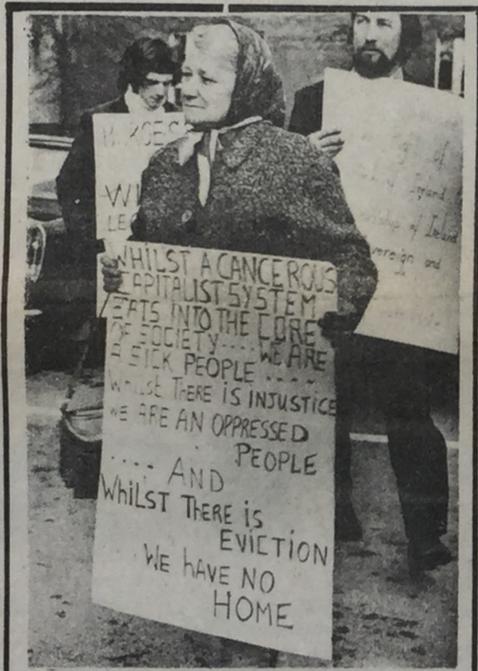
No one reading this needs to be told that that Land War is still unwon, that Ireland still does not belong to her people. Very, very few of our readers chose the emigrant ship. Still, eviction by absentee English landlords - that, surely, belongs to the past? Unfortunately, not. Today, in 1972, in Connacht, one Commander Burgess follows faithfully in Captain Boycott's footsteps.

Commander Burgess lives in Bosham, Sussex. He has an estate agent's business in a nearby town, besides which he owns a bungalow in Uachter Ard, Co. Galway, which he rents to tourists. He claims that the cottage which stands beside this bungalow also belongs to him. In pursuance of this claim he took Mrs Nora Fahy, whose family have lived in the cottage for the last 150 years, to court and obtained an eviction order against her on March 13, 1972.

When Commander Burgess emerged from the rarified atmosphere of the Courthouse, he was chased through the streets of Galway until the Law once again gathered him to its bosom, extending to him the sanctuary of the Barracks. The Mayor and the Corporation of Galway passed a resolution condemning the threatened eviction. Nearly 400 people, out of a local population of 450 families signed a similar petition. Burgess, as we have seen, remained deaf and blind to all appeals. He had his supporters, after all. There were the rich who felt that there was something, well, rather incongruous, about the peasant family in their Millionaires Row. Would not 'these people' even be happier, amongst their own kind, inside their native reservation only about 15 miles away? What they felt about Mrs Fahy can be gauged from the fact that, although their neatly shaved verdant pastures were well-protected by cattle grids, they grudged her few cows the very blades of grass by the roadside. But principally, and most shamefully, Commander Burgess had the support of those who repeat every day the words 'He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things: the rich He hath sent empty away. (Luke I, 52-3). Yes, the local clergy are backing Commander Burgess.

Mrs Fahy was given six months notice to quit. But Mrs Fahy was not evicted on September 13th. No, Commander Burgess had not changed his mind. The fact that Mrs Fahy had been in constant ill-health since 1967 mattered not at all. Neither did the fact that she entered Galway Regional Hospital in May 1972 for a major abdominal operation. Mrs Fahy eluded the Bailiff on September 13 1972 because she died of terminal cancer on August 25th. Go ndeanaidh Dia trocaire ar a h-anam. It requires little imagination to grasp how much unnecessary anguish must have been added to the already terrible form of her death by the anxiety caused by the impending eviction. Particularly as she knew she was leaving her youngest child, not merely an orphan, but a homeless one at that.

But then anxiety was no stranger to Nora Fahy. In a material sense, but certainly no other, she was a poor woman. She came from Ros a' mhill in the Connemara Gaeltacht. In 1947 she married Bartly Fahy and moved into his family's cottage on the shores of Lough Corrib. In 1954 an event of great importance took place. Bartly Fahy signed a caretaker's agreement. By so doing he signed away all title to his house, conceding instead that his tenure was entirely dependent on the length of time he performed the duties of a caretaker. Giving evidence at subsequent proceedings, Mrs Fahy alleged that her husband was drunk, at least partly from drink supplied to him by Commander Burgess, at the time this agreement was signed. Her implication is clear. The only living witness to what transpired is Commander Burgess himself. But we may well ask what sober man in his right mind would have signed such a document. Had he not signed this in 1954 (the date is important), the Fahys could undoubtedly have claimed Squatters' Rights, because of the length of time they had already occupied the property. As it was, according to Mrs Fahy, her husband burnt his bit of paper when he read it and realised what he had done. Commander Burgess, of course, preserved his copy carefully.



MRS. NORA FAHY

Shortly afterwards Bartly Fahy became ill. For years he was in and out of hospital. During this time Mrs Fahy struggled to put all her three children through Secondary school. She managed this by cooking and cleaning for the inhabitants of the luxurious bungalows that scarify the landscape along the little road down to her house on New Quay. Sometimes aptly described as Millionaires Row, the area has become a veritable paradise for parasites of the ex-patriate British and native gombeen variety.

In 1967 Mr Fahy had an operation. 'He was very bad, but I thought he'd be coming home again,' Mrs Fahy said. So they began to do some repairs to the cottage. Commander Burgess arrived whilst this was going on, and, according to Mrs Fahy, became abusive, telling her she had no right to do up the cottage. He 'was coming and going, giving out, all the time.' 'All the time' included the period Mr Fahy was dying in hospital. He died in November 1967. Commander Burgess had previously terminated his caretakership on the grounds of incapacity - a gesture which no doubt did wonders for the sick man's peace of mind. Mrs Fahy was offered it, but refused. Despite the 'bit of paper', she believed she had rights that the law would respect. Or rather, that was how she put it; what she actually believed was probably the very different

proposition: that she had rights that natural justice should guarantee. But natural justice and the law by no means always coincide; particularly is this the case in respect to the English laws of property still operated by so-called Irish courts. And so it proved, for it was an 'Irish Justice', sitting in the High Court at Galway, who found that the ownership of the cottage resided in Commander Burgess. The law, he said, left him no other course. That is no doubt true, and so long as laws are framed by the rich to protect what they have usurped it will continue thus.

Blind and deaf Burgess may be, but not dumb. He is stung by the charge that he is a developer, property speculator, or the like. In a letter to the Connacht Tribune (dated 12.IX.72), where he states 'his' side at length, he rebuts these awful charges, together with what he would term the lies and distortions of Mrs Fahy's side. So why did he persist with the eviction order to the edge of the grave - and beyond it; for now it will be served on the children? 'I am not a developer and never have been... Like the words in the well-known advertisement, I'm only 'ere for the beer, in my case I'm only here for the angling.' So now we know. We know why Mrs Fahy was harried continuously for the last five years of her life, through her husband's protracted illness and dying; through the years after it, so much so, that she had to receive hospital treatment for nervous collapse on several occasions. We know why she was beset and tormented as she passed through all the stages of her agonising disease to its inevitable outcome. We know why she was allowed to die believing that she had lost everything, for her children, as well as for herself. It all happened because one, rich, pitiless, complacent caricature of a man wanted to fish....

But Nora Fahy did not lose. She fought with every weapon dignity and courage can bestow. And now the torch is passed on. To us. She fought, not only one man, but an entire system of organised injustice which sanctifies cupidity and rapine. To triumph over that one requires an equally organised, consciously motivated people, determined to abolish all forms of human exploitation, and armed with the theoretical knowledge of how to achieve this task. The Republican Movement pledged its support to Mrs Fahy in life, and that pledge continues to her children. If Commander Burgess wishes to assume the mantle of Captain Boycott, he would do well to find out first what happened to that ignominious cur, who has left no trace behind him save a name known the world over as standing for something unclean. And let the Commander read Fintan Lalor, for no one ever put our position more clearly:

'My principle is this: that the entire ownership of Ireland moral and material up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested by right in the people of Ireland - that they and none but they are the landowners and the lawmakers of this island; that all laws not made by them are null and void, and all titles to land are invalid not conferred or confirmed by them; and that the full right of owners may and must be asserted and enforced by any and all means which God has put in the power of man.'

On October 12 a new branch of Clann was formed in Huddersfield. This was the culmination of the efforts of a few Clann members who have been working towards this for some time. The following officers were elected: Secretary, Sean Meehan; Press Officer, Richard Bell; Education Officer, Paul Bell.

The following day another new branch was formed in Blackburn. Officers elected were Vic Lenaerts, Secretary; Arthur Hughes, Chairman; Patrick Rafferty; Treasurer, and Catherine Lenaerts, Paper Agent. Rose Catha extends its congratulations to the people responsible and wishes all our comrades in Huddersfield and Blackburn the best of luck in the hard work that lies ahead.

Legalised Murder

British uniformed terrorists struck yet again last week when they shot John Pat Mullan and Hugh Herron, both members of the Republican Movement, at a roadblock near Coagh, Co. Tyrone. The two men were murdered by thugs from the 1st Battalion, the Staffordshire Regiment.

Several thousand people attended their funeral on Thursday, 19th October. Both men were buried with full military honours. Among the mourners was Cathal Goulding who slipped through a tight security net to give the oration. He said, 'There cannot be anyone who has witnessed the intensification of the British Army's campaign of terrorism in the Six Counties during the past month, who does not now recognise the face of Imperialism unmasked, brutal and intent upon domination of the Irish people...'

The Irish Republican Movement is now determined that no solution will be imposed on the people of the Six Counties or on the people of the 32 Counties which does not stand for the advantage of the mass of the ordinary people of this country.'

Spontaneous Combustion?

NOT SO CLEVERLY - Corporal John Cleverly and the men under his command parked their Saracen and camped for the night of October 11 a few yards from the Carpenters Arms, Great Wilbraham, near Cambridge. They were woken up by the Fire Brigade the following morning who told them that their Saracen had been set on fire. No rest for the wicked. The following day two men, Michael Flaherty and Michael Crowley were arrested and subsequently charged with arson and causing £200 damage to a Saracen. The two men have been remanded in custody in Bedford Prison and on Thursday 18 October they were remanded for a further week because the police hadn't managed to 'establish that they were who they said they were'.

We are also told that the two men are being forced to wear Prison clothing. This is completely wrong. Prisoners on remand are allowed to wear their own clothing. The Cambridge AIL have been in touch with the situation since it began and will continue to watch it closely. Rose Catha will also keep its watchful eye on the proceedings.

CLANN ARD FHEIS

The eighth annual Ard Fheis of Clann na hEireann took place on September 30 and October 1 in Oxford. Twenty areas were represented which was the biggest attendance at any Ard Fheis. Delegates from places such as Norwich, Glasgow, Scunthorpe, South Wales and London reflected the truly national character of the organisation and also showed how it has grown during the past twelve months. Gerry Doherty, National Organiser, gave a report to the Ard Fheis on how the organisation has grown and what areas had to be organised in the future. Both Gerry Doherty and the President, Seamus Collins, were unanimously elected for a further year. The decisions taken at the Ard Fheis will enable Clann to perform its role more effectively in the future and will enable us to consolidate and expand on the gains made in the past few months. Below we reproduce a part of a policy document passed at the Ard Fheis. Copies of the full document will soon be available from the Ard Oifig.

'Clann na hEireann is a political organisation representing the Official Republican Movement in England, Scotland and Wales. Within that Movement it constitutes an autonomous body with its own constitution, rules and procedures. But by reason of common purpose and outlook it necessarily supports the leadership of Sinn Fein and gives allegiance to the Irish Republican Army.

The Specific Role of Clann

Clann exists in Britain, i.e. it is an immigrant organisation in a country which also happens to be, in relation to Ireland, the oppressor country. As a consequence Clann, unlike Sinn Fein, is not and cannot be a political party. To use such a description would imply a gross confusion of mind. As the role is in fact a complex one, it is best considered separately under its two distinct, but inter-related, aspects.

1. In relation to the British Proletariat

Firstly, Clann must be tireless in impressing upon British Socialists and Trade Unionists the truth of Marx's considered judgement, that for the English workers 'the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice, of humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own emancipation.' Again:

'I have become more and more convinced, and it is only a matter of bringing this conviction home to the English working class, that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland in the most definite way from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish, but even takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801... This must

be done not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the English Proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading strings of the ruling classes, because it will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland.' (Marx to Kugelmann)

Marx wrote this in 1869. Had he been alive in 1969 he would have seen the Conservative opposition supporting the Labour Government and, a little later, the Labour opposition supporting the Conservative Government in a common front against Ireland. With the North of Ireland currently being used as a testing ground for all manner of repressive measures, it should be emphasised that the next victims can only be the British working class themselves.

Common Enemy

Secondly, since we face a common enemy, we must do all in our power to foster links between the working classes of both our countries. The example we set by our own actions is of prime importance in this respect. While we live and work in this country we form part of its labour force. As Irish Republicans our main orientation is to Ireland, in the sense that that is the place where we are trying to effect the decisive change. But it is British Imperialism which is at the root cause of Ireland's social ills. Therefore both as Republicans and Socialists it is our duty to engage in the struggles waged by the British working class. Whether they know it or not, whether they care or not, any victory won by the British working class over British capitalism is also a victory for us. All members should therefore be active in their appropriate trade unions, and branches should establish the practice of getting speakers invited to trade union branch meetings.



Gerry Doherty, National Organiser.

2. In relation to Irish immigrants

The object here is twofold:

- To raise class consciousness.
- To raise national consciousness.

We must achieve (a) if we are to get anywhere, because without it we can neither explain what is wrong in the 26 counties nor get the commitment to socialism necessary to achieve a truly independent country. Furthermore, it is in the interests of the immigrants themselves, and in the interests of the class struggle in general, that Irish workers be made to see how lack of involvement in labour organisations aids exploitation, e.g. the Lump.

In this connection we can do no better than to quote from the policy statement of the Irish Socialist Federation, an organisation comparable to Clann founded in America in 1907. The statement was written by Connolly and in it he said that the purpose of the ISF was 'To assist the revolutionary working class movement in Ireland by a dissemination of its literature; to educate the working class Irish of this

country into a knowledge of Socialist principles and to prepare them to cooperate with the workers of all other races, colours, and nationalities in the emancipation of labour.'

National consciousness

This is a problem peculiar to all whose races have been persecuted or enslaved. The oppressors spare no pains to teach the attitudes proper to a subject people. And these persist. It is because of the ruthless efficiency with which this policy was employed in an attempt to exterminate the language and culture of Ireland that a positive policy to counteract it is required. As the basis of nationality is culture, in the wide sense of the term, the problem before us is immediate and urgent. The question of the language is not one we can afford to put off until the other apparently more important issues are resolved. If the oldest living vernacular language in Europe is still to be counted so in the next generation, we must act now. Each area should ensure that language classes are available locally.

For Connolly there is no choice for a socialist on this issue because people who 'abandon their language in favour of that of an oppressor do so, not from altruistic motives, or because of a love for the brotherhood of man, but from a slavish and cringing spirit.'

Irish immigrants in this country must understand that they are still part of the Irish nation; that the economic necessity that exiled them is man-made and so can be rectified by men furnished with a clear understanding of the laws governing the development of society; and that they should join the ranks of those men.

This then is the specific role of Clann within the overall strategy of the Republican Movement. It can be summed up: Organise, Educate, Agitate.

SIDELINES

PRESTON MEETING

On Sunday October 8 Preston Civil Rights Association held a meeting where Gerry Doherty, National Organiser of Clann, spoke on 'political prisoners in England, Scotland and Wales'. The meeting was well attended and it was agreed that much more needs to be done on this problem. The audience backed up their words by action and a collection brought in almost £50 for the Prisoners Aid Committee.

TWICE AS OPPRESSED

The British Army, renowned for its sense of fair play and concern for the average Tommy, has been up to a new and particularly nasty kind of discrimination. When mounting foot patrols they put black soldiers at each end of the patrol - the most dangerous place to be. Not content with that they even send them round corners first. We call upon all Black political groups to organise a campaign to point out the way these black soldiers are being used to oppress the working class of Ireland.

THE BRITISH PRESS

An Irishman was visiting London Zoo. As he was passing the lion he saw the lion drag a little girl into the cage. He jumped into the cage and beat hell out of the lion, saving the little girl's life. The following day's headline was 'DRINK-CRAZED IRA MAN MURDERS LITTLE GIRL'S PET'.

WELSH PRISONERS

A Welsh Political Prisoners Defence Committee has been formed to safeguard the rights of all Welsh political prisoners. The Committee's first activity is to mount a campaign of protest about the case of John Jenkins. Gaoled in 1970 for ten years for causing explosions, John has been on hunger strike as a protest against the authorities refusing him Welsh papers and visits from people other than his family. Bryan Wilkinson, a member of Clann, spoke at the inaugural meeting and pledged support.

For more details contact:

Mrs Mair Ap Gruffydd,
1, Erw Ifan, Pencoed, Bridgend.

BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME

The Ford Motor Company use a patch of waste ground in Fulham for stockpiling new cars. A family from Belfast moved into a house overlooking the compound. One of the children was showing the neighbour's kids how to make a petrol bomb and accidentally (?) threw it over the fence where it incinerated a brand new car. Rumours that Fords have given the family a new car in return for moving house have been denied by the management.

SOLIDARITY

At the October monthly meeting of the Bristol National Union of Teachers Committee the following motion was passed: 'Bristol NUT Committee requests the NUT Executive to demand that the Government withdraw British troops from three Belfast schools which they continue to occupy since they entered the Catholic "no-go areas", and two other schools which are still partially occupied.'

Within the context of the NUT this is an excellent achievement and Rosc Catha will be pleased to print others.

Just in from the Starry Plough, Derry:

'There was this member of the Gerry Doherty Republican Club walking down Royal Avenue in Belfast one day when who should he see coming towards him but Brian Faulkner with a white duck on a lead.

"Hullo," said our man in the friendly, nonsectarian tones for which members of the Gerry Doherty Republican Club are known and loved throughout the land, "That's a very nice little monkey you've got there."

"That's not a monkey," said Brian, "That's a duck."

"I know," said the member of the Gerry Doherty Republican Club. "It was the duck I was talking to."



THE FORGOTTEN MEN

Throughout the agitation about internment, Special Courts and now detainees one group of men has been forgotten - the twenty or so men in gaols in England, Scotland and Wales. Though some measure of success has been won in getting political status for prisoners in Ireland the only difference in the treatment of Irish prisoners here and the treatment of other prisoners is the degree of harshness and victimisation Irish prisoners have undergone precisely because they are in gaol for acts committed against British Imperialism. To be in gaol here is totally different to being a prisoner in Ireland. One major difference is the total isolation experienced by prisoners here as compared to Republicans in Ireland. One to each prison appears to be the norm. Even the other prisoners are sometimes hostile to Republicans because of the tightness of the security that surrounds them. The prison authorities can isolate them even further by categorising them in such a way that even close relatives cannot visit them without first getting clearance from the Home Office.

Recognising that these men have never been looked after the way they deserve Clann has set up a Prisoners Aid Committee. The primary task of the P.A.C. is to help financially Irish political prisoners in England, Scotland and Wales. This means

supplying them with papers, books and anything else that prison regulations will allow as well as making regular contributions to their dependants. The money that is required for this task is considerable and all donations are welcome.

The political task of the PAC is to fight for political status for Irish prisoners, to secure their location in the same establishment, and to see that their position is linked directly to that of the men in Ireland in that when the expected sentence review or amnesty becomes a reality these men must be included. These are large tasks - too large for Clann on its own and we appeal for all those who are prepared to work for those aims to contact the PAC at 318 Lillie Road, London SW6. A PAC has been established in Bristol and there is a good possibility of one in Cambridge. More meetings are being arranged with a view to establishing further branches of the PAC. Because of their isolation these men cannot fight for themselves. They are in prison because they fought for us. They must not remain forgotten men.

Enquiries and contributions to: Secretary, Prisoners Aid Committee, 318, Lillie Road, London S.W.6.

Bernadette Devlin

Because of the victimisation experienced by some Irish prisoners Bernadette agreed to visit them, and below we give a report of her visits to three prisoners and their conditions of imprisonment.

EAMONN SMULLEN

Eamonn was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on Friday Feb. 13 1970. This was reduced to five years on appeal. For the first eighteen months Eamonn was classified as a Category A prisoner. This was eased until about two months ago when two ex-army officers became Governor and Assistant Governor. He was not actually reclassified as Category A but every aspect of Category A treatment is being applied to him. Incoming and outgoing mail is stringently censored. No reference to the political situation is allowed. All visits are supervised closely including Bernadette's. Permission to write to the NCCL and the Race Relations Board because of the attitude of warders to minority groups (white and black) was refused. Though Eamonn did not support the PROP agitation because he felt that the proper groundwork had not been laid he refused to work or eat in solidarity with them and spent five days in the 'cooler'. His judgement appears to have been vindicated by the fact that 2000 prisoners have since been severely disciplined. In spite of all this Bernadette reports that Eamonn's morale is high. He refuses to be drawn into reacting to the treatment he is receiving because he knows that it is a crude attempt to make him lose his remission. Eamonn is due for release in six months and wants to play an effective role in the Irish struggle. Eamonn is not in a position where he can fight back. It is our job to fight on his behalf.



Pat Sullivan and Conor Lynch.

Both arrested in 1969 and sentenced to seven years for allegedly taking part in an arms raid on a Dagenham machine-gun works. The first attempt at an appeal was turned down and both prisoners were transferred out of London while a proper appeal was being prepared. This made it difficult for their solicitors to visit them and the appeal had to be finally dropped when the Home Office forbade communication between the two prisoners. Both Pat and Conor are still Category A even though they have completed two thirds of their sentences. Pat Sullivan is treated much the same as Eamonn Smullen. Any political comment is sufficient to have his mail stopped and he also received five days in the 'cooler' for the same reason as Eamonn. Pat Sullivan has received only one visit in the last three and a half years from his parents. Both of them are too old to work and cannot afford the fares. We appeal to all for contributions to help us bring both Lynch's and Sullivan's parents over for Christmas. Conor Lynch appears to be treated a bit more liberally than the other two. Visits are supervised, mail is checked but political comment is not forbidden. However, for two years he was allowed to correspond with comrades living in the Gaeltacht in Irish but this has recently been stopped. When he complained to the Irish Embassy they sent along a representative, but as the man didn't speak Irish, Conor quite rightly refused to talk to him. These are not the only prisoners in English gaols but they are the ones which we have most information about at the moment. ALL Irish political prisoners deserve anything we can do to help them. Support the PAC.

SUPPORT THE P.A.C.

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME?

Towards A New Ireland, Garret FitzGerald. Charles Knight, London, £2.50

Whenever I am asked to review a book by someone whose views are the opposite to my own I try, in my poor way, to emulate Connolly. His maxim was not 'Does this meet with my requirements?' but rather 'What can I derive from this?' The political credo of Garret FitzGerald TD, a vice-president of Fine Gael, the party's front bench spokesman on finance and, as member of the executive of the European Movement, a staunch supporter of the EEC capitalist clique, is certainly opposed to my own ideas. But it is very easy to be destructive in such a case.

FitzGerald's book is an attempt to view the Irish situation objectively and without personal prejudice - as far as any professional Irish politician can do so! He says that his book does not attempt to unravel the events in Northern Ireland since 1969. The book is supposed to concern itself with the longer term issue of how the political division of Ireland originated, has been maintained and deepened by events in both parts of Ireland during the past 50 years. The book also discusses the problem of resolving this division in a manner that would

enable Protestants and Catholics in the two parts of Ireland pay common allegiance to a society that both would find acceptable.

EEC

The Ireland of Mr FitzGerald's future is a united bourgeois capitalist state, belonging to the EEC. Laws and attitudes on both sides of the border would be changed, of course, to bring about a peaceful reunification with the consent of the Unionist majority in the Six Counties. Mr. FitzGerald's attitude is very much that of a Griffithite adapted to modern conditions. For example, he hopes for a united, politically independent Irish state whose system would be the 'British liberal tradition' transplanted to Ireland (God help us, one and all!) In this state he seems to hope for the growth of a strong native capitalism (as Griffith hoped for) but the idea is 100 years out of date. National capitalism has long since given way to international capitalism and, indeed, the only reason for the EEC (which FitzGerald so strongly advocates) is a breaking down of national market barriers so that capitalism can consolidate and expand its markets from a centralist basis, which will naturally give rise to centralist European politics. The progression is, of course, towards a centralised European state in which Ireland will have as much

say as the state of New Mexico in USA politics, probably a great deal less. (I fully expect someday soon to wake up and find Napoleon and Hitler revered in our history books as pioneers of the EEC!)

Dual Monarchy

Mr FitzGerald, by the way, is quite wistful concerning the death of Kevin O'Higgins, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Free State, who was assassinated in 1927 for 'had he lived he might, perhaps, have made headway with his proposal - discussed secretly with the Ulster leader Lord Carson - for a Dual Monarchy, uniting North and South within a separate Irish kingdom.'

But as I have already stated it is easy to be destructive. So what can we derive from Mr. FitzGerald's book? Economics (albeit bourgeois economics) are Mr. FitzGerald's strong point - indeed, he is author of several books on the Irish economy (such as it is) and a lecturer in economics. The book contains many interesting and useful facts: only the conclusions are disputable. The section 'Economic Differences' I found to be the best in the work: 'The Impact of EEC Membership' is the propaganda exercise that one might have expected; and 'Why Partition?', in which he tries to show how partition came about, is the most disappointing.

This is a quick superficial look at the historical factors. There was one point when I felt a surge of hope for Mr. FitzGerald states: 'inadequate attention is often given to the economic basis of partition' but the ensuing pages did not enlighten me very much. This section repeats a lot of the Plantation mythology, e.g. the idea that there was no intermarriage between planters and native Irish... a myth I thought James Layburn rid us of years ago in his book *The Scotch Irish*. There are also statements such as 'The Irish language played no part in the traditions of the Northern majority...' Most of the Scottish settlers were from Galloway which remained Gaelic speaking until the 18th century. A look at Brian O Cuiv's *Irish Dialects and Irish Speaking Districts* is of relevance.

In all, the book is of importance for the economic facts it presents relating to Ireland, both North and South, during the current period. It is also important reading in view of its author - one of Fine Gael's leading spokesmen - and the maxim 'know thy enemy' is a sound one.

Marx said: 'History hangs like a nightmare on the minds of the living.' Unfortunately this work does not get down to the substance of the nightmare of the Six Counties, much less help us seek a real cure to the problem.

Peter Berresford-Ellis

The position and attitudes of the Orange working class in North-East Ulster are something that demands careful analysis by Republicans. We propose to carry a series of articles dealing with this problem. As an introduction, we reprint below some extracts from James Connolly's writings in which he points out the historical causes of the reactionary role of the Orange working class. In this connection, Connolly's warning on the proposed Partition settlement should also be recalled. He considered that Partition would intensify the division between the working class in North-East Ulster and that so long as it existed, working-class unity would be an impossibility.

The religious affiliations of the population of Ulster determine their political leanings to a greater extent than is the case in any part of Europe outside the Balkans... It is true to say that, politically speaking, the Protestantism of the North of Ireland has no parallel outside this country and that the Catholicism of the Irish Catholics is likewise peculiar in its political trend.

Elsewhere Protestantism has in general made for political freedom and political Radicalism; it has been opposed to slavish worship of kings and aristocrats. Here in Ireland the word Protestant is almost a convertible term with Toryism, lickspittle loyalty, servile worship of aristocracy, and hatred of all that savours of genuine political independence on the part of the 'lower classes.'

In the same manner Catholicism, which in most parts of Europe is synonymous with Toryism... in Ireland is almost synonymous with rebellious tendencies, zeal for democracy, and intense feelings of solidarity with all upward strivings of those who toil.

Such a curious phenomenon is easily understood by those who know the history of Ireland... The Protestant elements of Ireland were, in the main, a plantation of strangers upon the soil from which the owners had been dispossessed by force. The economic dispossession was, perforce, accompanied by a political and social outlawry. Hence every attempt of the dispossessed to attain citizenship, to emerge from their state of outlawry, was easily represented as a tentative step towards reversing the Plantation and towards replanting the Catholics and dispossessing the Protestants.

Imagine this state of affairs persisting for over 200 years and one realises at once that the planted population - the Protestants - were bound to acquire insensibly a hatred of political reform and to look upon every effort of the Catholics to achieve political recognition as an insidious move towards the expulsion of Protestants. Then the Protestant always saw that the kings and aristocrats of England and Ireland were opposed by the people whom he most feared, and from recognising this it was but an easy step to regard his cause as identical with theirs. They had a common enemy and he began to teach his children that they had a common cause and common ideals.

This is the reason - their isolation as strangers holding a conquered country in fee for rulers alien to its people - that the so-called Scots of Ulster have fallen away from and developed antagonism to political reform and mental freedom as rapidly as the Scots of Scotland have advanced in adhesion to these ideals.

The Catholics for their part... I am talking only of the Catholic workers, have been as fortunately placed for their political education as they were unfortunately placed for their political and social condition. Just as the Socialist knows

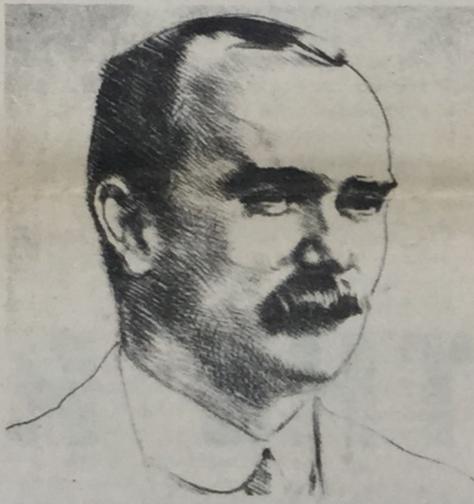
that the working class, being the lowest in the social system cannot emancipate itself without as a result emancipating all other classes, so the Irish Catholic has realised instinctively that he, being the most oppressed and disfranchised, could not win any modicum of political freedom or social recognition for himself without winning it for all others in Ireland.

Every upward step of the Catholic has emancipated some one of the smaller Protestant sects; every successful revolt of the Catholic peasant has given some added security even to those Protestant farmers who were most zealously defending the landlord. And out of this struggle the Catholic has perforce learned toleration. He has learned that his struggle is, and has been, the struggle of all the lowly and dispossessed, and he has grown broadminded with the broadmindedness of the slave in revolt against slavery.'

Forward, May 3, 1914

CONNOLLY

on NORTH-EAST ULSTER and THE ORANGE WORKING CLASS



Here in Ulster the Ascendancy party does not even need to pretend to be favourable to the aspirations of Labour; it is openly hostile and the inculcation of slavish sentiments is a business it never neglects. This is the main difference between the Parties. The growth of a rebellious spirit amongst the Nationalist democracy has compelled the Home Rule politicians to pay court to Labour, to assume a virtue when they have it not; the lack of such a spirit... has enabled the Orange leaders to openly flout and antagonise the Labour movement.

Forward, June 7, 1913

The firm and skilful use of this T.U. power is what is making for the revolution in wages and conditions in Dublin that is at present going on. This would not be possible but for that matchless loyalty to their class which I have spoken of as characteristic of the Dublin workers.

In Belfast... there is wanting alike the necessary forms of organisation and the class solidarity that would make that organisation possible and effective...

The campaign of religious and political ruffianism initiated by Sir Edward Carson and his accomplices has broken whatever class solidarity ever existed in this city; hence... the first task to our hand here is the fronting and throttling of this beast of bigotry...

When striving to induce my Belfast comrades to adopt this policy which we are now propagating in our meetings, I was asked did I think it would make our propaganda easier. I answered that I did not - that on the contrary it would arouse passions immensely more bitter than had ever been met here by the Socialist movement in the past; but it would make our propaganda more fruitful and our organisation more enduring.

To this I still adhere. A real Socialist movement cannot be built by temporising in front of a dying cause such as that of the Orange Ascendancy even though, in the paroxysms of its death struggle, it assumes the appearance of health. A real Socialist movement can only be born of struggle, of uncompromising affirmation of the faith that is in us. Such a movement infallibly gathers to itself every element of rebellion and of progress and, in the midst of the storm and stress of the struggle, solidifies into a real revolutionary force.

Therefore we declare to the Orange workers of Belfast that we stand for the right of the people of Ireland to rule as well as to own Ireland, and cannot conceive of a separation of the two ideas.

Forward, August 1913

A Dublin comrade once remarked to the writer that as two things cannot occupy the same space at the same time so the mind of the working class cannot concentrate on two objectives at the same time. Meaning thereby that when that working class is obsessed with visions of glory, patriotism, war, loyalty or political or religious bigotry, it can find no room in its mind for considerations of its own interests as a class.

Somewhere upon these lines must be found the explanation of the fact that whereas Dublin and Nationalist Ireland generally is seething with rebellion against industrial conditions, and manifesting that rebellion by a crop of strikes, in Belfast and the quarter dominated by the loyalist element, class feeling or industrial discontent is at present scarcely manifested at all.

For Dublin and its Nationalist allies the Home Rule question has long gone beyond the stage of controversy; it is regarded as out of the region of dispute...

In North-East Ulster on the other hand, the question of Home Rule is not a settled question in men's minds, much less settled politically, and hence its unsettled character makes it still possible for that question to so possess the minds of the multitude that all other questions such as wages, hours and conditions of labour must take a subordinate place and lose their power to attract attention, much less to compel action.

According to all Socialist theories North-East Ulster, being the most industrially developed, ought to be the quarter in which class lines of cleavage, politically and industrially, should be the most pronounced and class rebellion the most common.

As a cold matter of fact, it is the happy hunting ground of the slave-driver and the home of the least rebellious slaves in the industrial world.

Dublin, on the other hand, has more strongly developed working-class feeling, more strongly accentuated instincts of loyalty to the working class than any city of its size on the globe.

I have explained before how the perfectly devilish ingenuity of the master class had sought its ends in North-East Ulster...

For a brief period during the closing years of the 18th century it did indeed seem probable that the common disabilities of Presbyterians and Catholics would unite them all under the common name of Irishmen. Hence the rebel society of that time took the significant name of 'United Irishmen'.

But the removal of the religious disabilities from the dissenting community had as its effect the obliteration of all political differences between the Protestant sects and their practical political unity under the common designation of Protestants as against the Catholics upon whom the fetters of religious disability still clung.

Humanly speaking, one would have predicted that as the Presbyterians and Dissenters were emancipated as a result of a clamorous agitation against religious inequality, and as that agitation derived its chief force and menace from the power of Catholic numbers in Ireland, then the members of these sects would unite with the agitators to win for all an enjoyment of those rights the agitators and rebels had won for them.

But the prediction would have missed its mark by several million miles. Instead, the Protestants who had been persecuted joined with the Protestants who had persecuted them, against the menace of an intrusion by the Catholics into the fold of political and religious freedom - 'Civil and religious liberty'.

There is no use blaming them. It is common experience in history that as each order fought its way upward into the circle of the governing classes, it joined with its former tyrants... to curb the aspirations of those orders still unfree... In Ireland religious sects played the same game that elsewhere was played by economic or social classes...

This serves to illustrate the wisdom of the Socialist contention that as the working class has no subject class beneath it, therefore to the working class of necessity belongs the honour of being the class destined to put an end to class rule since, in emancipating it itself, it cannot help emancipating all other classes.

Individuals out of other classes must and will help, as individual Protestants have helped in the fight for Catholic emancipation; but on the whole the burden must rest upon the shoulders of the most subject class viz., the Catholic working class/.

If the North-East corner of Ireland is therefore the home of a people whose minds are saturated with conceptions of political activity fit only for the atmosphere of the 17th century; if the ideas of an all-embracing democracy, equally as insistent upon its duties as upon its rights, have as yet found poor lodgement here, the fault lies not with this generation of Protestant toilers but with those pastors and masters who deceived it and enclaved it... and deceived it in order that they might enslave it.

But as no good can come of blaming it, so also no good, but infinite evil, can come of truckling to it. Let the truth be told however ugly. Here the Orange working class are slaves in spirit because they have been reared up among a people whose conditions of servitude were more slavish than their own. In Catholic Ireland the working class are rebels in spirit and democratic in feeling because for hundreds of years they have found no class as lowly paid or as hardly treated as themselves.

Forward, August 2 1913

An Teanga Abú

Tá buann a fé leith ag gach uile theangain. Cá bhfuil an teanga comh nimhneach, searbh, magúil, meidhreach, grámhar, ceolmhar, bríomhar, gonta leis an nGaeilge? Teanga lán go bruach de ghrá í: amhráin mar 'Dónall Óg' agus 'Donncha Bán'. An focal 'tír-ghrá': nach fearr mar ainm an t-ainn sin ná 'patriotism' tá sé níos simplí, níos teo, níos cóngaraí don talamh. Máire Áine nó Caitlín Maude nó Nioclás Tóibín ag gabháil amhráin: ba dheacair Béarla a chur orthu siúd. Agus cad is brí le 'bodhrán' sa mBéarla? Nó conas adéarfá 'meitheal', sa mBéarla? Bíonn an Ghaeilge á labhairt againne, Éireannaigh, go fiú i ngan fhios dúinn féin.

'Is lú í an Ghaeilge ná an t-uisce sa ngloine sin', arsa seanfhear liom sa Liverpool Bar, tráth (agus pionta aige). D'fhéadfaí Béarla a chur, ar shlí, ar an abairt chráite sin. Ach do chaillfí an fuinneamh, an briseadh croí. Seanóir eile, i gConamara, ar seisean liom: 'Áá, a mhac, ná bí ag briseadh báid!'

Is íontach an gléas í an Ghaeilge agus sibh thar sáile: is féidir chuile shórt a rá, agus ní bheidh fhios ag na póilíní ná ag na h-ocastóirí, Ach abair leo (ní h-iaid na sasanaigh atá i gceist agam anois) gurb í an Ghaeilge atá á labhairt agaibh, agus méadófar go mór, agus i gcónaí, ar a meas oraibhse, agus ar Éirinn. Agus, ba í litriocht na Gaeilge an chéad litriocht dhúchais (iarLaidin) in Iarthar Eorpa.

Ach thar aon ní eile, agus níos mó ná riamh, is í teanga na coismhuintire í an Ghaeilge. Caithfidh muintir na cathrach é sin a thuiscint: thuig an Beachanach go beacht é. Dun Chaoin: 'feall comh mór leis an gComhargadh'. Gaeilge a labhairt in Éirinn fé láthair, is geall le tréas (no petrol-bomb) é - sé sin, le reabhlóid. 'In Northern Ireland Catholics are Blacks who happen to have white skins': d'fhéadfaí an rud céanna a rá, beagnach, faoi mhuintir na Gaeltachta. Ní dheanfaid dear-mad go deo ar na h-ocastóirí i nGaillimh nuair a labhair mé Gaeilge leo: tarcaisne comh lofa sin ní fheaca mé riamh. Ach le cúnamh Dé, beidh lá eile ag an bPaorach - Gael Power. Mar is í an Ghaeilge cuisle na hÉireann, deárna na saoirse. Gan teanga, beidh ceol fós againn. Ach ní bheidh ceol na bhfocal againn, ceol ár mbriathar feinig.

Linguicide is Genocide

Every language has its own special virtues. Few languages can be so venomous, bitter, mocking, gay, loving, melodious, strong and concise as Irish. It's a tongue brimming with love: in songs like 'Dónall Óg' and 'Donncha Bán'. Isn't the term 'tírghrá' (literally, love of country) a better name than 'patriotism'? It's simpler, warmer, nearer the earth itself. When Máire Áine or Caitlín Maude or Nioclás Tóibín are singing it wouldn't be easy to put English on them. And what does 'bodhrán' mean in English? What's the English for 'meitheal'? The Irish are often speaking Irish even without meaning it.

'Is lú í an Ghaeilge ná an t-uisce sa ngloine sin', an old man said to me once in the Liverpool Bar, drinking a pint. You could put English, of a sort, on that hunted statement (There's less Irish left than the water in that glass.) But it loses the force, the heartbreak. Another old man, in Connemara, said to me: 'Áá, mhac, ná bí ag briseadh báid!'

Irish is a great weapon when you're abroad, Irish is the language of the oppressed. City people ought to understand that; Behan understood it clearly. Dún Chaoin: 'a betrayal worse than the Common Market'. To speak Irish in Ireland today is the next thing to treason (or a petrol bomb) - in other words, to revolution. 'In Northern Ireland Catholics are blacks who happen to have white skins'; you could nearly say the same about the people of the Gaeltacht. I'll never forget the Galway city hucksters when I spoke to them; I never saw such lousy contempt. But with God's help we'll rise again - Gael Power. For Irish is the pulse of Ireland. But it won't be the music of words, of our words.

P. Hutchinson

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So working class unite,
And come and join our fight,
Let's fight for a Socialist Republic now.

You've heard of Fianna Fail, from Cork to Donegal,
They still claim to be Republican,
But there is no doubt,
That they have sold us out,
Let's fight for a Socialist Republic now.

You workers must unite, the Capitalist we must fight,
Exploitation we must end,
Stand by your demands,
The power's in your hands,
Let's fight for a Socialist Republic now.

Listen to what I say, come join the I.R.A.
Stand by the ideals of Connolly,
Let us agitate,
Organize and smash the state,
Let's fight for a Socialist Republic now.

We talk of Liberty, Ireland one and Ireland free,
That day we will have Equality,
So stand together now,
Let's raise our Starry Plough,
It's the flag of our Socialist Republic now.

Prisoners Dance

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Clann Raffle

The raffle which was drawn on September 30 was a tremendous success and thanks are due to all who helped to make it so. 50 prizes, the handwork of Long Kesh internees, have been sent to the winners. A full list of prize winners can be obtained from Clann Na hEireann, 318 Lillie Road, London S.W.6.

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TWO OF A KIND

It would appear that the First Battalion, Staffordshire Regiment, are attempting to challenge the record of the First Battalion, Paras, as the most brutal regiment in the British Army. A statement issued by the Pearse Republican Club, Armagh, accuses them of moving into the Upper Irish Street area of Armagh and occupying it for over three hours.

The statement adds that the officer in charge systematically burst open the doors of five houses and finding that they were empty, left, leaving the front doors ajar.

Not content with that the soldiers tried to carry out an arrest operation in a local public house but were prevented by the people of the area.

Only a few days later the same Battalion was responsible for the murder of two members of the Republican Movement. Who knows, if they keep this up their CO might get an OBE like Wilford, the CO of the Paras on Bloody Sunday.

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COMMUNISM, THE CHURCH AND THE IRA

The Catholic Hierarchy denounced the United Irishmen in 1798. Dr Tracy, Archbishop of Dublin, instructed his priests that 'if in confession any plot against the existing government was disclosed to the priest he would be bound to give information to the government that such plot was in agitation.'

In 1803, when Robert Emmet was on trial for his life, the Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh presented to the Lord Lieutenant an address pledging loyalty to the British Government and denouncing Emmet.

On September 14th 1808 the Catholic Bishops of Ireland meeting in Synod passed a resolution urging the Pope to appoint as Bishops 'only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty.'

In 1847 the annual assembly of Bishops met in Tuam and declared that the Young Irishmen were 'infidels'.

The attitude of the hierarchy to the Fenian movement was best summed up by Bishop Moriarty of Kerry in his notorious statement in 1867 that 'Hell is not hot enough nor eternity long enough to punish such miscreants.'

Death Penalty

The Land League which, led by Michael Davitt, broke the back of landlordism in Ireland was denounced by Archbishop McCabe in pastoral statements in September 1879, October 1880 and October 1881.

On May 11th 1883 the Pope issued a rescript 'condemning disaffection to the English Government in Ireland'.

In 1916 the 'Irish Catholic' demanded the death penalty for the leaders of the Easter Rising.

Since then Republicans have been derided, denounced and in many cases excommunicated by the church authorities.

In recent years there were those who thought that times had changed and that the church no longer lined up its battalions alongside those of British Imperialism to oppose a Radical movement of the Irish people. But times have not changed, as statements in the last few weeks have shown.

Slandered

One thing, though, has certainly changed. This time we are going to fight back. In the past it has always been considered inadvisable for an organisation hoping for the support of the people to answer the Church back or engage in open dispute with its representatives. Many people have advised us to ignore the current hullabulloo and not to mention any priest by name. We will not take this advice. We have been slandered, misrepresented and vilified in every newspaper in this country and from every pulpit in this city and it is not in our nature to take it lying down.

The most vociferous of our clerical critics has been Father Hugh O'Neill of St Eugene's Cathedral. Three quotes convey the full flavour of his pronouncements.

'Let the faction that calls itself Official know that they need not try to con the people that they are not communist.' (Fr. O'Neill to the Rosemount Tenants and Ratepayers Association, 21 May.)

'The Official IRA are not really the IRA at all. They are just communists putting themselves forward as the IRA.' (Fr. O'Neill on BBC Radio, 25 May.)

'Every word that Cathal Goulding utters is communist.' (Fr. O'Neill, 'Sunday Press', 28 May.)

Father O'Neill has not, of course, been alone. Father Rooney and Father Mulvey have been equally forthright, if less publicised. And on Sunday June 4 every pulpit in the town was turned into a political platform for a coordinated series of anti-republican diatribes.

Let us first of all get one thing very clear. We are not a Catholic organisation. We never said we were. Our brand of republicanism is secular. There are Catholics in our organisation. There are Protestants in it, though not nearly as many as we would like. And there are people in it who are neither Catholic nor Protestant. We are perfectly happy to have them all as members. We do not ask people what religion they profess or whether they profess any religion at all when they apply to join. One of the curses of this area for ages past has been the identification of religion with politics. We are not part of that set-up. We are fighting to destroy it. We are out for a socialist Ireland in which religion will be a matter for a man's private conscience.

We know - we know now better than ever before - that in the struggle for that socialist Ireland we will have to fight against more than the traditional British enemy. For, flanking our clerical opponents, we now have a whole crop of resurrected anti-republican ideologues. They are the chairwomen of women's peace committees, members of this, that and the other committee, commission and campaign. They have erupted on to the local scene after a lifetime of silent anonymity and seeming unconcern about the evils which have blighted this area, immediately to become the darlings of the Tory press as they vie with one another in their denunciations of Official Republicanism. Where have they been up to now? They talk of the problems of the area, of 'peace', of 'justice'. They have a cool nerve.

Sneered

Tom Doherty, building contractor and resigned nationalist councillor; Frank P. McCauley, who hides behind the pseudonym 'Onlooker' in his M'Carthyite 'Derry Journal' column; John Maultsaid, who has now declared himself 'eligible' again for membership of the Police committee: men of such stamp sat on the platform at the set-up meeting in the Creggan school and refused Johnnie White, O.C. of the Official IRA in Derry, the right to speak - he was told that he was 'alien to the people'. An alien? From *Leenan Gardens!*

Johnnie White, with many other Officials, was on the streets of this city when the street was not a very fashionable place to be, when activists were being sneered and laughed at from behind half the curtains in the Bogside, when the 'peacemakers' who now, at the tail-end of their lives, have found a voice, were sitting at home sipping their cocoa and watching the action on telly. And now they tell us that they are taking over! Some chance, friends, some chance.

Anyone from Whitelaw down, or up, who is banking on that happening can forget it. This is not the final struggle. We have no illusions about that. It will take many differing forms and these will be reflected in our movement, but we will keep at it. We are here to stay. Mrs. Hipsley, Mr. Doherty, Father O'Neill, Mrs. Barr, Mr. Maultsaid, Father Mulvey and all other members of the local William Whitelaw fan club can put that in their collective pipe and smoke it and we hope it chokes them.

The above article has been reprinted from the *Starry Plough*, paper of the Republican Movement in Derry. It will be our practice in Rosc Catha to reprint articles of this nature from the local papers of Sinn Fein and the Republican Clubs.

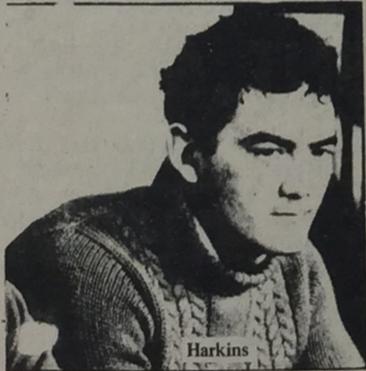
France



Members of the French-Irish Solidarity Committee at an outdoor exhibition of photos organised to bring home to the French people the truth of British Imperial domination of the Six Counties. The French-Irish Solidarity Committees are undergoing a reorganisation at both regional and national level and it is hoped that when this is completed they will be more effective in their task of mobilising opinion against British Imperialism.



MICHAEL HARKINS - WHERE IS HE?



JOSEPH MICHAEL HARKINS AGE 22
EX-PRIVATE 1ST BATTALION, QUEENS LANCASHIRE REGIMENT. STATIONED IN FLAX ST BARRACKS, BELFAST. DESERTED AFTER BLOODY SUNDAY. ARRESTED ABOUT SIX WEEKS LATER IN ROCK FERRY, CHESHIRE. COURTMARTIALED AND SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS.

HIS MOTHER, AN OLD AGE PENSIONER, HAS NOT HEARD FROM, OR OF HIM SINCE.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE!

Like many other soldiers at present serving in Ireland Michael Harkins joined the British Army because of unemployment. He did so against the advice of his mother to whom he was always very close. He never settled down to Army life and became increasingly disgusted at the role the British Army plays in the Six Counties. Bloody Sunday was the last straw for him and his friend Colin Demet and they turned themselves and their weapons over to the Irish Republican Army. When his mother fell

ill some weeks later Michael returned to Liverpool to see her. He was picked up, sent to rejoin his regiment in Belfast and transferred with them to Germany where he received a sentence of five years.

His mother, Mrs Anne Harkins, is in her seventies, a proud woman with a good home built up through years of work and worry. Worry is something she has not been short of. She has lost two sons through sudden deaths and now Michael. The woman is frantic with worry that she may not see her son again before she dies. As if that wasn't enough some of the hard men in the neighbourhood decided that they would punish her for Michael's desertion. Like the brave men they are called her grandchildren IRA bastards and smashed the windows of her house. Can you imagine the courage it must have taken to do that? Men like that should be in the British Army where their talents can be used to their full extent. Fortunately Mrs Harkins will not be short of friends to defend her and her family against scum like that.

It wasn't only neighbours that Mrs Harkins had to worry about. The great British Press harassed her for days, 'borrowed' all her photographs of Michael and forgot to return them. Police and Army officers visited her to ask questions and promised that as soon as the case was cleared up that she would get full details of his situation. Apart from the Press and TV coverage at the time she has heard nothing. Visits to the local police station also produced no result.

According to the best available advice the fastest way to find out Michael's whereabouts is through one H. Wilson, the MP for that constitu-

ency. Mrs Harkins has recently written to him appealing for help. Even if he does help some questions will still have to be answered. Why did the Army not inform Mrs Harkins of her son's whereabouts? How is it that a man who was very close to his mother and who always wrote to her regularly has not contacted her since he was arrested? According to reliable sources military prisoners are normally encouraged, indeed almost forced, to write to their next of kin. Why not Michael Harkins? Is he in England or Germany? What are his conditions of imprisonment like? Knowing the treatment of Republican prisoners we have no illusions as to how they would treat a prisoner whom they regarded as a traitor. A traitor to British Imperialism perhaps but as far as we are concerned a class-brother. Rosc Catha and Clann na hEireann will spare no effort in finding Michael Harkins and forcing the public spotlight on his situation. We ask and will go on asking - WHERE IS MICHAEL HARKINS?

Stop Press

MICHAEL HARKINS

A couple of days ago, Michael's mother, Mrs Anne Harkins, received a visit from a Special Branch man who told her that she would hear of Michael's whereabouts 'but it would be some time before she heard.' Presumably this is the reaction to the letter which was sent to Harold Wilson. We repeat, it is about six months since Michael was arrested. Mrs Harkins cannot be expected to wait another six. Exactly what is going on that they will not tell Mrs Harkins of Michael's whereabouts? There is something very peculiar going on and we demand to know what it is.
WHERE IS MICHAEL HARKINS?

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