



# THE STARRY PLOUGH

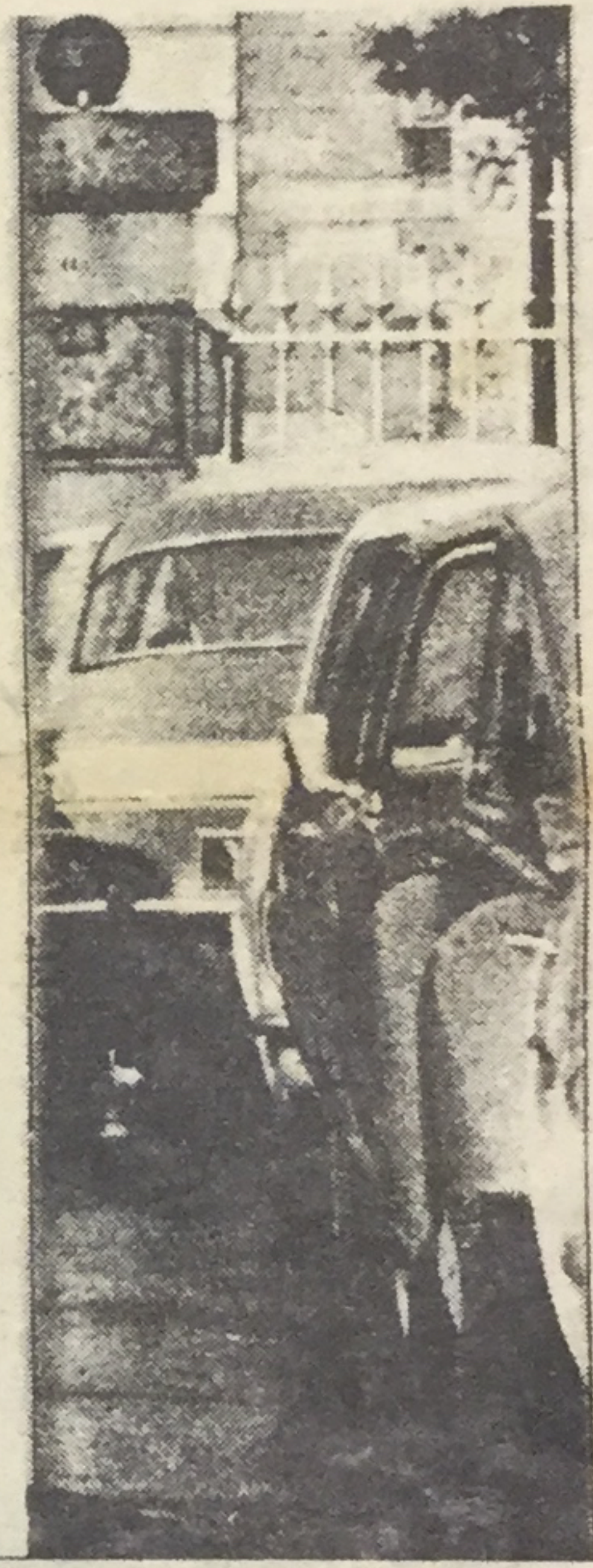
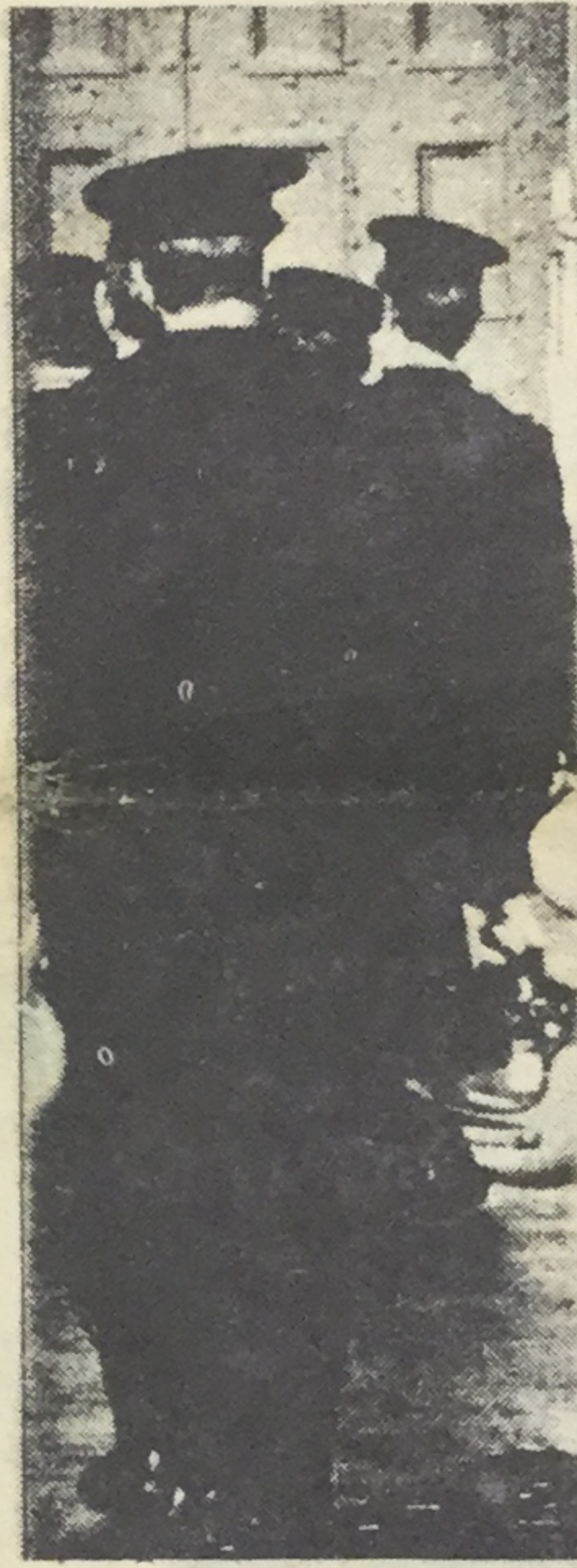
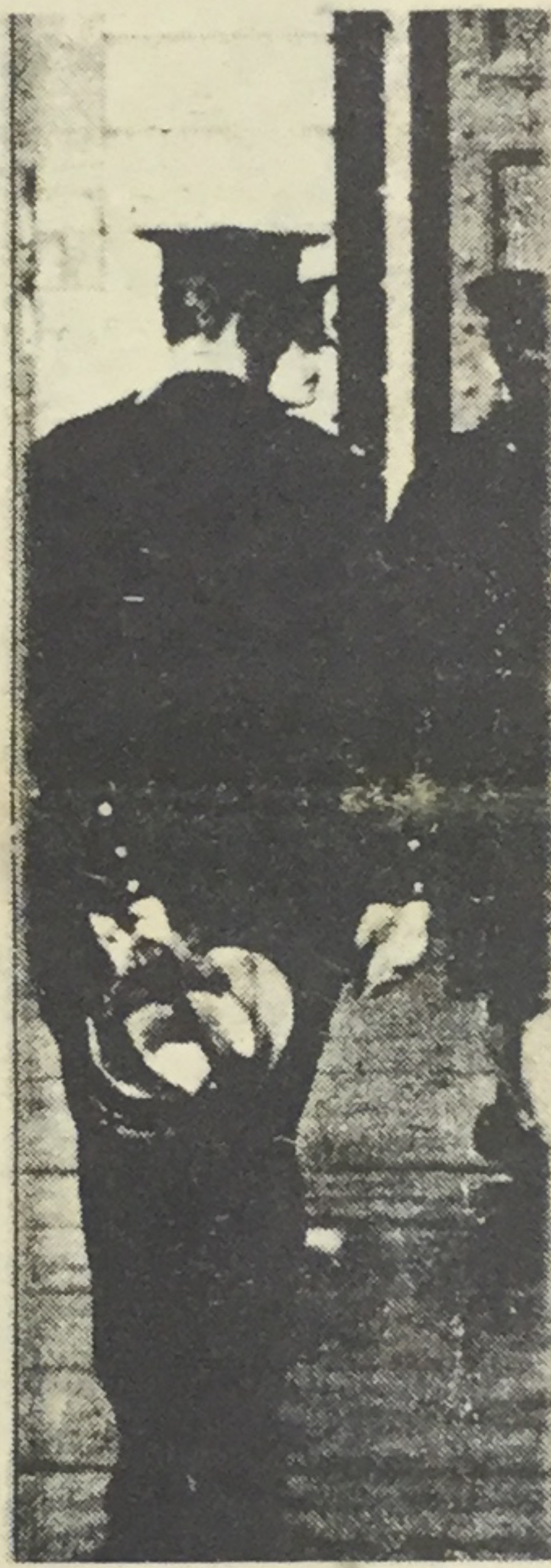
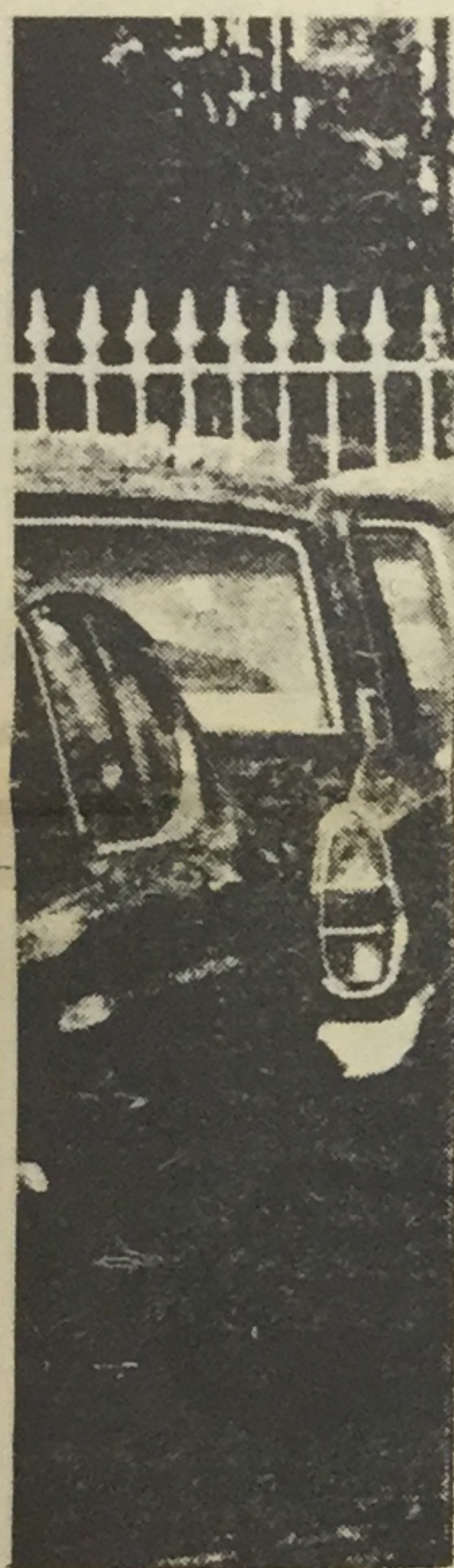
An Camchéachta

8p.

Vol. 1 No. 7

Deire Fomhar '75

## WORKERS TO BE JAILED ?



STATUTORY-WAGE 'AGREEMENT' THREAT



licenced to kill  
see page 3



SECTARIANISM

BRITAIN'S BRAINCHILD

see page 5



I.R.S.P.

in BOSTON

see page 8

In the September issue of the Starry Plough we warned that the government was threatening that it would introduce statutory wage agreements if the unions did not agree to a revised National Wage Agreement. On September 23rd the government threatened to recall the Dail and Seanad to enact legislation on wage claims. Both threats must be taken seriously and seen as not only a threat to workers to 'agree' to national wage 'agreements' but also that the government is now committed to bringing the full force of the state to bear on workers to limit even further their meagre wages.

Apart from the theory that wage agreements always suit the bosses we have in the last two agreements indisputable proof that the workers were forced into accepting a reduced living standard. Since the threat was made the unions and the bosses have come to an agreement on a revision of the current National Wage Agreement. When workers see, as they must, that the revised agreements still forces them to live with an inadequate living standard and that the agreement has tied their hands they will be forced to act to better those living standards. In such a case it is clear that the government will introduce legislation to hinder the unions demands. **IF WORKERS BREAK THIS LEGISLATION THEY WILL BE JAILED.**

# Eagarfhocal

In the last two agreements, the government has stayed in the background, even though they were fully in favour and did all in their power to ensure a successful (from their point of view) national wage agreement. Successful, because it divided the unions and made the union leadership partners of the bosses and government in breaking strikes outside the national wage agreement, however justified such strikes were. It also further linked unions and management and brought the unions further away from its role of demanding workers rights and from being the independent voice of workers. That is the whole idea of wage agreements. Now, however, the government is openly showing it is on the side of the bosses and that National Wage Agreements **MUST** be made and that they are here to stay. If the unions won't accept them then the government will enforce them. That leaves the unions little choice.

But the choice must be made, however unpalatable it may seem to the unions. They must now clearly see that wage agreements suit the bosses. Why else would capitalism be willing to risk a major

confrontation with workers if it was not essential that such agreements be made. The role of the Trade Unions is not to help capitalism in its problems by making workers bear the brunt. The unions must maintain their independence from the bosses and demand a complete overhaul of the capitalist system that continually causes hardship that workers are forced to suffer. They must examine the system and demand the control of the means of production, distribution and exchange by workers. It is the only solution.

The velvet gloves of capitalism have been removed to show the mailed fist of force and oppression that maintains capitalism. Capitalism's silver tongue, with its lies, cannot hide this most obvious threat to workers. It must be resisted or else not only will workers continue to pay for the crisis of capitalism, with reduced living standards, but the Trade Union Movement will become a broken spirited voice of the worker reduced to an organisation of "yes sir" and "right away sir" and such like phrases.

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## WHAT WE THINK

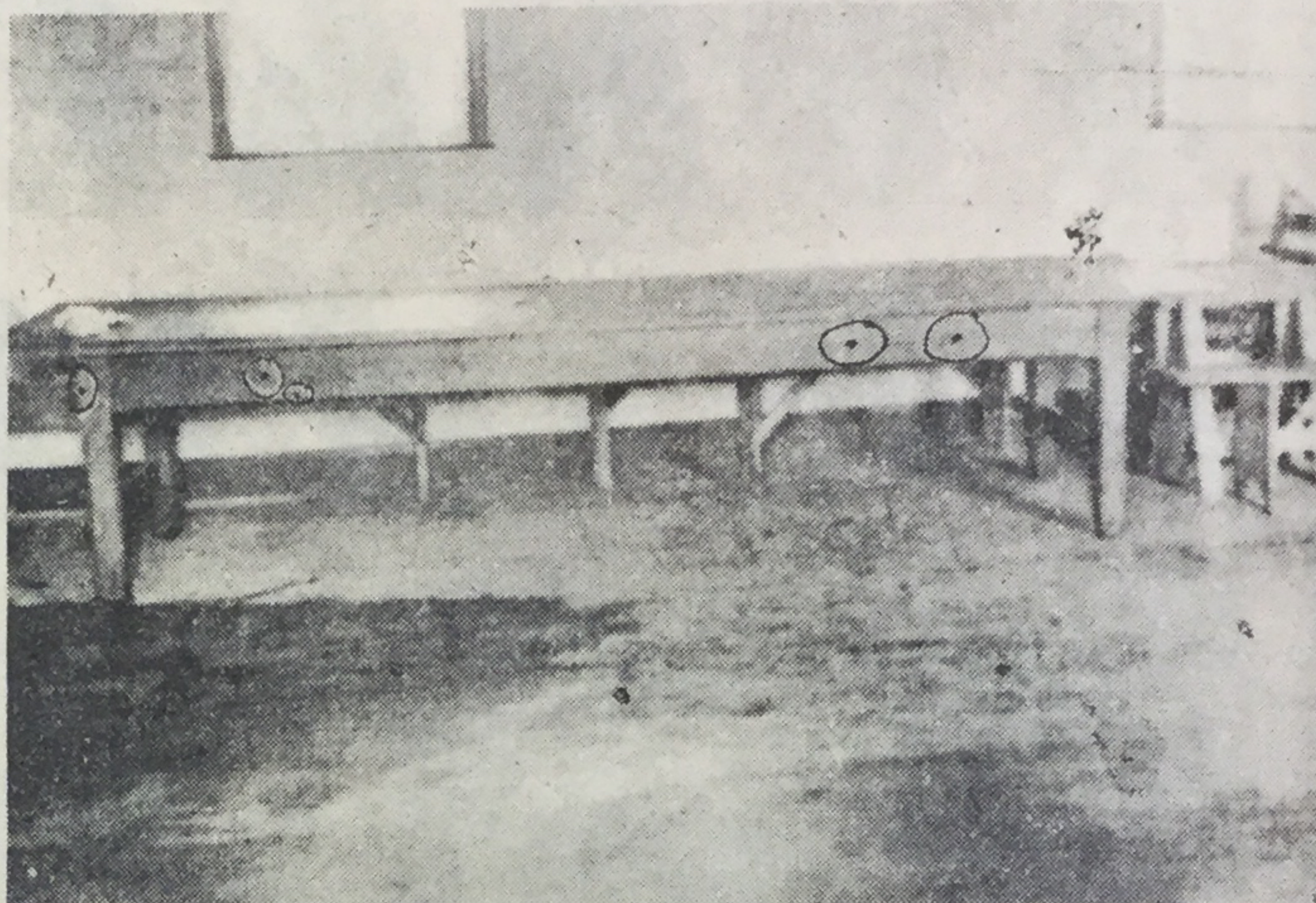
In a news report in the Irish Press during the month the IRSP was reported to be linked, along with the Provisionals, with the recently announced South Armagh Republican Action Force who have claimed responsibility for the killings at the Orange hall at Newtownhamilton. **WE WISH TO DENY** any connection with this grouping and we wish to make it clear that we reject sectarian tit for tat killings as a reaction to the current British inspired Loyalist assassination of Catholics and Nationalists.

We wish also to re-iterate that we do not have a Military Wing, and that incidents

such as the indiscriminate killings at the Orange hall are politically counter productive and weaken the overall anti-imperialist movement.

To ensure that the current struggle for National Liberation does not degenerate into a sectarian campaign against Protestants as a reaction to the Loyalist murder campaign of Catholics, we call on all anti-imperialist organisations to recognise the need for a more unified approach to the National Liberation struggle.

Unity of action through a broad front can ensure the maximum number of people are mobilised to forward the struggle in the North against British imperialism.

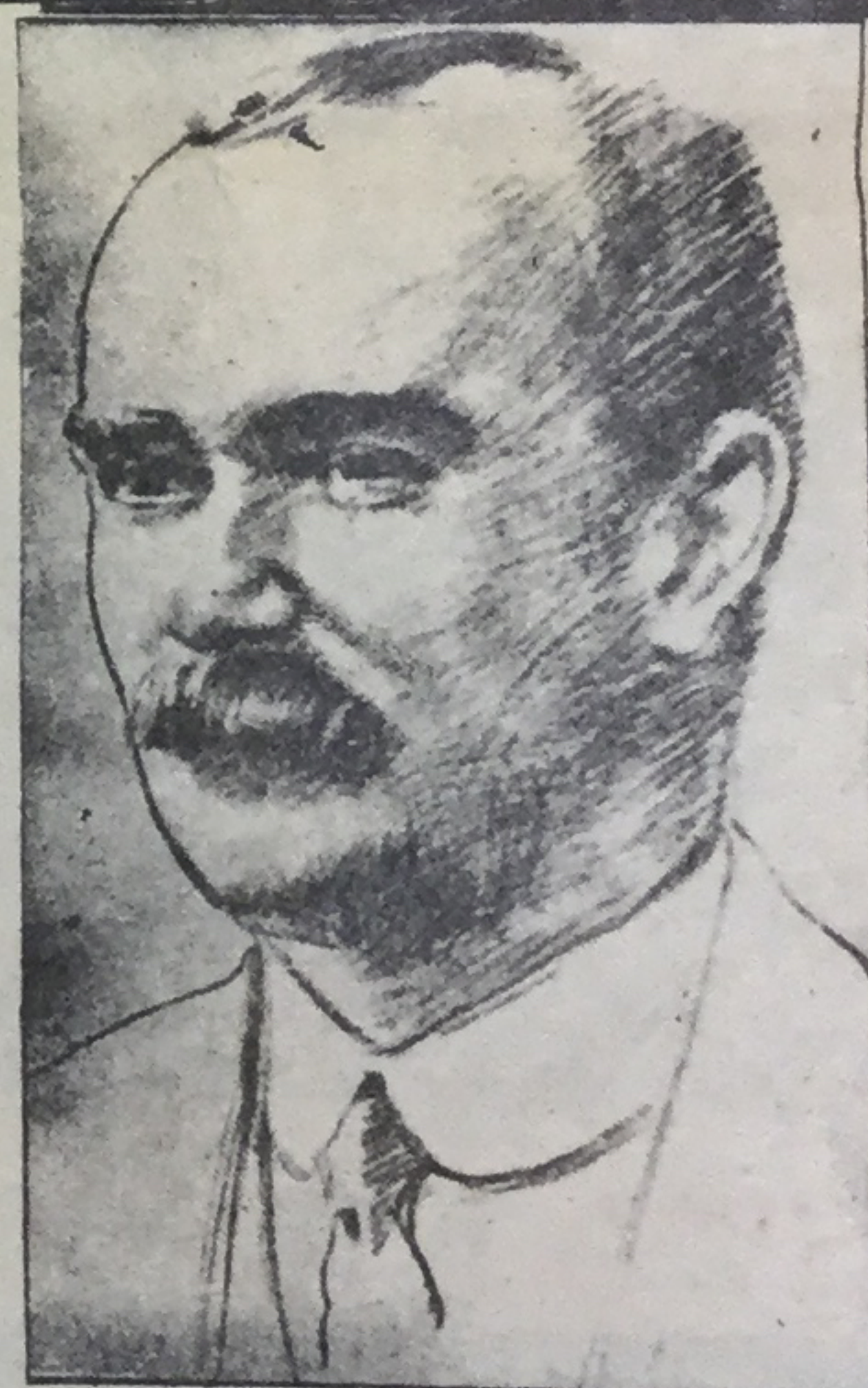


The interior of the Orange Hall at Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh, where four men were shot dead

## Connolly's Corner

**JAMES CONNOLLY**, like all radicals and revolutionaries was ignored by historians and the Press who support what these same radicals and revolutionaries spent their lives attacking. They ignore the greatness of the men or women concerned and their actual contribution to society. It is such with James Connolly.

Connolly's Corner gives our readers an opportunity to read some snippets from various writings by Connolly, to follow interpretations of what he meant and to give them an opportunity of seeing Connolly as he really was, through his writings. (His writings are available from us



*Would you confiscate the property of the capitalist class and rob men of that which they have, perhaps, worked a whole lifetime to accumulate?*

Yes, sir, and certainly not.

We would certainly confiscate the property of the capitalist class, but we do not propose to rob anyone. On the contrary, we propose to establish honesty once and forever as the basis of our social relations. This Socialist movement is indeed worthy to be entitled **The Great Anti-Theft Movement of the Twentieth Century.**

You see, confiscation is one great certainty of the future for every business man outside of the trust. It lies with him to say if it will be confiscation by the Trust in the interest of the Trust, or confiscation by Socialism in the interest of ALL.

If he resolves to continue to support the capitalist order of society he will surely have his property confiscated. After having, as you say, "worked for a whole lifetime to accumulate" a fortune, to establish a business on what he imagined would be a sound foundation, on some fine day the Trust will enter into competition with him, will invade the market, use their enormous capital to undersell him at ruinous prices, take his customers from him, ruin his business, and finally drive him into bankruptcy, and perhaps to end his days as a pauper.

That is capitalist confiscation! It is going on all around us, and every time the business man who is not a Trust Magnate votes for capitalism, he is working to prepare that fate for himself.

On the other hand, if he works for Socialism it also will confiscate his property. But it will only do so in order to acquire the industrial equipment necessary to establish a system of society in which the

cont. P.6

# british 'justice'

1,300 complaints  
- 8 convictions!

Despite the proof that has filtered through the press down the years people still tend to think that such a thing as an impartial law exists in the North. This is no doubt due to the continuous rantings in the media of the role of 'law and order' 'security forces' and such other gobbledey gook. *In the following report we have examined the 46 cases that took place in Northern Ireland between September 1973 and May 1975, from information received from the Belfast Telegraph and the Irish News.*

This report clearly shows that British Justice is aimed at supporting any action by imperialism and its agents against the nationalist population and gives the armed thugs of British imperialism a free hand to assault and kill working class people without fear of serious punishment.

In this period 46 cases came before the courts of Northern Ireland concerning assaults, malicious wounding, murder and attempted murder. They were brought against 20 privates, 5 corporals, 5 sergeants 5 R.U.C. men, 10 officers and one U.D.R. man.

This is the result:

Acquitted:	26
Conditional Discharge	1
Fines (average £20)	10
Suspended sentences	4

The remaining five defendants pleaded guilty and the results that followed their cases are just as startling.

The 5 pleaded guilty to

Slitting trousers of youth with knife	£50 fine
Assault	acquitted (!)
Assault and actual bodily harm (2)	6 months suspended
Assault	1 year suspended

All this is not surprising. The forces of Law and Order are there to implement the law.

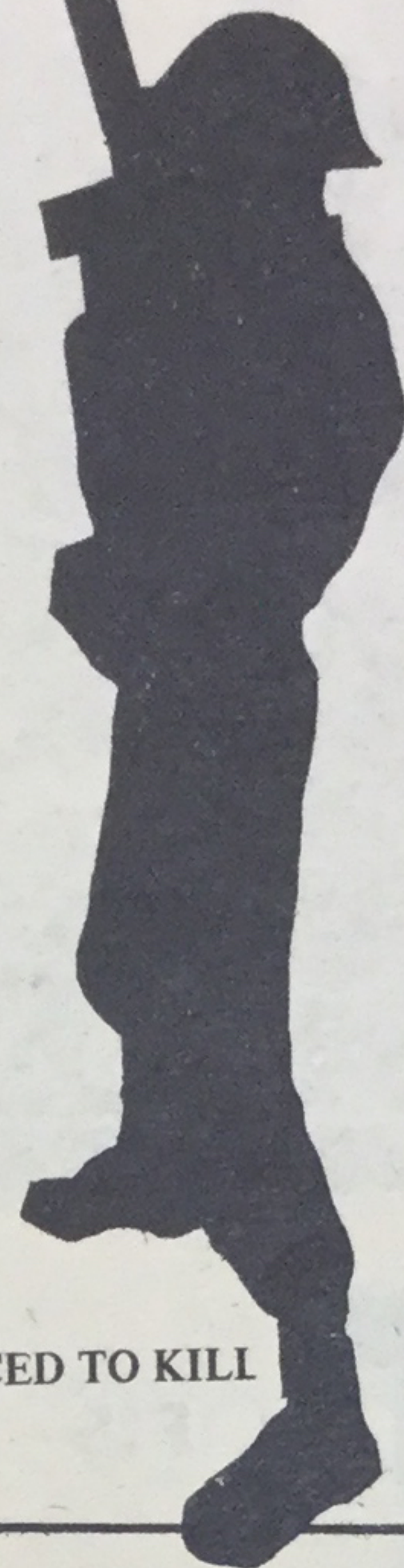
In capitalist countries and all colonies under their control, the law backs up Capitalism. As the contradictions within capitalism become more apparent (unemployment, bad living conditions etc.) and the working class and even sections of the middle class begin to oppose capitalism, the forces of law and order are brought in to keep the people as quiet as possible. Tougher and more repressive laws are enforced. To ensure the loyalty of the forces of law and order they are literally given a licence to kill.

How could the authorities imprison its defenders (the forces of Law and Order) for crimes they commit and then hope that they would unquestioningly carry out orders to ruthlessly oppress the people? Naturally, the forces of law and order would be afraid of retaliation from the authorities. That is why they can get away with murder. And they invariably do.

However, to assure the world of their 'fairness' the authorities have to put up some kind of a show when it is common knowledge that the Forces of Law and Order are continuously being accused of oppression. So they hold mock trials and only actually convict in very few cases, as the above report shows.

## demands

The I.R.S.P. demands the abolition of all repressive legislation North and South, the immediate withdrawal of British troops, an amnesty for all those imprisoned in the anti-imperialist struggle (whether they are jailed or victimised because of their military activities or because of their activities in protests such as the rents and rates strike), the immediate disarming and disbandment of the U.D.R., R.U.C., and R.U.C.-Reserve. The implementation of these demands are essential if the people of Northern Ireland and Ireland as a whole are to live in a society where the law will defend the people's rights impartially.



LICENCED TO KILL

IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS OVER £2 MILLION HAS BEEN PAID OUT IN COMPENSATION for injuries received by civilians at the hands of the British Army and the R.U.C. The actual figure should, of course, be much greater as the British government would only want to pay out as little as possible, both from a financial point of view and also because paying more would seriously question what kind of Law and Order brigade it paid. One should also remember that thousands of people wouldn't even bother to register complains as they would either see it as a waste of time or simply be afraid, or both.

- Of 1,300 complaints concerning assault made against the R.U.C. The result has been eight convictions!
- In 1973, complaints concerning criminal offences made against the R.U.C. totalled 330. The Director of Prosecutions only recommended prosecution in three cases!
- Out of 380 similar complaints registered against the R.U.C. in 1974 there were only 7 prosecutions.

Now you know why the R.U.C. or any other similar group, are unwelcome and actively resisted in all nationalist areas. Britain's puppet government in the 26 Cos. accepts the R.U.C. and actively collaborates with them in exchanging information and catching fugitives from British justice'.

**DONNEGAN'S AIM:** Locking up republicans and collaborating with British imperialism. £100 million of your money was spent. He considers it more important than providing '12,000 houses for the homeless'.



## CHILD MURDERED BY BRITISH TROOPS

TURF LODGE SEPTEMBER 13th, 11 p.m. A 17-year old youth stepped out of a taxi to meet his girlfriend. But he never saw her. A shot rang out and he fell dead. "Say it was a sniper's bullet" said one of the gunmen. "If he is not finished now we'll finish him off" said another. The voices belonged to members of a Black Watch British Army patrol.

Having shot Leo Thorney, British soldiers then raided his home at 4 a.m. on Sunday and told his mother that her son was "missing". They found nothing incriminating. At 3 o'clock on Sunday his mother found out that he was dead.

The British Army version of the shooting was that 'a patrol was fired on by a sniper and the fire was returned, hitting a gunman. The weapon, nor the second man was ever found'.

At a press conference held in Turf Lodge on the following Tuesday by people who saw Leo Norney before he was shot the following was revealed: his taxi was searched by another Black Watch patrol only three minutes before he was shot and nothing was found. Four 15-year old youths who were passing nearby and who heard the shot, were told by the British Army patrol to lie face down on the ground. It was they who heard the exchanges between the British soldiers of "finishing him off".

### HANDS MUTILATED

Mrs. Norney said that her sons hand and fingers had been beaten to a pulp before his body was delivered to her home. "My son is dead. His murderer may think he has got away with legalised murder. The soldier who shot my son is a murderer. There is nothing more nor less to it than that" continued Mrs. Norney.

No charge has even been brought against any member of the patrol.



● According to the Arklow Cumann I.R.S.P. most local firms are employing a labour force from outside Arklow town, many of which are non-union members. They call on the local Trade Union Movement to back the following demands:

1. Only 100% Union labour be employed
2. Each firm to employ not less than 75% local labour.
3. No discrimination towards workers on political grounds.

One of the biggest offenders is the state-owned Nitrogen Eireann Teoranta fertilizer factory where only a small section of its work force is drawn from the locality. Many people believe that jobs are being handed out for political reasons, as "jobs for the boys".

In the last eight weeks workers at two Arklow factories have taken industrial action demanding local labour be employed when a large number of unemployed existed in the Arklow area. ●

DIVIS FLATS, Belfast. Stephen Geddie, a ten year old boy, was provoked into stoning members of the Anglican Regiment by their bullying tactics. Many local youths of both sexes have been assaulted by this regiment. A barricade was built across a nearby street by local people, who stoned members of the regiment. The barricade was set alight when the British Army moved in to dismantle it. The British Army retaliated by firing a four inch long plastic bullet weight about half a pound, straight at 10-year old Stephen who died the following Saturday.

No charge has been brought against the British soldier concerned.



20,000  
MORE  
FOR  
DOLE

UNEMPLOYMENT CONTINUES TO SOAR  
North, there are now 55,000 unemployed, an  
This does not include thousands of school leav  
the 670 workers who recently lost their jobs at  
associate plants in the last month. In the South  
that at least 20,000 more workers will be with  
THESE FIGURES HIGHLIGHT the economic  
bearing in mind that workers have little or no  
be blamed for this crisis. It is a crisis caused by  
inflation of capitalism and it is inevitable as lon  
capitalist hands.  
This being the case one would expect that th  
blame and attempt to remedy the situation. Bu  
being made to pay. It is they who are accused  
demanding enough wages to live on. It is they  
queues to maintain capitalist profits.  
Ryan's recent claims of a cost of living  
reduction is nothing but a gimmick. If it is  
true it means that workers are being made  
to pay even more for an economic crisis  
they had no part in initiating. It means they  
are being forced to reduce their living  
standards even less, fearing capitalist threats  
of further deterioration in the economy -  
which they know means that they will have  
to bear the brunt.

THE HARD FACTS

At this stage a few facts must be obviously  
clear to workers. As long as they do not  
control the means of production, distribution  
and exchange, they cannot stop an economic  
crisis developing. In the event of an

RADIO TELEVISION ENGLAND



For the first time in history, one state proposes to broadcast, in toto, as a National service, the television service of another state. Trust Conor, he never missed it! In many ways, the whole idea seems ridiculous and preposterous - that a country which for 800 years has been fighting for its own freedom should now consider handing over to its enemy such an important weapon in the eventual gaining of that freedom.

Television is of course an extremely important weapon. It is widely accepted that television manipulates thought and behaviour. It promotes particular values, norms, attitudes, interests and outlooks. Television, through its immense influence over people's thinking processes, has the power to mould people's minds in a certain way, therefore making them react to circumstances according to a given pattern.

The present proposals of the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in regard to what he terms "open broadcasting" are for the re-broadcasting of B.B.C. 1 all over Ireland. This would immediately increase and spread British influence over all spheres of Irish life - cultural, social, and political and economic. Not only is Conor Cruise O'Brien proposing to allow the British to spread their propaganda in Ireland but is going to pay them to do so. Television, therefore, which could be used as an important aid to decolonisation in Ireland, is to be handed over to the British so that they can influence the way Irish people think and act.

He obviously wants to speed up the process of Anglicisation and acculturation therefore bringing about a closer political unity between these two islands. Although the British Government tried hard over the years to bring about the complete assimilation of Irish and British cultures they failed. The fact that they have failed is borne out by the fight for Irish freedom which continues today. If the British had completely subjugated the Irish people culturally they would no longer have either the desire nor the will to fight. But the Irish people are still fighting and this is what is so disturbing to the likes of Conor Cruise. In him the British have found their ally and right hand man.

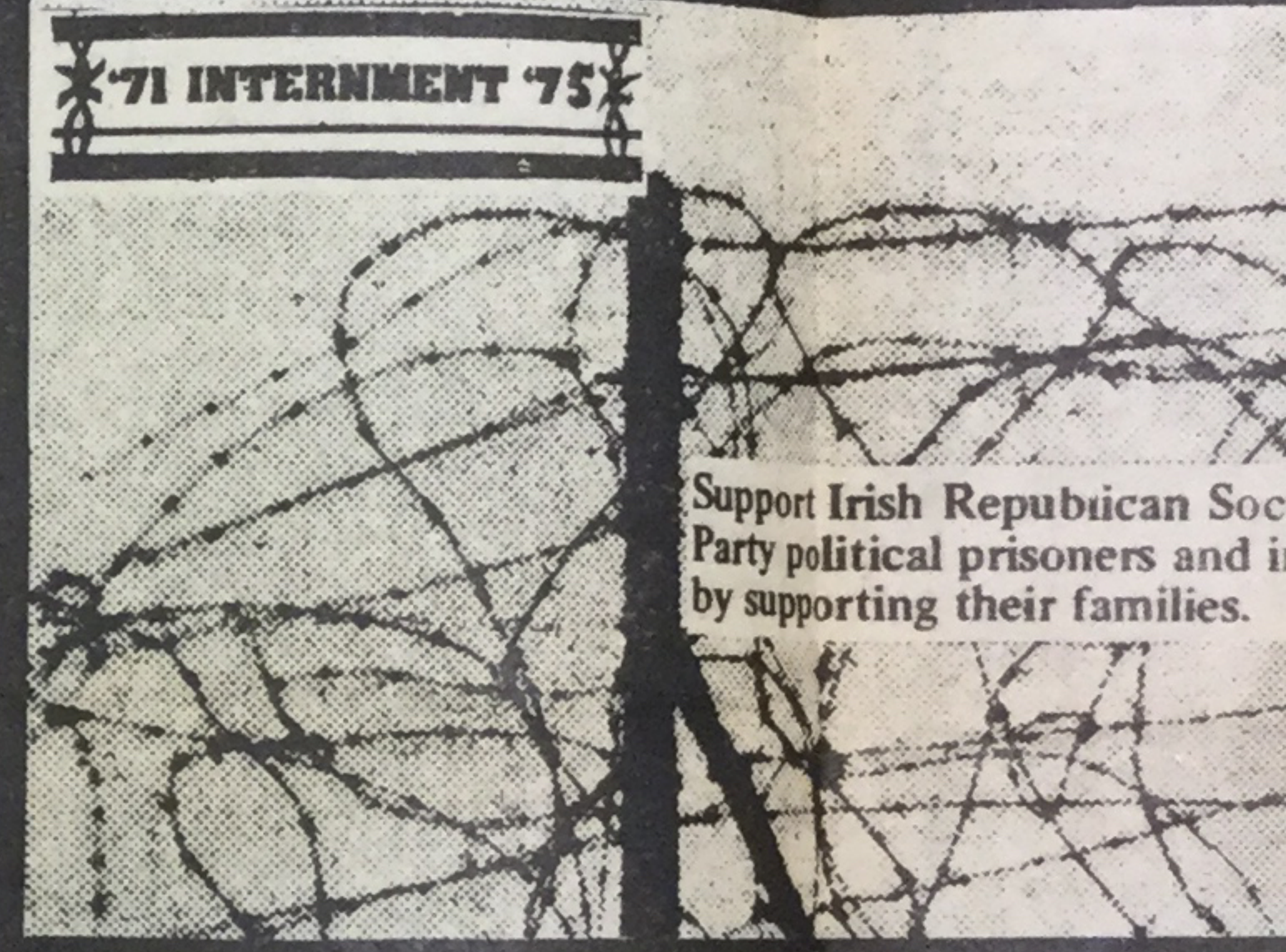
Colonialism has had serious effects, however, one of its most important being that of a national inferiority complex. There are people in Ireland who support Conor's plans. Although some of these are misled well meaning people, many are the products of colonialism - people who feel that the Irish are incapable of running a decent television service for themselves and must turn to the British for guidance. Others, like Conor Cruise,

their leader, wish to ensure the final and complete assimilation to a British way of life and British political system.

Television, if used correctly, can be an important aid to decolonisation. In order that we may gain our freedom, it must be used in this way in Ireland. We must view the Northern situation from an Irish point of view - not a British one. We must examine our economic problems in the light of the interests of the Irish working class and not the interests of British capitalists. We must give the Irish people a clear insight into the problems facing them. Irish and British interests are not the same. They are frequently the direct opposite. It is important to keep the Irish people aware of this fact. There should be no question of handing over control of a National television service to a foreign enemy.

R.T.E. as it stands is by no means without fault. It is controlled by the free-State government for their own interests. The question of television cannot be resolved under the present system of government because the present system is contrary to the interests of the Irish working class. It is only within a Socialist Republic that a broadcasting system in the true interests of the Irish people can be established. To hand over control to the British at this time would make the achievement of that Socialist Republic as well as the achievement of a decent broad-casting system extremely difficult if not near impossible in the future.

Let us make no mistake about it, however, Conor Cruise is well aware of what he is doing. In his book "States of Ireland", he discusses the effects of the spread of British Television on the people of the east coast of Ireland and writes "The Catholics of the Republic are somewhat more Anglicised than they were when Ireland was actually ruled by England. TELEVISION IS A MUCH MORE POWERFUL AGENT OF ACCULTURATION THAN THE BAYONET".



THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF THE STARRY PLOUGH published by the  
Rights Organisation's campaign to highlight our archaic penal  
condemned the arrest of picketing P.R.O. members and the s  
they received. The occasion for the picket was the case of Ka  
has been in and out of jail for the past 10 years and who has  
commit suicide on various occasions. The organisation has no  
that Karl Crowley has just had an operation to remove pieces  
from his stomach following another suicide attempt. The I.R.  
the P.R.O. demands that he receive proper hospital and psych  
treatment. Karl Crowley is kept continuously in the punishm  
Mountjoy Jail.

20 BOMBS IN R  
22nd September  
harassment, tort  
the ceasefire wo  
following day th  
Belfast, Derry, A  
whether the Pro  
disintegrate. Bu  
aimed only again  
on British troop

END SOON TO PROVISIONAL'S CEASFIRE?

I measc dreamanna eile a bhfuil an  
ghéarchéim sa gcóras caipitealach ag  
goilliúint orthu, tá daoine óga - go  
h-áirithe iad siúd atá díreach tar éis  
an scoil a fhágáil. Tá sé ag cinnt orthu  
postanna a fháil in áit ar bith. Tá go  
leor dreamanna nach bhfuil ag glacadh  
aon duine nua i mbliana agus tá na  
dreamanna eile ag gearradh síos go  
mor ar a gcuid foluntaisi.  
Léiríodh an fhadhb seo go soiléir i mbliana  
i gcás na mbancanna. Bhí 100 folúntas  
ann agus chuir 5,000 duine isteach ar na  
postanna sin. Le blianta anois is ar na  
bancanna a bhí go leor des na micléinn  
Árdeistimeireachta ag braith le post a  
fháil. I mbliana beidh orthu dul ag  
tóraíocht in áit eicint eile. Ach cén áit?  
Leis an ngéarchéim airgeadais atá ann, tá  
an fhadhb cheánna gach áit, níl postanna  
le fáil in áit ar bith. Ní féidir an fhadhb  
níl sé chomh simplí leis sin. Ar an gcead dul  
síos, ní bhfaighidh cailíní an cuanamh seo

ÓG -  
GAN  
muna bhfuil stamp  
scanallach ar bhon  
gceapann an Roinn  
féidir cailín a chos  
Is soiléir gur ní chu  
Ach tá fadhbann  
na mbuachaillí de  
sa mbaile, ní bhfa  
dí-fhostaíochta to  
gur fiú níos mó ar  
nó mar sin a gheo  
dí-fhostaíochta. N  
ar chor ar bith go  
tuismitheoirí leis  
duine a bheathú.  
Céard a tharla  
buachaill no cailí

EMPLOYMENT CONTINUES TO SOAR NORTH AND SOUTH. In the north, there are now 55,000 unemployed, an increase of 19,400 on last year. This does not include thousands of school leavers and adult students and 670 workers who recently lost their jobs at International Engineering or associate plants in the last month. In the South it is a generally accepted fact that at least 20,000 more workers will be without a job by Christmas. THESE FIGURES HIGHLIGHT the economic crisis in Ireland. However, in our mind that workers have little or no say in the economy they cannot be blamed for this crisis. It is a crisis caused by the overproduction and concentration of capitalism and it is inevitable as long as the economy remains in capitalist hands.

This being the case one would expect that the capitalists would accept the blame and attempt to remedy the situation. But the fact is that workers are not being made to pay. It is they who are accused of wrecking the economy for demanding enough wages to live on. It is they who are given the bleak dole in order to maintain capitalist profits.

The recent claims of a cost of living increase is nothing but a gimmick. If it is true it means that workers are being made to pay even more for an economic crisis they had no part in initiating. It means they are being forced to reduce their living standards even less, fearing capitalist threats of further deterioration in the economy - they know means that they will have to bear the brunt.

**HARD FACTS**

At this stage a few facts must be obviously stated to workers. As long as they do not control the means of production, distribution and exchange, they cannot stop an economic crisis from developing. In the event of an

economic crisis it is the worker who will pay as the capitalists continue to live their lives of luxury, in the best houses, eating the best foods, enjoying the best in education and leisure. Furthermore workers must know that agreements can only suck them further away from their role of the 'workers' protector' and into accepting the role of servant to capitalism by being granted an inadequate 'say' in the economy at the expense of their independence and militancy. Lastly, they know that money isn't worth the paper it's made of. With inflation likely to rise at anytime and beyond their control a new kind of wage must be demanded by workers - a £40 basic minimum wage and that wage

risers accompany the increased cost of living at a parallel. Otherwise their wage increases mean nothing as they'll always be back where they began - looking for a wage increase to offset the increased cost of living. In such a situation workers are not even bettering their living conditions, they are simply straining to keep them at one level.

Workers must demand the right to work, the right to a decent wage, the right to an overall control of the economy, so that they can both avert similar crises in the future by having a planned economy and also utilise the full potential of the nation to benefit the Irish people. Capitalism can never do that.

HOW SHOULD WORKERS MAKE ALL THESE DEMANDS? There already exists a vehicle from which to make those demands and that is the Trade Union movement. However there is also the need for action by the unemployed, through Unemployed Action Groups. Unemployed Action Groups could be in the forefront of this struggle alongside the trade union movement. While such a group could deal with ensuring that proper dole is allocated to the unemployed, its main work should be in opposing threatened redundancies and organising protests and marches on the demand of a full weeks work or a full weeks pay.

**britain's death card**



**Support Irish Republican Socialist Party political prisoners and internees by supporting their families.**

There is an urgent need for funds. Organise a fund raising function, hold a collection. Buy wallets, purses etc. from Long Kesh. Send your orders and donations to The Starry Plough, 1a Essex Gate, Dublin 8.

**LONG KESH SOUVENIRS**

**ENGRAVED LEATHER WALLETS** £3.00

**ENGRAVED LEATHER HANDBAGS** £25.00

**COLOURED WOODEN PLAQUES** £1.00

**THE ORANGE CARD**

AN EXAMPLE of the collusion between the British Army and the sectarian murder gangs is the case of the three sectarian killers who murdered a returned Australian emigrant and his daughter in North Belfast. We all read in the Press how his son chased the killers in his car only to be stopped at a British Army checkpoint. The killers, however, were let through. Even at this stage the killers could have been caught in the security net that can be thrown around any area by the

British Army. The killers got clean away even though they had to go through two more British Army checkpoints before dumping their car in a loyalist area. An S.A.S. pass card works wonders! The assassination campaign was initiated by Britain. It is maintained by Britain because it suits her to terrorise the nationalist population into accepting peace at any price, even the price of a British solution that benefits no-one except Britain.

ISSUE OF THE STARRY PLOUGH publicised the Prisoner's campaign to highlight our archaic penal system and that of picketing P.R.O. members and the subsequent sentences occasion for the picket was the case of Karl Crawley who was in jail for the past 10 years and who has attempted to commit serious offences. The organisation has now brought to light that he just had an operation to remove pieces of metal and plastic from his body following another suicide attempt. The I.R.S.P. fully supports that he receive proper hospital and psychiatric care and that he is kept continuously in the punishment cells in

**ATTEMPTED SUICIDE — AGAIN!**

20 BOMBS IN RAPID SUCCESSION exploded all over the North on Monday 22nd September, as the Provisional IRA "retaliated for eight weeks of harassment, torture and murder by the 'Security Forces'". Speculation grew that the ceasefire would break. The Provos seemed to know it would not. The following day the 'Security Forces' carried out arrests in early morning raids in Belfast, Derry, Armagh and Tyrone, and speculation again developed as to whether the Provos would retaliate for the arrests and that the ceasefire would disintegrate. But it held. It is interesting to note that the bomb attacks were aimed only against property and the R.U.C., perhaps in the absence of attacks on British troops the Provos knew the ceasefire would hold.

**CRAIG'S RESIGNATION**

Most political commentators were surprised at Craig's recent show of 'moderation' and described the following week with its political intrigues, as the week of the long knives, which Craig survived. Most of the commentators saw Craig's moves as proof that talks through forums such as the Convention would change attitudes, little by little change the basics of Unionism. Wasn't Craig's change of heart on powersharing, proof of this? With a little investigation however the intransigence of Unionism becomes clear as does the complete sell out of the S.D.L.P. of all they stood for (which comes nowhere near I.R.S.P. demands). Lastly, the Convention is coming to an end. When you think about it, it wasn't all that surprising. Craig suggested that perhaps the S.D.L.P. should be allowed to participate in government with Unionists (thus breaking pledges he was elected on). The UUUC began to crumble as politicians played their internal power games. However, the UUUC managed to cement the cracks in its armour by allowing Craig to un-resign himself without fear of being ridiculed by his colleagues and ousted. In this we see Craig as the able politician that he is. He was willing, as all politicians are, to abandon his election pledges if he could get away with it. When he couldn't he ably backtracked and still maintained enough support to remain in his position of leadership. But why should Craig risk his political future over the welfare of his political opponents, the S.D.L.P.?

**ÓG — AGUS GAN POST**

Ní bhfaighidh na tuismitheoirí liúntas leanaí ar an duine toisc nach bhfuil sé/sí seo a réit each i gceart laistigh den gcóras atá againn. Caithfear an córas caipitealach a scrios agus córas sóisialach a chur ina ait a bheidh ag feidhmiú ar mhaithe leis na gnáth dhaoine agus ní ar mhaithe leis na boic mhóra, mar atá an córas atá againn faoi láthair.

Gné eile den chóras atá ag goilliúint go mór ar dhaoine óga atá ag fáigil na scoile ná na rialacha maidir le cúnaimh dí-fhostaíochta. Go teoiriciúil is féidir le duine ós cionn 18 mbl. d'aois cúnaimh dí-fhostaíochta a fháil, ar scoil níos mó. Ní bhfaighidh an duine féin cúnaimh dí-fhostaíochta toisc go bhfuil sé/sí ró-óg. Céard ar a bhfuil an Roinn Leasa Shóisialaigh ag súil go mairfidh na daoine seo?

Níl anseo ach gnéithe den ngeárcheim airgeadais — geárcheim nach féidir a leigheas ach le malairt córais.

He has not seen the 'light' (the evils of unionism) as political commentators would have us believe. He is simply standing by his class — the middle class of which the S.D.L.P. is part and parcel. Why should he not join in government with the S.D.L.P. in a new Stormont. The S.D.L.P. no longer ever mention the only point of contention between them, the unification of Ireland. While the S.D.L.P. made it clear that such a united Ireland would be a middleclass Ireland they hastily abandoned all talk of it after the UUUC Convention victory.

As the Convention days passed the differences, or rather lack of differences, became more obvious. All the Convention parties support the presence of the British Army and their role of 'security'. Their only petty differences revolve around who can shout the loudest about the lack of 'adequate security'.

Meanwhile the sectarian murder campaign (aimed mainly against the nationalists) has been pushed to the background of the news which suits British policy. As Britain plays her Orange card once again the pressure on the Nationalist population to accept a British solution continue as does the pressure on the Convention to come to a power sharing agreement on middleclass leadership, which will safeguard British interests in the North. But as the Convention comes to an end, that powersharing middleclass leadership is not forthcoming. Certainly it has stripped all the middleclass parties of their false divisions. The S.S.D.P. are seen by all as the political chancers that they are, always have been and always will be.

The 'week of the long knives' would have been better termed the 'week the Convention failed'. And so it has.

# THE REPRESSION OF WOMEN

MOST PEOPLE ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE CLICHE "WOMEN'S LIB" BUT A RELATIVELY SMALL PROPORTION OF THEM SERIOUSLY APPRECIATE EITHER THE EXTENT OR DEPTH OF REPRESSION INFLICTED ON WOMEN IN MODERN CAPITALIST SOCIETY. THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING ITSELF WITH ANY SIZEABLE BASE BECAUSE IT HAS IGNORED THE NEED FOR MASS SOCIAL CHANGE I.E. REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND IN THE BUILDING OF A NEW SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS. IT IS ADVENTURIST TO MAINTAIN THAT THERE CAN BE INDIVIDUAL SOLUTIONS TO WOMEN'S OPPRESSION JUST AS THERE CAN BE NO INDIVIDUAL SOLUTIONS TO CLASS OPPRESSION. ATTACKS IN ISOLATED AREAS OF OPPRESSION MAY LEAD TO REFORM, BUT WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE WHICH RELATES ALL AREAS OF OPPRESSION TO EACH OTHER AND ULTIMATELY TO THE CAPITALIST SUPER-STRUCTURE, REAL FREEDOM WILL NEVER BE ACHIEVED, NEITHER FOR AN OPPRESSED CLASS NOR AN OPPRESSED MINORITY.

Perhaps this is where the women's liberation movement has failed. Too much attention has been paid to symbolic but non-essential details; the bra-burning cult, unfortunately, for many people sums up the entire raison-d'etre and battle-cry of women's liberation. It is time women recognised the nature of their oppression and set about the task of freeing themselves. To be free we must first of all free ourselves is a well worn but very relevant platitude. What is demanded is a conscious and deliberate analysis of both the external social realities in which we live and a subjective re-appraisal of our spiritual and innermost selves. Many women have come to terms with their oppression by internalising it to the extent that they are no longer aware of it. Others seem to willingly embrace it although probably this category are guilty, not of "sell out" to male chauvinism, but of an understandable confusion between so-called femininity and what is actually insidious but nonetheless very real oppression.

## Revolutionary change needed

The abolition of the capitalist system will undoubtedly solve the economic aspect of the "woman question" but the problem is much more complex than one of mere economics. Equal pay for women, adequate provision of day nurseries, access to all professions and trades might all well be features of the new socialist society, but in themselves they constitute only reforms. What is needed is a revolutionary change in the relationship between the male and female species, progressing towards a revolutionary new code of all human relationships, based on an absolute equality and fraternity irrespective of either sex or function.

Under capitalism working-class women endure two-fold oppression - economic and sexual. It is in the interests of the establishment to maintain the status quo whereby women who are mothers and housewives are repressed in a dependent economic position. In the commodity producing terms that capitalism gears us to think in, these women contribute nothing of market value and are consequently



ignored economically. They are portrayed as objects in women's magazines, on the T.V. and cinema screens and in the press. Outside of their roles as mothers and housewives they are not expected to actively participate in the daily management of the "Big World" - that would be an intrusion into the male domain - yet female sexuality is manipulated and exploited so extensively by the media that our relationships too often become stultified and artificial.

To support the notion that women can achieve freedom within the existing social system is to ignore the essential principle of Socialism - that of subjective change in human consciousness. To support the notion that women can achieve freedom



Members of Irishwomen United picketing outside the Institute of Public Administration

within the existing social structure is to project capitalist conditions and is, ipso facto, a rejection of the dialectical relationship between social structures and human development.

## Loss of identity

How do women feel in the face of such oppression? Most of them unconsciously react by playing shifting defensive roles, assuming foreign-personalities and opinions in an endeavour to reflect the desires and preconceptions of the male. In short, her identity is made to depend on other people's evaluations of her. Her personality atrophies until finally she suffers a complete loss of identity. This physical and mental state of neurosis may lead to a nervous breakdown and negation of ego. From an early age the importance of looking well and of being liked by other people is impressed on the female. Intelligence and critical thinking are not encouraged. In fact the conditioning is as thorough in many cases that she actually believes it better to FAIL at most activities because it is allegedly more "feminine".

The majority of women, whether aware or not of their oppression, or whether or not they would ratify its existence, suffer various degrees of schizophrenia. There is a continual battle raging between the subconscious inner-self which is striving for self-fulfillment, and the external code of femininity which compels certain activities and decorum, and forbids much of what is spontaneous and pure.

Regrettably many women paradoxically allow themselves to be intimidated into conforming to outside pressures. It appears to them to be the easier and more remunerative course to choose. Usually, however, the consequences are painful and traumatic. The unquenchable struggle to assert one's individuality remains the catalyst which will determine the victory or defeat of that inner freedom. When this freedom has been achieved then can we go on to pursue a more determinate freedom that can only be enjoyed when the collective freedom of the whole of mankind has been achieved.

A GROUP OF WOMEN held a successful protest recently in Dublin that left the taoiseach white faced with anger and won the group, Irishwomen United, support and admiration from other women who were present. The occasion was the launching by the Institute of Public Administration of a booklet "Women in Ireland" a special issue for International Womens Year, 1975. When the Taoiseach had finished his speech a member of Irishwomen United called the booklet "a waste of public money" and criticised the Taoiseach for opposing the Contraceptive Bill and failing to implement legislation dealing with family law, equal pay and anti-discrimination laws for female workers. The Taoiseach walked out. The Irishwomen United protester was applauded when she had finished and members of the AIM group and the Womens Political Association stated their support and admiration for the protester. Over 50 women attended the function. A word of warning, however, to Irishwomen United: keep your future protest plans secret if you want them to be successful. Although we are aware of your next protest we will not divulge it. Others, who must also know it, may not be as scrupulous.



Mrs. O'Hare told not to see children.

## 'WE BEAT THEM'!

A Belfast mother who is serving a three year sentence in Limerick has recently seen her children for the first time in five months.

In all that time she was refusing visits because she was not allowed to kiss her children. Rita O'Hare was forced to receive her visitors while caged in a glass cell and forced to talk through holes not much bigger than a penny. Quite rightly Rita refused to accept any visits until conditions changed. She persisted and she won. A new visiting box has been constructed without any screen or partition. Why was this not done months ago? Women in Irish jails are suffering worse conditions than their male counterparts. Such conditions are an attempt to break the morale of the women prisoners. Perhaps now the prison authorities will also allow Rita to receive copies of the STARRY PLOUGH and other periodicals, something they have been refusing to do for some time.

from P.2

## Connolly's Corner

whole human race will be secured against the fear of want for all time, a system in which all men and women will be joint heirs and owners of all the intellectual and material conquests made possible by associated effort.

Socialism will confiscate the property of the capitalist and in return will secure the individual against poverty and oppression; it, in return for so confiscating, will assure to all men and women a free, happy and unanxious human life. And that is more than capitalism can assure anyone to-day.

So you see the average capitalist has to choose between two kinds of confiscation. One or the other he must certainly endure. Confiscation by the Trust and consequently bankruptcy, poverty and perhaps pauperism in his old age, or Confiscation by Socialism and consequently security, plenty and a Care-Free Life to him and his to the remotest generation.

What will it be?

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# BASQUE

# COURAGE

Opposition is continually growing in Spain and the Basque country to Franco's oppression. Since last August Basques members of ETA (Basque Nation and Freedom) and members of the Left-Wing Revolutionary Anti-Fascist and Patriotic Front (FRAP) have been sentenced to death by Spanish military courts. 5 have been executed already.

Strikes and protests have taken place not only in the Basque country but also throughout Spain and abroad. Such is the amount of protests that 1,000 Spanish priests have sent a letter to the Archbishop of Madrid asking the Spanish Catholic Episcopal Conference to oppose the new 'anti-terrorism' law and the death sentences being opposed under it. 130,000 have been on strike in the Basque region for over 6 days. Last year Anti Puich, a Catalan activist was garroted (strangled to death) in the 15th century torture.

The Basques are demanding self-

determination of Euskadi (Basqueland) and all other nationalities oppressed by the Spanish state, freedom of the Basque language, bilingualism in Basque education, freedom for Basque popular culture and state subsidies for the popular Basque schools founded by the Basque resistance. While different Basque groups exist they have put tactical differences aside and united in a broad front of action. This is one of the many reasons that they enjoy wide support, particularly in the Basque country. Last december saw half a million Basque people actively support a general strike called by one Basque organisation in support of political prisoners, that is 1/4 of the population.

As we have stated before, the ability of the Basques to work united in a front should inspire our struggle in Ireland, especially as Britain is playing her age old Orange card to divide the Irish people so as to safeguard her interests. It should encourage us to work for the establishment of a similar united front in Ireland. ●●

**THE FIVE EXECUTIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN SPAIN SHOCKED THE WORLD.** Fascism was seen for what it is. It became obvious that the seven reprieves by Franco were merely a move to minimise reaction both in Spain, the Basque country and abroad. But the five executions couldn't minimise the horror of Spain's fascism. Reaction was massive demonstrations by most European countries whose governments recalled their ambassadors in protest while its workers took to the streets in their thousands.

In Ireland workers and students did more than the Government when U.S.I. students picketed the Spanish Embassy and Aer Lingus workers refused to handle Spanish flights. All the Irish government did was to vote in favour of a motion censuring the Spanish government and asking for clemency at the European Parliament.

As in 1916 and Bloody Sunday in Derry, Spain's repression far from

frightening the Basque people into submission has escalated the struggle for freedom in the Basque country. Strikes, protests and demonstrations are being organised successfully, by the Basques.

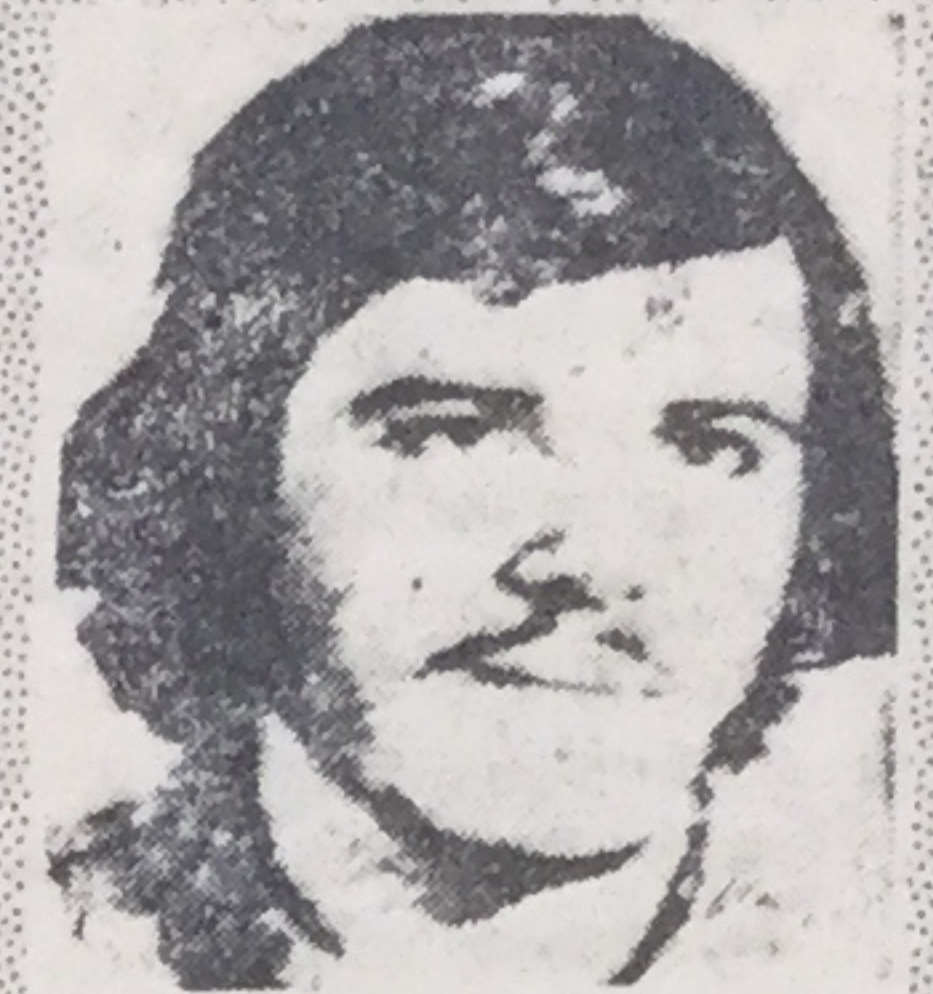
While the Basque nationalists must be full of rage and sorrow at the murder of their comrades they must be proud of Juan Paredes who defiantly faced the firing

Members of the Dublin Comhairle Ceanntair of the I.R.S.P. picketed the Spanish Embassy in Dublin for two hours on September 8th last to highlight the oppression being suffered by the Basques and to exert pressure on the Spanish government to rescind its recent death penalties.

squad without a blindfold, singing a Basque nationalist song. As the guns blazed their death they couldn't drown his cry of "GORA EUZKADI ESKATUTA" (long live Free Basque country). Two seconds later he was dead.

Under Spanish Fascist Law no other political party (except the government's party) is allowed exist, no trade unions (except the Government ones) are allowed exist, no meeting of more than 20 people can take place without the permission of the authorities, strikes are forbidden. These examples of Spanish Laws show the oppression in Spain. Political prisoners

Leathanach 7. are continually tortured as a matter of routine. IN SORROW AT THE DEATH OF THEIR FIVE PATRIOTS we join with the Basque people and send them our fraternal greetings in their struggle against fascism and for national liberation. The victory of the Basque people cannot be too far away, if they are as patriotic as Juan Paredes. Over 30 more Basques are due for execution as we go to press.



Juan Paredes Manotas

**DEFIANTLY HE FACED THE FIRING SQUAD WITHOUT A BLINDFOLD, SINGING A NATIONALIST SONG. AS THE GUNS BLAZED THEIR DEATH THEY COULDN'T DROWN HIS CRY OF "LONG LIVE FREE BASQUE COUNTRY".**

It is now two years since the Chilean Armed Forces overthrew the left-wing government with the help of the C.I.A. and the peace loving U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. In that time the tortures mass arrests and the military reign of terror have never slackened. At the moment four different secret police forces exist in Chile, each competing to prove it is more brutal than the other. The very fact that the fascist terror has had to continue so long and so relentlessly to suppress the Chilean Left, proves that the Chilean tragedy was neither inevitable nor unavoidable. For that reason it is essential that the Left (particularly in Ireland, where socialists have failed to understand the need for armed struggle) does not content itself with denunciations of the C.I.A. We must also examine the reasons why the Popular Unity Government was incapable of organising its supporters to defend themselves in defeating the military coup.

Significantly the reasons for the defeat of the Marxist Allende government are contained in his first speech on obtaining office: "Permit me, on this solemn occasion . . . to voice our people's thanks to the Armed Forces and to the Riot Police, which abide by the constitution and the rule of law". By deluding himself that there was a peaceful road to socialism and that the institutions of the state could in some way be neutral in the struggle between the exploiters and the exploited, Allende signed his own death warrant and that of thousands of workers. On taking office the Popular Unity Government pledged that it would not interfere with the education system, constitution, church or armed forces. Having done that Allende was ratified as President with the support of the right wing.

### HUNG BY HIS OWN ROPE

For the next three years the Popular Unity Government found itself in an increasingly impossible position. Its own supporters in the factories and amongst the small peasants had taken the election slogans about socialism and the redistribution of wealth at their face value. They seized factories and the estates of wealth landowners. At the same time Allende could not support them because of his promises to the right wing to respect their laws. It became clear that by ratifying Allende, and at the same time preventing him from taking socialist measures to solve Chile's problems, the right wing was only giving him enough rope to hang himself.

The right wing began a campaign of economic sabotage with the backing of American banks. For geographical reasons Chile is dependent on road transport,

● THE WIDOW OF PRESIDENT ALLENDE OF CHILE SPOKE IN DUBLIN on September 17th in the Mansion House to a meeting that included a wide spectrum of opinion. She pointed out the role of the U.S. in the coup that overthrew her husband and painted a horrific picture of present day Chile which is the result of the coup. In one instance she stated that even the military controlled press admitted that 20% of Chile's children had brain damage due to

starvation and that various churches had organised soup kitchens for children under six years, in the worst effected areas. Unfortunately, due to lack of knowledge on her part, Senora Allende said that Ireland had managed, after years of colonial rule, to orient the exploitation of Ireland's natural resources for the benefit of the Irish people. She is of course incorrect. Ireland's mineral wealth has not been orientated for the benefit of the Irish people. That is because IRELAND IS STILL UNDER BRITISH COLONIAL RULE. ●●

By organising a six week strike of truck owners, the C.I.A. was able to cripple Chile. The American and world banks refused credit to Chilean firms. At this stage the Allende regime had a clear cut choice. They could have called on the workers to occupy factories that were sabotaging the economy and formed militias to defend themselves.

Instead they began to make increasingly ludicrous concessions to the right wing. When a group of sailors were overheard saying that they would not support a right wing coup they were arrested by naval intelligence and tortured. Allende actually defended these arrests saying there were necessary to maintain naval discipline. He then expelled left-wing students from the University of Chile Radio network, thus bringing all radio stations under reactionary control. In fact the only response of the government to the threat of a coup was to organise a petition against civil war.

On September 11th military struck. In the first week an estimated 25,000 people were murdered. 70,000 more were herded off to concentration camps where most of them remain. Recently, 3,000 were arrested in the port city of Valpariso.

It is not enough to mourn the dead or demand the release of Chilean prisoners. We must also learn the lessons of the coup. Under capitalism, democracy is a mask. When capitalist power is threatened in Ireland, Chile, or anywhere else, the mask comes off and the result is mass murder, torture and concentration camps. Capitalism is built on violence and exploitation and it is useless to delude ourselves, as Allende did, that it will ever surrender its ill-gotten gains without a fight.

## chile 2 years of terror



# I.R.S.P. ACCLAIMED

THE I.R.S.P. HAD SPECTACULAR SUCCESS when they participated in a Forum on the Irish situation in Boston, U.S.A. during the month. The I.R.S.P. delegation consisted of two Árd Comhairle members, Seamus Costello (Cathaoirleach) and Johnny White (National Organiser). While in Boston the I.R.S.P. was invited to speak on Boston television, other national U.S. T.V. stations and a three hour radio programme. They also gave over 20 press conferences and interviews to U.S. newspapers and periodicals.

Every effort was made by the British and Irish governments to discredit the Forum to prevent it taking place. Pressure was exerted successfully on the U.S. government to refuse visas to the Provos so that they could not attend the forum. The British Press initiated a slander campaign against the Forum saying it was a front for an arms buying trip by paramilitary groups! The Irish government refused to send representatives to the Forum. The Irish Times was the only Irish paper to give any coverage to the Forum. The rest of the media ignored it.

Political commentators, Irish, English and American, were all agreed that the I.R.S.P. gave the major contribution to the Forum. While each invited group was given three hours to state their case as it were, all groups finished within the three hours or on the three hour dot. The I.R.S.P. by popular demand spoke for a staggering 6½ hours!

The main groups who participated in the Forum, besides U.S. journalists and various individuals, were the I.R.S.P., the U.D.A. and the Official Republican Movement.

## LITTLE INTEREST IN OFFICIALS

The Official Republican Movement shocked many at the Forum when for the first time they publicly stated that they were totally against any military

# IN BOSTON

retaliation (i.e. they opposed Official I.R.A. policy), that they felt the Alliance Party played a constructive role in Northern Ireland politics and that they felt the anti-imperialist struggle was secondary in the North (that the struggle for peace came first!). While the press collectively stated that the Officials delegation, led by Tomas Mac Giolla, defended their position with "dignity" it was felt by all that they had failed to prove that their position was correct. In fact due to the lack of interest in the Officials position their debate finished before the allocated 3 hours. It is interesting to note that copies of the Officials monthly newspaper were not available at the Forum. This issue carried acclamations of Official I.R.A. retaliation, yet the Officials in Boston claimed that they were totally opposed to such retaliation.

## UDA CONFUSED

The U.D.A. were a little more honest but just as confused. However they showed a great interest in the I.R.S.P. and its policies. They spoke about an independent Ulster but had difficulty in explaining how it would be financed. While one U.D.A. delegate repeatedly stated he was a capitalist and spoke proudly of thousands of marching U.D.A. men who put "the fear of God into the Catholics", another U.D.A. delegate, Glen Barr, stressed that

he was never a member of the Orange Order and spoke in liberal terms. The U.D.A. showed the complete lack of understanding they have of the Northern situation and exposed some divisions within their ranks.

## UDA LAUGH AT ORANGE ORDER

It was interesting though to watch their response to a scathing attack on the Rev. Martin Smyth, Grand Master of the Orange Order, made by Seamus Costello, who pointed out amongst other things, Smyth's coalition of convenience with the U.D.A. and that he still had to look over his shoulder at the hard men from the Shankhill. The U.D.A. delegation made absolutely no attempt to defend the leader of the Orange Order and seemed to be enjoying his discomfort. In fact it became clear that the only Loyalist politician they had any respect for was William Craig.

The I.R.S.P. were acclaimed at the Forum. The amount of interest shown in the I.R.S.P. was fantastic. Seamus Costello's success was the result of the openness and sincerity of the I.R.S.P. as a political party rather than his prowess as an orator. There was no hedging or hiding or pulling punches on behalf of the I.R.S.P. who showed clearly and frankly its intentions to oppose all aspects of British imperialism and its native hacks and to continue its struggle for national liberation and socialism.

nGaeltacht is a bheadh dá reachtáilfi an fhéile i mBaile Átha Cliath. Léiríonn sé seo nach bhfuil de dhifir idir an dá fhéile anois ach Gaeltacht v an chuid eile den tír.

## GHETTO AN CHULTÚR

Tá an dearcadh in uachtar i gcuid des na Gaeltachtaí agus i gConnamara ach go h-áirithe, gur leis an nGaeltacht amháin a bhaineann ceist na Gaeilge agus gur chóir gach gné de shaol na Gaeilge m.sh. dramaíocht, ceol, litríocht agus araile a bheith lonnaithe sa nGaeltacht. Caithfear a chur ina luí orthu sin agus ar phobal na h-Éireann fré cheile go mbaineann an Ghaeilge leis an tír ar fad. Ba chóir cinnte, féile an Oireachtais a reachtáil sa nGaeltacht ó am go cheile, ba chóir í a reachtáil in aiteanna eile ar fud na tíre freisin, áfach. Is gá a chinntiú nach ndéanfar ghetto den Ghaeltacht ná den Ghaeilge.

Léirigh Oireachtas na nGael i gCorr na Móna an mhí seo chaite gur ar an nGaeltacht, nó ba chírte a rá gur ar Ghaeltacht Chonamara amháin, a bhí an fhéile bunaithe. Béidh an t-Oireachtas náisiúnta ar siúl sa Bhurlington i mBaile Átha Cliath on 17ú-26ú lá den mhí seo.

Cé go bhfuil dul chun cinn áirithe déanta ag an Oireachtas náisiúnta de bharr agóidí ag an Oireachtas féin agus comórtas ó Oireachtas na nGael, tá go leor lochtanna móra uirthi go fóill. 'Sí an fhéile is fearr dá cineál í atá ar fáil faoi láthair áfach agus is fiú freastal uirthi dá bharr.



## protest meeting

Members of the Markievicz Cumann of the IRSP held a successful public meeting in Dun Laoghaire on 13th September last. The public meeting was in opposition to all repressive legislation and in particular the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill. Over 100 people attended the meeting.

Mick Plunkett, Árd Runai I.R.S.P. said that no individual group alone could successfully oppose repression which effected all radical and anti-imperialist groups as well as the Irish people in general. Therefore there was a need for unity of such groups to defeat repressive legislation. Nial Lenocho, a member of the Markievicz Cumann, said that the sectarian assassination campaign continues in the North to the delight of British imperialism. The Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill would allow the 26 Co. government to jail anyone who was actively engaged in opposing sectarianism and other British policy in the North. People who were on the run could be jailed because their guilt was 'proven' by statements beaten out of them by the R.U.C.

Osgur Breatnach, who chaired the meeting, said repressive legislation is, eventually, always used against workers. The Bill showed how the 26 Co. government was willing to collaborate with British imperialism by jailing anyone who opposed the British connection and who wanted to ensure permanent peace and prosperity for the Irish people. Such peace and prosperity could only come about through a socialist society.

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