

# UNITED IRISHMAN

AN tEIREANNACH AONTAITHE

FEABHRA (FEBRUARY)

XXXIV-II 10p (30c)



MONTHLY NEWSPAPER OF SINN FÉIN 30 Gardiner Place Dublin 1

## Dublin meeting gives the answers...

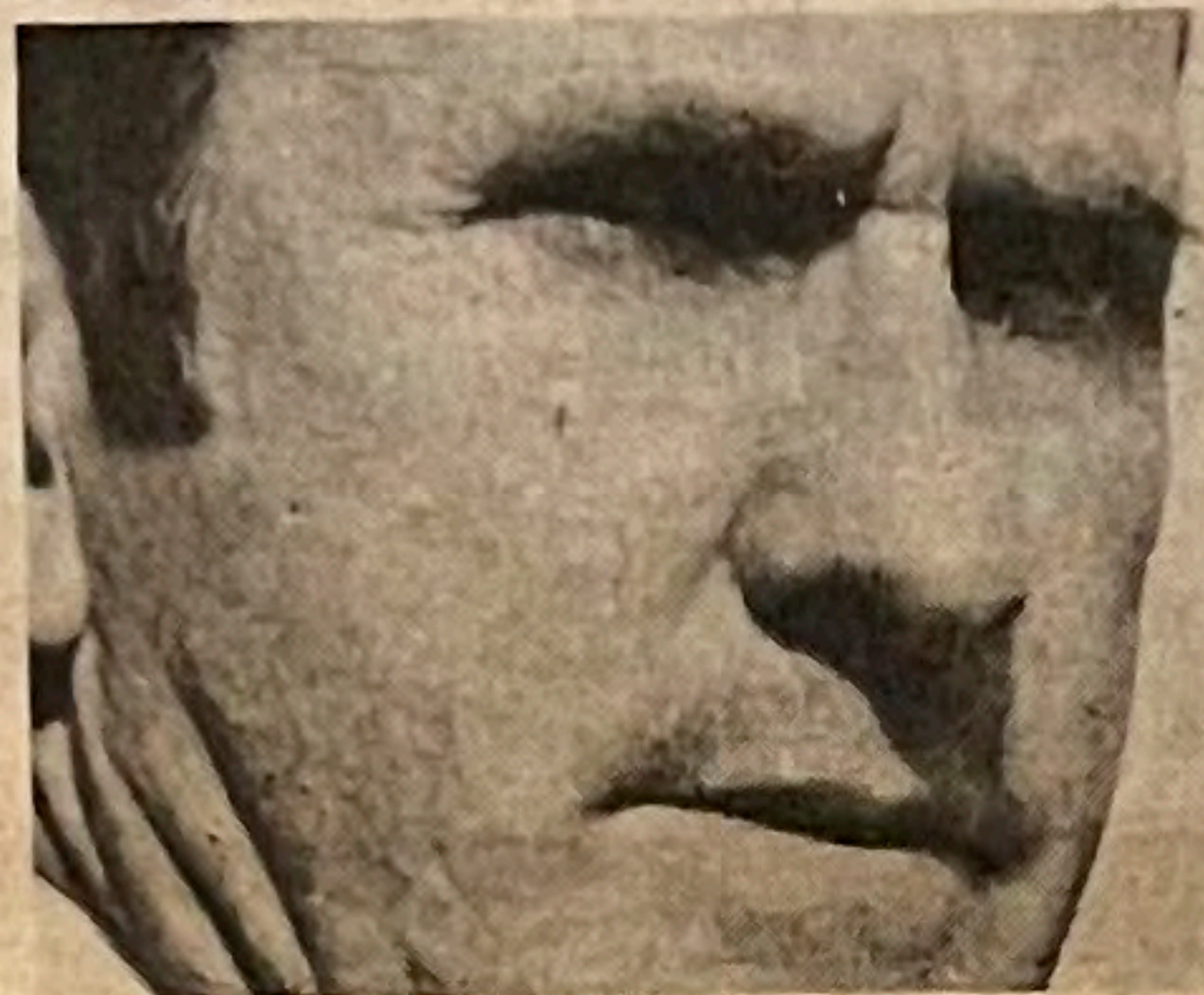
# THE LEFT ALTERNATIVE

A packed Mansion House, Dublin gave all the speakers prolonged applause at the first public meeting convened by Sinn Féin, the Communist Party and the Liaison Committee of the Labour Left. Representing Sinn Féin were Uachtaran Tomas Mac Giolla and Director of Economic Affairs, Eamonn Smullen. Tomas Mac Giolla expressed the feelings of the audience when he said, "It was our grave concern at the massive and growing level of unemployment that brought Sinn Féin and the other two groups at this meeting together. We were particularly concerned at the fact that this is not going to be a short-term crisis. We believe that the present recession will continue well into 1977, but even after that the situation in Ireland is going to be one of continuing grave crisis for workers."

The Government and Opposition have no plans to overcome the crisis. They are waiting for the economy to pick-up automatically. This will probably occur within 18 months, but the best that can be hoped for then is that by 1978 we will have restored the employment level

to what it was in 1974.

At our highest level of employment we have always had a constant pool of 60,000 unemployed in the 26 Counties. There are now 30,000 people in the market for jobs each year, so that with the expected pick-up in the economy in 1978, the best hope of the Government is that there will be 150,000 unemployed then. All demographic reports show that this will be continually increasing.



M. Merrigan of the Labour Left.

"Obviously", he said, "the Fine Gael/Labour Government intends to drift with the privateers of profit rather than plan for the people's future."

Mr. Mac Giolla concluded, our

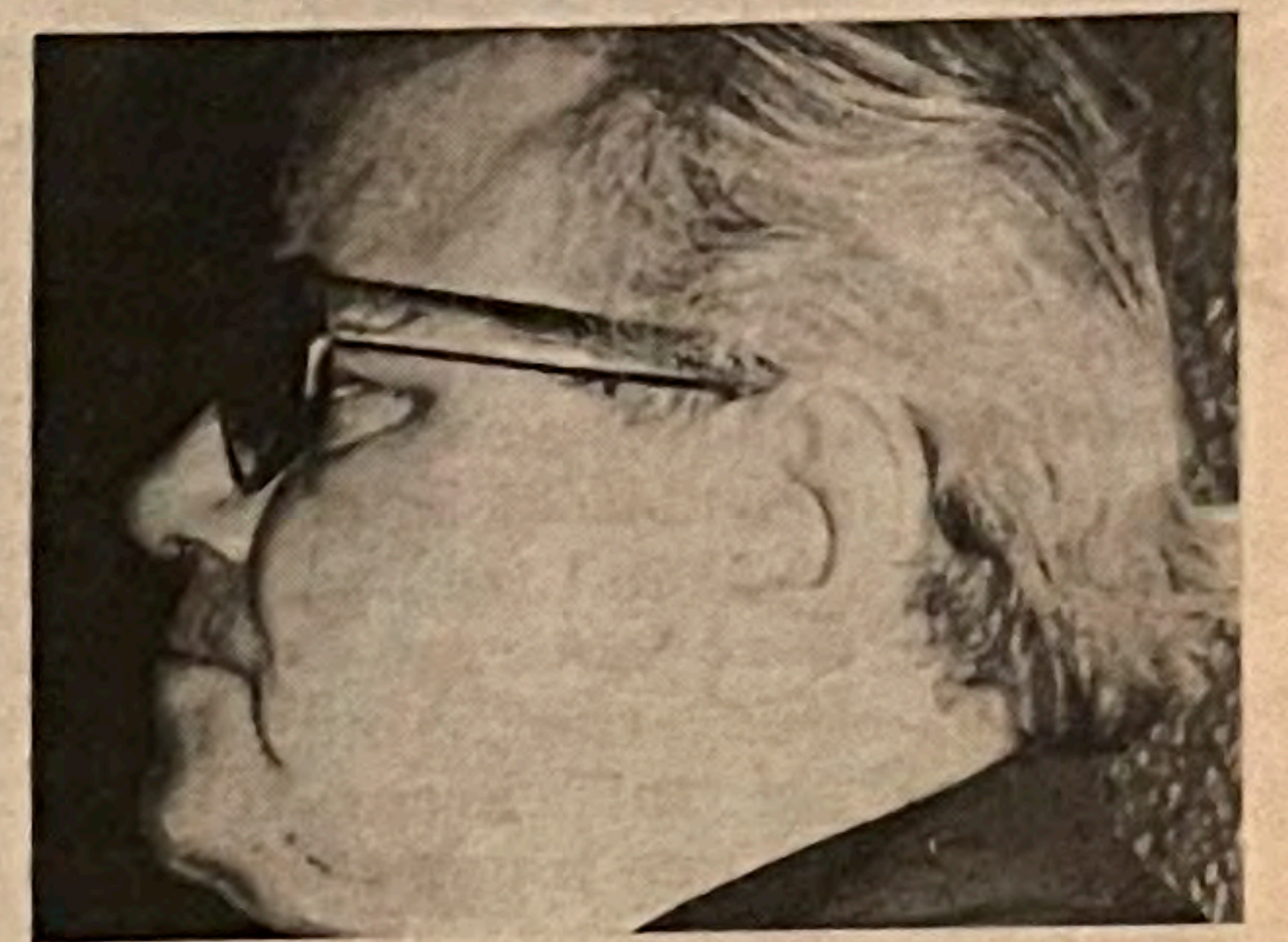
alternative policy "is one that could be implemented by any government with the will and guts to do it now in 1976, it is an alternative policy which we are convinced will have the support of all the organised workers in the trade union movement."

Bringing the meeting to a close, Eamonn Smullen claimed that representatives of old orders, of out-dated ways of doing things, pass into history without regret from the people. "Those who fail to keep pace with the march of history, or as is usually the case, are prevented by their own vested interests from keeping pace with the march of history, are eventually rejected by the people," he said.

Attacking current 26 County Government economic policy he stated, "Our resources are of no use at all to the people of this nation if they are not used to create the 30,000 new jobs each year which we need here in the south. It is necessary that we have full employment here if we are to make any claim to being a civilised society."

"Jobs which we want, and which must be found, means building oil refineries, petro-chemical works, smelters, etc. Of course, it also

means factories to process food. It means that food of the right quantity and quality must be produced for factory processing."

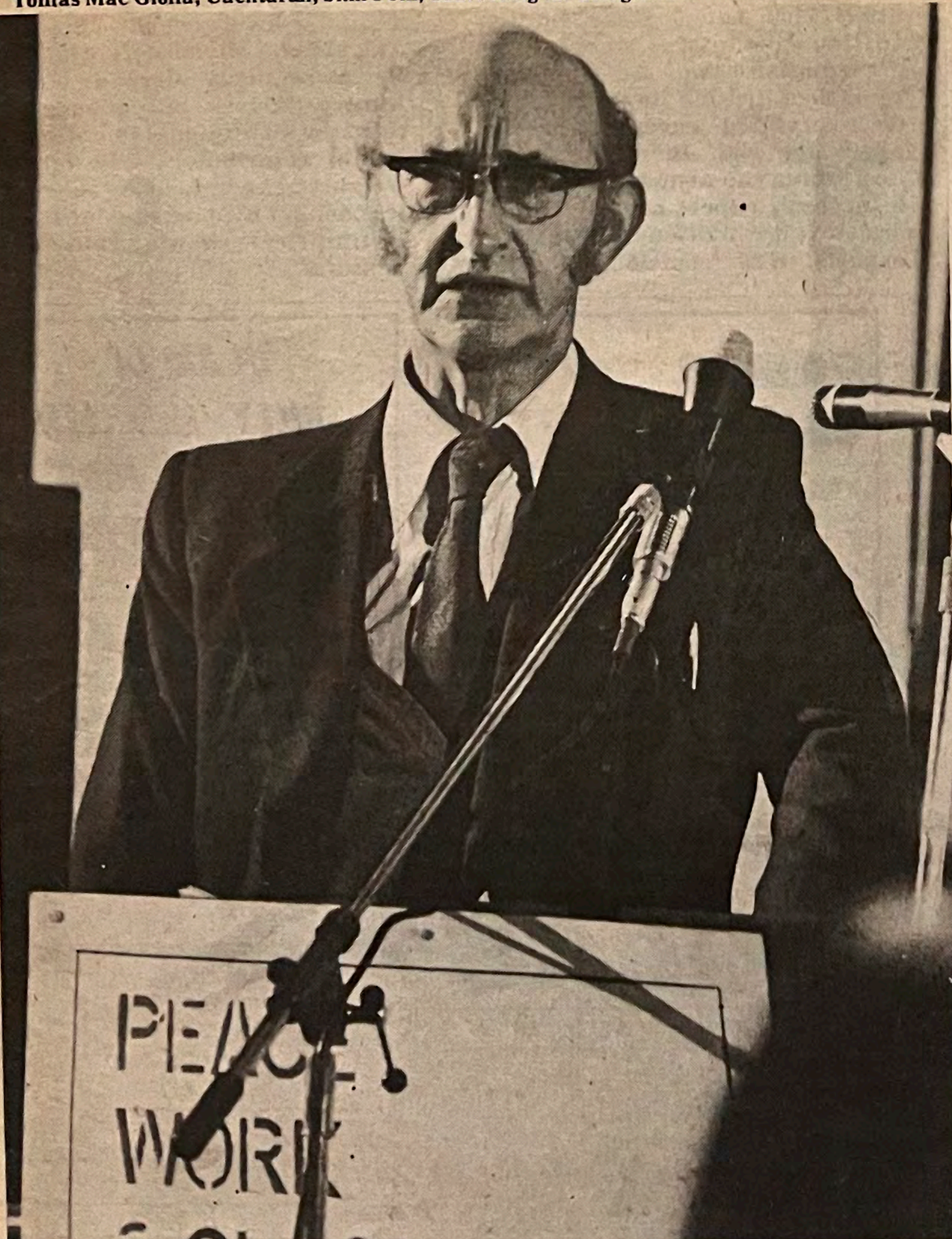


M. O'Riordan, Secretary C.P.I.

"This means, as we in Sinn Féin believe, the extension of the public sector of the economy. We have produced the only defence and study of the Public Sector of the Economy that has been made by any political party" he said.

Mr. Smullen suggested that the programme being put forward was a Left Alternative to what both Government and Opposition offer. It was a practical programme to create jobs.

Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtaran, Sinn Féin, addressing the delegates.



## The hard road ahead!

In his Ard Fheis address Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtaran Sinn Féin, spelt out in clear terms our opportunities and the struggle facing the Irish people. In a comprehensive economic and political survey he demonstrated that we are moving towards total crisis throughout the country. And he equally showed the wisdom of the Sinn Féin solutions. Further parts of his speech are on pages 7 and 10.

Our natural resources of land and sea are capable of providing enormous expansion in jobs and higher living standards if efficient state planning were applied and the depreciations of private enterprise restricted. The fact that nothing has been done in 50 years of almost total neglect fills us with trepidation as we watch the robbery of our minerals, oil and gas. If our land is robbed it will still be there for some future generation to win back but once our mineral and oil resources are robbed they are gone forever.

### Marathon

Gortdrum is empty and all we have to show for it is a hole in the ground. Tynagh is almost finished and every ounce of ore has been shipped out with not a job created in Ireland. Navan is about to come on steam and the government have allowed them the maximum extraction rate so that this great mine will be cleared out in 20 years. Marathon have been kind enough to sell us back our own gas for a total

cost of approximately £700 million.

As we move into oil the story becomes even worse with exclusive licences being handed out right, left and centre. The seven deadly sisters are now in occupation of our continental shelf with the help of the modern versions of Diarmuid McMurrough, their local lubricants Senator Alexis Fitzgerald, Senator Patrick McGrath and Senator Ted Russell.

### Enterprise

The Resources Protection Campaign has done a great job in educating the public about the value of our natural resources, what is happening to them and what could be done by state enterprise to develop them into the basis of a great industrial revolution. But much more is now needed. Now that the public is aware of what is happening they must be galvanised into action. Time is not on our side. Once we realise what is at stake then almost everything else fades into significance beside it.

The withdrawal of the Seven Sisters from our shores has as much importance and urgency as the withdrawal of British troops. What is at stake affects every one on this island. What is at stake is hundreds of thousands of new jobs, a doubling of our living standards and an end to the constant scratching for a living, to the miserly social welfare benefits, medical care and educational facilities.



# Galway conference

Presiding over a two day conference in the Odeon Hotel, Galway (Jan. 31 & Feb 1) Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtaran Sinn Fein called for the mobilisation of public opinion to support the Sinn Fein demand for a two hundred mile fishery limit. He cited with approval the example of Iceland who were successfully resisting the entire might of an empire in defence of their natural resources. "The parties in Leinster House, if they were not so timid, could advance the interests of the Irish people not only in fisheries but in the enormously valuable area of mineral gas and oil resources, if they were to take a leaf from the Icelandic economic programme," he said. Over fifty delegates from the entire western region were in attendance at the main conference and three subsequent workshops. A wide range of topics were discussed in depth including, industrialisation, women's rights and organisational development. Delegates felt that while one of the most important issues in the West was the question of a Gaeltacht Authority, special regional conferences were necessary to win support for the Sinn Fein proposals in this area. It was agreed that such meetings should be convened as soon as possible.

# Fisheries limits

Waterford Sinn Fein Councillor Sean Walsh called for the immediate creation of a separate Ministry of Fisheries to deal with the whole question of protecting and developing our fishing resources. It was, he argued, the next logical step if we were serious about extending our limits, preventing foreign exploitation of the sea beds and expanding this vital industry.

The Harbour Board unanimously adopted a proposal that the fishery limits be extended to 50 miles and that the present Common Market agreement be renegotiated. Councillor Walsh also pointed out that there was considerable need to strengthen the Naval protection services which could not even adequately patrol the existing coastal waters.

# Sectarian murders condemned

Sinn Fein's support for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Bloody Sunday Commemoration was compared to the opportunist and hypocritical march of the Provisionals on Sunday, Feb. 1, in a statement from the North West Executive of Republican Clubs.

The Executive stated that the Provisional Alliance was not a Republican organisation for the Republican philosophy was and still is to unite Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter. The Provisionals on the other hand have been involved in the murder of innocent Protestants and Catholics by means of no warning bombs and preplanned assassinations.

The campaign of murder, terror, destruction and sectarian bigotry would end in futility and failure, the Executive claimed. "It can only be a matter of months before the killings escalate to open war between Protestant and Catholic communities," the statement continued. The Clubs called for support not only for their own anti-sectarian campaign but all community, youth and workers' organisations who were prepared not to aid the sectarian killers. "Only a united working class could halt the slide towards disaster", the statement concluded.

# Limerick tie-up

Building ties, in more senses than one, is part of Limerick Comhairle Ceanntair activity. Building workers in Acton, London, as has been their custom for a number of years following a Christmas collection, sent over £20 to their home town "to carry on the fight for Socialism."

Regional organiser Fergus Reynolds reports that he hopes that these ties will be strengthened in the coming months. The Comhairle Ceanntair keeps in touch with their emigrant friends through the United Irishman but will also be seeking ways to turn their friendship into action on the many issues which effect the local area. "For too long emigrants have been patronised by the main institutions of our society. They are seen either as lost souls or digits in the tourist money trap. We believe that they must be regarded as valuable manpower lost to the Irish economy," claimed Mr. Reynolds, "and we intend to keep making this point."

# Welfare draw

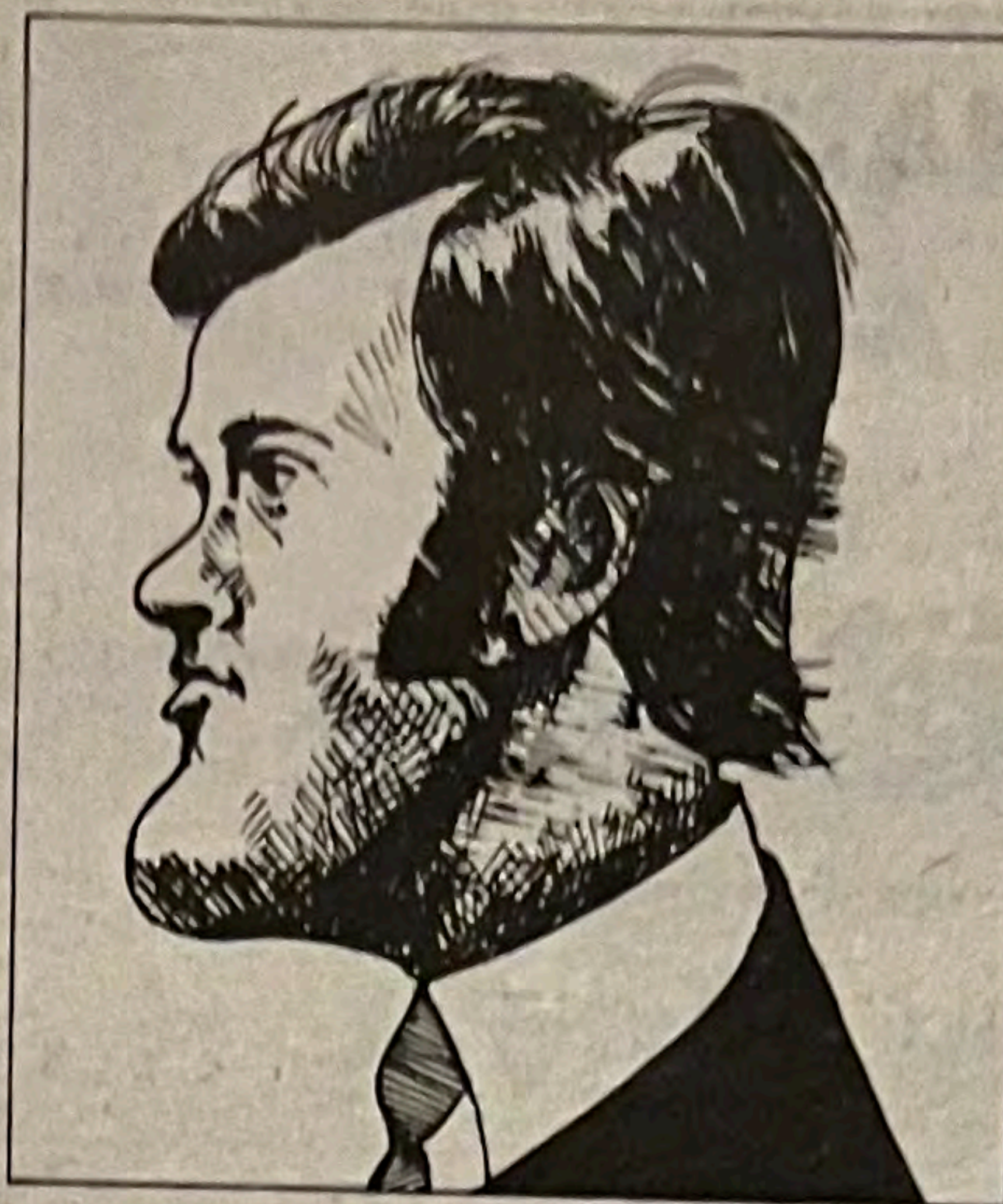
After their successful Christmas Bazaar in Cyprus Street Hall, Belfast the Northern Committee of Cabhair are hoping to double the £1,000 raised there with a unique Draw.

The first prize is a very beautiful, hand made 18" high working-model spinning wheel; second is a Celtic Harp also hand carved and third a matching Celtic designed handbag and purse. The winner of the Third prize can have his/her name inscribed if they wish. All the prizes were made by Republican prisoners in Long Kesh Concentration Camp. The number of tickets will be strictly limited; price £1.

With almost 150 Republican prisoners there is a constant need for money both for their welfare and their dependants. Tickets can be purchased from the following: P. Yeates or Sean O Clonnaith, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. Mary Daly, Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Mathew Quay, Cork or Kitty O'Kane, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast 12. Draw takes place on March 17 and results will be published in the United Irishman and An Eochair.

# Equal pay

A serious attack by the 11/19 Branch of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union on the 26 County Government's decision "to amend the already inadequate Anti-



● Mr. O'Leary, Minister for Labour.

Discrimination (Pay) Act 1974" was launched last month.

The Branch which represents over 2,000 women workers in various industries has proposed to the Regional Committee that it "reassess the continued affiliation of the Union to the Labour Party in view of the Labour Minister O'Leary's role in the matter."

As part of their proposals to the Regional Committee, the Branch has further requested that support "of the General Executive Council (be sought) for industrial action to secure equal pay demands and/or fight a pay freeze where so decided by the membership." We certainly haven't heard the last of the Equal Pay dispute.

# American dreamers

Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare, Ed. Sam C. Sarkesian, Published by Precedent Inc., Chicago, P. 623.

The Americans seem to have taken the maxim "the pen is mightier than the sword" literally in the last decade. And if revolutions could be decided by the volume of newsprint either side produced the U.S. would win hands down every time. This new, glossy library edition certainly scores on presentation too. As someone remarked flicking through it they do everything except turn the pages for you. In short it has everything the armchair counter-insurgency expert needs. For a start it is written by armchair experts. Of 29 "contributors" only

## POSTER CALENDAR

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4 can lay claim to any practical experience of the subject under review. Two of the latter are in fact dead, namely Carlos Marighuela and Eduardo Mondlane. Extracts from their writings are included presumably to balance the ideological ship along with similar extracts from Lenin and Mao-Tse Tung, neither of whom are listed as "contributors" for some reason.

Rather than attempt to describe in detail the nature of the contributions I shall quote (briefly) from the article on "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence" by Ted Gurr he makes the following Propositions:

1: 1 The occurrence of civil violence presupposes the likelihood of relative deprivation among substantial numbers of individuals in a society; concomitantly, the more severe is relative deprivation, the greater are the likelihood and intensity of civil violence;

1: 4 The strength of anger tends to vary as a power function of the perceived distance between the value position sought or enjoyed and the attainable or residual value position;

1: 5 The strength of anger tends to vary directly with the proportion of all available opportunities for value attainment with which interference is experienced or anticipated . . .

and so on through 4 main prepositions and 17 subsections, complete with a full page chart. Suddenly American social scientists have recognised political violence and legitimised it as a subject worthy of serious academic study. The solution can be only a few more years of research away. The question most of them seek to answer is not what are the basic causes of violence in society but how most effectively to cope with it when it occurs.

There is much useful information in this book buried in mountains of doctoral prose but this reviewer has the definite impression that its chief function is to promote the "counter-insurgency" industry. The book is obviously designed to lie attractively unread on the library shelves of colleges and military institutions. Doubtless its list of contributors will form a weighty academic lobby to ensure it is bought by enough educational institutions to show a profit on the venture.

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# CABHAIR

## Irish Republican Prisoners Defence and Aid Fund

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# Republican Prisoners greet S.F. Ard Fheis

### From LONG KESH:

"Republican prisoners in Long Kesh send greetings to our comrades attending the 70th Sinn Fein Ard Fheis in the Mansion House, Dublin. In the North and South of our country Sinn Fein is well to the fore in the battle to build a better society free from imperialist domination: the 70th Ard Fheis must be an occasion to re-dedicate the party to that struggle.

"Questions about the meanings of democracy are currently central issues in the battle between the forces of imperialism and the forces of national liberation and socialism. For this reason Merlyn Rees and the British Government are currently trying to pretend that Long Kesh is no longer a concentration camp. This is necessary because Long Kesh is an acute embarrassment to the British ruling class and a testimony to their failures in Ireland. Merlyn Rees has announced the ending of political status for prisoners in Long Kesh. In this way he hopes that the political reasons for Long Kesh will be blurred in the public mind.

"Britain's stepped up military repression in the North will be more easily presented not as being motivated by imperialist interests but rather as being in the interests of the whole society.

"We assert the right of political prisoners to political status. That right should be extended rather than limited. All prisoners should be given full right of association which should include the right to form a prisoners union.

### FROM PORTLAOISE

"Republicans in Portlaoise send their fraternal greetings to the 70th Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein. We pledge our full support to the socialist policies of the party.

"In 1975 there was a concerted attempt made by the prison authorities to break the spirit of the prisoners in Portlaoise. Every tactic was used from physical attacks, denial of visits, bad food and conditions and the imposition of widespread petty restrictions. All these efforts have failed and we remain as firmly committed as ever to the objectives of national liberation and socialism.

"At present conditions in Portlaoise are perhaps the worst of any prison in Ireland. We particularly resent the visiting arrangements which the prison authorities have attempted to justify on the grounds of security. We demand an immediate change in the present visiting procedures which keep prisoners and their visitors separated by a high partition of glass and wire. This partition ensures that there is not even a modicum of privacy during any visit.

"The issue of prison conditions in the 26 Counties is one which is receiving increasing public attention. We welcome this because for too long the authorities have been able to maintain a cloak of secrecy around prison conditions. The result is a prison system more suitable to the time and style of the Spanish Inquisition than to our own day. Sinn Fein has been to the fore in rousing public opinion on this issue. In the best tradition of Irish Republicanism our fight has been your fight also."

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## Industrial site plan agreed

### REFINERY

Dublin's Community Councillors were elected it would seem on the emotive use of the term 'community', apart that is from some gimmicky name changing by Mr. Loftus. Their main interest is now clear, to protect the welfare of property owners and a variety of near cranks. If nothing else the demand for an oil refinery located in Dublin has brought this out. It is to be hoped that the electorate will remember at the right time.

Sinn Féin among other responsible bodies such as Dublin Trades Council and the Irish Trade Union Federation, have been firm in their support for the project. Not because we are indifferent to the question of pollution, we demand proper safeguards. But because we refuse to remain indifferent to the massive unemployment in the city and the country which results from economic policies of the type favoured by the present ruling parties.

The oil refinery is an absolute necessity, a fundamental prerequisite if we are to make the fullest possible use of the oil resources now reluctantly admitted by Mr. Keating to be there in significant quantity.

The community will benefit, the real community, the Irish people as soon as both of these projects, extraction and refining are conducted in Ireland.

### PUBS

The pattern of sectarian killings in the North is composed of a sickening predictability. The workers' bus, the shot through the windows and the duffle bag bomb are the features of a psychopathic campaign which continues to blot out political activity in the North.

But undoubtedly the increase in pub bombings this past few months demonstrates that the killers in their search for soft targets have plumbed the depths in their desire to wipe out the other side.

The term Catholic or Protestant bar is now an accepted part of Northern dialogue. Were it not so tragic it would be hilarious, worthy of inclusion in the gallery of sectarian jokes along with "Catholic greyhound wins Derby".

The humour has long since gone replaced by distrust, cynicism and murderous hatred. Some O'Casey might care to write a black comedy on the current state of the community. He has the opening lines from a wall in Belfast, "Would the last person to leave Belfast, please switch off the lights".

The Republican Clubs campaign against sectarianism is not the private political property of the organisation. Although the Clubs have stood alone for some time as the only organisation to condemn continually the killers. Now the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions have mounted their campaign there are no excuses left for those who have for too long sat on the fence.

Discrimination in Housing and Industry were two of the principal factors maintaining a divided community in the Six Counties. Republicans have always been to the forefront in the battle to ensure fair allocation of jobs and homes. Now a new success can be chalked up.

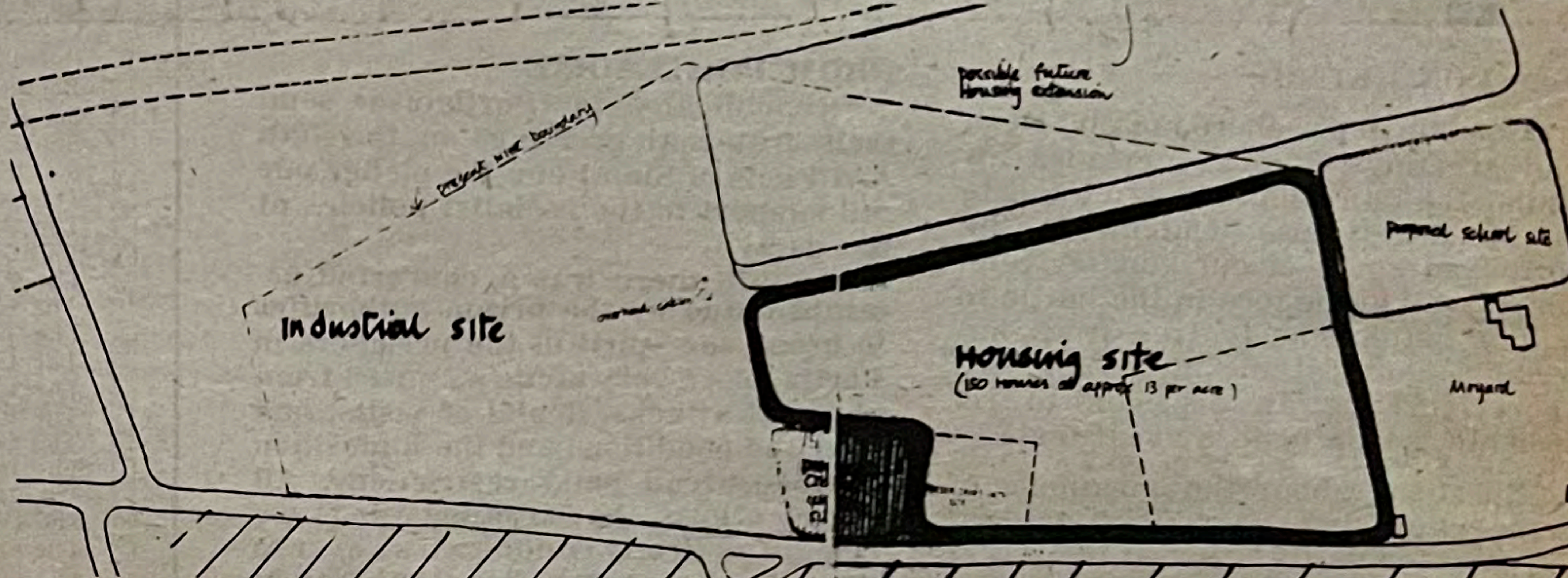
Republican Clubs spokesman Kevin Smyth explained that agreement has now been reached between the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the Belfast Republican Clubs on the much disputed 20 acre site on the Glen Road. The dispute arose out of the use to which the land was to be put.

For the past year Republican Clubs, Community Associations and Tenants' Associations had insisted that no houses should be built on the site unless there were meaningful industrial facilities provided. The Republican Clubs compromise plan which was put to the Ministry and the Housing Executive last August has been fully accepted. Kevin Smyth claims that while the

Housing Executive suggests an industrial estate set in a parkland location, screened from the nearby housing sites.

Councillor Bernie McDonagh stated that there is already considerable interest in the industrial potential of the site and is hopeful the advance factories can now be built.

Kevin Smyth noted after the meeting with the Ministry that this decision on the Glen



agreement does not go all the way to meeting Republican demands "it will mean a 20 acre industrial site for one of the unemployment black spots of Belfast.

The unemployment figures for the area are shattering. Nearby Anderstown, 30 per cent of the heads of all households are on the dole. The school leaving population is increasing by 1,000 annually. The new site will therefore be a welcome addition to the Kennedy Way industrial estate which serves a large area in West Belfast.

The proposals presented by the Clubs to the

Road estate conformed with the Scarman and Cameron tribunals, both of which noted that discrimination in the location of industry was a major part of the patronage system operated by the Unionist Party. "We have only to compare the vast industrial complexes at Lisburn - 200 acres, Monkstown - 120 acres, Antrim - 200 acres and Castlereagh 100 acres, to understand the meaning of continuous planned discrimination denying a section of the working class the right to work and thus weakening the entire Labour movement in Belfast," he said.

## NICRA REMEMBERS

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association held their fourth Bloody Sunday Commemoration on Saturday, January 31. Before a small crowd of some 200 Mr. Denis Mullan, chairman of N.I.C.R.A. spoke on the meaning of Bloody Sunday and why it was still vital to keep the memory of those who were murdered by the British Army alive in the minds of the Irish people.

Mr. Mullen said that those who had died on Bloody Sunday died for liberty, not for the city of Derry, not for the nation, but for humanity. He emphasised that they were seeking a Bill of Rights

guaranteed by law and the protection of democratic government for all, regardless of creed or politics.

"How many will say we have any more rights today than we had four years ago. We have fewer, if anything. Indeed the basic right, which is the right to live, has been abrogated. Nobody in Northern Ireland has any rights whatsoever. That is by decree of those who purport to rule over us."

Wreaths were laid at the monument erected by the Civil Rights Association to commemorate the 14 who were murdered.

Unfortunately scenes marred a second demon-

stration on the following day and as has been pointed out by the Civil Rights Association the Bloody Sunday anniversary has been turned into a political football by some sectarian politicians. Attacks by mobs of hooligans on a local Protestant housing estate occurred during a Provisional demonstration for which incredible speeches from the platform must be blamed. Mr. Kevin Agnew urged a mass bombing campaign in Britain. A sentiment which has been noted widely as unworthy of an occasion where civil rights supporters were slaughtered.

## Convention no solution

As the members of the reconvened Convention prepare for a further round of inter party talks under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Lowry, no one expects that any form of Government will be formed in the North given the only acceptable formula, as outlined by Westminster, power-sharing.

What most observers will be watching is how far the SDLP are prepared to go to get back into the ministries they once graced. So far their major shift in policy, publicly, is their unreserved support for the R.U.C. a fact

which has many asking why Councillor Tom Donnelly resigned from the party.

The U.U.U.C. in spite of Professor Kennedy Lindsay's jibes, are determined that no coalition will begin business. They are the majority in the Convention so the next month is little more than a gossiping session. Dr. Paisley is quite happy with the prospects. He has for some time maintained "integration with the UK" as the only alternative to full devolution, although never spelling out what the latter meant.

Westminster has by now conceded that their American inspired idea of consensus is no longer viable and are prepared for an extended period of direct rule. There would seem therefore to be little difference between the Paisley aspirations and the future after March.

Direct rule for an indefinite period is what Westminster has planned for backed by sufficient force to quell sporadic outbursts. No wonder that the U.U.U.C. are treating the reconvened Convention as a huge joke.

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# A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

1. The right to live free from violence, sectarianism, intimidation and discrimination.
2. The right to security of employment and well paid work.
3. The right to associate freely and to advocate change by peaceful means.
4. The right to good housing accommodation.
5. The right to equality of educational opportunity.
6. The right to adequate social services to protect the well-being and living standards of the aged, the sick, the unemployed and the socially deprived.

Although only a small crowd gathered outside the City Hall, Belfast to mark the opening of the Irish Congress of Trades' Unions campaign for a "Better Life for All" on Tuesday, January 27, already over 25,000 people have signified their support by signing the pledge.

Statements of solidarity and backing have come from the T.U.C. the Belfast, Derry and Newry Trades' Councils, from the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (N.I.) and from the Executive of the I.C.T.U. One of the most heartening is that from the workers in Standard Telephones, Monkstown. "We deplore the continuing campaign of sectarian murders and believe that the time

has come for the workers in the Province to demonstrate their revulsion at such activities and isolate the gunmen from the working class. It is our intention to involve the wider Trade Union Movement in a campaign against sectarianism."

Attempts have been made to brand this campaign as a Republican inspired plot. Others have suggested that the British Government are manipulating current fears. What is clear is that the majority of the working class are opposed to the vicious cancer of sectarianism. That the Northern Committee have moved to mobilise the organised workers against the killers can only be welcomed by all

who are concerned to establish peace, justice and social progress.

The T.U. News (pictured below) spells out the options which have to be faced and overcome. "Foremost on the list of priorities is an end to violence. But that is not enough in itself. We must go on to establish the sort of society which can command the overwhelming respect of the people."

"N. Ireland has been the most distressed area of the U.K. with higher rates of unemployment, the lowest income per head, and the worst housing standards. Leaving aside Portugal with its special problems we now share with the South of Ireland the highest rate of unemployment by far in Western

Europe.

"The outlook for the future is even more frightening. Standards of living are being drastically cut and projected politics of government will add further to these difficulties. The housing programme has fallen drastically behind target. Investment has virtually dried up. Important companies such as S.T.C. and Rolls Royce employing high skills are on the point of closing or contracting. Unemployment threatens to reach levels not experienced since the hungry thirties. Worst of all we face the almost unimaginable danger of all out civil war bringing depths of degradation and misery to our people such as none of us have ever experienced."

## Oil conference to solve problems

Following the announcement by Mr. Justin Keating, Minister for Industry and Commerce in the 26 Counties, Mr. Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the Northern Republican Clubs, has called for a three part summit between Mr. Keating's Department, Mr. Stanley Orme and I.C.T.U. over Northern participation in the development of Ireland's new found off-shore oil resources.

The announcement that ESSO had discovered a commercial oil field at Seven Heads off the South Cork coast confirms the predictions made by the Republican Movement following the massive Marathon gas find in 1973. In the publication "The Great Irish Oil and Gas Robbery" Republicans estimated that there was over 600 million tons of oil in the Celtic Sea location off Ireland's South and East Coasts.

### Experience

Taking along with the massive sedimentary basin in the Irish continental shelf total Irish Oil Reserves now amount to some 2,000 million tons. For Ireland with its small population this oil wealth is ten times more important as the British North Sea Oil find.

In his statement Mr. Keating himself recognised this point when he said that our oil find "would present us with the possibility of changing the face of this island and would give us economic independence for the very first time since the establishment of the state".

In N. Ireland there are over 36 companies employing over 6,000 workers with valuable experience in the development of North Sea Oil. By 1980 North Sea Oil development as an industry in itself will

begin to recede and there will be a major shift to the development of Ireland's off-shore gas and oil wealth. It is important now that immediate steps are taken to see that this important development industry supplies jobs for Irish workers North and South.

An industrial summit meeting involving Mr. Keating, Irish Trade Unionists and Mr. Orme could open the way to a planned integrated approach to ensure that Irish jobs are created. Republican Clubs have consistently called for an institutional recognition of the economic dimension which exists in Ireland today.

### Wealth

The oil find underlines the need for the development of our proposal for an all-Ireland Economic Development Commission bringing together Trade Unionists and publicly owned bodies North and South in a dynamic publicly owned development corporation capable of exploiting Ireland's vast mineral, oil and gas potential in the interests of the Irish working class.

The time has come for Mr. Keating to recognise the claim of Northern workers, Catholic and Protestant, to full participation in the development of Ireland's natural resources. There is great concern among Northern Trade Unionists about the private enterprise strategy being operated by the Southern Government in the development of this vast wealth and resources.

Before Mr. Keating goes any further in his plans to hand this vast wealth to American banks and oil companies he must be made to realise that as far as we in the North are concerned it's our oil too.

Almost 250 members attended the Annual General Meeting of Belfast Republican Clubs on Wednesday, January 28 in Cyprus Street. Chairman Brian Brennan (on right) outlined the Party programme for the coming year. He pointed out that in spite of enormous difficulties much serious political work had been undertaken and that a major breakthrough was the setting up of a full-time office.

The out-going Chairman was returned unopposed, Bobby McKnight was elected as vice-chairman, Mary McMillen as secretary, Eileen Kelly as treasurer and Mary McMahon as public relations officer.

In the course of his address the



**T.U. NEWS**

Vol 1 Number 1 Jan 1976

**END VIOLENCE**



Don't let it happen again

**STOP PRESS 57988 jobless**

The only surprising aspect of this massive rate of unemployment is that we did not reach it before now. While some people may have thought that the trade unions were exaggerating the prospects for unemployment in our statements over the past few months, let no one now have any doubts whatsoever. There is only one way to describe these latest figures. DIS-

ASTROUS, and they will continue to climb. Recently the Rolls Royce chief said that there was no hope of saving the 800 jobs at Dunderdall and STC is continuing with plans for a massive cutback. Now more than ever with unemployment at its highest rate since 1941 we need to channel the energies of the whole community and its representatives towards the

solution of our social and economic problems. We sincerely hope that the seriousness of the economic situation exemplified by these figures will encourage people to give wholehearted support to the trade union campaign for "A better life for all" which is being promoted to attack the twin evils of unemployment and sectarianism.

**A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL**

**NOW - OR FACE RUIN**

Over the years the official trade union movement has concentrated its efforts on its primary function of representing its members in their work places. It can claim a large degree of success on the industrial front because it has been able to maintain that unity which is essential to the interests of all workers.

Outside the work place the movement has put in a lot of effort on matters of wider community concern. Through its representatives on various public bodies and by direct approaches to Government it has pursued its economic and social objectives to the best of its ability. The movement has found it difficult to make its voice heard above the noise of the bombs, the shooting and the political brawling.

The trade union movement has concentrated its efforts in this way because it realises better than most that its membership is deeply divided on issues involving great depths of emotion. Perhaps it has been wrong to maintain a low profile; certainly it is itself worried about how it can best serve the people. The campaign it is now embarking upon is an attempt to involve the general membership in an all out effort to combat the evils which threaten the very existence of ordinary people.

### Most distressed area

Foremost on the list of priorities is an end to violence. But that is not enough in itself. We must go on to establish the sort of society which can command the overwhelming respect of the people.

Northern Ireland has been the most distressed area of the United Kingdom, with higher rates of unemployment, the lowest income per head, and the worst housing standards. Leaving aside Portugal with its special problems we now share with the Republic of Ireland the highest rate of unemployment by far in Western Europe.

"The outlook for the future is even more frightening. Standards of living are being drastically cut and projected policies of Government will add further to these difficulties. The housing programme has fallen drastically behind target. Investment has virtually dried up. Important companies such as STC and Rolls Royce employing high skills are on the point of closing or contracting. Unemployment threatens to reach levels not experienced since the hungry thirties. Worst of all we face the almost unimaginable danger of all out civil war bringing depths of degradation and misery to our people such as none of us has ever experienced."

### Policies

But it is because we are not prepared to accept that the blight at the end of the tunnel is our inevitable destiny that the trade union movement is now embarking upon this campaign. Its success depends upon the readiness of all workers to defend those basic freedoms which are the hallmarks of any society claiming to be civilised.

As the campaign develops, the trade union movement will propagate policies and proposals for dealing with the social evils threatening our future. It will carry the demands of the people to the responsible politicians at all levels. It will seek the active support of the international trade union movement. A start has been made and we ask all our readers to pledge their personal support for the campaign by signing the People's Declaration, by advocating its policies and by taking an active part in the campaign activities which are outlined elsewhere in this paper.

chairman urged that the real nature of Republicanism be re-emphasised during the coming year. "The war against sectarianism, the resources struggle and the workers' right to their resources, gross exploitation, unemployment and the role of Anglo-American imperialism in Ireland — all these raise the national question above the mere border politics of reactionary nationalism."

Concluding Brian Brennan stressed the "need to promote an increase in class politics thereby countering the stampede into armed sectarian camps being encouraged by Provisional and Loyalist paramilitaries. We must lay the basis for an increase in class awareness. Such expanding class politics is the anvil

on which the weapon of National Liberation will be forged."

The organiser's report examined the progress of the Clubs in the city during the previous year. Education, new members, women's rights, housing and political agitations were reviewed by Seamus Harrison. He congratulated the membership on their Convention election campaign, their continued exertions for the Bill of Rights and overall the initiation of the widespread anti-sectarian campaign. "While gunmen were shooting down our members in their homes you were still prepared to go on the streets spreading the Republican message on the need for working class unity," he said.

**Belfast R. clubs meeting**



# "We shall go always a little further"

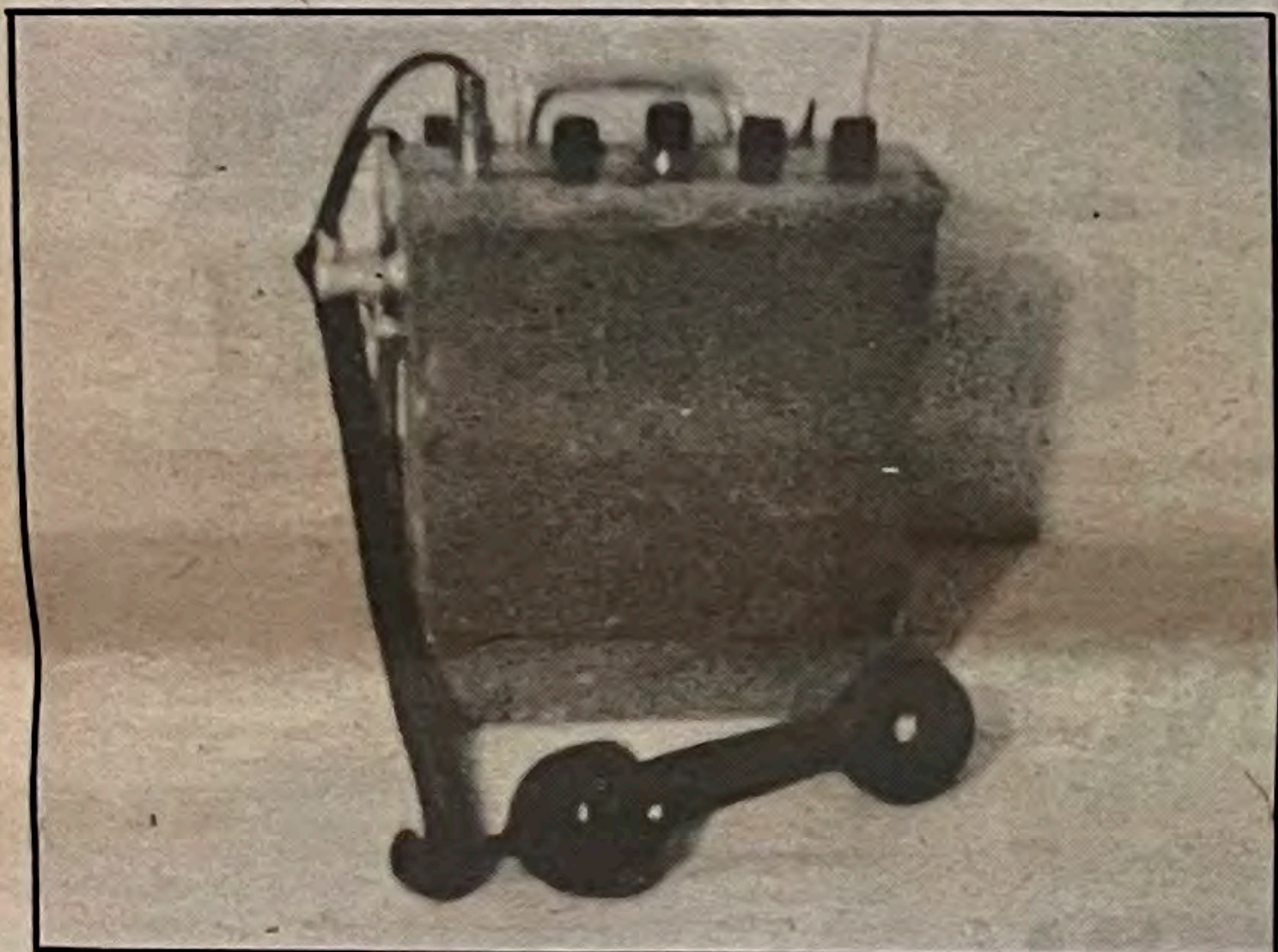
## Killers on the loose

The introduction of the Special Air Service into "Armagh" has been highlighted by the British Government as a "unique" move arising out of the deterioration in the security situation in that area. The reality is that many members of the SAS currently "unattached" i.e. serving with their own regiments, have been and are active in the Six Counties. For example the butcher of Derry, Lt. Col. Derek Wilford was serving with the Paras yet is known even to his fellow officers as a member of SAS; then a blood stained associate of Wilford, Major General Ken Perkins is currently serving openly as a member of SAS in Oman as Commander of the reactionary Sultan's forces. Why was a press campaign introduced on this occasion?

First some facts on the recent move. It is true to say that no more than 150 open SAS operatives have entered the North. This is squadron strength; 22nd SAS comprises five "gun" and two support squadrons, "A" to "G", giving a total book strength of roughly 1,000, although no more than three squadrons are active at any one time. Tours of duty now are restricted to a seven months maximum. Volunteers sign on for three years minimum, the majority opting for an additional three years.

As each SAS patrol numbers four, there are almost 40 killer squads loose between Lurgan and South Armagh. This does not rule out their appearance in other parts of the North. As their former Commanding Officer, Brigadier Simpson said in June, 1975, "Soldiers come to this regiment for active service, and active service they see".

It is likely that "E" Squadron now in the North have a large number of recruits for "bleeding". Certain facts bear this out. One patrol intercepted in the Portadown area travelling in an unmarked van panicked. In their Chicago style getaway they lost their radio (pictured here) which has subsequently been discovered not to be on any known British Army frequency.



As early as July 1975 it was disclosed in the Sunday Times that the ministry of Defence had decided to involve SAS in the North, but mainly for training purposes. The lessons of the miners' strike in 1972 led to the setting up of three new sub-sections under the Civil Contingencies Committee all involving military operations. Who better to bash the future pickets than SAS and where better to train them in urban violence than Ireland. Such training will undoubtedly include clandestine excursions into the 26 Counties in keeping with the slogan on the memorial clock tower in their camp at Bradbury Lines, Hereford, "We shall Always Go A Little Further". The SAS see themselves as obedient "pilgrims". Another word in the slogan. But not all. The three Veray brothers, William

John and Joseph, all former SAS members, put their specialist knowledge to good use when they robbed two banks in Edinburgh in September and October 1975. Total £11,529. Subsequently they blasted their way into the Meadow Market, Cash and Carry store near Hereford wounding store security officer Mrs. Betty Austin (59) in both legs. They threatened to shoot Mrs. Austin and Manager Mr. Andrew Laurence, if they moved.

The origins of the SAS are not as official British records would have the public believe in the activities of David Stirling in November 1941 but has its roots deep in the British class system. There were three sources, (i) the private armies largely associated with the Scottish Clans, the main one being the Frasers who organised the (Baron) Lovat Scouts in the late 19th Century, (ii) the upper class Territorial Army Units in particular the Artists Rifles and (iii) the regular Army officers closely connected with the British peerage. One of the most recent awards (Jan. 26, 1976) for service in Oman was Lt. Col. Peter Edgar de la Cour de la Billiere, M.C. The name would seem to indicate a relatively upper class background.

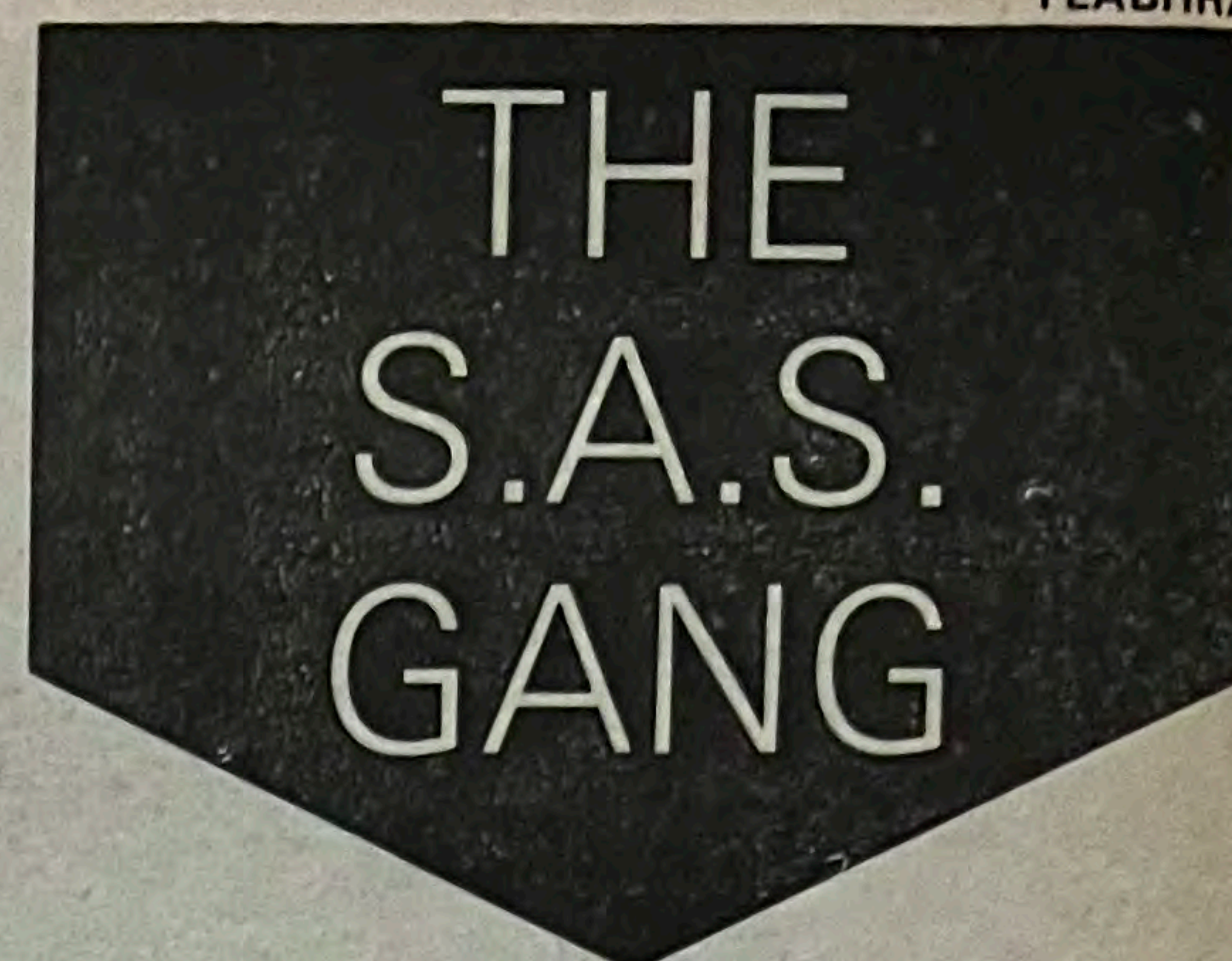
### Angola

This network of old school tie killers and mercenaries maintains itself in civilian life, particularly in the field of "law enforcement" and providing guns for hire. Two top people currently engaged in strengthening imperialist rule in Britain and abroad are David Stirling and Major General Anthony Deane-Drummond. Stirling runs his security agency from 22, South Audley Street, London and has close connections with Security Services, currently recruiting for Angola. The public school boy mind is probably behind the humour which ensures that the initial letters are SAS.

Drummond, now Director of the peculiar "Paper and Paper Products Independent Training" published a book last year 'Riot Control' in association with the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies. The book was sponsored by Schermuly Ltd. who market CS gas and all other riot control equipment. A close friend of top London policeman Sir Robert Mark, Drummond is a classic example of how SAS men link big business, the police and the British Army into a tight network of capitalist repression.

Brigadier Mike Calvert now "retired" to Manchester University has a career extending from 1940 in Finland to his formation of the Malayan Scouts after World War II to fight the Malayan Liberation Movement. his group was the basis for the new reorganised 22nd Special Air Service.

Therefore whether it be in Oman, Dhofar, Angola or Northern Ireland the function of the S.A.S. is crystal clear. It constitutes a private and secret army of the ruling class.



Current top hood of the Special Air Service, Brigadier J. P. B. C. Watts, appointed September 26, 1975 is of particular interest to the Irish people; although the National Liberation Movement in Oman would like to get their hands on him for his behaviour as C.O. and Major of "D" Squadron in that area in 1958/59. They would also like to interview his close associates Major General A. J. Deane-Drummond (retired 1971) and the other thug in charge of "A" Squadron then, Major John Cooper.

John Peter Barry Condliffe Watts has the closest of connections with "Irish" regiments. He began his checkered career as a 2nd Lt. in the Royal Ulster Rifles (February 9, 1951) and has since escalated in the killing game as one born to the hunt ought. Major in the RUR (February 9, 1964) after a spell of duty "attached" to the S.A.S. as mentioned, in Oman, he became a Lt. Col. in the Royal Irish Rangers, from January 1970. Later as a full Colonel (1974) he was given a staff appointment on the Director of Army Training's staff in the Adjutant-General's Department at the Ministry of Defence.

A close friend of Watts, David Smiley, son of Baron Smiley, one-time top hired assassin for the Sultan of Oman, describes the new SAS chief as "a stocky, tough and dedicated professional". Another ex-Omani mercenary and former British officer elaborates on the meaning of professional. "The SAS were airborne commandos possessing the qualities and faculties of both commandos and paratroops. They were the coolest and most frightening body of professional killers I have even seen." (P. S. Allfree). Mr. Allfree was writing of the SAS who came to Oman in 1958, led by J. P. B. C. Watts.

Senior S.A.S. man in the North but not detachable as such is Lt. Col. I. R. D. Shapter. He was appointed Commander of Royal Signals at Lisburn H.Q. from January 28, this year. Shapter was mentioned in dispatches during the period August-October 1973. Shapter is a member, in excellent standing, of this notorious group.

Aiding and abetting from the "outside" are former members of the SAS, now active in British politics. They include such outstanding upper class types as the following: Airey Middleton Sheffield Neave (see People in Politics), Rt. Hon. John Dennis Profumo, who figured in a notorious call-girl scandal in the '60's, Randolph Spencer Churchill, son of Sir Winston Churchill, Sir Fitzroy Maclean and lots more of the top bracket in British society.

Of particular interest is one David Francis Muirhead, now Head of the Personnel Department at the British Foreign Office who is a brother in law of Michael Bowen Hanley current Chief of MI5 and also likely to succeed to Maurice Oldfield of MI6.

All in all a pleasant assortment of rattlesnakes to be pursuing peace in Ireland.

## TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT REFINERY

The Dublin Bay Refinery hearing has lasted a lot longer than most people expected. No firm coming to Ireland or no native firm has ever been subjected to such close scrutiny.

There has never been such press interest, such headlines, about the building of such a very dull matter as an oil refinery. And the lurid headlines — the one about "oil tanks taking off into the air", and another which read "it'll rain acid on Dublin". One would imagine that what was being discussed is some, fearful new development and how people and nature would behave after the event cannot be foretold.

An oil refinery is a very common sort of thing and every time a motorist stops at a petrol pump one of some refinery's products is put into the tank.

But let us ask the question — is there any sort of substance to the objectors' claim that the population of Dublin is opposed to the building of the refinery?

Not one body of trade unionists has been discovered who are willing to speak out against it. Rather the reverse is the case — the port unions and the executive committee of the Dublin Trades Council both declared in favour of the proposed refinery. Surely this is reasonable proof, that there is a large body of opinion in favour of a refinery.

The Dublin Trades Council, a disciplined body of Dublin workers, a body well accustomed to expressing its views would surely speak out if opposed to a refinery. There is a well organised, well financed campaign in progress to persuade people to speak against it.

The protest movement has assumed all the intensity of a witch-hunt. In a witch-hunt atmosphere it is expected that people will believe that "it'll rain acid on Dublin."

The facts of life can be ignored in this sort of emotional atmosphere. The company which has not yet burned one

pint of oil in Dublin is accused of polluting the air over Dublin. The companies who do in fact pollute our air by exporting to us their dirty oil — the product of their oil refineries in Britain — have not had so much as one word of censure directed against them.

The major Anglo-American oil companies who have not paid a penny on their profits made here in the past fifty years have not had one word of censure directed against them.

### Innocents

This is positive proof that the present anti-refinery campaign is organised by the major Anglo-American oil companies. Involved in the campaign, there are of course, some innocents who believe what they are being told. But the oil company people are there, in powerful positions to influence public opinion. How many newspaper directors have a share in oil?

We have already named them in our book "The Great Irish Oil and Gas Robbery".

Marathon and Esso are "Rockefeller". Gulf is "Mellon". None of the people now protesting said a word against Gulf setting up storage tanks in Bantry Bay and because no controls were in force naturally Gulf polluted the South coast.

Even now not a word is heard in condemnation of Gulf and Jack Lynch who negotiated the agreement.

There was an artificial petrol shortage in the capitalist world in 1973. When the shortage ended and the Seven Sisters Oil Cartel had got their price increases Exxon's profits had increased 59 per cent, Shells 55 per cent, Texaco's 70 per cent and Gulf 91 per cent.

The present campaign against the proposal to build an oil refinery in Dublin Port is supported by the Seven Sisters Oil Cartel to enable them to continue to pollute our city with their dirty oil at great profit to themselves.

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# ARD FHEIS REPORT

Mansion House  
Dublin  
1976

## Comrades and friends of the Republic

We who are assembled here at the 70th Ard Fheis of Sinn Féin represent the continuing historic struggle for the re-conquest of Ireland by her dispossessed class. We continue a tradition of struggle that stretches from the period of the Jacobian Republic in France through Wolfe Tone and the 'men of no property', through the secular and socialist wing of Fenianism through Connolly, the Transport Union and its Irish Citizen Army, through the Mellows wing of the Irish Volunteers, the Republican Congress, and the march of Shankill Road Protestants at Bodenstown, down to our own final grappling with and expulsion from Republican ranks of the remaining Hibernian Nationalist and terrorist elements and our clear emergence as the vanguard party of the people's struggle, the party of the working class.

## Oráid an Uachtaráin

We therefore rejected and opposed the Provisionals because we knew from their foundation with Fianna Fáil gold and a favourable establishment Press, that they were the greatest menace to Republicanism and to the Irish workers North and South that had ever appeared on the Irish scene. They succeeded in doing what the British, Stormont and Leinster House forces could never have done. They smashed the developing unity of workers in struggle North and South, they drove the workers off the streets, they rescued Britain from the dock of international Public opinion, they blew progressive politics to smithereens, strengthened the forces of reaction and repression, distracted the people from the real struggle against Imperialism and left our country, our resources and our people wide open to exploitation and robbery by multi-national corporations.

We have not just condemned the terrorism of the past 6 years. We have actively opposed those who are promoting it — we have rooted out from the ranks of our own organisation those who supported or sympathised with it and if in the future any emerge within our ranks with any latent sympathy for acts of terrorism they shall be equally ruthlessly dealt with.

Our repeated call has been for peace. It is the most revolutionary demand at this time. Throughout 1975 our members in Northern Ireland have worked tirelessly for it. We do not want the false peace of total surrender. We do not want peace between the exploiter and the exploited. We want peace between the poor and wretched.

Peace that will lift, in the North, the daily burden of British, Loyalist and Provisional terror that has been loaded on top of the daily burden of wage robbery. Peace that will give the Catholic working man a pause and a chance to identify the parasites that feed on him.

Peace that will allow the Protestant working man a pause to identify the real causes of his present misery. Peace, not in the woolly hope that Protestant and Catholic will come together by supernatural dispensation.

Peace, not in the sick fantasies of the ultra-left, where the Protestant is beaten by the Nationalists on a Monday and told to

behave like a Socialist by the same people on a Tuesday. The Peace they need and the peace they want and the peace our Party is now committed to giving them is the peace to think and plan how to lift the burden of bigotry, sectarianism and terror, both of the Catholic and Protestant middle class once and for all from their backs.

We want a peace that removes the British jackboot, the Hibernian gunman and the Oranger bomber, so that all our people can join in the struggle for the re-conquest of Ireland from the Bankers, the Profiteers and the exploiters — the struggle of the working class and the doomed small farmer class, for the ownership and control of the wealth of this country. That is the National Question which faces us.

We want an end to violence so that we can raise the struggle to a higher plane — so that we can resume the forward march of the working class which was halted in 1971 by the Provisional bombs and the British repression. We want a peace which will allow people to see through the constitutional distractions so constantly put before them.

Our call in 1969 was for Democracy and Civil Rights — not for abolition of a form of Government in the Six Counties. We recognised the reality which existed and adapted our policies to the fact of the existence of two states. The mess which now exists under direct British Rule in the North indicates the correctness of the position we held in 1969. In the Convention Elections in the Spring of last year the Republican candidates showed clearly that we had not compromised, that, despite all difficulties and murderous opposition, we had adhered to the same political principles which he held in 1968/1969.

Our candidates pointed out that we rejected all sectarian solutions, either a return to the old Orange Unionist type sectarian rule or the institutionalised sectarian politics as envisaged in the power sharing proposals. We said in our election literature and propaganda at the last election that the first priority was the guaranteeing of Civil Rights to all citizens and the abolition of repressive laws, repressive judiciary and repressive police forces and the implementation of democratic reforms — all summed up in the demand for a Bill of Rights.

If such were granted and firmly implemented then, we stated clearly, any new assembly to be elected should be on the basis of majority rule. Such a situation would open up great possibilities for the development and growth of real politics — class politics — in Northern Ireland and nothing could deal a greater blow to Sectarianism, bigotry and reaction than the growth of class politics in the North.

This is probably why Britain is so determinedly opposed to the implementation of the demand for a Bill of Rights. It is not in her long term interest to see sectarianism and division of workers ended in Ireland. The greatest threat to British Imperialism in Ireland and the Anglo American exploitation of the Irish economy is a united, educated — an organised working class. In all of the British Governments long series of White Papers, Green Papers, Enactments, Decrees, Ministerial pronouncements and Royal Proclamations there was never the slightest hint that they had even heard of a demand for basic civil and democratic rights in the North.

Yet it was this simple demand for democratic rights and civil liberties which motivated tens of thousands of people in one of the greatest and most democratic mass struggles that Ireland has seen. Within the course of one momentous year that

struggle had almost achieved total victory and changed the whole course of Irish history North and South with hardly a shot being fired. The calm courage and determination of thousands of peaceful marchers in the face of savage police repression and attacks by fascist Paisleyite bigots fired the imaginations of oppressed peoples all over the world. But the British Government and their apparatus of repression in Northern Ireland were rescued from a humiliating defeat when the struggle was diverted into militarism and sectarian terror by the newly formed Provisional Alliance of right wing reactionaries and ultra leftists.

Sectarianism, like racism, is the deadly enemy of democracy and civil liberties. We must systematically fight and eliminate Sectarianism from Government, Judiciary, Police, from employment and housing and from cultural activities and education.

During the second half of 1975 our Clubs in the North devoted the major portion of their time to the struggle against Sectarianism. The groundwork for this was laid in the early summer by our Vice-President, Malachy McGurran, when he emphasised that we can no longer be satisfied in calling ourselves a "non-sectarian" organisation. We must become an "anti-sectarian" Party. We must not be neutral in the war against Sectarianism, we must be in the vanguard of the struggle against it. He followed this up by organising two week-end conferences on the subject in August and September. At these a broad based plan of campaign was outlined to be initiated by a wide distribution of leaflets and posters which working parties had drafted.

## Oráid an Uachtaráin

The anti-sectarian campaign was launched in October and immediately met bitter opposition on the ground from members of the Provisional Alliance and British Army. Both groups of armed thugs continually harassed, beat up and stole the leaflets and posters from our members. Both anti-Republican groups also engaged in the very constructive task of tearing down any posters our members succeeded in putting up. Incidentally, few of the posters put up in Loyalist areas were torn down. Some had the name Republican Clubs torn off the bottom but the slogan "Sectarianism kills Workers" was left intact.

Our Republican Clubs' campaign of poster and leafletting continued throughout October in the teeth of bitter Provisional and British opposition. Then without warning, at tea time on Wednesday, October 29th, the Provisional Alliance launched a ruthless and murderous onslaught on our members. In a well planned and coordinated operation 30 homes were attacked between 5.30 and 6.30 p.m. that evening, leaving one dead and 20 seriously injured, 4 of them on the critical list. But for the alertness and quick action taken by our members the death toll that day would have been much higher.

The Pogrom continued with unabated fury until November 13, when massive pressure of public opinion and the obviously increasing life and vigour of the Republican Clubs in the face of all attacks forced the Provisionals to call a halt to their pogrom. They had murdered 8 people and badly

Continued on page 10

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# PEACE & CLASS

The Ard Fheis has been described by commentators as the most 'business-like' ever conducted by Sinn Féin. The fact that the Clar was completed by the appointed time is illustrative of the preparation done by the Steering Committee and the efficiency of those who chaired the proceedings.

It was, however, in the contents of the resolutions passed and the standard of the debates in which delegates got their teeth into the social and economic issues of the day that the observers saw the message "we mean business" being spelt out.

Peace, Work, Health, Civil Liberties, Transport, Education, Fisheries, Housing, Women's Rights, International Affairs and the Organisation of Youth, the Law and the Judiciary, all came under scrutiny.

## Peace

Peace, described by Tomas Mac Giolla in his Presidential address as "the most revolutionary demand of this time", was recognised by delegates as being essential to progress. The greatest obstacle to achieving it was recognised as Sectarianism and the enormity of this evil was spelt out by many delegates.

Sectarian divisions in the working class, it was pointed out, have reinforced privilege and social inequality, 'voluntary coalitions' among the privileged of various religions would not remove these divisions, nor would the 'adventurist militarism' of various groups 'masquerading as anti-Imperialists forces.' These latter, it was pointed out, have permitted the Imperialist regime to heighten repressive measures against democratic forces in the political and economic fields both in Ireland and in Britain.

## Alliance

The solution, the Ard Fheis decided, was the establishment of a Worker Alliance based on a Democratic Manifesto which would establish democratic rights for all and, through the implementation of a programme of economic proposals, would guarantee the right to work and to proper housing.

Among the demands of such a Democratic Manifesto should be:

1. An end to all sectarian assassinations, bombings and military campaigns with a declaration that these are not in the defence of or in the interest of any section of the working class. The political rejection of all groups who continue with such activities.
2. An end to harassment and intimidation of all working class people by British troops and their return to barracks pending their complete withdrawal.
3. Repeal of the Emergency Provisions Act and the creation of a new locally administered, civilian controlled, unarmed, police service.
4. The introduction of an agreed Bill of Rights (by the British Government) for all the people of Northern Ireland.
5. A declaration by the British Government to its intention to repeal all legislation under which the Westminster Parliament asserts

its claim to be the supreme authority in Northern Ireland.

In order to protect jobs and extend employment in vital industries, the proposed Democratic Manifesto would demand a comprehensive scheme of full public ownership 'under local control for (i) Ship-building, docks and transport industries, (ii) the man-made fibre industry and (iii) the building industry.

The Manifesto would demand the establishment of an Economic Development Commission charged with (a) Establishing new state-owned enterprises in Northern Ireland in petro-chemical, plastic and agricultural based industry and (b) the establishment of an Irish Economic Development Board to develop an integrated system of publicly owned industries based on the mineral, oil, gas and agricultural resources of the Irish people and to carry out a fully integrated exploration of the rich mineral, oil and gas resources now clearly established within Irish territory by a joint all-Ireland exploration corporation under public control.

The Democratic Manifesto which the Ard Fheis felt could "form the basis for a coalition involving Trade Unions, Tenant and Community Groups, cultural and youth organisations and all political parties truly representative of the working class laying the ground for common demand, common action and common purpose for the Northern working class" would also demand that "any future administration in Northern Ireland" should have full economic, fiscal and trading powers to develop the economy in the interests of all our people particularly in the field of local control over the import and export of capital and manufactured products", have power to create new tax structures which would shift the burden of taxation from the working class to the wealthy; power to organise an economic recovery based on state investment, "raising real wages and extending trade with stable expansionist socialist economies; and, power to nationalise all development land and the supply sources to the house building industry "as part of an emergency housing programme to build 300,000 dwellings in the next 15 years."

## Imperialism

A resolution on Employment attributed the current international wave of inflation and unemployment to "the present crisis of imperialism", created by "the inherent instability of capitalism", and the fact that "the major imperial powers have lost political control of Asia and Africa and therefore, no longer have free access to cheap raw materials for their industries and cheap food for their workers."

The resolution pointed out that Ireland "by remaining closely tied to the imperialist camp within the EEC and remaining politically subjected to Anglo American domination," had suffered all the worst effects of inflation and recession. Failure to take sovereign control of our economy and natural resources has led to our having no

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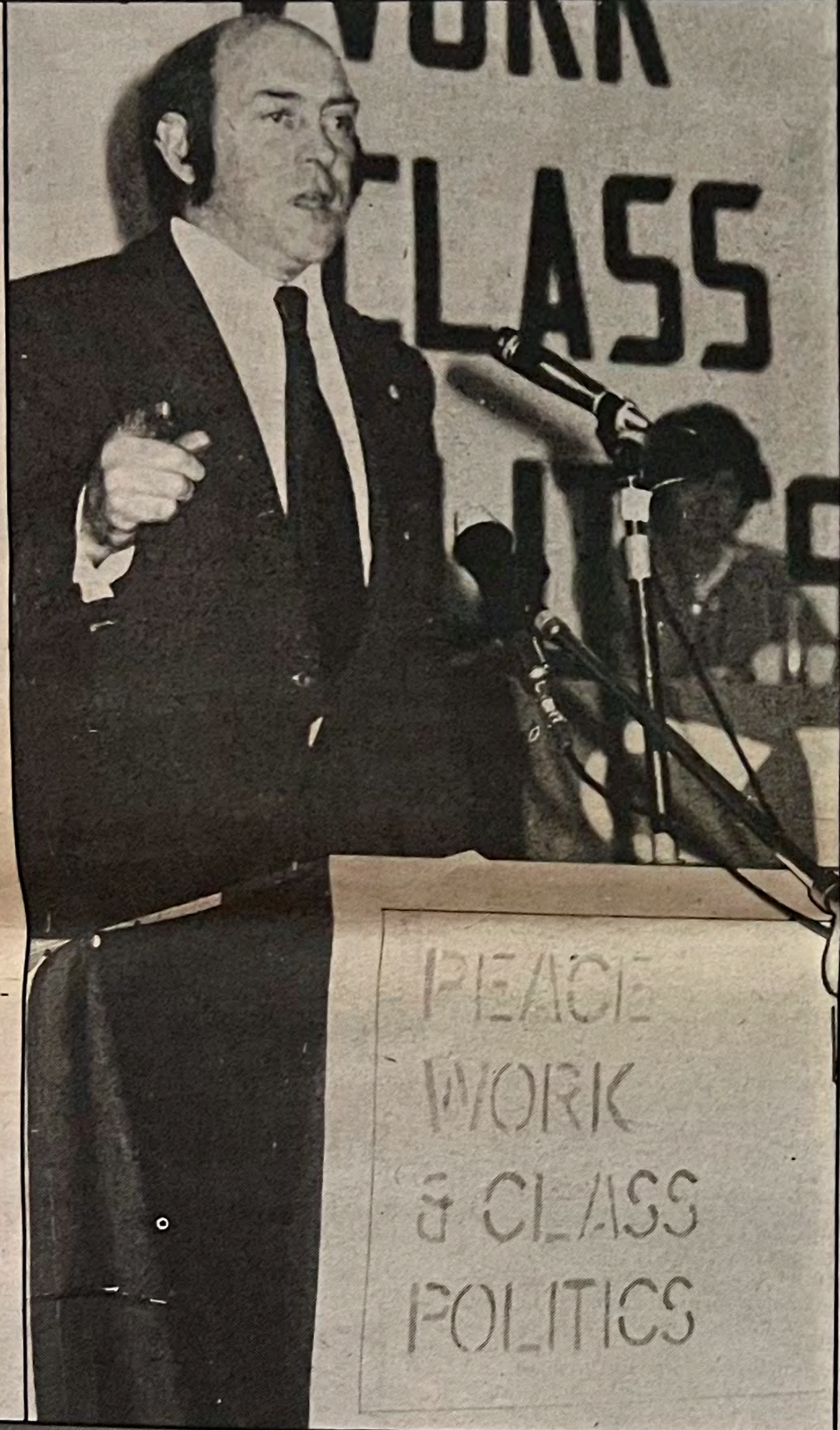
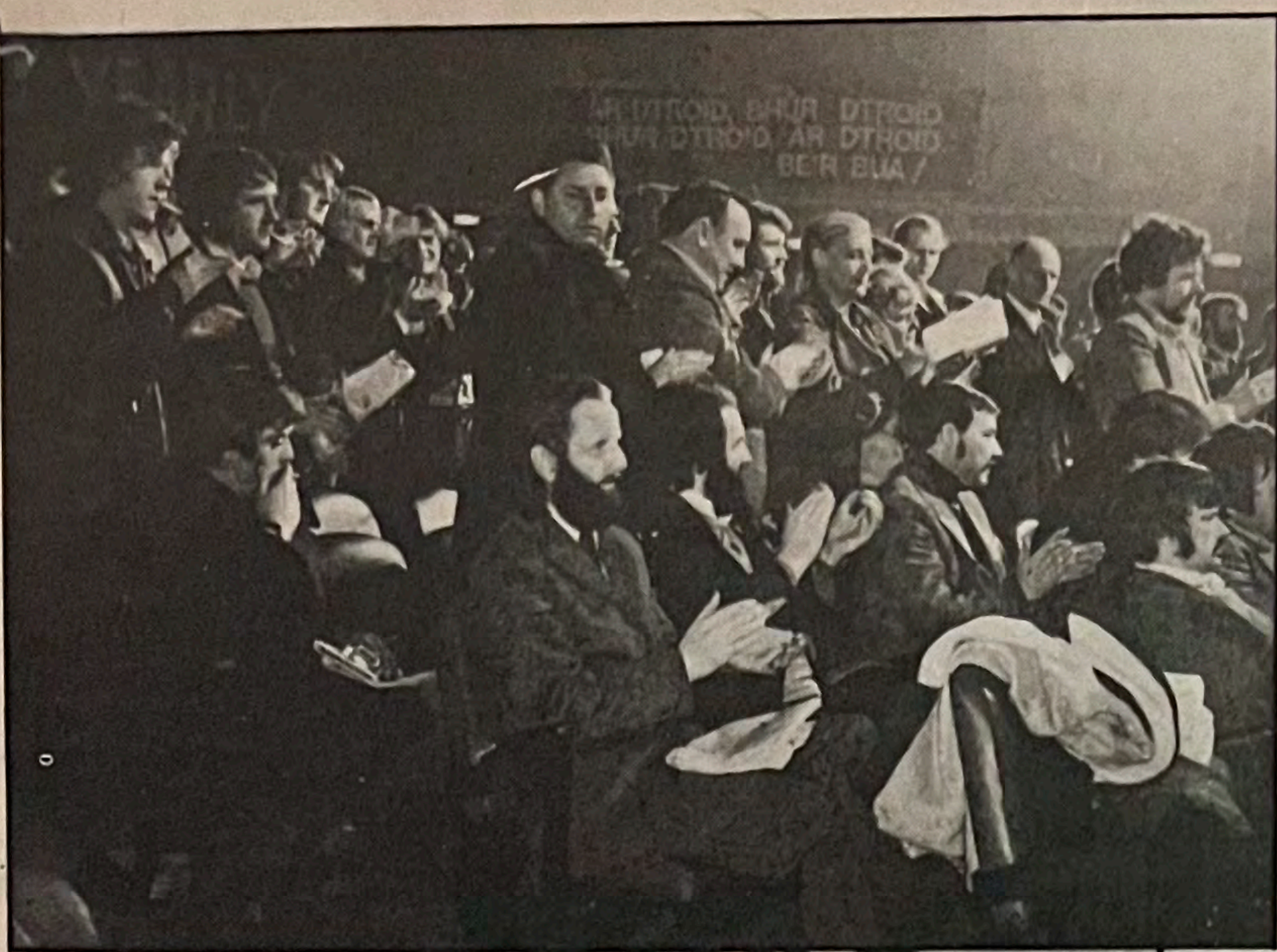
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- Delegates rise after the Presidential address.
- Councillor Joe Sherlock speaking on Health.
- Visitors Kevin McCorry, Secretary Irish Peace Group and Dr. Robn Joseph, A.S.T.M.S.



# WORK CLASS POLITICS

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remedy but "to go out and beg in-ternationally."

Radical changes would be required to tackle the current in-lation and unemployment situation and it would be futile to expect such changes unless maximum unity of all progressive organisations of workers and small farmers could be organised behind a co-ordinated plan of action throughout 1976.

The resolution committed Sinn Fein to striving towards such unity and towards a programme the defensive aspects of which would be (a) opposition to wage restrictions; (b) the freezing and control of prices and profits; (c) protection of pay-related and other benefits; (d) the seeking of minimum wage levels and a national pensions plan related to current wage levels, and, (e) the legal restriction of wholesale redundancy in grant aided and public industry.

This programme would at the same time seek an immediate crash offensive to create employment through (a) public expenditure on housing, road and urban transport to stimulate the building industry; (b) the building of an oil refinery in Dublin and a state smelter at a suitable site, (c) immediate use of suitable land under state control to develop agricultural based industry providing industrial employment in our major profit-making industry.

## Fisheries

The "heroic struggle" of Iceland was referred to by many delegates who spoke on the Fisheries Resolution which called for the drafting of a National Fishery Policy. Our geographical situation, and the rising world demand for protein makes our fishing grounds and stocks a most important and valuable natural resource.

It is also the most neglected, the Ard Fheis noted. To protect this resource from marauding foreign fleets the Ard Fheis called for the immediate introduction of 200 mile limit and the provision of adequate protection of it.

To develop the resources a national fishery policy was called for. Only through such a policy could the significance of the resource be appreciated and the manner of exploiting it, training, craft, processing, marketing be planned.

## Transport

Western delegates figured prominently in debates relating to resolutions on Transport and Fisheries. The Transport Resolution called on the incoming Ard Comhairle to draw up a comprehensive National Transport Plan, organised on a 32 County basis which should take account of both social and economic factors, recognise transport as an essential national service, and incorporate the following guidelines

(a) The integration of rail, road, air and water transport to provide maximum efficiency. To expand rail services with diversion from road to rail and consequently reduce expenditure on roads.

(b) Halt the planned de-nationalisation of CIE;

(c) Expand public transport in shipping, road haulage, offshore servicing and develop inland waterways and urban rail systems;

(d) Rationalise CIE, B - I, Irish

Shipping and Aer Rianta/Aer Lingus to avoid duplication and expand their employment potential by increasing their share of the Irish transport market;

(e) Develop co-operation agreements with British Rail, the Ulster Transport Authority and other public agencies to provide cheap efficient transport in all parts of Ireland;

(f) Fully utilise facilities at Harland and Wolf, Verolme Dockyard, Liffey Dockyard and Bord Iascaigh Mhara boatyards to provide new vessels and transport equipment.

(g) Due regard, in drawing up a Transport Plan, should be given to existing surveys and reports on railways, waterways and urban transport which have never been implemented.

## Nationalisation

Particular stress was laid on the need for planned economic development essential requirements of which would be the nationalisation of all the banks and financial institutions and the expansion of the role of state and semi-state enterprises in all areas of economic activity e.g., a state oil and gas production and manufacturing complex based on ESB, Bord na Mona, Aer Lingus and Nitrigin Eireann.

Solidarity within the Trade Union Movement was called for to force Government control over imports which threatened to wipe out several industries particularly motor assembly, shoe and leather, and textiles.

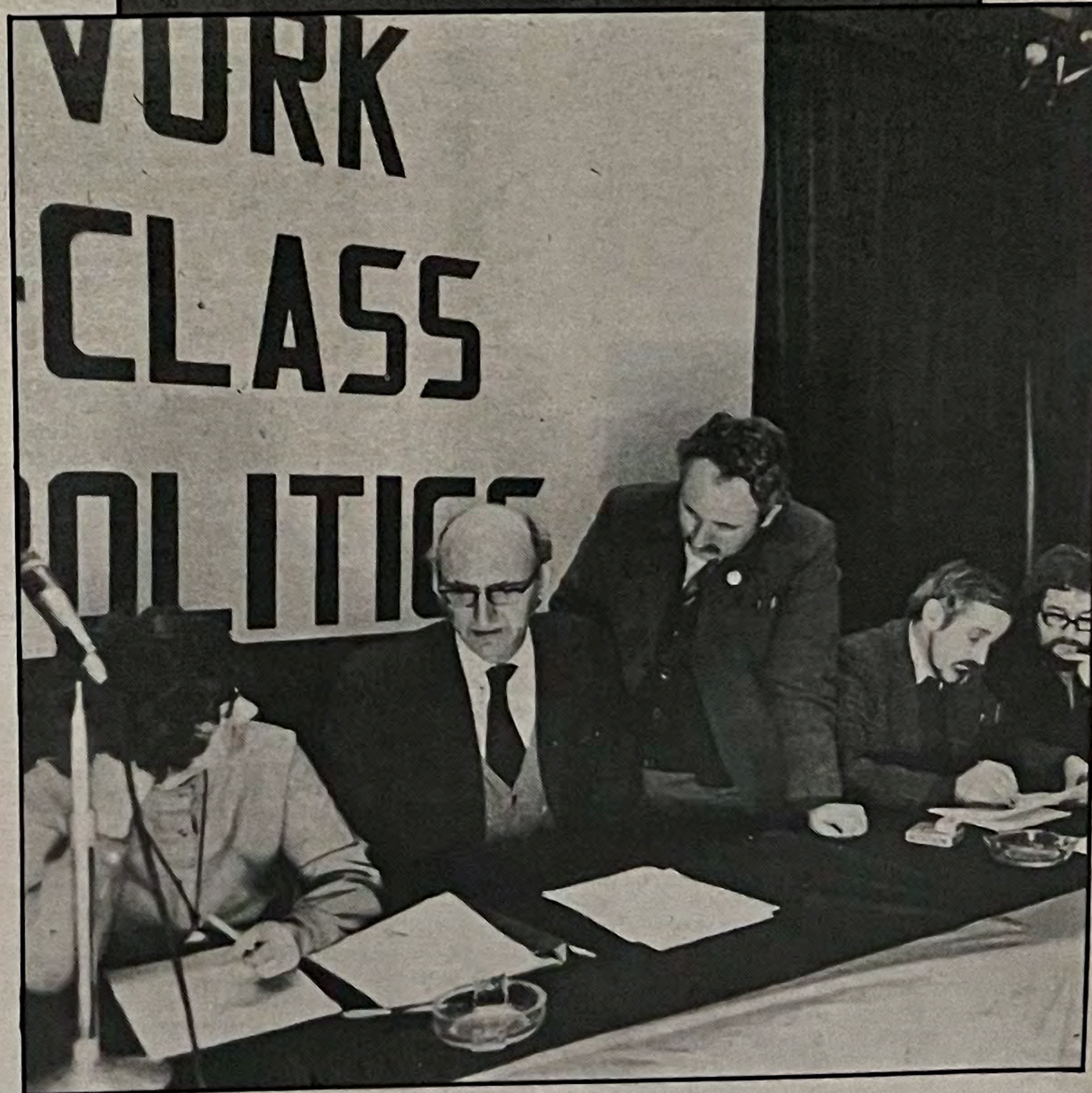
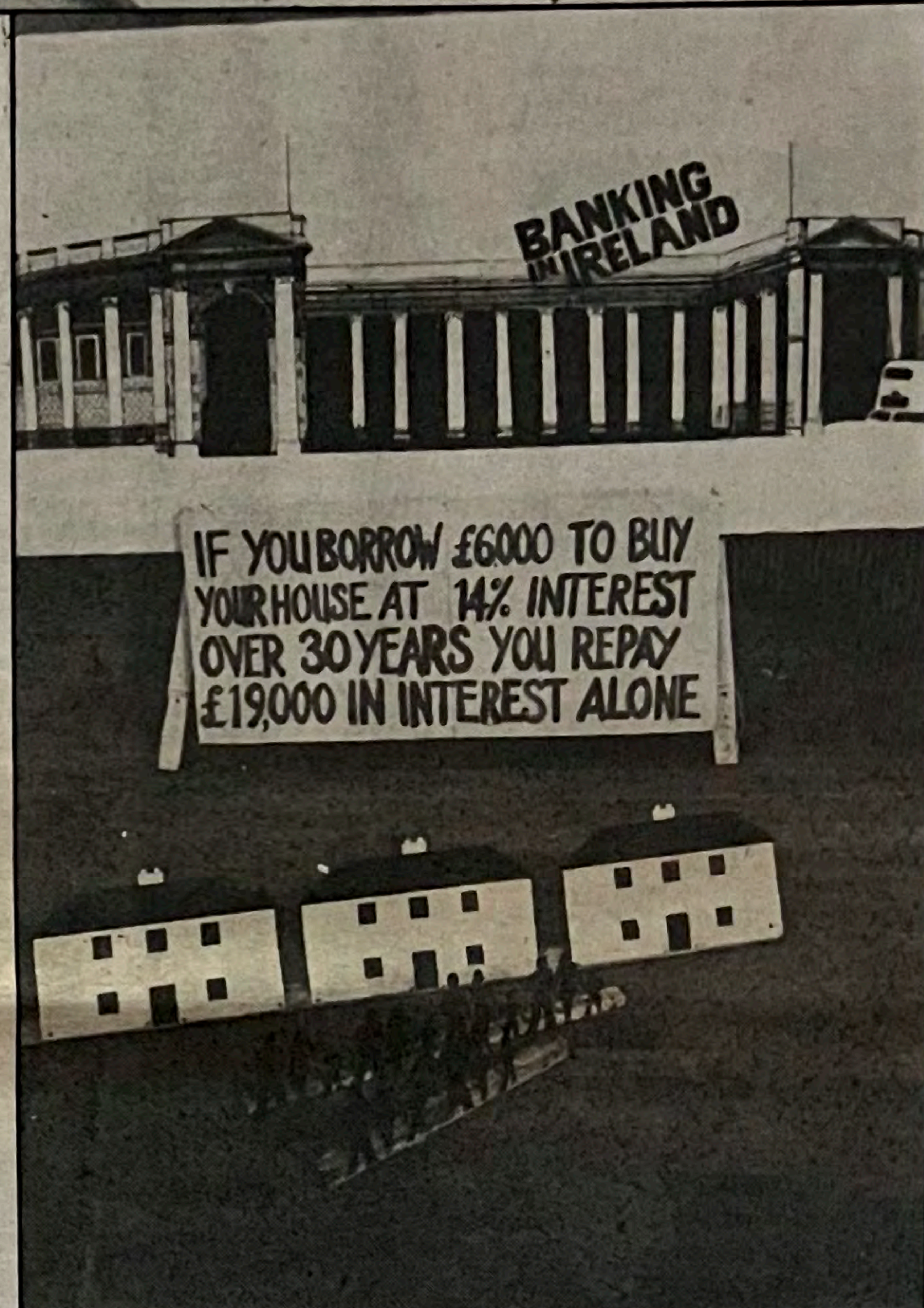
## Education

The cutbacks in capital expenditure on Education or any reduction in ongoing educational costs "which would lead to deterioration in an already grave situation such as a manifest in the appallingly high staff-pupil ratio in primary schools" was strongly condemned in a very comprehensive resolution among other things called for the creation of a nation wide nursery school system; the designation of Educational Priority Areas and a comprehensive programme to meet the needs of these areas; the radical change in the grant system for higher education in order to end the existing discrimination against working class students; the development of non-denominational community schools in a truly comprehensive manner under the management of teachers, state, students and parents.

Current education policies and structures were clearly recognised by delegates as contributing to the preservation of sectarianism - the integration of the three Belfast Colleges of Education as a first step to ending segregated education in the North and the ending of clerical control of Education, North and South being recognised as crucially important demands.

## Manual

Resolutions passed on Dental Health and other subjects will be included in a manual detailing Sinn Fein policies in all spheres which is in the course of preparation which it is hoped to publish in the near future.



- Eamonn Smullen (Inset) at the Resources Exhibition.
- Where your money goes!
- The platform party discuss a problem.



Continued from page 7

injured over 40. Four of the dead were members of our Party. This brings to 7 the number of our Belfast members who have been shot down in 1975, three having been done to death at the beginning of the year by The Irish Republican Socialist gunmen.

Peace is essential in order to allow workers to mobilise their forces for the massive economic and social struggle which lies ahead. We must have peace in order to organise the struggle for justice. How can workers fight for their class interests when Loyalist and Provisional assassins are shooting them in fives and tens? Will it soon be in 50's and 100's? How can trade unions organise resistance to the massive economic repression which capitalism is launching against their members when fascist sectarian thugs and SAS killers hold the workers in a grip of fear and render it almost impossible to even hold a branch meeting?

Unemployment is reaching 70,000 and still mounting, those who are working have their wages depressed, living costs are rising rapidly and there is an appalling and rapidly deteriorating housing crisis in Northern Ireland, but the overriding priority in the minds of workers is to save their lives. They are not safe in their homes, in their jobs, going to or coming from work, doing their shopping or having a drink at their local pub. If they escape the bomber or the assassin they are liable to arrest, search, beating and torture by the British Army or RUC.

In this situation they cannot get the opportunity to think, to organise and to defend themselves from the severe economic repression being unleashed upon them.

## Oráid an Uachtaráin

The great industrial growth in the North was based on textiles (mainly linen) and heavy engineering. The linen industry has long since collapsed and has been replaced by the man made fibre industry, which is totally dominated by British Enkalon, Courtaulds, Du Point, Hoechst, ICI and Monsanto. No Government in Belfast would have any control over these companies since even the Westminster Government has no control over them. These companies were brought in through enactments of the old Stormont Government which also changed the whole character of industry throughout the North. These enactments were the Industries Development Acts 1945-53, the Capital Grants to Industries Acts 1954-62, The Aid to Industries Acts 1961-64 and the Advice and Enterprise Acts 1964-67. Under these acts 304 firms were brought into the 6 Counties as follows:

- 258 from the U.K.
- 34 from the U.S.A.
- 5 from the Republic of Ireland
- 3 from the Netherlands
- 2 from Switzerland
- 1 from Canada
- 1 from France

It is noteworthy that American penetration is increasing rapidly as two thirds of the American firms (including some of the largest) came in in the past decade.

The greatest weakness of this new industrial structure from the workers point of view is not so much that they are merely subsidiaries of foreign controlled companies but the fact that they do not manufacture a finished product and depend completely on imported raw materials. Most of them produce parts or materials for further production in the home country. Apart from the manufacture of a few shirts almost the whole man-made fibre industry in the North is geared to producing yarn for British industry from imported Glycol, which is an oil product. One third of all the yarn used in the huge British man-made fibre manufacturing industry comes from Northern Ireland.

## Oráid an Uachtaráin

So the major base of industry is completely artificial and is the first to be hit in a period of recession. When there is a cut back in production the directors of a British firm will have no hesitation in cutting back their Irish operation and keeping up or even expanding production in Britain. This occurs even in boom periods where Irish workers have often been thrown out of work by snap decisions in regard to rationalization of production made in a British or American boardroom. This type of industry is deliberately designed by monopoly capital to prevent the State or the workers exercising control over its operations. If it is not manufacturing a finished product saleable on the home or world markets then there is little to be gained by taking it over and continuing production.

The heavy engineering industry in the North is also in decline and is merely being kept alive for present political reasons by injections of State subsidies. British ship-building is being concentrated in the Clyde and Tyneside and Belfast is being studiously kept out of the lucrative business of servicing North Sea Oil production.

Yet here is where the future lies for heavy engineering in the North. Not just in the North Sea but in the great potential which exists for

oil and gas exploration and development around the Irish coast.

Here is the life line which could give a great new lift off to industrial growth in the North with its ready made infrastructure and the great skills of its workers. But the Loyalist workers are prevented from even looking in this direction by the blind bigotry of their political leaders who fill them with myths and fears and fantasies worthy of the dark ages. To Paisley, West and Craig the oil and gas around our shores is Republican oil, or maybe papish oil which it would be heretical to touch. To the worker it is thousands of jobs in engineering, petro-chemicals, man-made fibre and all the added services.

## Oráid an Uachtaráin

This is the policy of peace and work and class politics which our members in the Republican Clubs are putting forward. It was to put this policy that they contested the Convention elections where they called for an end to all conflict, implementation of a Bill of Rights, put forward a clear and well documented policing policy and an economic perspective embracing the resources and productive capacity of the whole country. In this connection we advocated the setting up of a 32 County economic Development Board to co-ordinate the application of our capital and labour to the extraction and use of our natural resources in minerals, oil and gas in what could be the greatest era of industrial progress Ireland has ever seen. But rational argument gets the smallest audience from a people in the grip of fear and hate.

A policy of peace and a policy for work is just as important and relevant to the people of the 26 Counties. The overflow of terrorist activities to the South has enabled the Tory dominated government to increase repression and erode civil liberties to a degree unbelievable six years ago. Law and Order is the parrot cry on all occasions. Millions are spent on new prisons and new army barracks, on expanding the police force and equipping it with the most modern riot equipment, on re-equipping the army and air corps — but not the navy because that would annoy our EEC masters who want to continue robbing our fishermen of their catch. Law and order is dinned into us so constantly that we have become hypnotised by the phrase and close our eyes to the economic and social disasters that are yawning before us.

## Oráid an Uachtaráin

Let us awake before it is too late. Law and order means the lash for the worker. Let us ask whose law and whose order? Whose law and whose orders put 120,000 out of work — the real figure being closer to 150,000 when we count the young people seeking their first job? Whose law and whose orders decide that 100,000 small farmers must be evicted from their holdings? Whose law and whose orders decide that a worker must pay 50 per cent of his weekly wage in mortgage repayments to banks and building societies or that thousands of others must pay as much to rack-renting landlords and speculators for one or two room flats? What law and order robs us of our wealth and natural resources and leaves us with the worst medical and social welfare services and the worst educational system in Europe? What law and order destroys our culture and drives the last speakers of one of the worlds oldest languages into the sea or rends asunder our capital city, tearing out the heart of beauty, the most precious architectural heritage we possess?

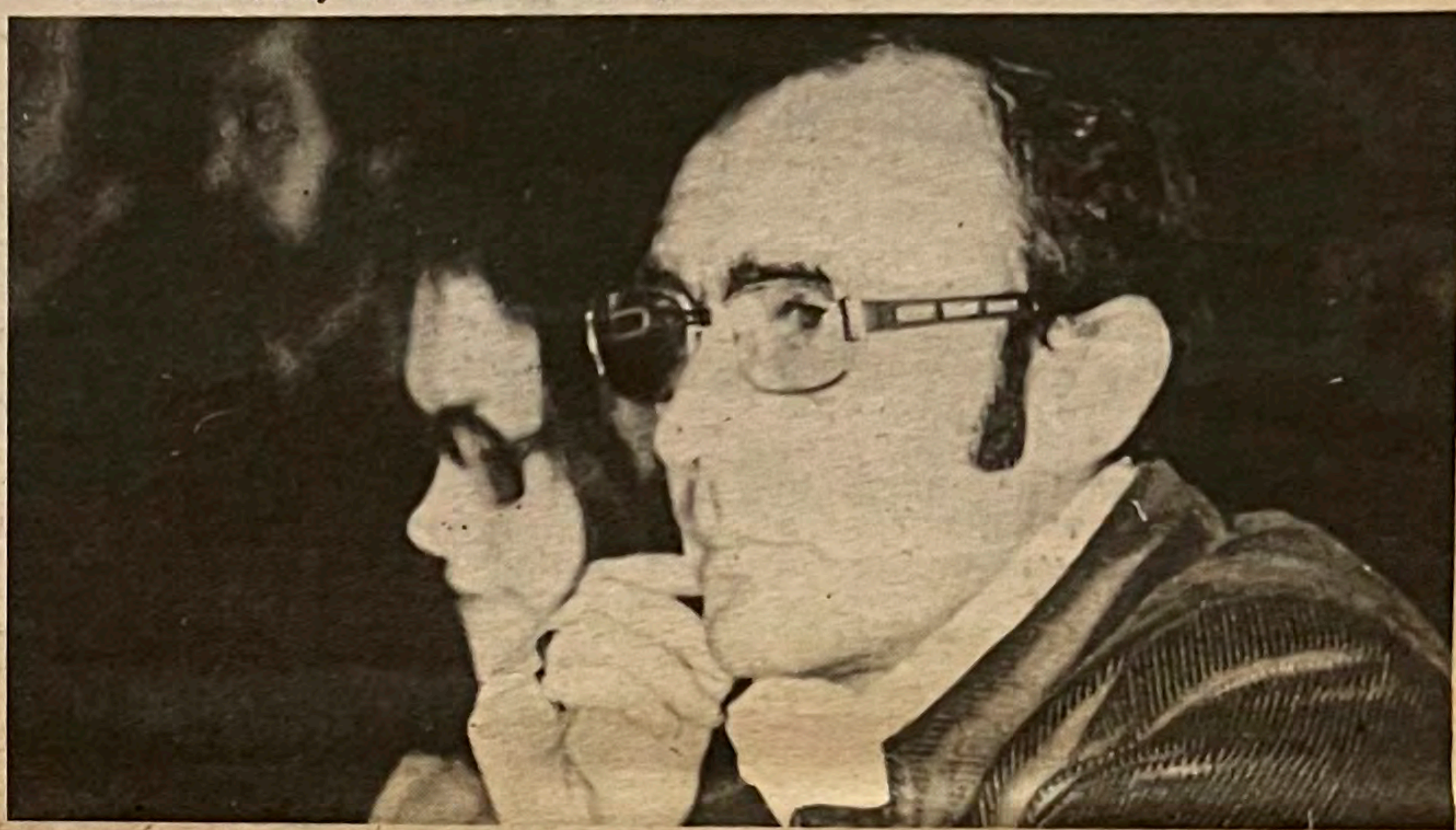
It is the inexorable law of capitalist economics, it is the law of imperialist exploitation it is the law of the jungle of competition, it is the law of monopoly capital. It is the orders of bankers, financiers, speculators, asset strippers, pyramid sellers and Brussels bureaucrats. This is the law and order which decides the course of our lives — whether we have a job, or a house or a farm, education or health or an unpolluted environment. We mustn't be so hypnotised or distracted by Liam Cosgrave's law and order that we fail to identify and tackle the real enemy in our midst. Liam Cosgrave may be replaced next year by Jack Lynch or Charles Haughey or even by Brendan Corish but they will all pursue the same economic and repressive policies like puppets on strings. The reason for this is simply that they are not in control of the key factors or the "commanding heights" of the economy.

Sinn Féin looks forward to the future with great confidence. Our policies are geared to the future, to the closing decades of the 20th century and the dawning of the 21st. They are geared for decades in which Ireland will have the youngest population in Europe, in which a whole new age of industrialisation, progress and development will open up, greater educational opportunities and greater leisure time leading to a flourishing of the Arts and Sciences. This is the exciting prospect that is now opened up for the working people of this island if they take the opportunities that lie within their grasp. The choice can now be made — we can remain in the dark ages or we can move forward to the Renaissance under the banner of the Starry Plough.

# ARD FHEIS PEOPLE



● Fergus Reynolds (Limerick), Sean Garland (Dublin) and the Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party in Exile in Ireland (centre).



● Councillor McDonagh, Belfast, listens intently.



● Some Delegates from Cork, Bray and Galway.



● Miss M. Darcy, actress and playwright.

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## BEAT THE V.A.T. ON FUR BEFORE MARCH 1st

You may never see such prices again. And this will be your last chance to buy before the 20% increase on March 1st!

MARCH 1st PRICE	NOW ONLY	SAVE
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£658.80		
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£128.40		
Calfskin Jackets		£17.20
£103.20		
Muskrat	£320.00	
£384.00		
Wool Mink Coat	£1,900.00	£760.00
£2,660.00		
Blue Fox Coat	£1,200.00	£240.00
£1,440.00		
Ranch Mink Coat with Fox Collar	£1,350.00	£270.00
£1,620.00		
Black Cross Mink Jacket with Fox Collar	£795.00	£159.00
£954.00		
Lynx	£785.00	£154.00
£942.00		
Black Ranch Mink Coat	£595.00	£119.00
£714.00		
Stranded Mink Coats	£795.00	£159.00
£954.00		
Stranded Mink 1/2 length Coats	£650.00	£130.00
£780.00		
Blue Fox Coat	£875.00	£175.00
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"We need a new sense of national purpose based upon a calm decision of the kind of future we are prepared to work for, to make sacrifices for, to pay for because we want it so much for ourselves and our children."

These beautiful words and sentiments were expressed by Mr. Richie Ryan in the penultimate paragraph of his Budget speech in Leinster House last month.

Just who were to make the sacrifices and just who were the "ourselves and our children" who would benefit from them had been made clear in the Budget of Mr. Ryan.

Ryan showed a touching concern for the unemployed.

"Arrangements will be introduced shortly to ensure that in no case will an unemployed person's income from benefits exceed 85 per cent of his after-tax income immediately prior to unemployment," said "Red" Richie.

This was necessary, the Minister pointed out, because "there has been a good deal of comment in recent months to the effect that the level of benefits and concessions available to unemployed persons leaves them with disposable incomes which are often as great as, and sometimes more than, they had while at work."

Neither Mr. Ryan nor those who had made a "good deal of comment" provided any shred of evidence to show this was fact but since it concerned the most helpless section of the population the Minister had his whack ignoring

completely the fact that pay related and other unemployment benefit is paid out for by the recipient through his social welfare contributions made while lucky enough to be working!

This "good deal of comment" was also sufficient reason for the Minister to decide that recipients of unemployment or social welfare benefits would "henceforth be assessed in full for differential rent purposes."

Put simply Richie Ryan's "new sense of national purpose" will mean that a family which existed on £30 per week while the breadwinner was working will now have to exist on a statutory maximum income of £25.50 — there is no statutory minimum of course. And whether the breadwinner's income reaches this £25.50 or is £10, or more, less one seventh (yes one seventh!) of it plus rates will have to be paid weekly if he is living in a local authority house.

Contrast these draconian measures brought about by a "good deal of comment" and no evidence with Ryan's failure to tax those making millions in the bloodstock industry, those involved in speculation, the ranchers, the legal profession, the medical profession volumes of evidence upon whom have been presented to the Minister by Government financed Commissions. Contrast this attack with the two year wrangle (still going on) in Leinster House on whether to introduce a 'paper' on Wealth Tax.



● Red Richie Ryan, Minister for Finance.

# Ryan's Budget blitz on workers

## STATE TO CONTROL RESOURCES

A large number of Resources Protection Campaign members attended the organization's Annual General Meeting in Dublin on January 25. Business before the meeting included the presentation and adoption of the outgoing Central Committee's Annual Report, the adoption of a new constitution, the election of a new Central Committee and discussion of a number of resolutions dealing with the activities of the Campaign and policy on resources development.

The Annual Report outlined the significance of 1975 in relation to resources development. "The Government's policy", it said, "in dealing with natural resources

complete surrender of any State involvement in this area. It shows how the ESB and CIE have been deliberately kept out of work in hydrocarbon exploration and development and how contracts for the Kinsale pipeline and production platforms will be awarded outside the country.

The Report continues "The Resources Protection Campaign must promote the role of the State Companies in future industrial development in Ireland", and adds "The viability and progress of companies such as Bord na Mona, Nitrigin Eireann, the Sugar Company and the E.S.B., in providing industrial development and jobs from native resources in Ireland, is in stark contrast to the repeated failure of Irish private enterprise to provide a sound industrial base here."

In dealing with its own organizational progress the report states that "the past year has been one of organizational consolidation and expansion. The membership has increased, particularly among trade unionists, and the branch structure has been extended throughout the country." Since the previous A.G.M. the original Southside branch has subdivided and organized the Ranelagh/Rathmines and Donnybrook branches.

Other new branches in the Dublin area are in Dublin North East, Finglas/Ballymun, Ballyfermot and Trinity College and branches have also been formed in Wicklow, Navan and Waterford. There are also branches in Cork and Galway.

The Trade Union Support Group of the R.P.C. has been particularly active over the last year and has played an important part in making the

nationalisation and industrialisation of our resources the policy of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

The establishment of a national office and the decision to hire an organizing secretary has made the creation of a sound financial base for the R.P.C. a matter of urgency. It is clear from the Financial Report that a great deal of effort has been expended on fund raising and that the Campaign faces the coming year in a healthy financial position.

Great attention was given to the role of the Trade Union Movement in the struggle for the control of our resources. Resolutions stressed the support of the R.P.C. for the policies of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and called on all members to campaign within their unions for the implementation of "the I.C.T.U.'s policy on oil and gas exploration, and industrialisation based on oil, gas and minerals under State control."

This A.G.M. of the R.P.C. was notable for its attention to organizational questions. The policy of the Campaign is unequivocal: full State control of the exploration for, extraction and development of our natural resources, and the meeting unanimously endorsed this policy.

The coming year will undoubtedly see further expansion of the R.P.C. Its task is clear; it is to inform every worker in this country that unless the State takes control of our resources, no industrial development, based on these resources, will take place in Ireland, even though we are the richest supplier of raw materials in Europe.

The Central Committee elected for the incoming year were, P. McIntyre, E. Smullen, O. Donohoe, E. Byrne, D. Neligan and P. McGrath (all Dublin).



● David Neligan, Central Committee.

development, is now clear as a result of the Navan licences and the subsequent granting of exclusive oil licences; the State is to take a minority equity in the private companies involved. It relinquishes control over the entire operation to these private companies, and, as a result, has no control over the future use of the minerals."

In dealing with oil and gas the Report underlines the Government's

## END SEX DISCRIMINATION

The Government's announcement that it intends to abolish sex-discrimination but to maintain discrimination on marital grounds in the public service is both dishonest and contradictory. It is further insulting to Irish men and women to imagine that they will be taken in by this deviousness.

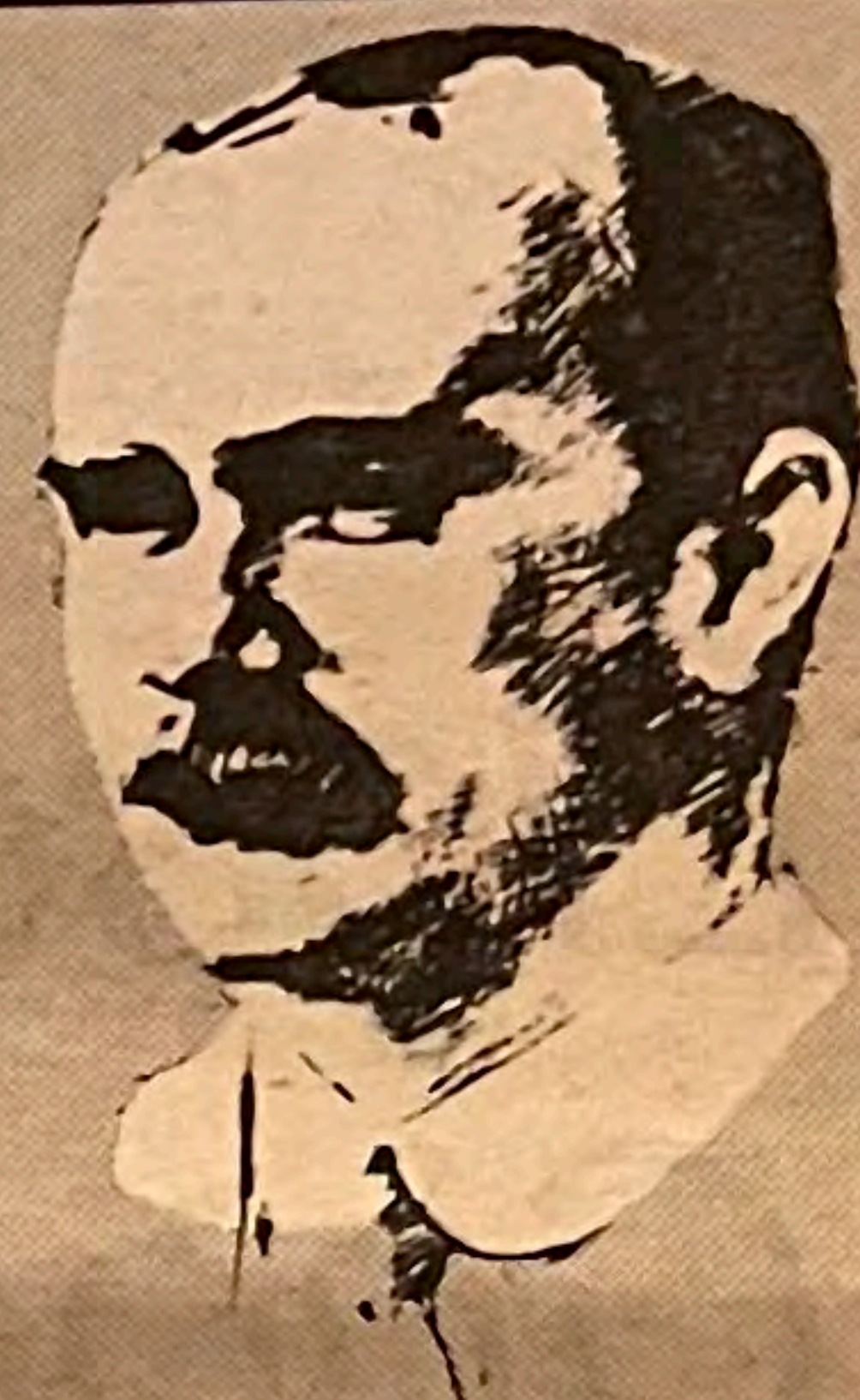
Human persons, engaged in the same work, involving the same effort and concentration, are

entitled to the same remuneration and it is irrelevant whether they are men or women, married or unmarried, black or white, Catholic, Protestant or Athiest. That is a principle, there is no way in which that principle can be diluted without maintaining a pernicious discrimination.

Further, as has already been pointed out, a vast majority of women workers, in the public sector as in private employment,

are single, just as the majority of men are married. So that even the claim that this compromise abolishes discrimination against women is patently untrue.

The claim that equal pay in the public sector will cost £12 million gross has already been answered — with the deduction of taxes the figure will be nearer to £5 million, but whatever the cost, discrimination on whatever grounds, must be ended.



## Join the Republican Movement

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.  
We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.

We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.

We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.

We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Further information available to prospective members at the following addresses.

ULSTER: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast. 12. Republican Club, 28 Gt. James's Street, Derry.

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

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

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

I Wish to Join the Republican Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_



# Folens agus an Ciclipeid Gaeilge

A chara,

Bhi alt suimiul san eagrair deireannach den tEireannach Aontaithe ag cur sios ar Ciclipeid Gaeilge a bhí a fhóillsiú ag gno priobhaideach Albert Folens.

Ionnas nach mbeadh einne faoi aon amhras i dtaobh Albert Folens, seo leannas cupla pointe ba choir a mheabhru:

(1) Tá Albert Folens ina chonail in Eirinn ón mbliain 1945. Sna blianta roimhe sin ghlach se pairt san Dara Cogadh Domhanda — ar thaobh na Nazis. Is ón mBeilg e Folens agus ba bhall den Flemish Legion e. Dream e an Flemish Legion a bhí cosúil le Blackshirts Oswald Mosley agus a bhí ar aon intinn le Blueshirts na hEireann. Nuair a ghabh na Nazis seilbh ar an mBeilg, chuir an Flemish Legion failte mor rompu. Comh maith le sin chuaigh roinnt den Flemish Legion faoi airm ar son na Nazis. I measc doibh sin, bhí an tUasal Folens. Throid siad sin san Eastern Front — se sin

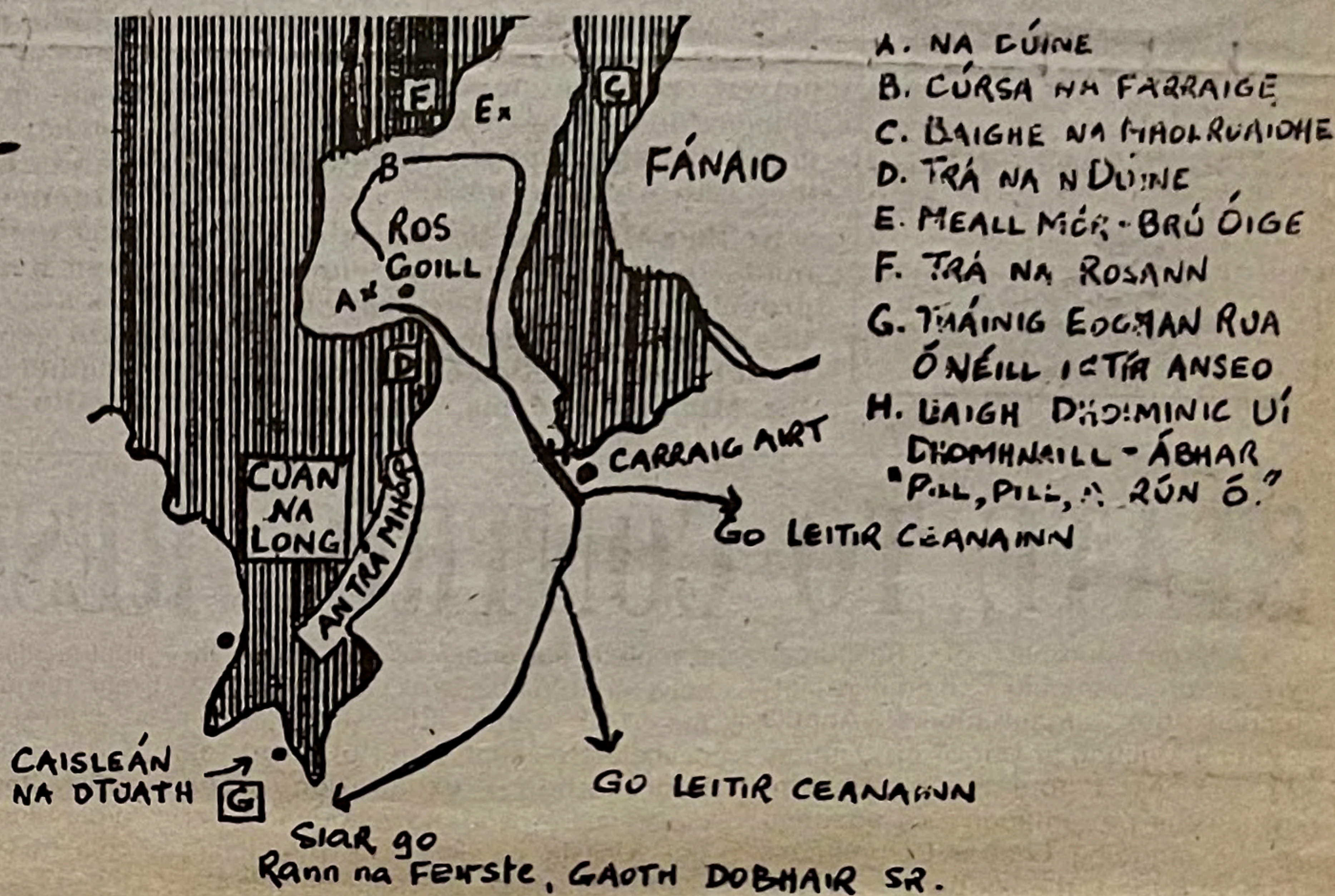
sa Ruis — ailt a maraíodh fiche milllun Ruisligh.

(2) On t-am a thainig se go dtí an tír seo bhí Folens níos Gaelaí na na Gael feil. Mhuin se ar son na mBraithre Chríostula agus thug se tacalocht do Flanna Fall. Nuair a buníodh na Provisionals ag Flanna Fall, thug se tacalocht doibhse freisin. Nuair a bhí Provo callul gan obair cupla bliain ó shoin, b'e Folens a thug post do.

Ba Fascist e Folens 'na Tríocaidl, is solleir gur Fascist e inniu. Ní aon chara e don Gaeilge: níl a lorg alge ach prafid. Ní cara e do lucht oibre na hEireann. Da bhí sin, ní chuls bhroin e d'aon Poblachtanach Solisialach nach bhfuil Folens indonn a gno a stiuriu i gceart.

Mise,  
Proinsias O Riain,  
BAC 4.

**SCÉAL  
SCÉIL**



*Eigse  
Ghoill —  
coirmeacha  
ceoil —  
leachtanna —  
seisiuin —  
agus ol...*

Dalta Captain Cooke a bhain úsáid as "Baubles" in a chuid deileail leis na "natives" bhain na Gaeilgeoiri an úsáid as an Baby Power le deileail le "natives" na Gaeltachta fado. Deir an PTAA liom gurbh iad na Gaeilgeoiri ud agus a gcuid "Firewater" a ba chiontach le bunadh na Gaeltachta a chuir ar bhealach an aimhleasa agus go ndearna siad níos mo dochar de chuis na Gaeilge na maitheas. Tá feachtas mor ar bun acu, deir siad liom le "merger" a thabhairt 'un criche idir an Fainne Nua agus a suaitheantas fein.

An bhfuil fadhb olachain sa Ghaeltacht? Dar leis an scríobhneoir seo go bhfuil — easpa mor de thabhairni Gaelacha an príomh fhadhb ach ní doig liom gur e sin ata i gceist ag Comharchumann Forbhartha Ros Goill Teo. Tá siad ag glacadh leis an teama "Fadhb an Olachain sa Ghaeltacht" fa choinne Eigse Ghoill.

Beidh an Eigse ar siúl Seachtain na Casca 17-20u Aibreán i Ros Goill i dTír Chonaill agus tá siúl agam go ndeanfar an-fhreastal ar mar tabhairfidh sin uchtach don Chomharchumann ata go díreach bunaithe agus ag streachailt le fail ar a chosa.

Beidh neart le hol le linn na hEigse ag aonduine a bheas a lorg.

Beidh cuid againn fein ag ol.

Ach aithníonn muid fadhb de sheort ag ar mbunús fein agus ag cuid mhaith eile.

Ba mhaith linn toradh a bheith ar staidéar, ar phlé & rí na hEigse.

Bhfuil fadhb olachain sa Ghaeltacht?

An e comharchumannn olachain an Freagair?

Rud amháin nar labhair an coiste air agus sin tionscal arsa ionnraice uasal an Phoitin.

Tá suil agam go dtogfaidh duine eigeán an cheist seo le linn an siomposuim. Ceard faoi Comharchumann Deantús Poitin? Níl me ag magadh. Cupla bliain ó shoin bhí se i gceist ag Sinn Féin "Poitin-in" a reachtall macasamhail na "Fish-in's" a bhíodh acu. Is mor an trua gur ligeadh an smáoineadh chun dearmad. Ca bhfios mach mbeadh Comharchumann Deantús Poitin bunaithe faoi n-uige seo díreach mar ghabhail lucht Ghleann Fhinne seilbh ar an abhann mar thoradh ar na "Fish-ins".

Ce nach bhfuil an Comharchumann i bhfad bunaithe tá morán deanta acu agus morán pleananna leagtha amach acu le cur i gcrích.

Cur i gceas:

Fas Glasraí, Halla Siamsa, forbairt ar an Cholaiste Gaeilge, bunú Colaiste Cheoil, leathnú ar sceimeanna uisce, ranganna oíche, cursaí deire seachtaine 7 rí.

Tá suil agam go mbeidh an Comharchumann seo go rathuill le Comharchumann an Ghaeltacht Láir. Tá suil againn fosta go gcluinfidh ar leitheoirí tuilleadh fa dtaobh doibhtha o na leatannai seo.

Gach eolas faoi an Eigse 7 rí o.  
Bhrian O Maoileoin,  
Cnoc na Muirleog,  
Ros Goill,  
Tír Chonaill.

**CAOINEADH AIRT UI LAOIRE**

**GACH EOLAS O EAMON SMULLEN**

**C/o SINN FEIN 30 PLAS GARDNAR, BAILE ATHA CLIATH 1.**



# Sceala aneas

Le fada ta go leor a radh fe shorbairst cursai iascaireachta sa Daingean. Fe lathair, ach go hairithe ta 'plean' a ullmhu ag BIM agus ag Gaeltarra. Na pointi is mo ata le fuascailt na iad seo. Ni mor an cuan a dhreidheall i sli is go feidir leis na baid teacht agus imeacht, gan a bheith ag braith ar an dtaoide mar ata fe lathair, rud a fhagann go gcailleann siad go leor ama da bharr. Ni mor leis, fearas ceart le leac oighir a dheanamh a bheith ar failt maraon le foirgneamh gur feider an t-iasc a choimead agus a reo, ta ceann acu in aice an Daingin agus ta na hiascaili ar a ndicheall ar iarraidh e a fhailt.

Ina theannta ta oisiri curtha ag fas sa chuan ar thriail agus ma eirionn leis seo agus an ceann ata deanta ar iascain i gcuan Fionn Tra, ba choir go mbeadh seans ar dhul chun cinn ag iascaili an cheanntair sa deire thiar thall.

Ta ag eiri go maith fe lathair leis an aonad ramhrathe uan ata curtha suas i Lios Poil. Ma

bhionn an t-adh leis seo, gach seans gur tabharthas o dhia e, dos na feormeoiri cnoic, go mor mhor iad sud go mbiodh ortha diol go minic roimhe seo ar shlad mhargadh, ach is deacair an taonad na aon aonad eile a choimead os chionn a bhuille gan dea bhainistiocht agus an t-adh agus go foill ar aon nos, ta siad san ann.

'Se an leath sceal a tugadh don bpreas le deanai nuair nar oscail Tom O'Donnell Mart an Daingin, na, na beadh ar chumas Tom a bheith i lathair, agus e ar an mBalle an trathnna ceanna. Ach an fath is baolach na 'nil aon cheadunas ag dream an Mhairt fos', mar sin ni fheadfadh Tom rud nea-dhleathach a oscailt. Ta go leor cainte fe, 'chonraitheoiri briste' agus bailithe leo' agus go leor dho choiste an Mhairt ag milleanu a cheile. Sceal don saol is don aimsir e seo dearfainn.

Deir go leor feirmeoiri sa cheanntar go bhfuil cailiuint mhor acu i mbliana de bharr an 'tastail methylene blue sa

bhainne'. Deir siad go bhfuil an phroifid ar fad deanta ag North Kerry Milk products' ortha. Is deacair a radh, ach nuair a iarradh 'figiuri' ar fhear o Lios Tuathail sin North Kerry MP ag cruinniu dho choiste talamhaiochta Chiarraí duirt se na rabhadar aige 'fe lathair' ? cad fe Aon Lathair?

Ta go leor daoine a iarrai duinn conas is feidir leo dul isteach san Farmers Defence Association. Sin iad an dream ata ag leathadh ar fuald na tire agus ata ag cur an teicheadh ar an IFA dream na fuil aon suim acu i faic, ach an feirmeoir mor agus a chuid tax. Is feidir teangbhair a dheanamh tre scriobh go dti FDA '8, Belvedere Place, Bleath Cliath, 2, no labhairt le aoinne dhos na lads ag diol an Phalpeir ata acu, 's sin an 'Farmers Monthly' no tair go dti na cruinnithe don FDA nuair a bheidh siad ar siul id pharoiste.

Nil aon fhreastal ag lorrail CIE ar dhaoine laistiar dho Dhaingean fe lathair, anois ce hiaid na second class citizens?

## Ce'n sort Udarais?

Agus cad faol ceist na Gaeltachta? Ni flos dom an mbeldh me i ndon a chur ina lual orabh golde chomh lag deoroll is ata na pobail Ghaeltachta san la ata innlu ann mar to Alre na Gaeltachta tarelis a chur ina lual na meain-chumarsalde agus ar an mhor-chuid den phobal go bhfuil se ar ti reabhloid thionscail a thosnu sa Ghaeltacht a shlanofas i.

Cuir i gceill sin ar fad, mar is e Tomas O Domhnaill Delsclobal Mor an Chur i gCeill. Ag cur i gceill ata se nuair a delr se gur Gaeltachtal iad Balle an Choda no Ard an Ratha.

Ag cur i gceill ata se nuair a delr se gur Gaeltachtal iad flu amhain leath na gceanntracha ata ainmnithe go h-ollgiul mar Ghaeltachtal.

Ag cur i gceill ata se nuair a delr se go bhfuil 70,000 duine ina gconal sa Ghaeltacht — nil, na flu leath an lloin sin de phobal Gaeltachta ann faol lathair. Ta an Ghaeltacht ag crapadh i dtreo na farralge agus ni bheidh se i bhfad go dti go mbeldh si banalthe go hloimlan.

Ansin stopaladh an cur i gceill agus se mo bharull go dtarlafaldh an feall uafasach sin lenar lloin fein — le lloin saol Delsclobal Mor an Chur i gCeill.

Se muintir na Gaeltachta a shlanofas an pobal Gaeltachta ach na bacanna a thogall as a mbealach. Se sin le ra an tUdaras a thabhairt doibhtha a gceannmhainn fein a dheanamh amach. An bhfuil Tomas O Domhnaill ag cur i gceill faol Udaras na Gaeltachta? Silim go bhfuil. Cinte tabhfairidh se bille Udaras na Gaeltachta — am elgean — ach ni bheidh aon mhalh ann mar bhille mar ni theastalonn on Chomhairleas pobal laidir neamhspleach friotl-imprilulach a chur ar fall.

Ni olrfeadh sin dar ndolgh do lucht galmbin agus dar ndolgh ni bheadh Conor Cruise O Brian sasta. San larsmalann dar le Conor, an alt cheart don Ghaeilge. Ni feidir 'fealsunacht llobaralach' Chonor a chur trasna i nGaeilge — tagann an seoinneacht trid rosholheir.

Ni lon-chreidte solscell an Bhrianaigh i nGaeilge. Act ta dochas agam nach n-elrofaidh go geal le Tomas O Domhnaill cur i gceill de Udaras a chuir treasna ar mhuintir na Gaeltachta.

Ta Gluaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta beo briomhar go foill agus is dream raidicil friotl — ghalmbineach iad nach fuirist dall na mullog a chur ortha. Ce go bhfuil an Gluaiseacht sin Teoranta do Chonamara ta balli Sinn Fein gnomhach i gceanntracha Gaeltachta eile agus beldh me ag suil go dtabharfaidh siad treoir do no muintir agus go n-eagrofadh siad iad le streachailt le Udaras eifeachtach Gaeltachta a fhail; Udaras Aitlul a bheadh d'reir polasal Sinn Fein agus ata, dala an seall, ar aon dul le polasal lucht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta.

Mar adurt me cheanna ni shlanofal 'tionscalu' na Gaeltachta dreir Tomas O Domhnaill an Ghaeltacht. Ni chuirfidh se go leor jobanna ar fall. Ta na monarcainn bheaga ata ann ag dunadh beagnach chomh gasta is a ghearann Tomas O Domhnaill an ribin da bhfoscailt.

Ta monarcainn da short ceart go leor mar chuidlu nuair a bhionn an coras Calpitteach ag dul go malth ach nuair a thagann an droch am mar a thainig i bliana imlonn siad as mar a bheadh fas aon-olche. Calfhear eachnamalocht na Gaeltachta a bhun ar dubhsraith nlos dalgne na an saghas sin monarcainn.

Calfhear e a bhun ar thairgi an talaimh's na farralge agus go hairithe ar na mianral, gas agus ola ata le fall go fairsing timpeall costa an lathair's delseart.

Dar ndolgh delnfear forbairt ar na folnnsi salbhreas seo ach ni ar mhalh leis an phobal agus mar sin ta se thar a bheith tabhachtach go mbeadh smacht ag Udaras Aitlul ar fhorbairt na bhfolnnsi salbhreis seo ar mhalthe le pobal na Gaeltachta agus dreir sin ar mhalthe le muintir na tire seo fre chelle.

Muna dtugtar an seans do mhuintir na Gaeltachta an Ghaeltacht a shlanu ni bhfeir i ndon an Ghaeilge a athbheochan in aon chuid eile den tir.

Dona is ata an cur i gceill faol an Ghaeltacht ta se smicil go hloimlan faol Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge. Leiriodh go solleir sa Tuascaill Rialtais follsloch le galrid go bhfuil mor chuid mhuintir na hEireann i bhfabhar na Gaeilge agus in aghaidh an sli atathar ag larraldh an Ghaeilge a athbheochan.

Agus ta sin loutulghre mar ni easpa meolne no eifeachta na go delmhln easpa tolle na ndaoini is clonntach le nar elrigh le athbheochan na Gaeilge. Bhi na daoini in dairliribh ach ni raibh na rialtais. Nil i gceist na Gaeilge ach talbhse o chogadh na saolse.

Aidhm thalbhseach na Naisiunaithe — as data go hloimlan na laethe seo delr an comh-rialtas. Ni feidir dearmad a dheanamh de mar ni ligfidh an cholsmhuintir do na pairti polaitiochta dearmad a dheanamh de agus mar sin calfhear 'ceist na Gaeilge' a mharbhu le cur i gceill agus lonnsaithe faol chomh.

Bhi spird Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge chomh lag sin i mbilana's nach raibh siad i ndon troid eifeachtach a dheanamh in eadan na h-lonsaithe eagsula a rinne an chomh-rialtas i mbilana an an Ghaeilge's an chultuir.

San obair ar son na Gaeilge calfthidh Gaeilgeoiri, sin chulle duine go bhfuil meas acu ar an Gaeilge, calfthidh siad bheith i bhfad nlos dlograsal ag obair ar son slanu na Gaeltachtal. Chun sin a dheanamh calfthidh siad iad leach sa troid ar son na bhfeirmeoiri beaga, na h-lascaili, agus ar son jobanna chun an Gaeilge a shlanu; calfthidh siad athgabhall na hEireann a chur i gerloc mar a mhol Mairtin O Cadhain duinn.

Tomas Mac Giolla.

## Tuar — i — scail

I ndeire na dala ta an Biobla foilsithe. Is docha gur e seo an tuar bais a bheidh againn don nGaeilge sara gcuirtar fe choineall-bhathadh i. Ach sara dteam ceann ar aghaidh isteach sa tuarascail nior mhiste a lua go raibh Tom O'Donnell ar a chosa deiridh le deanai a chur in uil go raibh dha mhor eacht deanta ag an gco-rialtas o thanadar i gcumhacht.

Ta deire curtha leis an eigantas acu agus ta Bord na Gaeilge bunaithe.

Is mor an trua nar chuir se aguisin beag leis agus bheadh faoiseamh mor ag muintir na hEireann — go raibh deire ar fad curtha acu leis an nGaeilge.

Chosain an Biobla seo £200,000 agus thog se breis agus cuig mbliana e a chur ar an margadh dhomsa agus dhuitse. Ni gabhadh a radh na go bhfuil furmhor ata raite ann ar eolas ag fia is fiolar ach ta pointi eile suimiula leirithe ann. Mar shompla nil ach timpeall is 20% do mhuintir na tire naimhdeach don teanga.

Ortha san is iad na tuismeathoiri aosta is mo go bhfuil an aigne sin acu i leith na teangan.

Ma ta aon rud amhain le radh fen meid seo se go bhfuil cic sa toin factha ag lucht an LFM agus a gcairde a bhi a radh leis na cianta na raibh an pobal i bhfabhar an teanga. Is cuis ionadh leis an toradh ata tugtha go mbionn moran do phaisi na tire ag foghlaim na teanga ar feadh 12-15 bliana agus ina dhiaidh sin is uile na bid abalta i a labhairt ach go briollach.

### OIDEACHAS

Tugann san go dti crosaire sinn — ca bhfuil an dul amu. Is leir dho chach go bhfuil titim-mor ar na h-A-scoileanna on uair gur dunadh na colaisti ullmhuchain. Inniu ta go leor mac leinn ag dul isteach i gcuid dos na colaisti Oiluna muinteoirachta agus nil mor easpa don teanga ortha ach ag teacht amach dho go leor acu san as aiteanna mar Colaiste. Phadraigh, Drom Conrach is amhlaidh go mbionn sort naimhdeas acu don teanga. Cad a tharla? Ni folair no ta an freagra san ag lucht Oiluna Strawberry Hill.

Deir an tuarascail leis gur biadh na muinteoiri san dara leibheal is mo a uasaideann an Ghaeilge lena gcairde i gcomortas leis na muinteoiri sna bun scoileanna.

Bionn an fear sa dara leibheal de rhnath i reigiun go mbionn an daonra nios tiubha ann. — mar sin caoi nlos

fearr aige — is doigh liom go scaoiltear an bothar ro fhuirist le muinteoiri anso in ionad na hinstiuti a mhilleanu. Ta go leor cloiste againn leis fen am a caithear i rith an lae leis an teanga ach arist is docha go bhfuil mi-eifeacht na muinteoiri agus an coras muinte i moran cas le milleanu. Gan dabht ta rud eile a luaitear se sin an 'breantas' bhionn ar dhaoine t'eis moran oibre — gan aon toradh fonta.

### AN POBAL

Ta an sean 'fund of good will' ann go foill agus leiriotar san go solleir duinn. Ta suas le 70% don bpobal baidhiuil leis an teanga agus is mian leo go muintir ins gach scoil ag a n-atharacha baidhiuil. Is baolach na eirionn go ro-mhalh leis na heagrais dheonaitheacha — is beag an mheas ata ag an bpobal ortha. An e gur dream aon -aime a bhionn ins na heagraiochta seo agus iad anairde sna scamaill on bpobal — no an e gur dream ro-chaomhach iad na an da cheann?

### AN GHAELTACHT

Ta mar a luamhar cheanna an pobal ar fad baidhiuil don Ghaeltacht agus is mian leo go mairfeadh si. Ta siad sasta go mbeadh cumhacht aici ach ni deirtear cen saghas cumhachta. Ta se raite go mion is go minic ag lucht gluaiseacht na Gaeltachta gur Udaras Daonlathach a bheadh ann — ach ni ar an 3,000 duine a ceistiodh ata an locht toise nach luathtear cen sort uadarais mar nar fiafraioch san doibh.

Tathar don tuairim leis nach mor obair oiriunach a chur ar failt san Ghaeltacht agus saol na fichiu aoise a bheith ann mar ata i gceanntar mar Gaoth Dobhair. Pointe suimiul a luadhtar linn na go bhfuil tionchar ag an EEC ar chungu agus ar chulu na Gaeltachta ach nil san ach tosnaithe agus nil moran diobhala deanta fos aige. Ta an sean ghalair le braith fos d'reir deallraimh se sin go measann lucht an Bhearla gur comhartha 'iargulta' i an Gaeilge.

Agus fos bionn fear na Gaeltachta agus flu go leor dos na Gaeilgeoiri tamailte nuair a bhionn daoine gan Gaeilge sa chuideachta — ni mian leo daoine eile a mhaslu tre Gaeilge a labhairt agus iad sud ata ar bheagan ta

siad sud eaglach roimh an nduine go mbionn si ar a thoil aige.

Ni folair on meid go bhfuilimid nios sia ar gcul na mar a mheasamar a bheith. Cothrom na feinne dho Tom O'Donnell deineann se a cheart chun i a labhairt ar gach uair is feidir — ce go mbeadh siad ann a dearfadh 'ca raibh se go dti seo?' — ach nach fearr go deireannach na go brath.

### MOLTAI LASMUGH DON GHAELTACHT

Gan amhras ni mor an coras oideachais a scrudu agus a athru o bhun go barr. Nil aon chiall le doine a bheith ag foghlaim teanga ar feadh dha bhliain deag agus gan i a bheith acu t'eis na duaineise go leir. Mar sin ta locht-anna mora ar na Modhanna muinte.

Rud na fuil aon fhianaise ann do 'se sin go gcuireann foghlaim na dara teanga isteach na amach ar an bpaiste; mar sin sa gcoras oideachais ta teacsanna oiriunacha, cuirsai eifeachta ag teastail agus na modhanna muinte maith in instiuti ata fabhrach don teanga. Is gleas e an Teilifis agus an TD no aon duine gairmiuil eile leis an nGaeilge a dheanamh faiseanta — bheadh feachtas leathan rialtais ag teastail dho seo agus ni buille thall is buille abhus.

### MOLTAI—LAISTIG DON GHAELTACHT

Ni mor triail a bhaint as mhuintir na Gaeltachta fein anois. An tsli is fearr chuige sin na iad a chur i gceannas ar a saol fein gac aon chur isteach ag na 'saineolaithe' ata ag maru na Gaeltachta le blianta. Calfthidh lucht na poilltiochta seasamh siar agus seans a thabhairt dho thobar na Gaeilge. Fe stiur Udaras daonlathach na Gaeltachta bheadh forbairt mhor le deannamh sna scoileanna tre raon maith ceardanna a bheith ar an gcuriculam. Bheadh forbairt ar thionscail mar an iascaireacht agus olluint san gceird seo. An mi-adh is mo ata ar an nGaeilge leis na cianta na fuil aon seil muinte dho sud na eirionn leis a bheith ina mhuinteoir no ina gharda.

Maireann an 'fund' fos, a Tom ach ta se ag dul i ndisc agus ni mor bearta dearfa a dheanamh mar go bhfuil re na seanmoleachta agus 'Marathons' sean-chalte.



# International Solidarity with Sinn Fein

The 70th Annual Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein which took place in Dublin's Mansion House in mid-January received over 30 messages of greetings and solidarity from many parts of the world.

Among the messages of solidarity received were support statements from Iceland, Australia, Puerto Rico, Malta, Germany, France, Vietnam, the United States, Switzerland, Brittany, Holland, Norway, Rhodesia and Britain.

This year observers from the Dublin Trades Council, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, the Irish Peace Committee, the Resources Protection Campaign, the Chile Solidarity Committee, the Communist Party of Ireland and the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society attended the Ard Fheis. Fraternal delegates present also included the Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada, Clann na hEireann, Britain, Union Democratique Bretonne (UDB), the Irlandsfronten, Norway, Ireland Information Group, Netherlands and Chilean refugees residing presently in Ireland.

The following are some of the solidarity messages received by Sinn Fein:

**Brendan Glynn, Irish Representative, Secretariat, International Union of Students, Prague, Czechoslovakia:**

"Warm greetings to the Annual Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein. May your work during these few days lay the basis for the programme of action of Sinn Fein for the coming months.

"Events in Ireland have been followed very closely in the last year by progressive and mass organisations at an international level. More than ever before, and particularly as a result of the work of Sinn Fein's International Affairs Department, these organisations have an accurate awareness of the situation in Ireland and the role and activities of the Republican Movement.

"On many occasions representatives of different organisations have expressed to me support for and admiration of your membership particularly in the North. Genuine horror was expressed at the attacks of ultra-leftists on Republicans last year and more recently at the Provisional pogrom aimed at the membership in Belfast. That the Movement refused to be diverted by these murderous assaults from continuing its anti-sectarian and progressive activities is greatly admired.

"Our friends and comrades around the world realise that the fight of the Republican Movement is just the same in its aims and objectives as that of the MPLA in Angola, the progressive organisations in Chile and in the other repressive regimes in Latin America, the P.L.O. in the Middle East, the peoples' organisations in Portugal, the governments and peoples of the socialist countries and all other progressive and liberation movements around the world.

"Together we are working for a world of peace free from imperialist and neo-colonialist domination where the peoples of all countries can advance in real conditions of independence and social progress. Venceremos!"

**Young Socialist League, Malta:**

"The Young Socialist League sends its greetings to Sinn Fein on the occasion of its 70th Ard Fheis. We take this opportunity to pledge our support and solidarity to the fraternal Irish people."

**Central Committee of the Vietnam Youth Federation, Hanoi, Vietnam:**

"Warmest greetings and best wishes and success to the 70th Congress of Sinn Fein. Reiterate full support for the just struggle of the Irish people for complete national liberation and political, economic and social progress in Ireland."

**Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Central**

**Committee, San Juan, Puerto Rico:**

"A nombre del pueblo patriota Puertorriqueno saludamos al adnegado pueblo Irlandés en su justa lucha contra el colonialismo y el imperialismo Británico les deseamos el mayor de los éxitos en su congreso y les auguramos el pronto y feliz término de su heroica lucha por la libertad."

**Fylkingin Party, Reykjavik, Iceland:**

"We send our best greetings to your 70th Congress. Greetings to your president, Tomas Mac Giolla who visited Iceland last year. Solidarity in the fight for a united socialist Ireland. We will protect our fishery wealth; let the people of Ireland protect their mineral wealth."

**African National Council of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), A.N.C., Dar es Salaam, Tanzania:**

"On behalf of the A.N.C. of Zimbabwe we convey our warmest greetings to Sinn Fein on their 70th Ard Fheis. We condemn British imperialism in Ireland from which we have also suffered for the last 80 years and reiterate our belief that we are our own liberators. We say to the Irish people, through the gallant leadership of Sinn Fein that Ireland should be united and socialist."

**Ireland Information Group, Utrecht, Netherlands:**

"To the Ard Fheis we send greetings of solidarity. In view of continued attacks on the working class we recognize, perhaps more than ever, the importance of a continued and intensified fight against imperialism in all its aspects carried out by persons and bodies from your own country and from abroad.

"Although we are only a small group we want to contribute to the struggle for socialism here as well as in our own country. It is a common struggle for justice, for peoples' ownership of the wealth of the countries — for socialism."

**Irish Republican Clubs, USA & Canada:**

"The Irish Republican Clubs of the USA & Canada extend their fraternal greetings on the occasion of the 70th Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein. The Republican Clubs commend Sinn Fein for its restraint and discipline in carrying on the struggle for socialism and a free, united Ireland under the onslaughts of the IRSP and the Provisional Alliance during 1975 and they pledge their continuing support and solidarity in the coming year."

**Comite National de Soutien aux Irlandais, Angers, France:**

"Nous saluons le 70 Ard Fheis du Sinn Fein et reconnaissons en lui une importante manifestation anti-imperialiste.

"Nous sommes solidaires de votre lutte contre le colonialisme Britannique dans le nord, le neo-colonialisme dans le sud et contre l'imperialisme dans tout l'Irlande.

"Nous souhaitons que les luttes du peuple Irlandais débouchent sur une société et une économie socialistes.

"Nous condamnons les manoeuvres sectaires de certains groupes fascistes dont les pratiques, servant les intérêts de Londres, ne font que diviser les travailleurs Nord-Irlandais.

"Nous exprimons notre profonde sympathie avec les internes et demandons leur libération immédiate."

**Clann na hEireann, England:**

"The Colste Seasta extends greetings on behalf of the members of Clann na hEireann to the members of Sinn Fein on the occasion of their Ard Fheis.

"We fully appreciate that the past year has been a difficult one for you and we salute the courage, restraint and discipline which has allowed the Movement to emerge from such a year with its dignity enhanced.

"We stand for the overthrow of British imperialism in Ireland and we recognise that the ultimate solution to the problems of the people of Ireland is the establishment of a 32 County Socialist Republic.

"We pledge the continued allegiance of Clann na hEireann to the Republican Movement as the only organisation capable of uniting and liberating the Irish working class. In doing so we commit our membership to working in this country to promote the demands of and fight for the policies of the Republican Movement."

**Central Committee, Arbeiterbund für den Wiederaufbau der KPD, West Germany:**

**Central Committee, Kommunistischer Hochschulbund:**

"More than a year has passed since your last Ard Fheis. In those days the Costello-group has started to try — supported by the Provisionals — to confuse your members and supporters by ultra 'left' phrases and several attacks. They did not succeed.

"Now, more than a year later, they actually have disappeared from the political scenery. That is a success of your organisation and its consistent revolutionary policy.

"Comrades, another year of hard struggle and brutal strokes against the Republican Movement has passed. But neither the cruel British imperialism nor the murderous Provisional pogrom or the attacks of the Costello group have succeeded in their aim to wipe out or to weaken the Republican Movement.

"In our country those people have become silent, too, who have got confused by the ultra-left phrases of the IRSP or the Provisionals.

"The more we shall be glad to be able to welcome a representative of the Republican Movement during his tour in West Germany in May this year.

"Comrades, we West German Communists, fighting day for day at work, in unions, universities and schools against our main enemy — German Imperialism — wish you real progress for your Ard Fheis and for your further struggle. May the friendship between our organisations get stronger in the spirit of James Connolly who said: 'The socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy. LONG LIVE SOLIDARITY!'"

**South and O'Hanlon Society of Australia and New Zealand:**

"The South and O'Hanlon Society of Australia and New Zealand extends greetings to the 70th Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein. We support the struggle of the Irish people for full national liberation and social, economic, political and cultural independence. We support the struggle against sectarianism, exploitation of natural resources and against repressive policies and military forces of British imperialism and its agents. We look forward to the establishment of a democratic, secular, socialist Republic."

**Irlandsfronten, Oslo, Norway:**

"Irlandsfronten of Norway, an independent solidarity organisation supporting the Irish peoples struggle, greets the 70th Sinn Fein Ard Fheis.

"Comrades, through the past year the Republican Movement has been subjected to many hard attacks without being intimidated. We wish the party further progress in '76 with your policy of peace, work and socialism in the whole of Ireland for all Irishmen and Irishwomen."

**Union Democratique Bretonne (U.D.B.), Brittany:**

"The U.D.B. thinks, as the Irish Republican Movement does, that no purely ethnic or national oppression can exist, but that every oppression rests upon a class basis. If the

national identity of the Breton people has always been negated by the French State, if our country is underdeveloped, if people in Brittany are currently taken to jail just for opinion offence, this is aimed at the interests of capitalist monopolies in Paris and elsewhere, just as neo-colonialism in Southern Ireland and direct colonialism in the North are aimed at the interests of capitalist monopolies in London and elsewhere.

"Against various imperialisms that merge more and more into a single international imperialism, active solidarity between oppressed peoples is more necessary than ever. The Breton Democratic Union expresses its deep sympathy to the Irish Republican Movement on its 70th Ard Fheis. Be assured, comrades, of our full solidarity in your struggle against imperialism. British oppression as well as blind sectarianism that in effect serves the colonialist policy.

"Best wishes for a successful struggle."

**Young Communist League, Sweden:**

"The Young Communist League of Sweden sends its best regards to the 70th Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein. You have our full solidarity in your struggle against English imperialism and for a united and socialist Ireland. We are sure that the 70th Ard Fheis will be a step forward in the Irish people's struggle for better conditions."

**Vietnam Committee for the Defence of World Peace:**

"Comrade delegates to Sinn Fein 70th Ard Fheis: With the most sincere gratitude of the Vietnamese people for your precious support and assistance to our just struggle for a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam."

**Liam McMillen Irish Republican Club, Ben Lomond, California, USA:**

"Greetings to delegates at Sinn Fein Ard Fheis. The unity of Republican Clubs in California has grown stronger due to the courage of all of you."

**Communist Party of Australia, Sydney, Australia:**

"Warm greetings to delegates attending your 70th Ard Fheis, on behalf of Australian communists.

"We express internationalist solidarity with Sinn Fein and the people of Ireland, struggling heroically to end the partition of Ireland and to achieve complete independence after more than three centuries of English oppression."

**P.O.C.H. (Progressive Organisations of Switzerland, Zurich):**

"We have followed the development of the struggle which the Irish people are fighting against partition, military occupation and exploitation by Anglo-American imperialism.

"We greet your 70th Ard Fheis, we greet delegates and assure you of our solidarity and sympathy. The struggle of the Irish people and of its most advanced political party, Sinn Fein, is an important part of the struggle of all peoples of the world against imperialism.

"We wish you a successful congress and we assure you of our full solidarity for all your efforts in the next year."

Solidarity messages were also received from the Irish Canadian Solidarity Committee in Ontario, Canada, the Republican Club, Bonn, West Germany, the Flemish Communist Party, Flanders, Ghaqda Kontra L-Imperjalizmuof Malta, the James Larkin Irish Republican Club, USA, Kommunistischer Offenbacher Zelle, West Germany, Tom Berry Irish Republican Club, Chicago, Illinois, USA, and the Chilean refugees in Ireland.



# The United WORLD

## Multi-nationals focus for International Conference

Sinn Fein will be holding an International Conference of Progressive and National Liberation Movements in Dublin and Belfast during July, 1976. Under the general theme "Ireland's historic struggle for National Liberation", the conference will discuss the role of the

multi-national companies in Ireland and other aspects of the Irish National Liberation Struggle.

Full details of the Conference can be had from the International Affairs Bureau of Sinn Fein, 30, Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.



Some foreign delegates enjoying a chat during the 1974 Anti-Imperialist Festival organised by Sinn Fein in Belfast and Dublin.

## DEATH OF A CHAMPION

In his time Paul Robeson, who died last month in Philadelphia, had been an athlete, a scholar, an actor, a concert singer and a passionate activist in the cause of peace and freedom, especially for black people.

Paul Robeson was born in Princeton, New Jersey, on April 9th 1898, the son of a Presbyterian Minister and a schoolteacher.

His father, the son of a slave, in 1860 at the age of 15, had escaped and made his way north.

Despite the segregation he suffered at school, Robeson had a brilliant academic career and was also famous as an American Football star. After he qualified he practised as a lawyer in New York for a short time.

His great natural talent for singing and the stage combined with the discrimination he faced in his legal career led him quickly into his life-work, acting and singing.

His first stage appearance was in New York in 1921 and in Britain in 1922. His most famous interpretation was at the Moor in Shakespeare's 'Othello' in London in 1930.

It was, however, as a singer that Robeson became popular throughout the world. Added to his unsurpassed artistry was his deep sense of involvement with his work and his audience. His rendering of 'Kevin Barry' was deeply moving for Irish audiences and he made a point of meeting the Barry family on

a visit to Ireland. He came to Ireland on many occasions during the '30's and '40's appearing in the Savoy in Cork and the Ulster Hall in Belfast.

In 1937 he visited Spain singing for the soldiers of the Republic and the International Brigade in the Madrid trenches. It was, he said, "a step which has led me ever-forward into every arena where fascism and democracy, war and peace, exploitation of human dignity, are locked in mortal combat."

After World War 2 Robeson became a member of the Bureau of the World Peace Committee. This, coupled with his admiration for the Soviet Union brought him under the inevitable attack from American reactionaries. Robeson spoke out courageously against the repression of free speech in America. This earned him the attention of the McCarthyite Committee for UnAmerican Activities. In addition the ultra right organised an attack by masked hoodlums against an open-air concert and rally at Peekskill near New York, and in 1950 his Passport was withdrawn.

In his later years he was subject to an organised boycott by concert-hall owners, recording companies and broadcasting networks. He was trapped — a virtual prisoner in his own land. But Robeson fought back and regained his passport in 1958, but in 1963 illness forced him to retire.



Paul Robeson arriving in London, 1968.

## Call to isolate racialist S. Africa

The continued success of the MPLA in Angola has led to increasingly hysterical attacks from the right in Europe and America. Demands from President Ford are balanced by public intervention from mercenaries recruited to back up the anti-liberation forces of FNLA and UNITA.

What is ignored is the history of South African intervention in the affairs of Angola. Almost 15 years ago in the early days of the Angolan people's struggle for national liberation the racist South African regime were supporting the Portuguese colonialists with aid and troops. It is only with the withdrawal of the Portuguese that the truth of South African intervention is now being told.

In a recent statement the South West African Peoples' Organisation points out the present reality of who the real interventionists are and the amount of men and material they are prepared to devote to smashing the MPLA and Angolan people's struggle for national in-

dependence, peace and socialism.

South Africa's alleged withdrawal from Angola is in reality nothing of the sort. South Africa is simply regrouping its forces within an area of southern Angola now effectively under its control.

On January 2 SWAPO reported that South Africa had been able to impose an advance of the Namibian border with Angola 70km deep into Angolan territory.

Reports now indicate that the much-publicised South African retreat is in fact a strategic redeployment of South African troops within this annexed Angolan territory and the northern part of illegally-occupied Namibia.

The Kunene hydro-electric project, actually on Angolan soil but vital for the mining of uranium deposits in Namibia, is thus safely tucked away behind the lines of territory newly-conquered and occupied by South African forces.

The United Nations Security Council, meeting in

New York last month to discuss Namibia, had a great deal of new evidence before it of South Africa's attempts to consolidate its illegal occupation of Namibia.

With massive numbers of South African troops now on Namibian soil — more than 16,000 South African soldiers are currently in the country — a South African fleet off the Namibian coast, and the vastly expanded presence of the South African airforce inside Namibia, there are clear signs that Namibia will increasingly be used as the main base for South African military operations against independent Africa.

The South African occupation of Namibia, in itself an act of international aggression, constitutes a mounting threat to world peace. South Africa has tried desperately to grapple the western powers to itself over Angola. It has failed. The international community must now take steps to isolate totally the illegal racist regime so massively encamped in the international territory of Namibia.



# PEOPLE IN POLITICS

## KILLER

Frank "Killer" Kiltson has been promoted to G.O.C., of the 2nd Division of the British Army of the Rhine. Apart from internees and others who suffered torture as a result of the Kiltsonian counter-insurgency techniques, workers in Thiepval Barracks will remember him for his early morning horseriding accompanied by his wife.

Mrs. Kiltson made friends with contract workers in the barracks, to their cost. A roll of felt was nicked from them to roof a stable. Talk about imperialism.

## TWINS

Airey Neave and Biggs-Davison may sound like the opening batsmen in an English village cricket team or else a couple of decrepit comedians playing North of England night clubs. In fact they are the Tory front bench spokesmen on Northern Ireland. Experts on the Conservative Party say they look to Enoch Powell for intellectual guidance.

John Biggs-Davison is however more in the mould of the unlamented Senator McCarthy of Cold War fame. Davison wrote and published a little known but highly scurrilous document in 1970, "Ireland, Britain's Cuba". He is also known as a close friend of the late Ross McWhirter (see last month's U.I.).

It is expected that the Tories will now be pressing for even more repressive measures in the North, given this new hard right wing line up.

## PUB SPY

Overheard in a pub near Dublin Castle recently was an argument between two local Special Branch men about the selection procedures whereby six of this elite corps were selected to attend a special crash course on the USSR prior to the opening of the Soviet Embassy.

Apparently there is some friction among the lads as to who was chosen for what are reckoned to be plum jobs. Leader of the new squad is alleged to be a Mr. Conroy. And pens are already at work in Dublin toilets — "Conroy was here, Da."

## UNIONS

Northern Convention politicians should cock their ears in the direction of Liberty Hall, Dublin, the headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. If a story going the rounds there is anyway near the truth, then they can prepare themselves to join the North's swelling total of unemployed.

Excellent sources suggest that a leading SDLP politician is job hunting with the Union, although he is still on the Convention books. In other words someone in Whitehall has tipped him that the North is in for an extended period of Direct rule. The Convention is as the punters say, a "baten docket". C'est la vie.

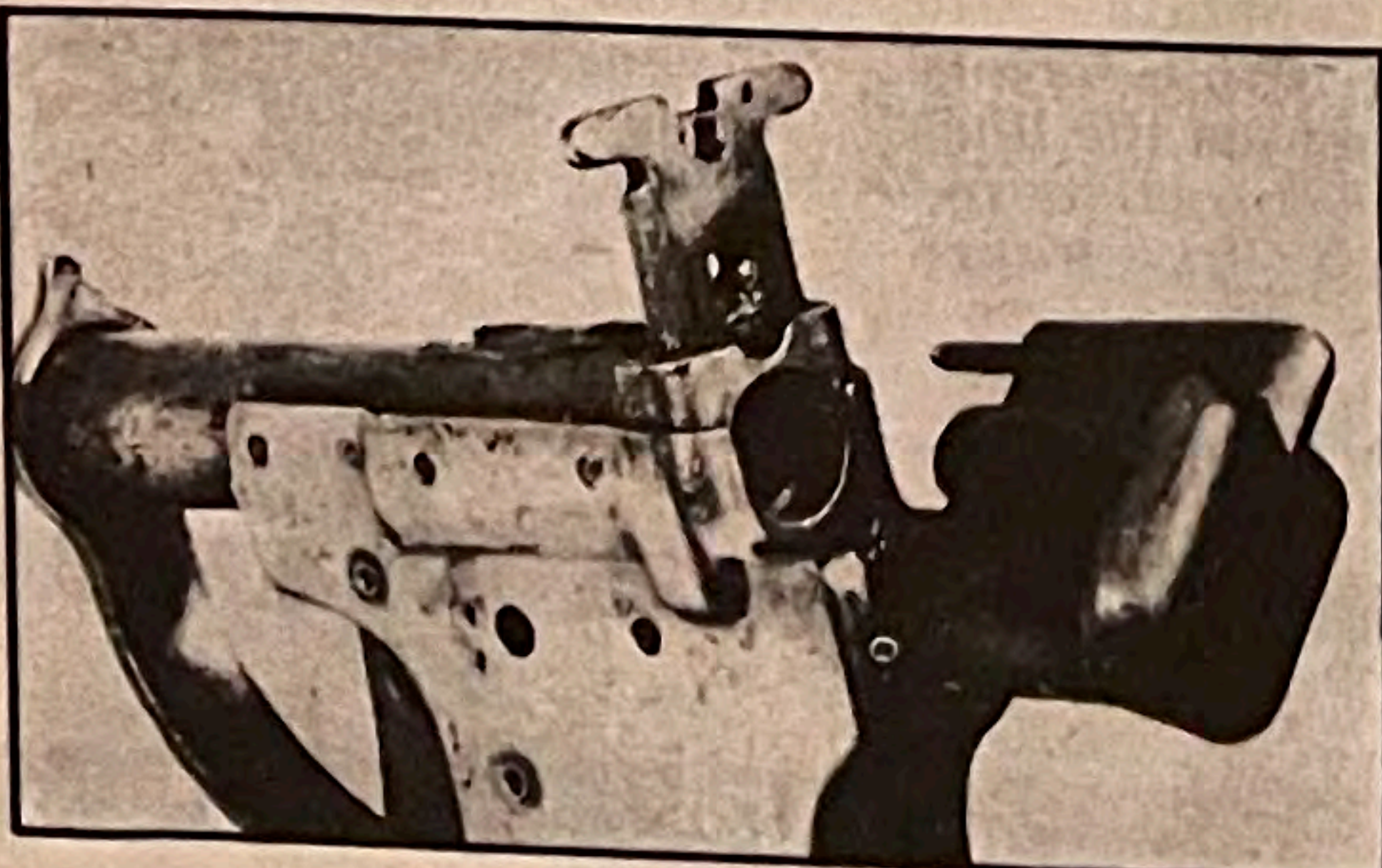
## LIBERATOR

A correspondent from America who bought a copy of the November U.I. while picketing the White House against U.S. intervention in Angola has sent us the following interesting information.

Readers will remember our story on this home made pistol. It now appears that the forerunner of the CIA, the war-time O.S.S. dispatched a million of these single shot guns to Europe, during World War II. They were made by the Gulde Lamp Corporation at a cost of two dollars each, between June and August 1942.

Made from "non-strategic material", the weapons were dispatched with an instruction sheet, 10 rounds of .45ACP ammunition, a wooden ramrod and the best wishes from Uncle Sam.

Our informant tells us that the pistol was named "Liberator" and that partisans described them as "pieces of junk". It is still kind of odd that they should turn up in the North 33 years later. Or is it?



● Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State.

# North's workless the key British weapon

UNEMPLOYMENT in the North is currently running at the rate of 11.1 per cent of the insured population. These are the highest unemployment figures since 1941. Some areas, particularly those west of the Bann, have unemployment rates of 30 per cent and over. Instead of doing something to get the unemployment figures down the British Government are cynically using the spectre of even higher unemployment to try to get people to accept their political solutions. All British Ruling Class solutions involve continuing British domination of the North. This determination has been endorsed by Britain's European partners. British domination means high unemployment.

Since the end of the last war, almost all the business of any size in the Six Counties, that were owned by Irish people have been taken over by the British and to a lesser extent by other foreign monopolies. Control of industry, commerce, insurance, banking and the finance houses has passed out of local control.

Some 63 per cent of all manufactured goods goes to the British market and 2/3rds of agricultural output. British monopoly capitalism controls 45 per cent of the larger manufacturing companies, the USA 20 per cent, EEC countries other than Britain 10 per cent and only 22 per cent remain in local control.

The same ratio of ownership and control applies to smaller manufacturing units. British domination has meant that in the last two decades seventeen medium and large manufacturing companies have been merged with multi-nationals. Control of production, exchange and distribution no longer rests in the North.

## Overseas

Because of its position in the United Kingdom, the 6 County economy is primarily export-orientated with a slender home market base. It is therefore exposed to all the fluctuations of foreign demands for its products. Furthermore savings and capital are channelled abroad through the British-controlled banking system for investment in Britain and overseas, and the control of credit policy for the area is in accordance with the needs of imperialist power rather than of the needs of local development.

The North is a peripheral region of the United Kingdom. It has uneven development. As inherent in the capitalist system. Seeking what can only be a partial solution within this

system, involves either a permanent subsidy to capital or the forced migration of people to areas where industrial expansion is taking place.

From the establishment of the Northern Ireland state, high unemployment has been a regular fact of life. Also during the 45 years between 1926 and 1971 net emigration in the North amounted to 288,157 people.

## Decline

Since 1945 Northern industrial development has been based on subsidising capital. A series of industrial development acts expanded state aid and capital grants to industry. But this post-war approach has not contributed to any significant cutting down of unemployment. Although this development strategy has meant the fashioning of towns, roads, amenities and even population distribution to meet the requirements of capital, employment in the North's manufacturing continues to decline. Only the expansion of employment in services has prevented a colossal growth in unemployed.

The various objectives of two recent 5-year plans have failed to materialise. The target for an increase in employment in the 1964-69 plan was 65,000 new jobs; 30,000 in manufacturing, 30,000 in service industry, and a further 5,000 in construction. In the event only a net increase of 5,000 manufacturing jobs was achieved and 13,000 new jobs in service trades.

29,000 new jobs were created in manufacturing during this period but around 24,000 were lost through closures and contraction of existing firms. 7,000 new jobs were created in construction. Understandably in the more recent government development plans the government were not prepared to commit themselves to any

hard and fast figure of the number of jobs which their policy could create.

A further factor of importance is the failure of the policy of subsidising capital to end the imbalance of employment in the North. The British Government's "Finance and the Economy" discussion document which was published at the end of 1974 gave a list of 91 firms which had received industrial development assistance. Only 20 of those firms were located west of the Bann. Between 1945 and 1970, 217 new factories were attracted to the North. One hundred of these were 'sponsored' by the government in as much as the state provided one third of all capital-outlay costs on plant and machinery. The other 117 factories were built in advance by the Government before tenants were found. Of the 217 new factories only 31 or 14 per cent had been located more than 30 miles from Belfast. Factors such as these provide the material base for sectarianism in the north.

## Alliance

Britain's rulers demand a divided working class. For this reason it is essential that working people are mobilised through the trade unions for a united campaign for jobs and economic expansion. The programme for such a campaign, was spelt out clearly at the 70th Ard Fheis of Sinn Féin.

This programme can form the basis of a people's alliance which would include republicans, communists, left social democrats, trade unionists, tenants and community groups as well as cultural and youth organisations. It could lay the ground for common demands, common action and common purpose for the northern working people.

# Coleraine 'Watergate' affair

The New University of Ulster Student's Council has expressed concern regarding indiscriminate and secret tape recordings which it fears could have been used for illegal purposes. These matters were brought to its attention by a former employee of the University who had in his possession recordings of committee meetings and telephone conversations made within the University. The tapes have now been delivered to the Chairman of University Council with a demand for an inquiry into what the ex-employee described to Student Council leaders as "unethical, immoral and illegal" practises initiated by the Registrar W. T. Ewing.

Last month statements have

been made by the Vice-Chancellor and the Chairman of University Council, admitting the existence of recording devices built into the telephone system and the recording of certain meetings within the University, but these statements do not reveal the full extent of the situation. One tape handed over records a meeting attended by former NUS-UK Executive member Mike Terry who stated that he had no recollection of attending any meeting at Magee or Coleraine which was recorded.

Both Dr. Burgess, the former Vice-Chancellor and Mr. McCullough the Chairman of Council have satisfied themselves that their actions "were legal and that no improper use had been made of the recordings."

A working party has been established to examine the procedures past and present, and to lay down ground rules for future conduct in these matters.

However students and many members of staff refuse to accept the reasons given by the Vice-Chancellor for these recordings and regard them as an invasion of privacy and a threat to academic freedom. The recording device installed as a precaution against bomb hoaxes was not as strictly controlled as the Vice-Chancellor has stated and was used for other purposes.

Lack of confidence in the integrity and good faith of the senior administration of the university is also expressed by Student's Council.

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● Tomas Mac



**Title:** United Irishman, Vol. 34, No. 2

**Organisation:** Sinn Féin [Official]

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