

# United Irishman

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

MEAN FOMHAIR (SEPTEMBER) 1975 • XXXIII • IX • 10p. (30c.)

## UNITE AGAINST SECTARIAN MURDER

See pages 8 & 9

### NATIONALISED OIL AND GAS



WOULD PROVIDE WORK FOR THOUSANDS

*Expand the economy —  
resist jobs cut-back*

The British Gas Corporation and not the Irish Electricity Supply Board (ESB) is likely to be the main contractor in the construction of the gas grid which will deliver some of the gas discovered off the south coast to domestic consumers.

This disgraceful decision by the 26 County government means that the native expertise built up over the years in the state-owned ESB will not be utilised.

At a time when engineering workers from North and South constitute a large slice of the unemployed ranks this decision is nothing short of a national scandal.

It is, however, a timely warning to everyone, employed and unemployed that action must be taken, and taken quickly, if the Irish people are to benefit, even fractionally, from the enormous wealth which is to be reaped from our natural resources.

It is a reminder to the multitudes now suffering unemployment and deprivation that the weight of numbers, the unorganised weight, means nothing to the decision makers in Kildare Street where the lobbying teams of the oil, gas and mining companies are having a field day. Real ownership of the mineral wealth of the State is being granted to the international conglomerates and it is they who will decide how and where this wealth is to be used. If it suits the profits and the interests of the multinationals to have our oil and ores refined and processed here then this is where it will be done. On the other hand if their profit margins can be increased by transferring our natural wealth for refinement and processing at already established plants overseas then the transportation costs will present a very small outlay.

The latter course is obviously the one which will be chosen by the multinationals.

It is the one for which the Mining/Oil company lobbies spearheaded in the South by public representatives such as Deputy Patrick Belton, Minister James Tully, Senators Patrick McGrath, Ted Russell, Alexis Fitzgerald, Brian Lenihan and on a national 32-counties basis by the likes of Sir Robin Kinahan, Lord Iveagh, Sir Basil Goulding and Mr. A. J. F. O'Reilly are working.

It is a course which can be reversed if the people of this country recognise the gas grid scandal for what it is — a clear indication that our natural wealth and everything that can come from it — jobs, services and wealth, is to be surrendered.

Let us use our organised weight to pressurise them into a course which will be to our benefit. Our Union conferences have passed resolution after resolution. But these have had very little effect. The time has now come for massive lobbying and massive demonstration. It will be too late when the wealth, as in the case of Gortdrum, has been exhausted, exported and used to prop up foreign economies.

This  
Month



GAEILGE BEO NO MARBH  
TOURISM PAY-OFF

ANGOLAN BLACK GOLD  
PARA MILITARY  
PEACE PLAN



# PEACEFUL DERRY PROTEST

Participants in the protest against internment organised by the Derry Republican Clubs on August 9 showed that it is still possible to organise a dignified and peaceful demonstration for human rights. The Derry demonstration, in common with other Republican demonstrations held throughout the North, contrasted strikingly with the stonethrowing, hooliganism and roadblocking carried out by other organisations whose contribution to the internees' cause was to make life uncomfortable and cut off essential services to ordinary members of the community.

The Derry Republican Clubs whose organisation has been revitalised by the establishment of a North West Area Executive have opened a second Advice Centre in the city. This will be operated by the James Larkin Club in Shantallow and those with problems in the area will find John McLoughlin and other members of the Club only too willing to help out.

The established Advice Centre at 28 Great James Street at which Councillor Michael Montgomery is in regular attendance continues to give sterling service. Dozens of cases, for all sections of the community, are dealt with here every day. These range from housing (for which the Centre has an enviable success rate) to dealing with traffic problems as the residents of Rosemount Park found recently.

Speeding traffic had been a source of annoyance to the people of Rosemount Park whose anger reached a fever pitch when a child was killed. Members of the Martin Savage Club supported the residents in the only effective form of protest they could make — blocking off the roads. This form of protest will continue until the authorities are pressurised into making the streets safe for children and adults alike.

# N.Z. CIVIL RIGHTS CALL

The Irish Civil Rights Movement (N.Z.) has found an ally in the New Zealand University Student's Association.

The following motions were passed by the August

Council 1975 of the New Zealand University Student's Association, and is therefore the official policy of that Association.

1. That N.Z.U.S.A. calls on the British government to disband the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

2. That N.Z.U.S.A. calls on the British Government to withdraw their military forces from Northern Ireland to allow the Irish people to determine their own political future.

3. That N.Z.U.S.A. supports the campaign against the British Government's policy of internment in Northern Ireland, recognising that this policy is in direct contravention of basic human rights, international law, and the principles of the British legal code with particular reference to "habeas corpus".

4. That N.Z.U.S.A. supports the Bill of Rights proposed by the Northern Irish Civil Rights Association, and urges the British Government to implement this measure immediately.

# CAR BOMB ATTEMPT FOILED

Belfast Command Staff I.R.A. have reported two successful defensive actions against sectarian bombers and gunmen in the Bawnmore Estate, Shore Road and at Divis Flats, Falls Road last month.

The bomb attack on the Boundary Bar near Bawnmore Estate was successfully prevented by the armed intervention of the local I.R.A. Unit. (All Belfast units are reported to have been placed on stand-by by the Belfast Command O.C. in a determined effort to halt sectarian raids and killings.)

The bombers attempted to place a 150 lb car bomb outside the public house but were fired upon by the I.R.A. One man was hit and dragged into a White Cortina Estate Reg. No. WPG 144 G. The car was later discovered in a street off the Whitewell Road in the White City Estate.

This is the seventh occasion on which the Bawnmore unit have successfully prevented sectarian bombers and gunmen from attacking homes and people in this area.

"D" Company, Lower Falls, on August 15 beat off a concerted attack on Divis Flats. The gunmen had made their way down Percy Street through a

# OPEN THE GATES

MEAN FOMHAIR

## LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS

- B. Turley, 5 years
- B. O'Hagan, 7 years
- M. O'Hagan, 7 years
- P. Breen, 7 years
- G. Heatley, 5 years
- J. McLoughlin, 5 years
- G. Duff, Life
- J. Kearney, 8 years
- K. Brady, 7 years
- J. Forke, 3 years
- G. Dickey, 4 years
- D. Lagan, 4 years
- R. Steenson, 3 years
- M. Lambert, 7 years
- F. O'Connor, 3 years
- J. J. McCaugherty, 8 years
- J. Marley, 2 years
- P. J. McFarlane, 2 years
- J. J. McLoughlin, 2 years
- M. Smith, 3 years
- J. McCracken, 2 years
- F. Weir, 10 years
- J. Shanks, 15 years
- P. J. Kelly, Life
- M. Mallon, 7 years
- A. Cassin, Life
- J. McVeigh, 5 years
- C. N. Degan, 5 years
- J. J. Calhoun, 5 years
- P. O'Hare, 7 years
- C. P. Wisdom, 6 years
- J. Higgins, 4 years
- K. Higgins, 6 years
- J. Smith, 15 years
- M. Donnelly, 5 years
- J. J. Curry, 6 years
- G. K. Loughlin, 12 years
- S. Magee, 10 years
- D. Russell, 6 years

- B. Trainor, 5 years
- T. P. A. Russell, 8 years
- M. McVeigh, 6 years
- J. Goodman, 8 years
- D. Nocher, 2 years
- E. McDonald, 2 years
- A. McDonagh, 5 years
- B. Mackin, 12 years
- L. McAnoy, Life
- L. Lynch, 4 years
- A. Rock, 3 years
- M. McGreevy, 1 year
- T. Molloy, 1 year
- R. Hassan, 7 years
- R. McTasney, 4 years
- J. Flood, 2 years
- A. Braniff, 4 years
- J. McCullough, 6 years
- L. Corr, 6 years
- W. Campbell, 6 years
- T. McDonald, 6 years
- A. Redden, 4 years
- J. McGuinness, 6 years
- B. Stewart, 4 years
- P. Campbell, 4 years

- M. Delaney
- G. Green
- M. Carson
- P. Black
- B. Doran
- P. Carberry
- T. Cunningham
- E. Maxwell
- S. Gibson
- K. McKernan
- B. O'Neill
- F. Quinn
- G. Martin
- R. Millar
- M. Dragan
- S. Bunting
- M. Russell
- J. McKenna

## ARMAGH REMAND PRISONER

- Ann Boyle

## LONG KESH DETAINED

- James McLaughlin
- D. O'Hagan

## ENGLAND

- Noel Jenkinson, 30 years
- Bob Gallagher, 6 years
- Michael Egan, 4 years

## LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS

- S. Headley
- C. O'Neill
- M. Snodden
- B. Burns
- J. Delaney
- D. McHenry
- G. McCarthy
- J. Carlin
- P. O'Neill
- M. McCormick
- M. Brennan
- N. Cullen
- D. Wisdom
- B. Coleman



# NOW!

# CABHAIR

## Irish Republican Prisoners Defence and Aid Fund

30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

Funds urgently needed for:

- Republican Prisoners Welfare
- Legal Aid
- Aid for their Dependants
- Noel Jenkinson Strasbourg Appeal

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED

British Army barricade, opening fire with automatic weapons on the Flats.

The IRA patrol returned fire and prevented what was clearly a determined assault on the Flats' complex. The volunteers reported that subsequent to driving off the gunmen, the British Army opened fire on the unit's positions.

At the same time the IRA have been raising the crucially important question of supporting the striking Belfast Abattoir workers.

An assassination of a fellow worker has led these workers to demand guarantees from para-military organisations of their 'Right to work and to live'.

The IRA has fully endorsed their stand and guaranteed their

backing, at the same time calling on the Trade Union Movement to back the militant anti-sectarian stand of the workers.

Republican Councillor Jim Sullivan and North Belfast candidate Seamus Lynch who have been in touch with the strikers' spokesmen have assured them that the Republican Clubs will be demanding both Irish and British Trade Union support.

## RESOURCES PROTECTION CAMPAIGN

### FOLK SESSION

resuming

New Moran's Hotel.

Wednesday, October 1st, 1975.

Admission ..... 50p

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Seamus Lynch, Republican Club's candidate in North Belfast.

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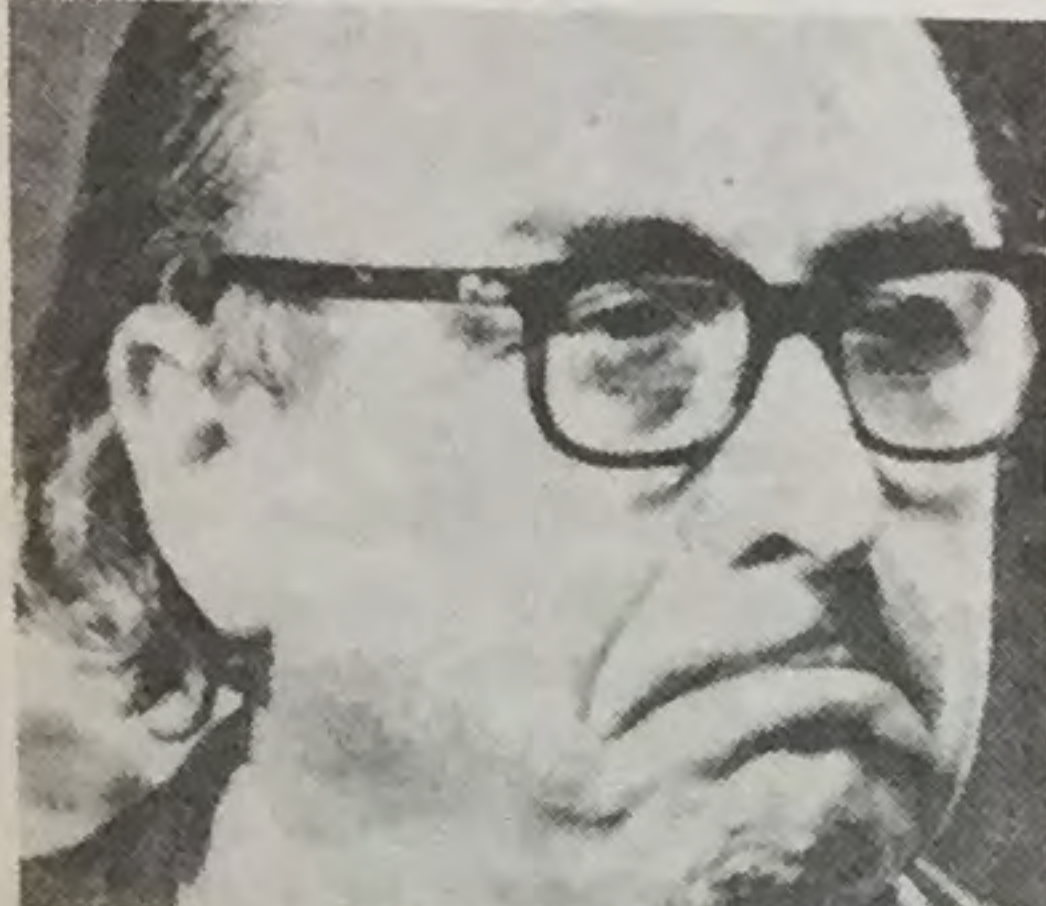
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Dublin 1, Ireland

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ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

# M.P.'s PROTEST DEMO BAN

Joan Maynard British M.P. held a press conference at Blackpool during the British TUC Congress to explain why she has called for a demonstration to be held in Trafalgar Square, on October 5th on the theme "Free Speech on Ireland", and to explain why she and other MP's including Syd Bidwell, Maureen Colghoun, Stan Thorne and Jo Richardson are protesting to the Home Secretary against the ban on the use of the Square for this demonstration.



Roy Jenkins, British Home Secretary.

Miss Maynard was one of the two M.P.s who did not vote for The Prevention of Terrorism Act in Nov. 1974 - a number which was raised to twelve M.P.s in a positive vote against the Act in May 1975 when the Act was renewed.

The British Peace Committee, of which Joan Maynard is chairman, is determined to hold a demonstration to Trafalgar Square on October 5th and is calling on other organisations to come to its support.

At this time when it is apparent to the whole British People that the Government's policy of "drift and do nothing" on Ireland is threatening the outbreak of civil war in the North of Ireland this autumn, the use of Emergency Powers in Britain similar in several respects to those in operation in Northern Ireland, is a dangerous suppression of the rights to free speech the statement concluded.

## CORK I.D.A. DEMAND

The present high rate of unemployment in Fermoy and its surrounding districts is a disgrace to all parties in Dail Eireann. From a population of 4,000 approximately 600 men

and women are presently unable to find work - and there is talk of further redundancies! In addition, hundreds of young people, now left school, are seeking jobs and, unfortunately, it appears that many of them will be disappointed.

It is of vital importance that each and every person, whether they are presently employed or not, make their voices heard in a demand to bring new industries to the town.

Fermoy is ideally suited for heavy industry, such as a spin-off industry from the oil and gas development now beginning around Cork Harbour. Sinn Fein, Fermoy, calls on the Government, through the Industrial Development Authority, to immediately set about the planning and construction of either a plastic-making or petro-chemical industry for Fermoy. Both the construction and operation of such a plant, using oil as a raw material, would provide hundreds of new jobs.

Those interested in joining Sinn Fein in the struggle for the reconquest of Ireland should contact:-

- P. Spillane, Mill Road, Clondulane, Fermoy.
  - P. O'Liathain, College Road, Fermoy.
  - J. Fant, Corran, Fermoy.
- or  
County Councillor: Joe Sherlock,  
20 Blackwater Drive, Mallow;  
Tel: 022-21053.

## BUSY C.A.B. IN LIMERICK

The operation of the Sinn Fein Citizens Advice Bureau at 29 Henry Street, Limerick has at times been haphazard due to the pressure of work on the members. Sinn Fein are however happy to say that in the short period of operation they have handled over fifty cases ranging from tax problems to property swindles. Sinn Fein feel however that a large section of the public are still unaware of the advice bureau and its workings.

The office in 29 Henry Street (basement flat), is open to the public on Tuesdays and Thursdays between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. Should anyone find these hours inconvenient please drop a line and Sinn Fein will be happy to send some member of the bureau to see them. All cases are handled free of charge and in strictest confidence.

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# United Irishman

## DEVALERA

The death of Eamonn De Valera has not gone unrecorded. The mass media rose to the occasion as tributes flowed in from every corner of the world. Telefis Eireann seized the opportunity to bemuse viewers with recurrent solemn clichés. No hint of discord was permitted. "The Nation" had to be seen mourning "the Chief".

Republicans must also pause and reflect at this point in time. We remember McGrath and Harte, Tony Darcy and McNeela and the gallant Sean McCaughey. Internment, imprisonment and the military courts set up by the once President of Sinn Fein and 1916 Commandant of Boland's Mill.

It is an opportunity once again to restudy the lessons of history and to assess the current national position.

De Valera followed the path of native capitalist development. Undoubtedly he was a progressive if compared with Cosgrave, Blythe and O'Duffy and the other blueshirts. But the Republican Movement paid dearly for failing to recognise that De Valera's road led only to the total surrender of every aspect of national sovereignty to Anglo-American Imperialism.

The cost in organizational terms was high on thirty years of retarded development. And the people of Ireland are still paying dearly for the Fianna Fail mentality which gave birth to the Provisionals.

That Fianna Fail outlook as conceived by De Valera claimed to be both Republican and democratic. It requires little political awareness to appreciate that on both counts the party and its leader came no way near acceptable Republican or democratic standards.

It is also true that the 26 County State by way of De Valera's Constitution mirrored the Orange slogan of a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people. Roman Catholic sectarianism is as much an anathema to Republicanism as its Northern counterpart.

In the field of industrial development Fianna Fail boasted its achievements. De Valera once told an audience in the Donegal Gaeltacht of a promised factory. From the onlookers a voice shouted, "The only factory we want is a suitcase factory".

They bred such cynicism through patronage jobbery and corruption. It is a fitting epitaph.

## PROTEST

The massive gathering of Belfast workers, over 15,000 attended a public meeting in East Belfast, to protest against the growing threat to the whole Northern economy is paradoxically a sign of hope.

Sandy Scott the convenor of the meeting pointed out the economic reality of the United Kingdom connection even though the workers voted to retain it. The Belfast Shipyard and Shorts are threatened with extinction as the crisis of capitalism tears the guts out of the British economy.

England's economic cold is a raging sickness in Ireland.

The only solution yet to be grasped by these workers is as we have so often stated, total ownership by the working class of the entire wealth of our country.

In 1911 Jim Larkin expelled women from the Irish Transport Workers Union, interpreting the word 'person' in the I.T.W.U. rule book as meaning 'male'. In consequence on 5 September 1911 the Irish Women Workers' Union was founded with Delia Larkin, Jim's sister, as Secretary and that 'person', Jim Larkin, as President. Jim Larkin remains the only man ever to hold membership of the I.W.W.U.

But why was the Union formed at all? Surely it was against the I.T.W.U. ambitions for One Big Union? William O'Brien, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in 1918, when the I.W.W.U. broke all connections with Liberty Hall, said that "Many people, including myself, did not see any necessity for such a Union, believing that it was not desirable to organise women on a sex basis". This statement was translated into action as the I.T.G.W.U. again recruited women, employed women as organisers and became, from 1919 onwards, the most significant union for women in Ireland in terms of membership. As to the I.W.W.U. Emmet Larkin suggested that Jim Larkin really set up a job for Delia. Either way

## WOMEN OF THEIR TIME

the I.W.W.U. had no problems justifying their existence.

The Safeguard of Organisation

The 1943 Commission on Vocational Organisation stated:

"The Irish Women Workers Union was founded to meet the special needs of women which unions organised primarily for men tend to ignore. It claims that women need the safeguard of an organisation administered and controlled by themselves on the grounds that their claim to equal pay for equal work is not recognised, that the interests of women are apt to be subordinated to those of men, that conditions of work, are as important to women as rates of pay and that a women's union is



Louie Bennett leading a delegation during the laundry workers' strike which first won the principle of paid holidays for Irish workers.

## R. CLUBS DEMAND

## W. BELFAST

## INDUSTRIAL

## COMPLEX

"City Councillors Jim Sullivan, Bernie McDonagh and representatives of the Belfast Executive of Republican Clubs are to seek a meeting with officials of the Ministry of Commerce and the Northern Ireland Finance Corporation at which they will propose the establishment of a new industry in one of Belfast's most employment starved areas.

### MARKET

The industry being proposed is the manufacture of factory made timber framed houses for which the Republican Clubs feel there is an enormous market throughout Ireland and abroad.

The potential market for this type of house here has already been recognised by foreign concerns. Only two

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## I.W.W.U.

## and Louie Bennett

required to deal with the incursion of badly paid girls into industry. Furthermore, many women maintain that it is impossible to ignore the question of sex and that many special problems arise in connection with the employment of women with which women themselves are best fitted to deal".

This statement corresponds closely with contemporary views held by many women workers. Most women perhaps feel however, that as workers they should be unionised on craft, general or white-collar lines, not on a sex basis. Indeed the I.W.W.U. has never organised more than about 6,000 women, mostly in the Dublin area. Nevertheless the I.W.W.U. has made an important contribution to Irish trade unionism, for women, and for the movement as a whole.

Carrying the Women's Banner at Congress:

The Union has frequently been attacked as being small, ineffective and non-militant. In fact it has been none of these. The Union has never been small by Irish unions. Its militancy has achieved much improved conditions for its members and the principle of paid holidays for all Irish workers, thanks to the successful laundry workers' strike in the 1930's. A measure of the Union's effectiveness and service both to its own members and the movement generally, was the election of three of its members as Presidents of the Irish Trade Union Congress—Louie Bennett, 1932 and 1948, Helena Molony, 1937 and Helen Chenevix 1951. No other women have ever gained such recognition.

Without a separate organisation women would not have achieved this success. To win total recognition however

women must win equality in all unions. Nevertheless, women would not have even appeared at Congress but for the I.W.W.U. and the debate of women's questions would not have been heard.

#### Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity:

The main issues confronting women on national trade union agendas were equal pay, equal opportunity and the right to work. As unemployment rises so attacks on female employment rise. 'Ma' Buckley, a courageous fighter for her class, male or female, and a past President of Sinn Fein, rose to challenge the ITUC's annual resolution on employment in 1939, saying that she "could not help but feel that these resolutions, coming year after year, were rather futile while they accepted the system which produced unemployment. They all knew that a surplus of labour was necessary to the capitalist system. Their resolutions cut no ice, for the only solution of the unemployment problem was to put the axe to the root and cut down the rotten tree of which unemployment was only a branch"

#### DELEGATION

The I.W.W.U. delegation fought for equal pay because women were being "swept into a slave-class to swell the profits of the so-called patriots". The battle for equal pay and opportunity is still being fought.

Miss Chenevix and Helena Molony:

Delia Larkin was the first I.W.W.U. Secretary. She toured Britain during the 1913 lock-out, demanding her brother Jim's release. She founded the Irish Workers' Choir in 1912, ran dance classes in Liberty Hall and toured Britain and Ireland with



Louie Bennett: most famous member of I.W.W.U.

the Irish Workers' Dramatic Company. She resigned the Union, however, and returned to Liverpool.

Helena Molony, a young Abbey actress, first active in the soup kitchens of Liberty Hall in 1913, succeeded Delia. Helena was a council member of the Irish Citizen Army, fighting with them in the Castle and City Hall. After imprisonment in Kilmainham and Holloway, she was elected to the Sinn Fein executive, remaining on the Republican side after the Treaty. She was a long activist in the I.W.W.U., the I.T.U.C. and the Dublin Trades Council.

#### UNASSUMING

The Union's two most famous organisers, however, were Louie Bennett and Helen Chenevix. Miss Chenevix, a quiet, unassuming person, one of the first woman graduates from Trinity and a battler for trade unionism, women, the Labour Party and Nuclear Disarmament. Louie Bennett to many was Irish women's trade unionism.

#### Louie:

'Louie' was an emotive name to many Dublin print girls, laundresses or tailoring workers, just as 'Big Jim' was to many dockers. Refusing James Connolly's original invitation to join the Union, Louie Bennett was convinced of class and revolutionary politics by the events of 1913 and the Rising. Her particular call to women was partly explained by her activity in the Irish Women's Reform League and Suffrage Movement. Her middle class background and inhibitions were finally abandoned to a total dedication to her members. They loved and love her. Louie Bennett became synonymous with many aspects of the women's question and her personality assured success.

Other leading figures in the Union were Dr. Kathleen Lynd, the Countess Markiewicz, Ma Buckley and Kay McDowell. Their significance was the collective one of ensuring that employment, opportunity, health, education and social services were debated and debated from the women's as well as the men's view.

In this campaign they never forgot Connolly's statement in the Re-Conquest of Ireland nor their role in that re-conquest.

"None so fitted to break the chains as those who wear them, none so well equipped to decide what is a fetter. In its march towards freedom, the working class of Ireland must cheer on the efforts of those women who, feeling on their souls and bodies the fetters of the ages, have arisen to strike them off and cheer all the louder if in its hatred of thralldom and passion for freedom the women's army forges ahead of the militant army of labour. But whosoever carries the outworks of the citadel of oppression, the working class alone can raze it to the ground".

months ago a high powered delegation from the Norwegian Export Council (NORTECO) spelled out the merits of such housing to the Northern building industry at a housing seminar in the Dunadry Inn.

#### GLEN RD.

But the Republican Clubs see no reason why this type of housing unit should be imported and will suggest to Ministry officials that a site on the Glen Road opposite Lenadon estate would be an ideal position for the manufacture of the units here.

In proposing the sending of the deputation at a meeting of the Belfast Executive of Republican Clubs, Councillor Sullivan pointed out that in the North alone 400,000 new dwellings will be required in

the next 20 years and that the all-Ireland market would be at least in the region of 1 million dwellings.

The magnitude of this demand, he said, necessitated a fresh look at the long and medium term capabilities of our building industry. He felt this would show that a major shift to factory made housing units, sections and components would be required to push up housing production.

#### LUDICROUS

"However, at a time when unemployment in the building industry is rising it would be scandalous to suggest that these units be manufactured overseas and imported here. It would be ludicrous considering the number of skilled workers who are at present on the

dole queues," he said.

Councillor McDonagh pointed out that the crisis in the building industry was clearly pinpointed in the recent report of the Federation of Building and Civil Engineering Contractors which predicted that only one-third of the North's building firms would be in full production in the next 6 months and that 30 per cent would be operating at half capacity or less. "What is to become of the skilled workers who are the backbone of the industry, what is to become of the thousands waiting for houses," he asked.

#### ADVICE

Councillor Sullivan said that expert advice received by the Republican Clubs indicated that the type of

housing proposed would be ideal for Irish conditions.

These units can be built much more quickly and at a much cheaper cost than the old fashioned types of construction and the end product is a higher standard of house particularly as regards heating and finish. This type of housing unit is used extensively in the USA, Norway and Sweden and would face no insurmountable problems in the Irish climate, he added."

It is understood that the Republican demands for an industrial complex in West Belfast will be conceded by the Ministry of Commerce.

Travelling for pleasure is a fairly recent development on any large scale; only one per cent of the world's population have ever been on a plane. The upper classes, of course, have always travelled. In the days of the Roman Empire patricians would head for the coast in the summer time and much later the British ruling classes initiated their offspring into the wonders of western civilisation with the Grand Tour — a general rampage around Europe which during the 18th and 19th Centuries enabled the British to carry off from Greece, Egypt and Italy loot for the British Museum.

Nowadays, North Americans have taken over the old Grand Tour routes through cities which were once the centres of burgeoning capitalism. They, too, buy up the more portable relics of that era and recently London Bridge was transplanted to the Arizona desert. The American tourist knows that everything's for sale and he has been known to mistake museum catalogue numbers for the price tag. And this brings us to the essence of tourism.

Tourism developed from the concept formulated by the first tour operator, Thomas Cook, that it is cheaper to move a large number of people to one destination at one time than the same number individually. It has from its inception been grounded in the capitalist ethic — the determination to get "value for money". What is bought in this case is not a single commodity but a whole range of experiences which are rolled into one commodity which is the country being visited. A country which attracts tourists has to sell itself to a potential buyer. It isn't just Spanish wine, Italian cheese, French bread or Irish butter that is offered for sale. It is the whole country in which every man, woman and child is a tourist attraction as they become quaint local characters in the colour magazines; every hill is a "beauty spot"; every shack is a picturesque local dwelling; every historical commemoration is a "festival".

The profession which comes nearest to a country's sale of itself to tourists is prostitution; they are the only two trades in which the consumer has to pay up before he gets a chance to examine the goods. When you buy a "package" tour you are buying something which is kept under covers until it is too late for you to go back or change your mind and the cover on the package is the image of the tourist country which it has chosen to sell abroad. It does not necessarily or even often correspond to the reality of that country. Look at the world's biggest tourist countries: Spain is a fascist dictatorship, and so were Greece and Portugal until recently; Italy is a country full of poverty and political instability; the islands of the Caribbean, with the exception of Cuba where tourism is controlled by the government, are places of appalling disease, unemployment and waste, yet fat Americans go there to disport themselves in the grand isolation of American-owned hotels far from the slums and the shanty towns.

**Exclusive**

Tourism may appear to be a worldwide phenomenon with a capacity for infinite expansion but we can only hold this view if we maintain a purely Western European standpoint. 75 p.c. of all international tourists are from only 12 countries, 10 in capitalist Europe and the United States and Canada. 40 p.c. of all tourists are either West German or North American, and the countries they visit are poorer countries where their dollars and deutschmarks buy more. If the countries they favour with their presence had higher and therefore more expensive standards of living, they would not go there — they would go somewhere cheaper.

Countries which depend on tourism for a large part of their foreign exchange earnings are uniformly countries with a low Gross National Product, i.e. they are poor countries. Table One shows a consistent pattern whereby those countries which rely on tourism as a large source of export earnings (e.g. Spain, Austria, Ireland) have a low GNP per capita; conversely, countries with a high GNP (e.g. USA and Sweden) rely very little on tourism. This is a clear indication of the

fact that a country which deploys a large percentage of its labour force in service industries for tourists is not going to produce as much as countries with capital invested in productive industries. As a result per capita income is going to be lower and they are going to be poorer.

**Effect of Tourism on Employment**

It is argued that tourism can provide work in areas of high unemployment and this argument has often been used by Bord Failte. But what kind of employment is this? It is almost always badly paid in the hotel and restaurant sectors. On 25th July last year, Michael O'Leary, the Minister for Labour, condemned the "primeval working conditions which unhappily are still too frequent in the hotel and catering industry". He was speaking at the inauguration of a new Council for the Education, Recruitment and Training in the Hotel Industry in Dublin, and he went on to give several examples of young girls being forced to work for 65 hours a week for £8 and for 45 hours for £5. He said that one hotel in eight was not paying the minimum rate and announced that prosecutions were pending against some. However, his powers do not extend to hotels of less than 10 rooms or to the catering side of the industry where there is no Employment Regulation Order. The conclusion that O'Leary drew from this state of affairs was the facile one that hotels and restaurants should pay more. He appears never to have heard of a market economy. In areas where there is no alternative source of employment, then hotels and restaurants can pay the minimum possible wages. Where else can young girls find employment? The real question, however, is whether we really want to turn Ireland into a nation of waiters, waitresses and chambermaids or whether more thought should be given to the social repercussions of training the nation's young people to change the beds and wash the plates of wealthy foreigners. These foreigners come from countries whose own work force is employed in producing goods whose value as foreign currency earners far outweighs tourism.

**Decline**

It was only four months after O'Leary's speech that the Minister for Health and Welfare, Frank Clusky, was again attacking Irish hotels, this time for being dirty. It is obvious that the concern of the government with matters affecting the tourist industry springs from the decline in tourism to Ireland over the last few years. (Bord Failte Marketing Intentions for Jan.-Dec. 1975, in a breakdown of the number of tourists coming to Ireland, showed a peak of 1,942 thousands in 1969 compared with 1,682 thousands in 1971, 1,458 thousands in 1972 and 1,619 thousands in 1973. These figures include Irish nationals coming to Ireland to visit relatives. This decline has been put down variously to inflation, transport fuel costs, the "troubles" in the Six Counties and increased competition from other tourist areas. This highlights the vulnerability of the tourist industry. No other industry could virtually disappear overnight the way tourism can. Whatever investment has been made in tourist amenities, if the tourists decide not to come they are virtually useless. William Kelly, retiring chairman of the Irish Hotels Federation, said in November 1973 that 14 p.c. of all Irish hotels had closed in the previous two years and said that bed occupancy was at an all time low of 40 p.c. If the capital invested in these buildings had been put into plant or machinery, schools, hospitals or housing, it would not be vulnerable to the whim of holidaymakers who are open to all kinds of political pressure. The example of Portugal is a good one.

**Portugal**

For years under fascism Portugal attracted large numbers of wealthy tourists. Portugal, like Ireland, aimed at encouraging the better-off visitor. Following the April coup last year, when fascism was overthrown, tourists disappeared. There had been no violence on any scale, nevertheless the foreign tourists stayed away, warned off by hostile propaganda in the capitalist press and by anxious tour operators who encouraged

# TOURISM RIP-OFF FOR IRISH HOTELS

them to go to overbooked Spain. In June this year tourist numbers in Portugal were 30 p.c. of what they were even last year and hotels stood empty with 120,000 jobs in jeopardy in a country of high unemployment. This is the result of a deliberate policy by Portugal's previous fascist government to exploit the low wages and low living standard of its people. Most hotel workers in Portugal, until the recent establishment of a minimum wage, had no wages at all, only a share-out of the hotel service charges. No guests, no pay. Tourists prefer stable, i.e., conservative countries. They stopped coming to the Free State when disturbances broke out in the Six Counties. Right-wing British papers, like the fanatically chauvinist "Daily Express", have run campaigns to discourage British holidaymakers from visiting Ireland. On one occasion in late summer last year the "Express" published a biased article which coincided with an Irish Tourist Board advertisement placed at great cost in the same issue. It must have had the "Express" laughing all the way to the Bank.

**Productivity**

It is claimed in "Tourism in the Economy", a document produced by Bord Failte, that over 11 p.c. of all employed people in the Free State depended directly or indirectly on tourism for their jobs in 1968. Eight per cent of all consumer spending is by tourists. If these figures are accurate they are very frightening. With a trade as fickle as tourism these jobs could disappear overnight. Would it not be far better to pay higher wages and give full-time rather than seasonal employment to the native work force and so increase its consumer spending? Increased productivity and an increased standard of living based on an infrastructure far more stable than that of the tourist market would guarantee a far more steady economic growth. Tourism involves heavy infrastructure costs — hotel-building, road and airport construction — which give a very low return. For every £ paid in wages in hotel and catering, only 43 pence of profit is produced. This compares with £1.77 in the chemical industry; £1.61 in food manufacture, and £4.16 in coal production. (Financial Times, 16 May 1972.) Two-thirds and perhaps more of those employed in hotel and catering work are unskilled. Where there is large scale foreign investment in holiday accommodation, a tourist country can suffer not only from the obvious disadvantages of the export of profits but from a loss of control of substantial areas of its countryside and economy.

In March this year Bord Failte objected to a plan by Dutch developers, Ommelanden-BV, to build a £10m. holiday village in Louisburgh, Co. Mayo. The developers claimed that during the period of construction 250 workers would be able to earn £2,500 each annually. Servicing of the village would give direct local employment to 150 workers. Mr. Niall Reddy, for Bord Failte, said that the original plan for 1,000 houses would make the town the third largest in Mayo. Bord Failte also disputed the employment figures, saying that jobs would be provided for only 80 summer workers and 20 permanent ones. Some of the houses would be sold at between £12,000 and £24,000 each on the foreign market. In September last year Donegal Co. Council turned down a Dutch plan for a £5m. holiday development in the Inishowen peninsula.

It is clear that Bord Failte is not keen, as yet, on large scale tourist developments as they would clash with the upper class appeal which their advertisements project of Ireland as a place for the huntin', shootin' and fishin' brigade. Yet, logically, when a substantial part of the economy is once committed to tourism, if the upper classes won't or don't come here any more then we will have to make do with the others. There is in any case already a system of class apartheid in operation in the tourist business. Bord Failte Marketing Intentions said that "Target

Markets" would be directed towards "A B C1 C2 social groupings" (in real language the aristocracy down to the middle class professionals). However, earlier in the same document, Bord Failte classified "Irish related tourists" (in real language, emigrants working abroad and coming home for the holidays) as "being much less widely represented in the higher social classes — 57 p.c. being in the C2 D E social classes" (i.e., unskilled workers). This lower class, emigrant captive market receives no special attention from the Irish tourism business pandering to upper class foreign tastes.

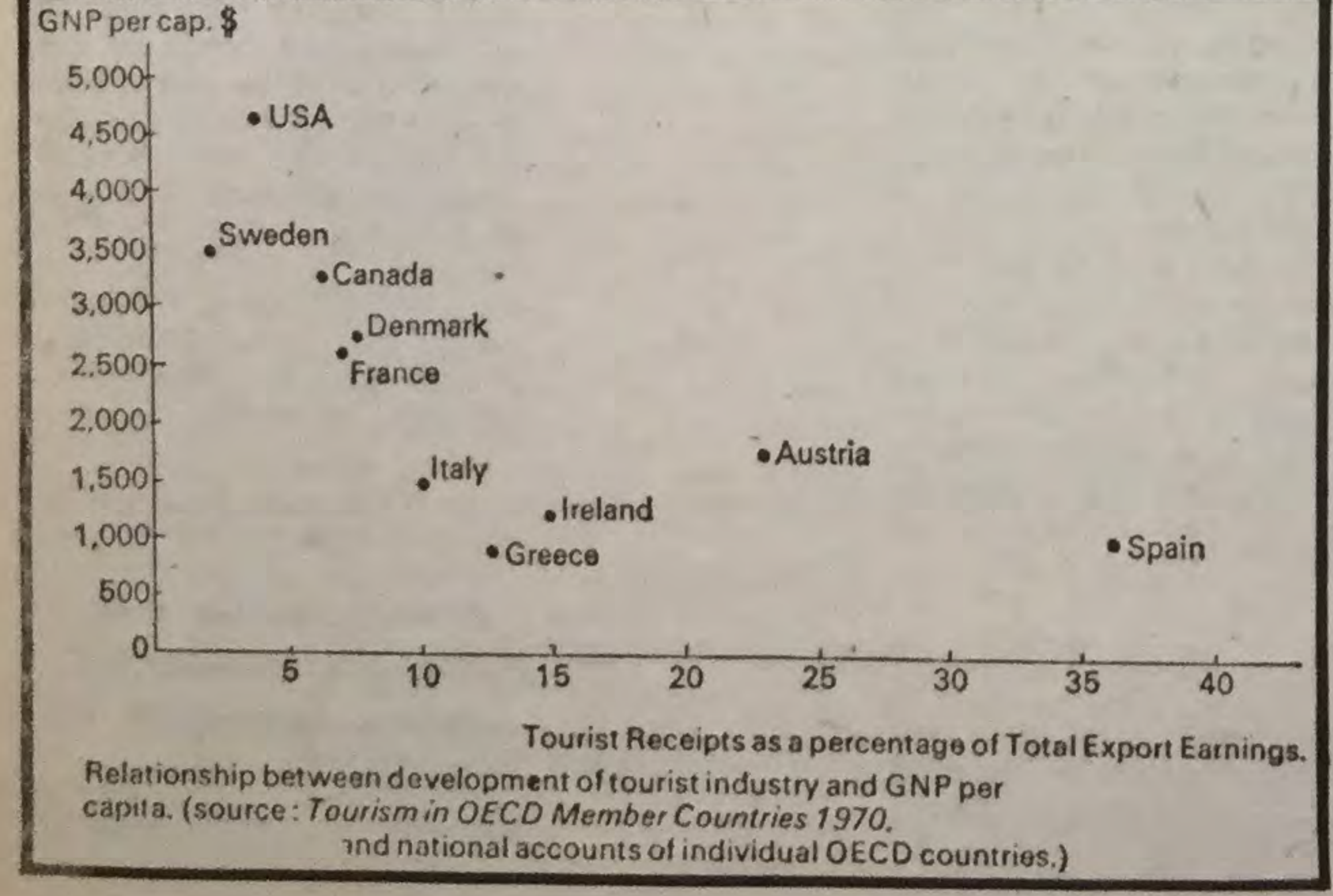
**Alienation**

Every proposed industrial development tends to be seen from the point of view of the tourist rather than the Irish, i.e., will it affect the scenery? The location of an oil refinery in Dublin Bay was opposed by the Chairman of the Eastern Regional Tourist Organisation on the grounds that it would impede tourist development. (Irish Press, 18th April 1975.) Similarly, following the Bantry Bay oil spillage last year, a lot of concern was expressed about whether publicity on this would keep tourists away. The manager of the region's tourist authority, Ivernia, sought consultations with Gulf about counteractive publicity. A review of tourism published by Ivernia last December referred to the partial decline in the trade and made the astonishing statement that "In the long term, it is industrial and commercial development which will do most to even out the peaks and hollows in the hotel trade", as though the function of industrial development would be to play second fiddle to the tourist business. (Irish Times, 11th December 1974.)

While concern is expressed about upsetting tourists it could be argued with equal force that tourists upset the native population. Speaking at the Louisburgh enquiry, Niall Millar, an economist from Bord Failte, referred to "one of the basic facets of the attraction of Ireland as a holiday destination — namely, quality and way-of-life, the attitudes and friendliness of the people themselves". While Bord Failte may be happy to cash in on the laughing native image, they may do well to pause and consider the hostility to foreigners in large numbers generated by any small population which feels itself in danger of being outnumbered. (Bord Failte aims at 2m. visitors by 1980.) In August last year protests developed at the news that a party of Italians was to be brought to Ireland to shoot and threats were made to set up vigilante groups. In September people in Sandycroft, Co. Dublin, objected to the siting of a "shanty town" of caravans nearby. And in May this year following six deaths in a two-car crash, the Garda Superintendent, Matthew Sills, called on all visitors to be sure to drive on the left side of the road. At the Louisburgh enquiry a local farmer referred to the proposed holiday village as a "foreign hatchery". He said, "We have experience of a foreign hatchery in Northern Ireland — 400 years of evil fruit". Obviously, Mr. O'Malley regarded the Dutch developers as a Second Coming by William of Orange.

**Is Ireland a Tourist country?**

At this point we must ask the question whether in fact Ireland is a country which attracts large numbers of tourists or whether it only appears to be so, largely as a result of believing its own propaganda. Who are the people who in fact take their holidays in Ireland? Below is an analysis of all visitors to Ireland in 1973 according to purpose of visit and expenditure. From this we can see that Irish emigrants form at least 68.6 p.c. of all visitors from Britain and that they spend £44.1 each compared with £40.5 each spent by other visitors from Britain. The majority of visitors to Ireland from Britain are Irish emigrants forced to seek work abroad and despite the fact that they do not have to stay in hotels



MEAN FOMHAIR when they return more than alien longer, 13.4 days For these visits are a waste come anyway. On refusals by carriers to subsidise air emigrants means is being subsidised emigrant market. Lingus to cut prices trans-Atlantic competition from not have on the route. No foreign brought in by visit have in recent year instantly devalued because of high This is another per and E" social emigrant. Conditions hands of the other Britain, British Rail Laoghaire and Fish are appalling at unlikely that Brit necessary to impro has a captive pa emigrant being ca the holidays.

These facts did spending £1,048,68 campaign in 1973. they spent £20,000 European countries 8,000 enquiries. It is many of these act Ireland. In the Uni a large number of v Irish origin, Aer L campaigns are ev totalling £296,999 in

Yet in June last y stop 466 Irish A Shannon aboard a grounds that they society and should to charter a flight. jumbo jets had ha Siam and East Af long time, Aer Ling action to prevent A flying on to Dublin to force passengers journey with them prefer tourists not to not fly Aer Lingus. V raised the question emigrants, the Stat stamp on it, declar way of distinguish workers and those devastating comm of their staff whose the largest empl pany. Aer Lingus r in 1974) and its di not helped. The T golf course and hote all involved capit could have been be and encourage tra inescapable that Ae function as a presti Ireland has a natio boasting for no obv only airline in the v se). Many other sm countries have fa prestige trap and s airlines out of the po

**Subsidies**

The question of s tourists is an imp sideration of what tributes to the e building airports is who may never us This massive initia wiped out by the go by the airlines g government decid authority, Aer Ria and instructed airli passengers. What paid up by raisin cross-channel pas trans-Atlantic one made their fares once again the em subsidising the r TWA, one of the world, simply refus sued by a govern them landing righ this that TWA wa Dublin. The cro enjoys none of the on for trans-At Shannon.

Bord Failte su amounted to £1.10 Butlins received a pre-tax profits Leisureland cent estimated to be ru p.a. (see Table 2) country "scenic" (as opposed to r somewhere) and d built by local co comes from tax money spent loca pockets of local t To these posit add the negative unemployment an empty open spac tourist enjoys. Th days holiday is me Irish people who a advertisements a

**MEAN FOMHAIR**

when they return they actually spend more than alien tourists because they stay longer, 13.4 days rather than the 9.7.

For these visitors advertising campaigns are a waste of time, they would come anyway. On the other hand, constant refusals by carriers, notably Aer Lingus, to subsidise air fares for returning emigrants means that this State company is being subsidised by the captive emigrant market. This in turn enables Aer Lingus to cut prices to the bone on the trans-Atlantic route where it meets competition from US airlines that it does not have on the monopolised cross-channel route. No foreign currency earnings are brought in by visitors from Britain who have in recent years found their £s sterling instantly devalued on reaching Ireland because of higher food and drink costs. This is another penalty paid by the "C2 D and E" social class returning Irish emigrant. Conditions experienced at the hands of the other major carriers from Britain, British Rail, on its Holyhead-Dun Laoghaire and Fishguard-Rosslare routes, are appalling at holiday times but it is unlikely that British Rail will find it necessary to improve. Like Aer Lingus, it has a captive passenger in the Irish emigrant being cattle-trucked home for the holidays.

These facts did not stop Bord Failte spending £1,048,681 on an advertising campaign in 1973. In February this year they spent £20,000 on a campaign in seven European countries. The result was only 8,000 enquiries. It is impossible to say how many of these actually made the trip to Ireland. In the United States, from where a large number of visitors come who are of Irish origin, Aer Lingus and Bord Failte campaigns are even more extravagant, totalling £296,999 in 1973.

Yet in June last year Aer Lingus tried to stop 466 Irish Americans landing in Shannon aboard a TWA jumbo jet on the grounds that they were not a "proper" society and should not have been allowed to charter a flight. (Aer Lingus's own two jumbo jets had had to be leased to Air Siam and East African Airlines.) For a long time, Aer Lingus fought a rear-guard action to prevent American airlines from flying on to Dublin from Shannon in order to force passengers to fly the last leg of the journey with them. Aer Lingus would prefer tourists not to come at all if they do not fly Aer Lingus. When Barry tentatively raised the question of subsidised fares for emigrants, the State airline was quick to stamp on it, declaring that they knew no way of distinguishing between Irish workers and those of other countries — a devastating comment on the intelligence of their staff whose sales team in Britain is the largest employed by any Irish company. Aer Lingus runs at a loss (over £5m. in 1974) and its diversification policy has not helped. The Tara Hotel, Sunningdale golf course and hotels in the Canaries have all involved capital investment which could have been better used to cut fares and encourage traffic. The conclusion is inescapable that Aer Lingus sees its chief function as a prestige one — to show that Ireland has a national airline (as well as boasting for no obvious reason that it is the only airline in the world with a golf course). Many other small and relatively poor countries have fallen into the same prestige trap and subsidise their national airlines out of the pockets of their workers.

**Subsidies**

The question of subsidies paid to attract tourists is an important one in a consideration of what exactly tourism contributes to the economy. The cost of building airports is met by the taxpayer who may never use them, not the tourist. This massive initial capital debt is usually wiped out by the government. It is not met by the airlines. Recently, the Irish government decided to put the airports authority, Aer Rianta, on a paying basis and instructed airlines to pay a levy on all passengers. What happened? Aer Lingus paid up by raising the money from the cross-channel passengers but not the trans-Atlantic ones as this would have made their fares "uncompetitive". So once again the emigrant from Britain was subsidising the rich American visitor. TWA, one of the largest airlines in the world, simply refused to pay and had to be sued by a government too weak to refuse them landing rights. It was shortly after this that TWA was allowed to fly on to Dublin. The cross-channel passenger enjoys none of the duty-free facilities laid on for trans-Atlantic passengers at Shannon.

Bord Failte subsidies to Irish hotels amounted to £1,102,831 in 1973 and in 1974 Butlins received a grant of £54,448 while its pre-tax profits rose to £79,058. The Leisureland centre in Salthill, Galway, is estimated to be running at a loss of £44,000 p.a. (see Table 2). In many areas of the country "scenic" roads have been built (as opposed to roads which actually go somewhere) and car and coach parks are built by local councils. Money for this comes from tax and rate payers, yet money spent locally goes into the private pockets of local tradespeople.

To these positive subsidies one has to add the negative subsidy of the loss by unemployment and emigration from the empty open spaces of the West which the tourist enjoys. The cost of the tourist 9.7 days holiday is met to a large extent by the Irish people who are "sold" on Bord Failte advertisements as part of the scenic



The Aer Lingus Banquet Room for privileged wealthy visitors.

background. Notice how empty are the photos of Ireland peddled abroad — the image of a country abandoned by its people, prostrated to the foreign invader with his camera, his gun, and his fishing rod. People in these photos are of the old, shawled woman or the donkey riding man. This might be an accurate reflection of the composition of the population in some areas but its appeal is aimed quite deliberately at the foreigner as it suggests an enfeebled and dotting native unable to resist the intrusion of strangers.

**The Irish Reality**

The Irish emigrant, returning home, does not need to be sold the wide open spaces. He knows how they came about. He is aware of the Irish reality. And there is another class of holidaymaker equally aware of Irish reality. At the Louisburgh enquiry a solicitor spoke on behalf of Sir Terence Garvey, British Ambassador to the Soviet Union, who has a home in the area. The solicitor claimed that if the development went ahead "the amenity value of his client's home would never be the same again". Here is an earlier colonial/tourist settler asserting his rights of the first comer over later comers. Sir Terence Garvey is exactly the type of British visitor that Bord Failte wants to attract and the number of "holiday homes" owned by foreigners is a fair indication that they too are aware of Ireland's quasi-colonial situation despite over 50 years of so-called independence. In Ireland the foreigner can still play at being the squire of the manor which he may no longer be able to do, or afford to do, in his own country, swaggering around in tweeds and deerstalkers. It is a possibility which Bord Failte consciously projects abroad. If a development plan for industrialisation were to be put into operation, this whole tourist superstructure would be threatened. As we have shown, this superstructure is paid for by the Irish themselves and not by the tourists that it exists to attract.

**Conflict**

The revenue taken out of the country by Irish people holidaying abroad must be set against any profit claimed by the tourist industry, as must all subsidies and losses involved. It might be more reasonable to encourage Irish nationals to holiday at home rather than subsidising foreigners to come. For one thing, there would be no need for airports for those holidaying at home. Do we need three international airports in a country of less than three million people or would not the money have been better spent on improving internal road and rail communications?

The projection abroad of an image of Ireland as a place fit for tourists has the effect of showing it as a place where no work is done, the Atlantic equivalent of the paradise of lazing niggers in the Caribbean. The history of this image is, in both

cases, generations of chronic unemployment, but the Irish themselves are open to the persuasion that inefficiency, a slow pace of life and general incompetence are of intrinsic value and not the result of centuries of deliberate underdevelopment. What proportion of the Irish working people themselves take holidays? What proportion of them could afford to spend any time in the luxury class hotels which at present receive government subsidies paid out of their money?

**Conclusions**

A socialist policy on tourism would be part of a large scale policy towards leisure and would have to put the interests of the native working population above all others. The provision of employment in capital intensive industry must take precedence over the extension of seasonal unskilled employment in the labour intensive tourist industry. It is the function of a socialist policy to make sure that the country's workers are all able to enjoy a holiday by ensuring the provision of cheaper accommodation which would not depend on the employment of large ratios of servants to served. If we are suffering from an imbalance as regards foreign currency earnings, then the first step should be to prevent better-off people from selling Irish money abroad, not by subsidising better-off foreigners to come to Ireland to take advantage of the lower standard of living of its people. In most socialist countries all working people are guaranteed an annual holiday through their work centres. In Cuba, for example, Cubans from factories in Havana fill the luxury hotels on the coast which before the Revolution were built by and for the exclusive use of Americans. Cubans employed in these hotels have the pride of serving their fellow workers, not parasitical foreigners.

There is no reason why existing tourist investment in resorts and hotels should not become part of a national holiday policy

for the people who paid for them to be built — the Irish workers. Similarly, all foreign investment whereby the profits in hotels are exported should be stopped and no more subsidies should be given for hotel and resort building which simply results in public money being poured into private pockets. An investigation should be made into the cost of running large tourist infrastructure organisations with their boards of management whose salaries are paid by the government, giving large scope for political patronage.

There is a definite conflict between the image of Ireland marketed abroad and the kind of Ireland we need if the nation is to develop a proper, self-controlled economy for the benefit of the whole people. Britain had its industrial revolution and sent its wealthy bourgeoisie abroad for their holidays. It is only now in the days of its economic decline that England itself has come to rely on the sale of its past as a source of foreign revenue. If the price to be paid for maintaining Ireland's forty shades of green free from chimneys and people so that tourists can wander at leisure is chronic unemployment, poverty and emigration, then that price is too high.

Holidays in Ireland should be for the workers of Ireland. Our task must be to build an economy which can support proper leisure time for all its workers. At present the Free State government's tourist policy, reflecting its parasitical class base, is intent on selling abroad a colonial picture of the Irish people in order to attract the very class of people who represent the colonising and neo-colonising forces at work in Ireland today. Once Ireland begins to develop a truly independent economy these latter-day planters will no longer want to holiday here and we shall not need them to come. The hidden offer behind Bord Failte's gaily coloured photos is one of economic and political subjection and it is an offer that we should make sure is taken off the market.

Accommodation grants for year ending 31st March 1974:	total £ 420,923
1973:	total £1,102,831

1974 grants included the following:

Ardree Hotel, Waterford	£54,500
Glenworth Hotel, Limerick	£10,500
International Hotel, Bray	£14,500
Ostlann Rinn Rua, Waterville, Co. Kerry	£17,300
Reendessert Hotel, Ballylockey, Co. Cork	£12,652
Salthill Hotel, Galway	£18,994
Tower Hotel, Waterford	£29,230

In the same period Butlins received grants of £54,448 while pre-tax profits rose to £79,058, while An Oige hostels in Bunnaton and Tra-na-Rossan, Co. Donegal and Ballingeara and Cape Clear in Co. Cork received a mere £6,095. Since 1958 Bord Failte has paid out £4 million on resorts. In Galway/Salthill £311,600 was spent on golf course, tennis course, promenade, Spanish Arch and £404,599 on Leisureland. Source Bord Failte Report for year ended March 1974. Butlins Annual Report for year ended October 31 1974.



# PEACE

# FOR NO

## SECTARIANISM KIL

No one was born hating his fellow citizens. No one was born hating a Protestant, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic or Dissenter. People learn what the rulers of society want them to learn. In Northern Ireland workers have been told, taught, compelled to believe that their fellow workers are enemies simply on account of their religion.

Think about the following questions: —

Who wants you to hate a Protestant? Who wants you to hate a Catholic?

Who wants you to kill a Protestant? Who wants you to kill a Catholic?

Who benefits from these murders? Who gains from the Sectarian Division of the Working Class.

For over fifty years in Northern Ireland religion has been deliberately confused with politics. It has been used to conceal unemployment, bad housing conditions, gross poverty, poor schools. It has been used to deny baths, running water, adequate living conditions, decent wages.

It has been used to deny basic human rights to thousands of workers throughout Northern Ireland. **WHAT THEN IS TO BE DONE?**

Reject all those who put worker against worker.

Unite in the interests of the working class.

Put the interests of Irish workers before everything else.

We must build a society based not on religious division but on working class unity; a society in which all will have not only the right to work, but the right to enjoy the products of their labour. The answer is the road to peace in an Ireland where workers will be no longer exploited because of their class or creed.

Issued by the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, 1973. 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast. Telephone 28663 and 48459.

The Belfast Command Staff of the I.R.A. wish to condemn in the strongest possible manner the perpetrators of the Bayardo Bar outrage on the Shankill Road, Belfast.

But condemnation of the Bayardo Bar killings and other sectarian outrages is not sufficient unless action to prevent a recurrence is taken.

There are two courses which we wish to recommend:

### 1. Vigilance by members of the public

At churches, bars, cafes, dancehalls where people gather, a lookout should be kept for suspicious cars, parcels, transistor radios, etc. This in itself will not eradicate the determined sectarian killer but vigilance will mean that the intended victims can be alerted and the toll of life and limb reduced. Children should be repeatedly warned not to handle any objects lying about on the streets, the areas in which they play, near their homes, schools, etc.

### 2. Meeting of paramilitary organisations

Paramilitary organisations are the source of the perpetrators of the sectarian violence. Some have claimed responsibility for some of the outrages (e.g. the Miami Showband killings); all have denied responsibility for others (e.g. the Bayardo Bar killings).

What all paramilitary organisations must realise is the futility of such outrages. They serve no cause and bring untold misery to innocent people whom the paramilitary organisations claim to represent.

The pattern whereby a paramilitary group from one section of the community murders innocents of another religion today in retaliation for the atrocity of another sectarian paramilitary group yesterday must be halted. We believe that the paramilitary groups have it within their power to bring such outrages to an end or to, at least, isolate those responsible.

We therefore call on all paramilitary groups to make a public declaration of their desire to attempt to bring this horror to an end and to signify their willingness to discuss the question with members of other paramilitary groups.

We, as an organisation which has warned repeatedly of the evils of sectarianism and have done all in our power to eradicate it, pledge our services in making such a meeting possible and call on the communities from which the paramilitary organisations come to reject any organisation which refuses to make a genuine attempt to bring the wave of senseless killings to an end.

E. O'Connor,  
Adjutant.

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# IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE U

Millions of pounds worth of property —homes, offices and factories— have been destroyed. The dormant embers of distrust and prejudice have been fanned into an inferno of fear and hatred. Thousands have been forced, through fear and intimidation, to leave their homes or jobs. In the streets of working class areas, barricades—euphemistically named "peace lines"—have been erected. The people are divided along sectarian lines more deeply than ever before...

The committee believes implicitly that the interests of working class

people, Protestant, Catholic and dissenter are indivisible, and that there can be no lasting solution to our community problems except one that unites them in a brotherhood of justice and equality.

This is not the doctrine of politicians who depend upon their demagogery to divide. It is not this basic unity and sense of values such politicians wish the people to live by...

The fact of the matter is that in Northern Ireland, Protestant and

Roman Catholic workers have been deceived into accepting higher unemployment, poorer housing, and lower incomes than their counterparts in Great Britain.

This process of deception involves a system of discrimination against the working class minority in order to make the working class 'majority' believe they hold a privileged position worthy of protection. This is a classic example of the 'enemy within' and the divide and 'rule' party political strategy. In other parts of the world, the poor white man

is led... man... colour... The... both... class... Never... unem... been... Earnin... substa... 80 per... The... pursue... trade u...



# THE PLANS IN NORTH

## SECTARIANISM KILLS WORKERS

This continuous downward trend of political development in Ireland during the past four years has led to feelings of frustration and even despair in many quarters. But it only requires an end to the violent conflict to completely reverse the trend. That is why the most progressive and revolutionary demand at this time is for peace. Peace may mean surrender for those engaged in the terror campaigns, for the provisionals, or for the British forces or for the fascist Loyalists, but for the mass of the people peace only means the opportunity to resume the real struggle, the struggle for basic democratic rights, the struggle for a job or for proper housing, the struggle for ownership of the wealth of their country. All the progressive forces in the country demand peace, all the fascists and sectarian bigots are opposed to it.

The achievement of peace is the prerequisite for progress. Only when people can move about and talk without fear can progressive ideas once more flourish. But the very struggle for peace itself can be the first upward movement of the progressive forces from the morass in which they find themselves.

At present the peace movement is in the hands of clergy and middle-class do-gooders whose purpose is to suppress all demands for change and equate maintenance of the status quo with peace. This must be changed urgently. Progressives must move to the forefront of the struggle for peace. To this end a conference should be convened of those organisations who have a record of defending and supporting working class interests and in particular the struggle for democracy and basic human rights. Such a conference should be able to agree on a common programme of action:

1. To achieve peace.
2. To use peace for the people's benefit.

The peace struggle involves three immediate priorities:

1. Ending all campaigns of violence.
2. Ending internment immediately.
3. Withdrawing troops to barracks (including the U.D.R.).

Such peace could not last long however unless it was followed up by:

1. Arrangements for amnesty for all political prisoners, North, South and in Britain.
2. Reform of the police.
3. Abolishing repressive legislation.

Tomas Mac Giolla,  
Boston, U.S.A.



The Army Council commends the initiative taken by the Belfast Command Staff in an effort to end the sectarian killings and have instructed all units to do all in their power to resist the efforts being made to ferment Civil War whether these emanate from UVF, UDA, UDR, Provisional or IRSP elements.

The continuation of the sectarian killings can have only one outcome — a full scale Civil War. And the British response to a Civil War is almost certain to be repartition — the further dismemberment of the communities and the country which both the Catholic and Protestant sectarian killers claim to love and serve.

Any British attempt to impose a repartition solution will be resisted by the Irish Republican Army as it should be by any other organisation which claims to serve the interests of the Irish working people.

What the North needs, and what the British are continuously resisting, is the enactment of legislation which will guarantee the rights of every citizen, administered by a police service controlled by and acting in the service of the people.

We believe that the Northern Convention, consisting as it does of middle and upper class representatives elected on a sectarian basis, will be incapable of finding a system of government acceptable and suitable to the needs of ordinary people.

It is still not too late for this omission to be corrected — at the very least the Trade Unions and Community organisations should be invited to make submissions on their proposals for the government of the Six Counties to the members of the Convention.

J. J. McGarrity,  
Army Council, IRA.

## TRADE UNIONS 1975

is led to fear and distrust the black man. In Northern Ireland, only the colours are different.

The facts show that the interests of both Protestant and Catholic working class have been grossly neglected. Never at any time has the rate of unemployment in Northern Ireland been less than double that in Britain. Earnings have always been substantially lower, and today, average 80 per cent of earnings in Britain . . .

The role of the committee is to pursue those central aims which affect trade unionists and indeed the

community as a whole. The committee is pledged to advocate and support policies designed to establish and safeguard the fundamental rights of the individual within a community based on social justice. These rights include:

- The right to live free from threats of violence, intimidation and discrimination.
- The right to associate freely and to advocate political change by peaceful means.
- The right to well-paid work and to decent housing.

- The right to free and full education.
- The right to adequate social services to protect the aged and the young, the sick, the unemployed, and the socially deprived . . .

There are enough guns, ammunition and extremists in our midst to telescope into one bloody week the 1,170 deaths and all the other evils of the last five years.

Who then would be the victors?  
Who would claim the victory?  
For whom then would the bell toll?

# Sceala Cois Fharráige

Sceala a chuala me o mhuintir na h-aite i gCois Fharráigh gur fear ri-mhaith a bhí i bPol O Foighil — fear a rinne rudai — fear a chuir tus le rudai — agus gan dabht ar bith ba sceal fíor e.

B'huel bhunaigh Pol Comhor Chumann (le cabhair mhuintir na haite dar ndoigh) agus d'fhoghaigh an Comhar Chumann. B'huel bhunaigh an Comhar Chumann Clolann — Clodoiri Lurgan. Dar ndoigh bhí siad ag cailleadh airgid ar feadh na cupla chead bhlian — rud a mbeifea ag suil leis.

Ach d'innis cuntasoir domh gur ionadh leis a laghad is a chaill siad ins na chead

bhlianta. Biodh sin mar sin ach ar scor ar bith dar le Pol gur choir bunus na scaracha i gClodoiri Lurgan a dhiol le Jefferson Smurfit.

B'huel anois ní inniu na inne a rugadh mhuintir Chonnamara agus bhí fhios acu go maith cen fath a raibh suim ag Jefferson Smurfit i gClodoiri Lurgan. Se sin e cheannacht chomh maith le roinnt mhaith de chlodoiri beaga eile agus nuair a bheadh an tiomlan faighte acu iad ar fad a dhunadh seachas ceann mor amhain (bhfeidir i nGaillimh).

"Rationalisation" a thugann siad ar sin.

Bhí fhios ag mhuintir Chois Fharráige cen chaoi a obríonn monaplacht nó Gaim-bineachas chomh maith leo fhein agus dhiultaigh siad doibh.

Votaladh 36 vota in aghaidh 2 agus bhí Pol chomh mí-shasta leo gur eirigh se as a phost. Níor tugadh cuireadh do fanacht.

Ach níorbh e sin deireadh an sceal. Rinne Pol na mna tí a eagru. Iad siud a thugann loistin do na paisti a fhreastalaíonn ar na 8 colaisti Samhraidh agus d-iarr orthu tarraingt amach as an Chomhar-Chumann Ar tharraing? — níor tharraing. Mairfidh an Comhar-Chumannachas i gCois Fharráige.

**SCEAL  
SCEIL**

## Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire

An Chéad Taispeantas Poiblí

i

bPictiúrlann Whitehall, B.A.C.

ar an

19ú Meán Fomhair 1975

Cine Gael a dhein é

faoi choimirce Sinn Féin

Ta an dealramh ann i laithair na huairé go bhfuil saol fada i ndán do Campa na Cise Fada. Ta obair togala ag dul ar aghaidh, rian "campa" ag imeacht agus príosun daingean ag teacht ina ionad.

Is mo Eireannach og a bheidh an campa mar domhan aige ar feadh treimhse fada, is mo chroí agus corp a deanfar iarracht a bhriseadh ann. Beidh an ide ceanna le fail acu agus a fuair na laochra a dimigh rompa i mBaile Cionn Lair, an 'Joy, Bother Cruimlinne, an 'Portach' i bPort Laoise, an Currach, an Al Rawdah, etc. le blianta fada anuas.

Usaidfidh na príosunaigh ann na modhanna ceanna cosanta agus troda a usaideadh ins na fichidí, triochaidí, dathidí agus na caogaidí. Usaidfidh siad an modh ceanna ionnsaithe a d'usaid na cimi a d'imigh rompa — eolas a chur ar a gcultúr agus ar a dteanga fein — rud nar thuig na jailers riamh agus a chur fearg agus deistean orthu.

Deanfaidh na Poblachtanaigh lollscoil nua Gaelach as Campa na Cise Fada. Tíochfaidh scríbhneoirí agus scolairí Gaeilge as comh cinnte agus a thainigh scríbhneoirí agus scolairí as an geibheann i ngach re príosuntachta go dtí seo.

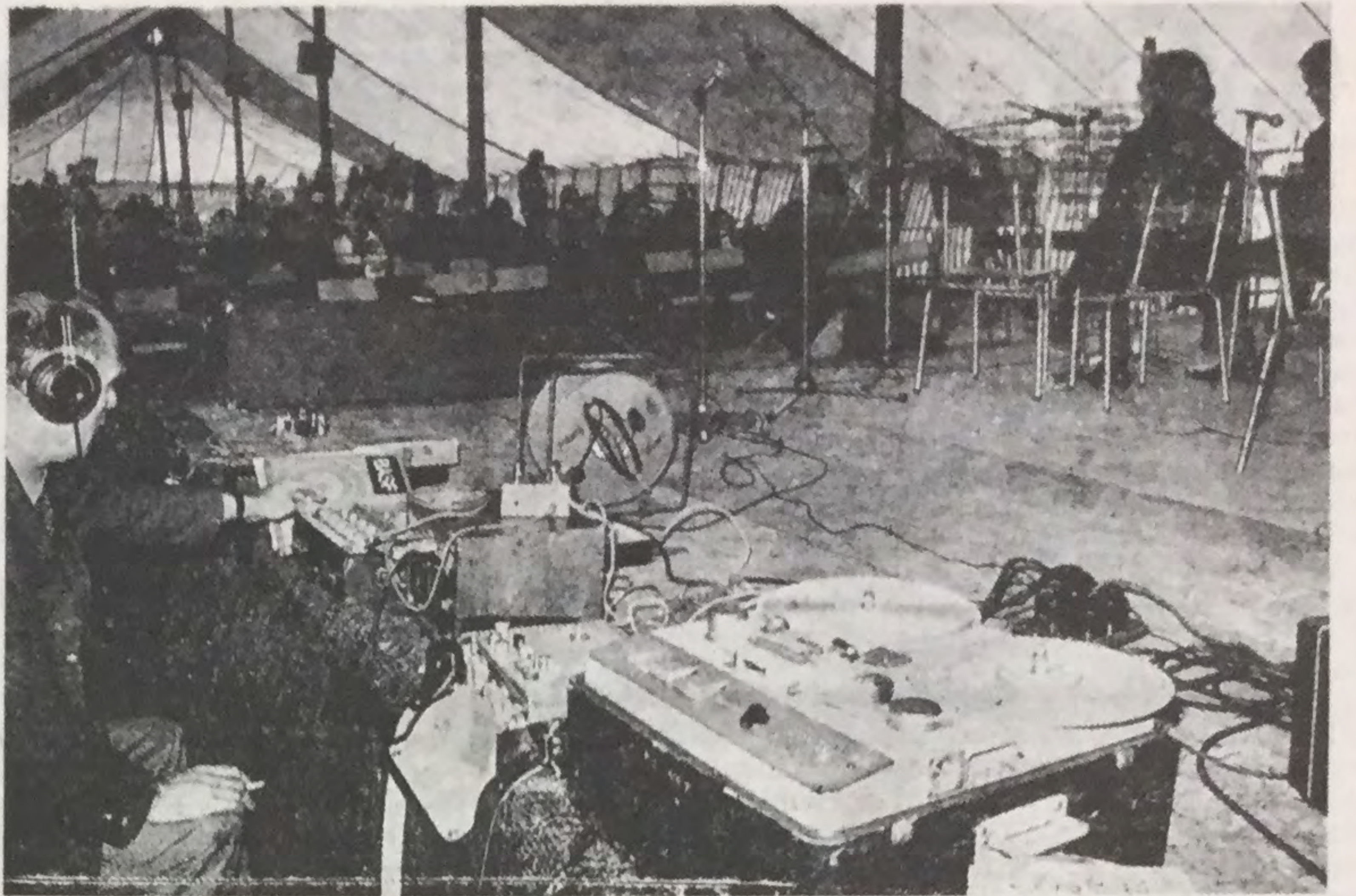
De reir fogra san eagrair de AN EOCHAIR ata ar dhiol i laithair na huairé ta cunamh ag teastail o Gaeilgeoirí na Cise Fada. De reir an fogra ta leabhair Ghaeilge ag teastail go gear uathu ata i Cios 21 den campa.

Ta suil againn go dtíochfaidh an cunamh sin on ar leitheoirí. Cuir na leabhair chugainn agus seolfaimid ar aghaidh go dtí an Campa iad.



# CAMPA NA CEISE FADA

# Oireachtas na nGael '75 i gCorr na Mona Conamara



● Oireachtas na nGael Rosmuc 1972.

B'aistíoch an treo a ghlac Oireachtas na nGael on tam a spreag Aoileann Ní Eigeartaigh a bhunú cupla bliain ó shoin — go deimhin thosnaigh se mar friothghníomh agus anois is feile ina cheart fhein e agus ta dearmad deanta ag an phobal cen bhun-aídhm a bhi leis.

An cuma leis an phobal? Deacair a radh. Ní doigh liom anois go gcuireann Oireachtas na nGael as do "Establishment" na Gaeilge ach ar an taobh eile is beag tacaíocht a thugann an "Establishment" ceanna do Oireachtas na nGael.

Go deimhin is deacair a thuigbheail goide an doigh a mhair se go dtí seo fhein mar chuaigh gach rud ina eadan on tus-easpa airgid, droch aimsir, droch-phoiblíocht (gangaideach in amannai) agus na Gaeltachtaí ar a bhfuil se ag freastail chomh scaite sin o cheile gur dheacair den muintir theacht le cheile.

Bhuel níor chuir iomlan na gconstaici sin beag-uchtach ar Choiste na bliana seo agus ta siad a gceann oibre i mbliana aris agus ta

tacaíocht tuillte acu agus ma ta tu do shuí go te sa tsaol seol sintius chuig Sean O Cadhain, Bailé-an-Tobair, Corr na Mona, Co. na Gaillimhe.

## "Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire"

Beidh cuimhne i gcomhnai ar Oireachtas na nGael mar gur le na linn a thainig Radio Saor Chonamara un meadaíochta. Ta suil againn go bhfuighidh Cine Gael an t-aitheantas ceanna ar son a gcuid iarrachtaí ar scannan duthchasach a dheanamh, 's fuair Radio Saor Chonamara an tam ud.

Beidh an Scannan le feiceail ar 3 a chlog De Sathairn 13u Mean Fomhair.

## Diospoireacht:

Ta spiorad an chomhar chumannachas faoi ionnsaí faoi lathair ins na Gaeltachtaí mar go bhfuil ag eiri leis (ar ndoigh) agus bhfearr le daoine airithe feiceal chuige go

dtuitfeadh ce bith pinginneacha ata ag tuitim o "neamh" faoi lathair isteach ina bpocai fein in ionad iad a bheith a roinnt nios cothroime.

Sin an fath a ndeirim gur abhar fíor thoipiciul an t-abhar diospoireachta a phioc an Coiste, i.e. "Forbairt na Gaeltachta trí Chomharchumainn" agus ba choir go mbeadh neart le radh ag muintir Chois Fharráige faoi an abhar agus go mbeadh siad abalta fainic a chuir ar Ghaeltachtaí eile — no go deimin ta a gceacht foghlamaithe acu siud agus is maith a thainig siad as.

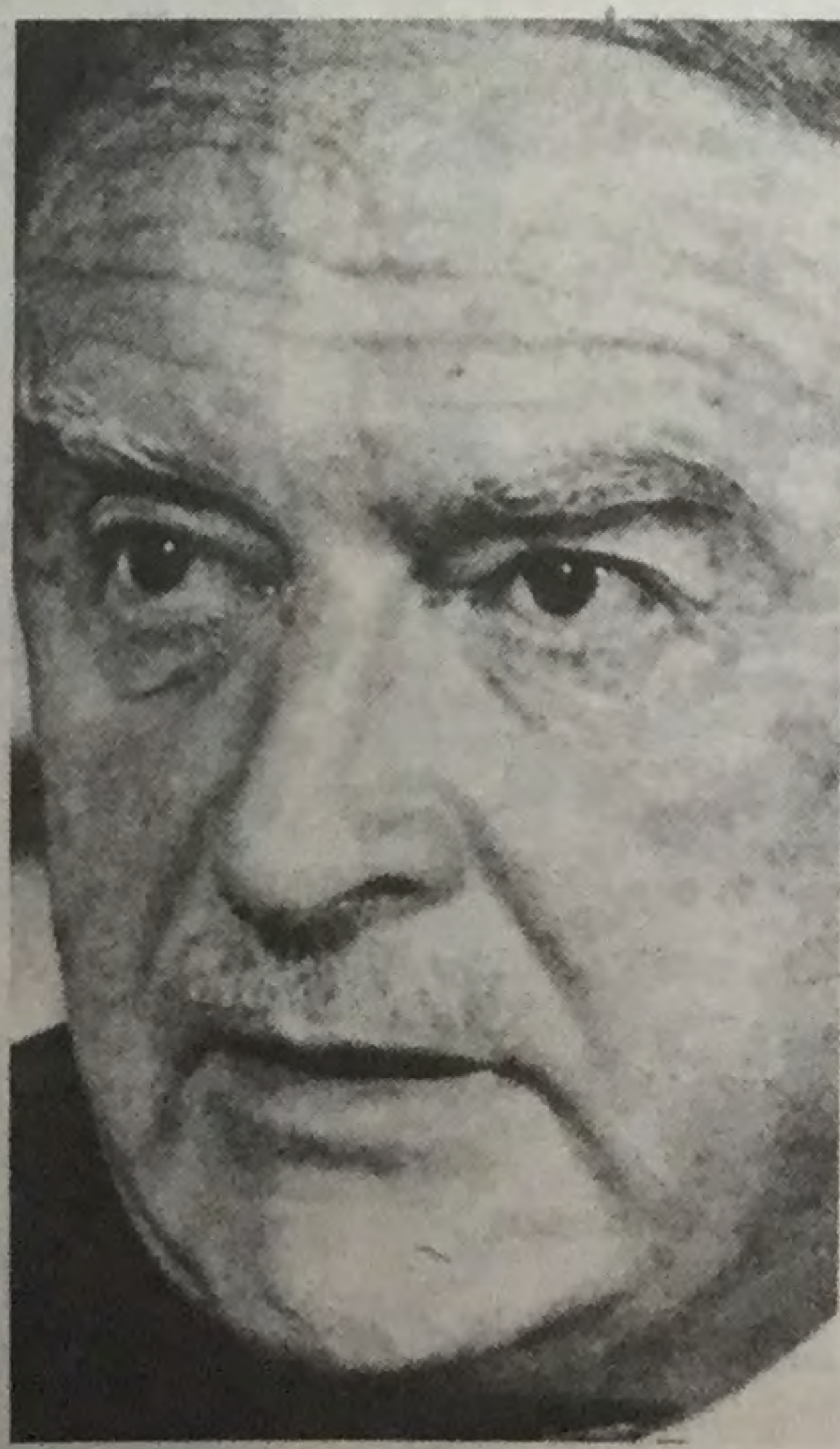
Ta na h-imeachtaí eile mar a bhíodh cheanna ach ta suil agam go ndeanfar iad a iomaíocht nios geire i mbliana na mar a deineamh go dtí seo. Ní bheidh seo amlaidh muna gcuireann i bhfad nios mo daoine isteach ortha.

N.B. Iad siud ata tugtha den oí ní chuirfidh costas an loistin as go mor da ragairneacht i.e. B & B £1.50, La iomlan £4.00.

# AN GHAÉILGE MARBH

"Most people have established a very adequate way of being Irish without the language." "Irish stands for what is old fashioned, agricultural, archaic, not entirely of this world or of this time."

Dha thuairim a nochtar sa tuarascail is deireannai ar stadas agus ar thodh-chai na Gaeilge, tuarascail a cuireadh a dheanamh ag Rialtas na tíre seo, tuarascail a chosain suas le £250,000, tuarascail nar foilsíodh a torthaí go hoifigiúil go foill. Is deacair a dheanamh amach cen fath gur cheil an Rialtas torthaí na tuarascala seo ar mhuintir na hÉireann. Cheapfadh duine go bhfeilfeadh torthaí an tsuirbhe do mheon gallda ar 'gceannairí', meon ata a mhunladh de shíor ag Crus O Briain — ní he go bhfuilimid a ra go dteastaíonn an oiread sin munladh ach bíonn se ag gabhail do moch is deanach. D'fheilfeadh na torthaí a bhi ar an taighde seo don rialtas mar go mbeadh se easca acu iad a chasadh ar mhaithe lena seasamh fein. (Dala an sceal nach maith ataid ag an gcasadh ceanna. Feach an job ata a dheanamh ar Dhónal O Conaill — bheadh laoch



● An Taoiseach Reidh leis an tsuirbhe a fhoillsíu?

mor Pháirtí an Lucht Oibre, Conchubhar Crus fein, sasta leis an athscríobh ata a dheanamh ar an stair le tamall).

Deir an tsuirbhe go bhfuil líon na gcainteoirí líofa Gaeilge sa tír seo faoi bhun 6%, ach deir se go bhfuil Gaeilge eigin ag breis agus 70% agus go bhfuil líon na gcainteoirí líofa sna cathracha ag dul i meid. Is cosúil go bhfuil an Ghaeilge is líofa ag an ngrupa 17 — go dtí aois a 22, gurb iad an dream og seo an dream is mo baidh leis an teanga agus gurb iad is minici a bhaineann usaid aisti. Ta nios lu Gaeilge anois ag furmhor mor statsheirbhísigh na tíre na mar a bhi acu ag dul isteach sa tseirbhís doibh. Ba mhaith le furmhor mor an phobail — dar leis an tsuirbhe, go mbeadh tacaíocht Rialtais ag an nGaeilge ar an radio agus ar an telefís. Ní fheadar ceard ta i gceist leis seo. Ach ta furmhor an phobail in aghaidh polasaithe Rialtais i leith na Gaeilge a mbíonn eigeantas ag baint leo. Ta na daoine agus ar ndo an Ghaeilge, ag dul i laghad sna Gaeltachtaí agus leagtar an locht seo ar dhroch chaighdeán na n-oibríthe white collar a theann ag

obair ann-toradh amháin ar phosal aithe Ghaeltarra Éireann agus an IDA.

Molann an tuarascail go mbeadh rialtas da gcuid fein ag an nGaeltacht a bheadh freagarach as cursaí tithíochta, oideachais is tionscail. Moltar go meallfaí scoileanna le husaid a bhaint as an nGaeilge mar ghnath theanga muinte agus moltar go ndeanfaí taighde ar mhodhanna leis an nGaeilge a chur a labhairt sa mbaile ag teaghláigh. Ach le fillleadh ar an da thuairim thuas, ta fírinne mhór ins an bpeire, an chead cheann ach go hairithe agus ní aon dabht ach go nglatar leo i gcoitinne. Ní hionann sin agus a ra gur fíricí do-athraithe iad agus nar cheart agus nar choir chuile iarracht a dheanamh iad a athru. Is saibhre agus is Gaelaigh muid de bharr an Ghaeilge agus go cinnte is boichte muid dha huireasa, ach mar a dúirt Mairtín O Cadhain go mion-minic, ní haon mhaith duinn lú isteach ar an nGaeilge agus i scartha amach o fhadhbanna agus o agoidi bunúsacha lucht oibre mar a rinne 'gluaiseachtaí na Gaeilge' leis na blianta. "Si on Ghaeilge athghabhail na hÉireann agus si athghabhail na hÉireann slanu na Gaeilge".

# CASEMENT REMEMBERED

On Sunday August 10th, the largest crowd for many years gathered at Murlough, Ballycastle to honour the memory of Roger Casement, who was hanged in Pentonville Prison in 1916. Because of the proximity of the Anniversary of Internment, the commemoration also served as an anti-internment demonstration. For the first time since the fifties, the parade marched the mile-long route down to the bay, with Republican Club banners from various parts of the North prominently displayed.

Welcoming the large attendance the Chairman John Hunter, (Six Co. Executive, Republican Clubs), stated that today at a time when the Republican ideals of men like Pearse, Connolly and Casement were being daily misrepresented in attempts to justify sectarian bigotry, the humanitarian ideals of Casement, the Protestant Republican from the Glens were particularly valid. Casement, the man who championed the cause of oppressed natives in S. America and the Belgian Congo would certainly support the demand for anti-sectarian unity to end the senseless slaughter of innocent people by bigoted maniacs from both sides of the religious divide.

The first speaker, Paul van Caeneghem, from the Flemish support group for the Republican Clubs, said "On behalf of the Flemish Socialist Movement in Belgium I am glad to have the opportunity to say a few words to our Irish Comrades. For a long time the artificial Belgian state — 'this creation of diplomats' as James Connolly put it — has denied the Flemish People their right to cultural identity.

"Although we have succeeded in saving our cultural heritage the task still remains to build a socialist Flemish revolution so that our people can become the masters of their own destiny in the full meaning of the word.

"In this struggle to build socialism we pledge our solidarity to the Irish People and their political spearhead the Republican Movement.

"There could never be a better opportunity to express this solidarity than this Roger Casement commemoration. The Flemish revolutionaries never will forget the role Roger Casement played by unmasking the Belgian colonial behaviour in

the Congo.

"This courageous report exposed the tragic plight of the coloured people and brought an awareness to the Flemish nation of the exploitation the Africans were suffering at the hands of the white colonialists.

Mr. Van Caeneghem was warmly applauded and followed by the main speaker, Tomas Mac Giolla, President, Sinn Fein who stated that Roger Casement was a Protestant Ulsterman with no narrowness or bigotry in his soul. He saw and understood the importance of the cultural struggle against the dominating imperial culture. He learned and loved the Gaelic language and culture, much of which still survived here in his beloved Antrim Glens. He was as much at home with the people of Cloch an Aolligh, Donegal or Cois Fharrage, Connemara, as with the Antrim people. He saw no divisions except those between the oppressor and the oppressed, the hunter and the hunted, the exploiter and the exploited.

Like Tone, he saw his first task to be that of uniting all Irishmen in the struggle against Imperialism.

This is still our major task today. Those who blindly ignored it and embarked on a campaign which was bound to create further divisions and hatreds only help to dishonour the motives of men like Tone and Casement. Nothing could be of greater help to a dead British Empire and a disintegrating United Kingdom than deep and permanent divisions and hatreds in Ireland, which will keep us weak and unable to develop our wealth and productive forces even when Britain is no longer able to maintain an occupation force here.

As British Imperialism bows out in the next decade and removes its occupation forces, it is being replaced by a new Anglo/American Imperialism with its occupying army of multi-national companies. Provisional bombers or UVF assassins will be of little avail against the new Imperialists.

The only army which can fight them is an army of politically conscious workers and small farmers, who understand their role in production, and who are oblivious of the differences so carefully fostered by an alien Government in the past.



# FISHERY REPORT

Sinn Fein having consistently supported the National Waters Restoration League and the campaign for nationalisation of our inland waters, welcomed the statement published last month by the National Waters Restoration League commenting on the report of the Inland Fisheries Commission.

The National Waters Restoration League — (N.W.R.L.) claimed that the report of the Inland Fisheries Commission in its findings — as far as they go — fully justify the League's "fish-in" campaign which brought the Commission into existence in June 1970.

While the demand for comprehensive public ownership in the short term has been rejected the Commission recommends the immediate taking into public ownership of 13 important revenue-bearing fisheries in line with the League's demands. These include fisheries on the Boyne, Munster Blackwater, Nore, Corrib river in Galway, the Moy at Ballina and also Ballisodare in Sligo.

The establishment of a fishery Authority with powers to develop fishing in all its aspects and to buy out private ownership where necessary also goes a long way towards the demands of the League for national, balanced development of inland waters in the public interest.

The League feels that the proposal for regional bodies to replace the Board of Conservators (the abolition of which the League sought) is good in principle but the lack of public involvement in the broadest sense in the control and development work cannot be satisfied by the Commissions call for good public relations. Popular involvement, in the League's opinion, will be far more effective than a Public Relations exercise by rather remote State body.

The League deprecates those parts of the Commissions

recommendations which will have the effect, if implemented, of reducing the catching capacity of salmon fishermen while increasing that of private owners. In particular it condemns the proposal to reimpose prohibitive fishery limits in Galway Bay, where, thanks to the League's efforts in the mid '60's, old outdated legislation favouring the river owners was recinded to the benefit of local Gaeltacht fishermen.

The Commissions report, the League feels, justifies the demands of Coiste Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta to popular ownership and control of the rivers and lakes which the Commission agree to be the most valuable natural resource in the Connemara region.

The League will adopt "a wait and see" attitude to discover how effective Government action will prove in the wake of this report. Following the establishment of the proposed Fishery Authority, the League will consider selective pressure for public ownership where necessary in priority areas.

A disappointing feature of the report is the scale of the proposed development in the initial stages. The League feels that a crash programme of development, stocking and research is urgently needed to tap the potential employment opportunities in a fully developed inland fisheries industry. However, as long as ambiguity as to ownership remains in certain areas, so long will casual poaching (for which the Commission infers a certain sympathy) remain the weapon of the dispossessed.

Generally however, the League feels happy that the basic logic contained in the present proposals accords with the League's ultimate proposals and will, given time, lead to full public ownership and control of what by natural right belongs to the whole Irish Community.

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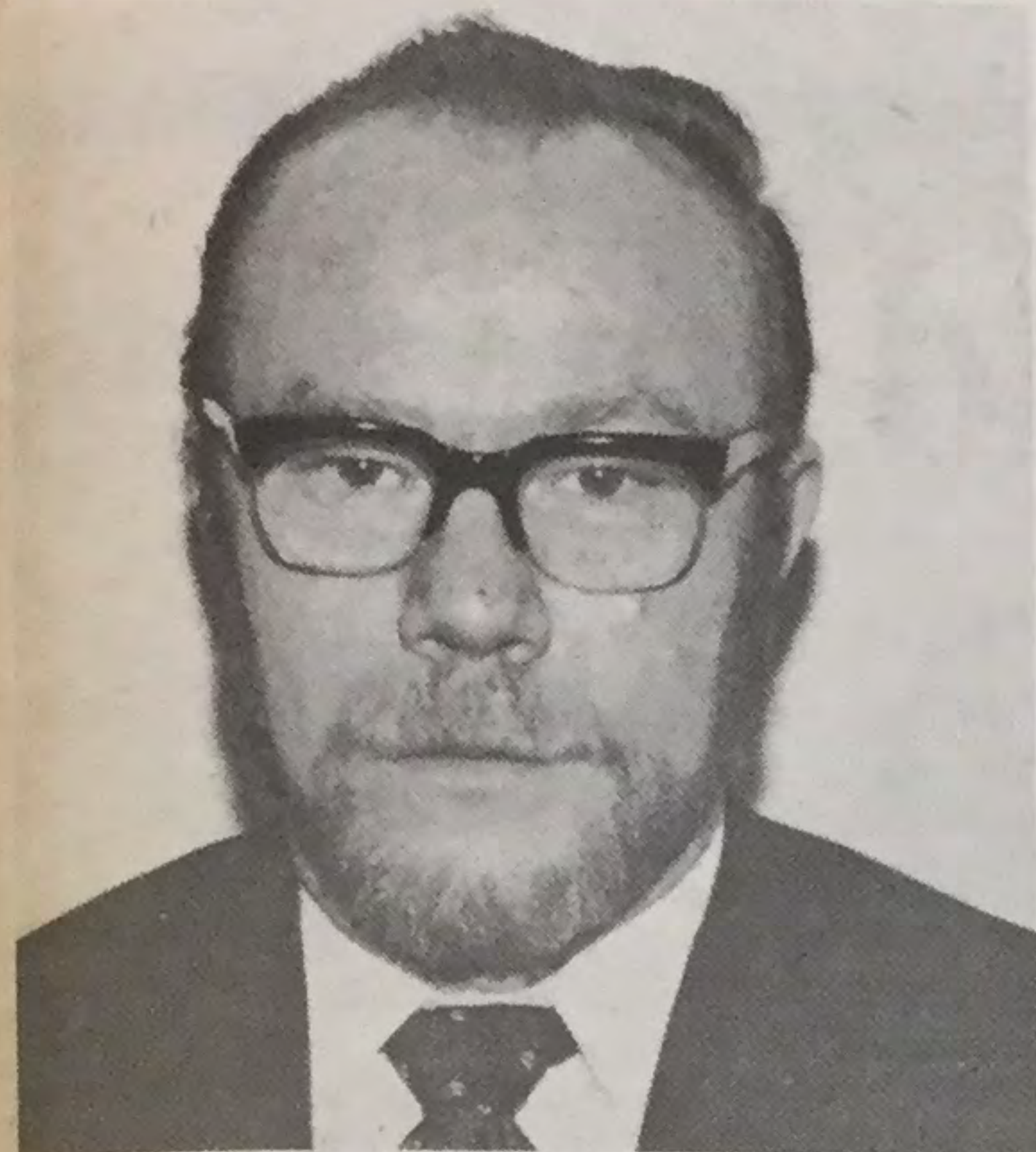
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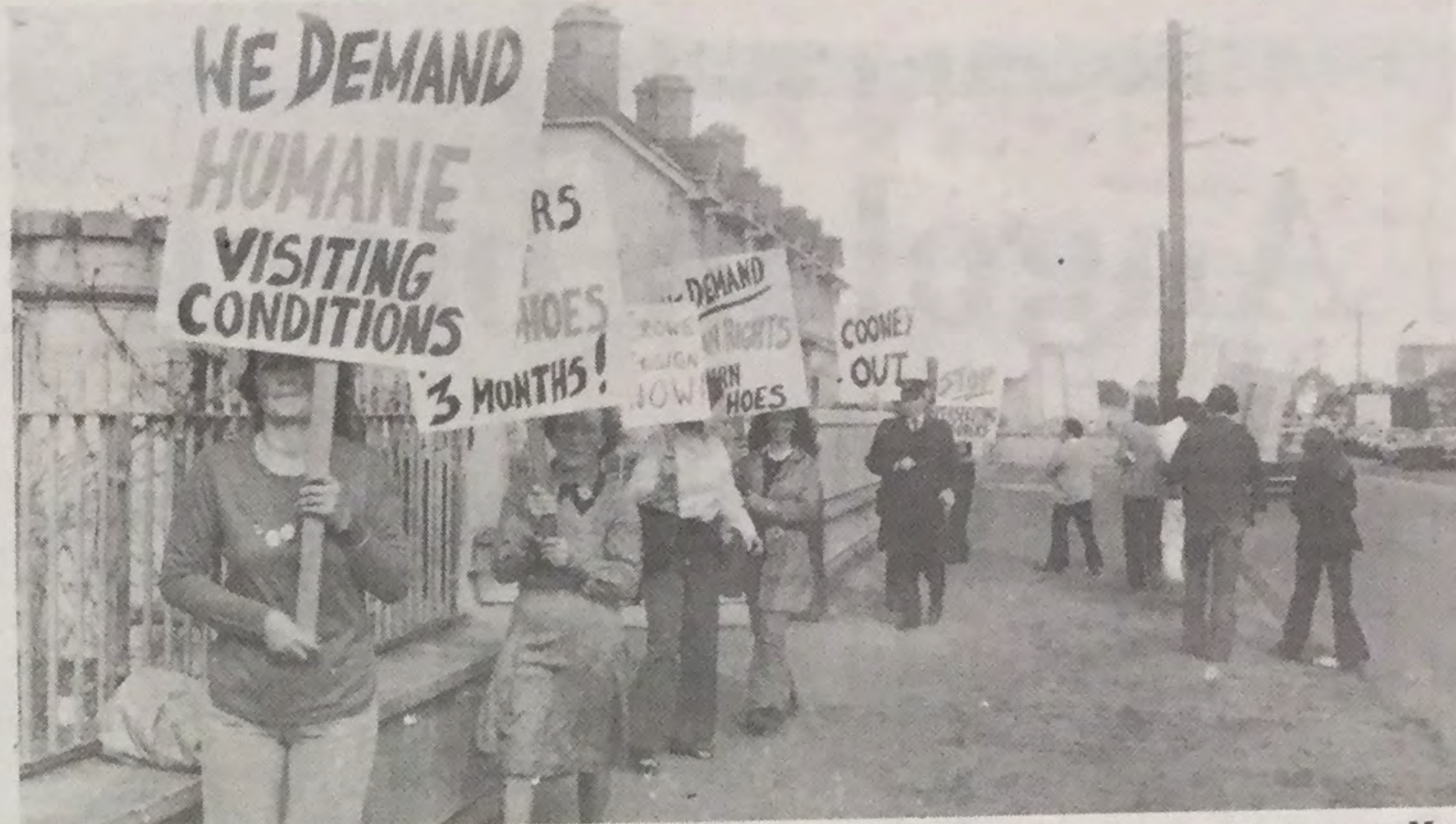
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● Councillor Jim Sullivan: wants unemployed to build more houses.



● The Cabhair Committee protest over shoeless prisoners at Portlaoise Prison. Among picketers was Mrs. Ray Lynch whose husband has been without shoes for three months.

## Unemployment a vital issue

"The publication of the 6 County unemployment statistics accompanied by the report from the Department of Environment on blocked up houses in Belfast emphasise in the most dramatic way the correctness of the Republican Clubs' position on social issues," Councillor Jim Sullivan told a Republican Clubs meeting in Belfast last month. "While the people go in fear of their lives from sectarian killers they are being distracted from the vital social issues which

confront them," said Councillor Sullivan.

He continued: "The statistics from the Department of Manpower Services, which show a 10.5 per cent unemployment rate disguise the reality of the problem because most of these unemployed workers are concentrated into small areas of the North like West Belfast, Newry and Strabane, where the statistics would read at between 30 per cent and 50 per cent.

"These areas also coincide with the highest concentrations of blocked up houses on both sides of the peace lines. Many of these areas are affected by "redevelopment blight" as well as the "Troubles".

"We call on the Department of Manpower Services, and the Housing Executive to initiate a programme immediately to employ the jobless in the renovation of these houses and so alleviate both the unem-

ployment and housing problems. "We also call on all politicians, and, indeed, the paramilitary groups on both sides of the peace line to publicly support, in principle, this demand. If the paramilitary groups really care about the people they purport to defend they will have no hesitation in guaranteeing the immunity of workers on these projects and so defend the people from the ravages of bad housing and unemployment."

## McGURRAN ATTACKS SDLP

Mr. Malachy McGurran, Chairman Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, speaking at a Clubs meeting in Lurgan welcomed the condemnation of the partisanship of the RUC in the Portadown area made by Mr. Seamus Mallon of the SDLP.

However, he said, condemnation of the RUC by Mr. Mallon and his party colleagues was inadequate unless the Party recognised the need to provide an alternative to the existing discredited force.

"The RUC which individual members of the SDLP now condemn is the same RUC named as the source of many of the evils in our society by the Cameron and Scarman Reports. It is also the same RUC which the SDLP is prepared to impose on the community in exchange for seats on a powersharing executive," said Mr. McGurran.

He added: "Seats for the SDLP on a powersharing executive will not present the community with the type of police service which it

requires. Seamus Mallon and his colleagues should be honest enough to admit this. Their silence on the Republican Clubs' proposals for a Civic Police Service, administering just laws and democratically controlled by the community, has been remarkable.

"In the six months since our proposals for a Civic Police Service were first published neither the SDLP or any other political party has managed to either convincingly criticise these proposals or come up with

counter proposals.

"These proposals recognise that irrespective of the outcome of the Convention this community needs proper laws and a proper police service to administer them. This need is recognised by community groups throughout the North and, indeed, by many members of the RUC itself. It is a need which the politicians from all sides should recognise irrespective of whether the future powerholders are to be powersharers."

## Prisoners demand compensation

The following open letter has been sent by CABHAIR to the Minister for Justice, August 15, 1975.

Mr. Patrick Cooney T.D.  
Minister for Justice,  
Dept. of Justice,  
St. Stephens Green,  
Dublin 2.

A Chara,  
On Sunday May 25th, following the discovery of an amount of explosives in the shoe of a visitor to a Provisional prisoner, a vicious attack was

made by riot police on the Official Republican prisoners because they objected to being stripped of clothes and shoes. In a statement issued on May 26th we listed the serious injuries, including head injuries, inflicted on the prisoners and condemned the fact that they were refused medical aid such as X-Rays. Clothes were eventually returned to the prisoners but they were left without footwear.

After protests to the Governor and the Visiting Committee they

were given back their shoes with the soles and heels torn off. The prisoners have not been compensated for the destruction of their property, nor have they been allowed to buy new shoes. Some of the prisoners are on remand and have appeared in court in their bare feet. On Tuesday last, Ronnie Deehan from Derry was released from Portlaoise Prison in his bare feet. Presumably he was expected to make his way back to his home in Derry without the assistance of footwear.

The prisoners in Portlaoise are now 3 months without footwear and have suffered many injuries to their feet by stones and broken glass. The danger and discomfort to the men is likely to increase as summer draws to a close. On their behalf we now ask for compensation for the shoes destroyed and that the prisoners be allowed to purchase shoes of their own choice.

Is mise  
Isabel Gibney,  
Secretary.

# Angolan black gold makes Uncle Sam's mouth water

The overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime in April 1974 appeared to herald a peaceful transition to independence for Portuguese colonies in Africa. Despite the best efforts of white racists the changeover in both Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau was peaceful. In Angola however American interference has led to widespread violence.

The reason for American involvement is simple: **Angola is potentially one of Africa's richest countries.**

Until the mid-sixties Angola had been an economic backwater. It's chief products were maize and fishmeal with modest exports of coffee and iron. In 1966 however this changed dramatically. America's giant Gulf Oil Corporation struck oil in Cabinda — an Angolan enclave between Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville. Production is now running at 150,000 barrels a day, already enough to give Angola one of the world's largest per capita trade surpluses. Gulf's target is to double present production which at current prices could yield Angola an income of £400 millions a year.

Excited by Gulf's success, other companies moved in. Shortly before Caetano fell a string of concessions were awarded to consortia backed by companies such as Petrofina (Belgian), Oc-

cidental (American) Esso (American), and Total (French). As we shall see, the Esso sign — in Angola at least — means something more sinister than "happy motoring".

But oil is not the only source of wealth. The Angolan economy, starved of investment capital and regularly exporting skilled labour to South Africa is still largely undeveloped. Yet it is starting to yield a dazzling array of minerals including gold, diamonds, manganese and copper. Its iron deposits are among the most important in the world.

In February 1970 the Americans began planning the rip-off of Angola's wealth. Henry Kissinger prepared for President Nixon a typically "realistic" set of secret policy options designed to foster American interests. Kissinger's chief assumption was that white rule would continue for the foreseeable future. It was a classic miscalculation.

The chosen option (nicknamed Tar Baby) stated baldly that the US would "maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states". The US Government would at the same time "take diplomatic steps" to end Zambian and Tanzanian support for African

liberation movements and guide both countries towards close relations with Rhodesia and South Africa.

The end of fascist rule in Portugal severely undermined American strategy. Confidence was restored when it was realised that the flamboyant General Spinoza was as loyal an ally of American imperialism as Caetano had been. One major problem faced the Americans — they desperately needed the "right guys" to emerge as leaders from the Angolan liberation movements. Nattily-dressed CIA men flooded Lisbon, Luanda (capital of Angola) and Zaire in search of likely stooges. They found their man in the person of Holden Roberto, leader of the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and brother-in-law of Zaire's pro-American President Mobutu.

Spinoza in the meantime sought to neutralise Roberto's major rival, Dr. Agostinho Neto leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Despite frantic overtures, Neto refused to become an African gombeen and declared, "We shall fight on and deal heavier blows to the enemy". Neto's intransigence alarmed the Americans for two reasons. Firstly MPLA is regarded by the Portuguese as the most efficient fighting force of the liberation movements. Secondly, MPLA is a disciplined socialist movement and is supported by Zambia and Tanzania.

Mobutu on behalf of the Americans then set about isolating Neto. His task was made easier by the defection of a dissident group from MPLA. This group led by ex-Benfica footballer Daniel Chipenda had no ideological commitment and was thus acceptable to Mobutu and more importantly to the Americans. The aid of UNITA the smallest and least significant of the liberation movements was then enlisted. With American approval Spinoza and Mobutu drew up a plan for a 12-man provisional government, composed of two representatives from each of the three liberation movements and six from tribal chiefs and various white minority groups. The

scheme had one overwhelming attraction to the Americans: since Chipenda and another MPLA defector Pinto de Andrade could claim to represent that organisation, Neto could be excluded altogether. The removal from power of Spinoza effectively disrupted the scheme and forced the Americans to conclude that if Neto couldn't be isolated he would have to be eliminated.

## Chile Solidarity Committee

### 2nd Anniversary of Chilean Coup

#### PUBLIC MEETING

Mansion House, Dublin,

September 16th, 8.30 p.m.

Madame Hortense Allende

(widow of  
President Salvador Allende)  
will be in attendance

Admission Free

Since October last a campaign of terror has been conducted against MPLA. In March 50 young members of MPLA were murdered. This was followed by an attempt to assassinate Dr. Neto by means of a rocket attack on a plane at Luanda Airport. Neto's name was on the flight-list but he was not on the plane. There will doubtless be further attempts on Neto's life. Murder and terror are the back-bone of American "diplomacy" and "investment" in underdeveloped countries. The MPLA stands in the way of huge profits for monopoly capital. The oil companies have been warned by MPLA that they "will be chased from our national territory and all their equipment and assets seized."

Such a prospect is not pleasing to Nelson Rockefeller or his protege Henry Kissinger. Neither is it pleasing to the oil companies who are backing Holden Roberto's FNLA in the same way that William Martin Murphy backed the Free State against the Republic. Thus the campaign against MPLA will be intensified as the date set for independence draws nearer.



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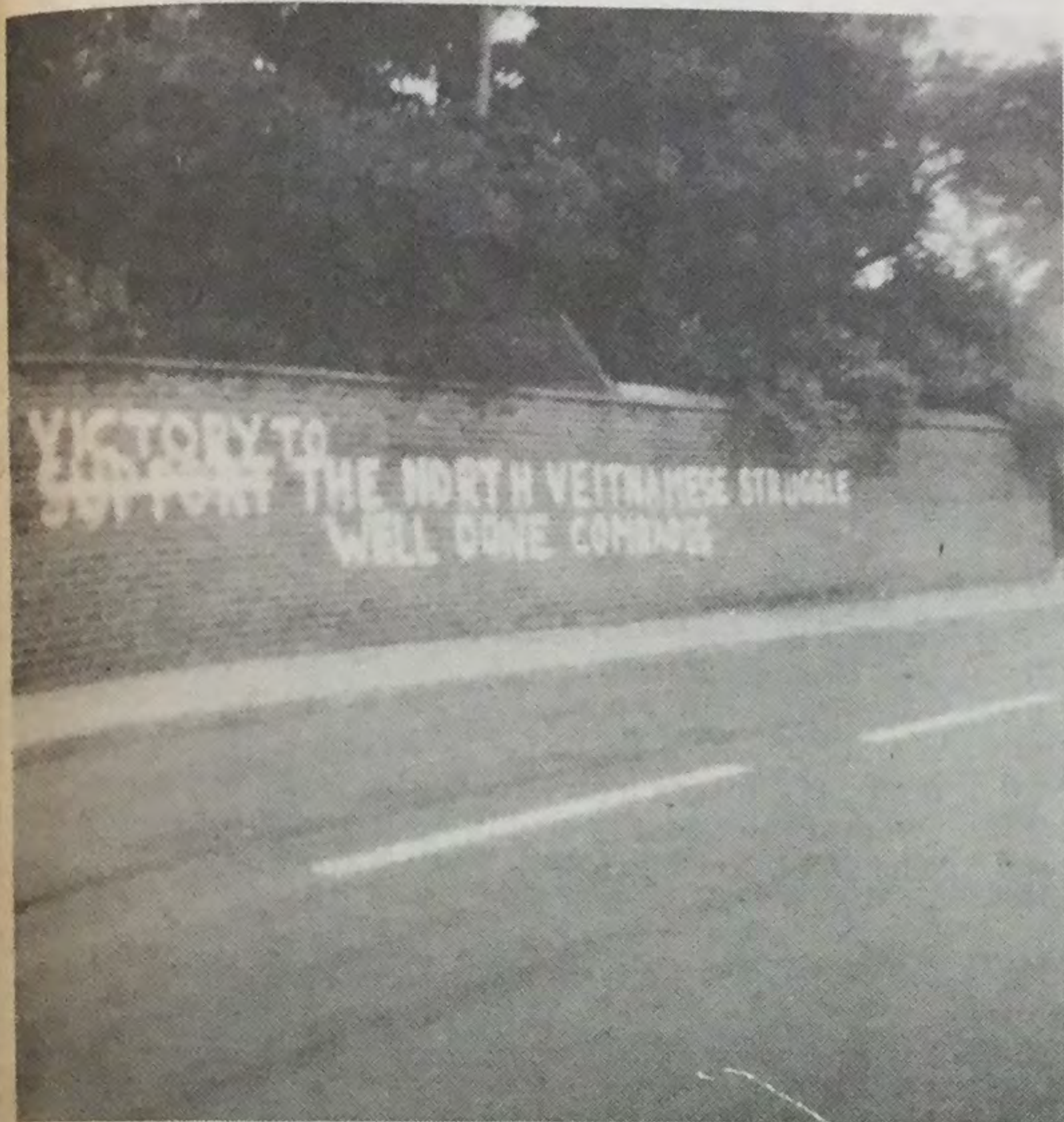
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# The United WORLD



Lurgan '71 to '75: A slight correction was needed here — not that the first slogan was a mistake!

## LONG KESH PRISONERS SALUTE VIETNAM

The people of Vietnam have after one hundred years of repression finally succeeded in breaking the chains of bondage clasped upon them by French and American Imperialist powers. The French first entered Vietnam in 1870 and implemented their colonial policy. They set about breaking down the peoples culture and fooled the mass of the people into believing that they had come to help them. The Vietnamese who were not fooled were subject to various forms of repression from the French War Machine. At this period of time prisons often outnumbered schools, these prisons were filled with detainees and people who were suspected of having socialist tendencies.

However through the French Imperialist barbarous repression and ruthless exploitation, the awakened Vietnamese patriots realised that revolution was the only road to freedom, thus forming the Vietnamese Revolutionary Movement. Through the efforts of the Revolutionary Movement they created an awareness of the working class. This led to the

working class and peasants staging strikes against forced labour and heavy taxation imposed upon them by their French masters. This awareness was carried further and the people came together and defeated the French.

After the peoples victory at Dien Bien Phu, Vietnam was a divided country. The Revolutionary Government was firmly in control of the North and at the National Assembly they adopted the first Constitution for an Independent Vietnam. In the South a corrupt government was imposed on the people which had the financial backing of the U.S. aggressors. In the sole interests of Imperialists the Americans let the French leave Vietnam and they themselves set about a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The American Armed Forces committed many acts of genocide in Vietnam, the most notorious being their scorched earth policy. This policy of the war included the use of napalm bombs, phosphorous bombs, toxic chemicals, poison gas, and the saturation

bombing of civilian targets.

The American Government refused to listen to the public outcry of the American People, who wanted the troops brought home and who realised that the Vietnamese people, were not going to be bombed into subjection. It is estimated that half a million Vietnamese people lost their lives in this war. The Americans lost 56,000 G.I.s in a war trying to suppress a nation that was fighting for what was rightly theirs.

It is a fitting tribute to these people who with undaunted courage and conviction and under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh defeated the French and American warlords who would have us believe that they are a freedom loving and democratic people. The decision to rename Saigon to Ho Chi Minh city was a peoples decision, in tribute to a man who played a vital part in the emancipation of the Vietnamese people, and also a tribute to the Vietnamese people themselves.

Issued by the Republican Prisoners, Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

## The not so peaceful Kissinger

Henry Kissinger, your seemingly mild and smiling jet set negotiator and "maker of peace", would not get involved in just any old dispute. It would have to involve the vested interests of the United States, be they economic, political and/or military. Those vested interests form a huge and complicated international network and all add up to CONTROL, the enormous power that one country is wielding over others in our world today.

As Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger has been in the strongest position to direct American foreign policy. Deeply involved with the Rockefeller family and their multi-million dollar international investment network, Kissinger has always been and now subordinates his State Department job to the wishes and profit of the ruling class. After serving the Rockefeller family as their personal foreign policy adviser (so great and world wide is their fortune), he went on to make their ideas and their profits and thus ensure government backing for any and all of their

exploits. This is not to say that United States foreign policy had not been aggressive and organised in the interests of the multi-nationals before but when Henry Kissinger assumed the position of Secretary of State he introduced a kind of intimacy, the intimate knowledge of and consideration for the Rockefeller empire and their allies.

United States assets abroad amount to a staggering 180 billion (dollars). Seventy billion dollars are exported annually and the imports are at least that much. Equally staggering is the U.S. Defence Budget for this year, a budget for "peacetime" which exceeds 100 billion dollars and has a projected 19 per cent increase for 1976.

United States marines are training somewhere in Europe in methods of desert warfare and a high echelon plan exists for the invasion of Libya. The U.S. could seize control of 40 per cent of OPEC's (Organisation of Petrol Exporting Countries) production and 50 per cent of its reserves. The

CIA has recommended increased US involvement in Oman where the US has already negotiated the establishment of military bases along with Britain. Oman is strategically very important. About half of the western world's oil supply must pass through a 26-mile wide strait of Hormuz between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Kissinger and the multi-nationals, in order to preserve their power, have numerous tactics, not all military, at their disposal. It is important to remember that Kissinger presided over the "40 Committee" which authorised 5,000,000 dollars for the "destabilization effort" directed against the Chilean people and the Allende Government between 1971/1973. The CIA were left in charge of co-ordinating the sabotage along with ITT, one of the world's largest multi-national corporations with huge investments in Chile. Their activities included economic pressure, bribing legislators, assassinations, infiltration and

provocation of the Army as well as right and left-wing groups, and labour disruption. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a US Government agency that insures United States investment abroad, awarded ITT 95 million dollars recently in compensation for its telephone company in Chile which had been nationalised under the Popular Unity Government. OPIC found that ITT's involvement in Chile was "tentative and insubstantial and did not influence its affairs." From Kissinger's point of view, the job had been well done, only too bad that the world has discovered how it was accomplished.

While President Ford expresses insincere tears for Portugal, Henry Kissinger is more willing to express his true feelings about the situation, thus indicating the true attitude of the American Government. Kissinger says, "I see no reason why we have to watch a country go Communist simply because of the irresponsibility of its own people."

Expansion was imperative in recent years, for example, to provide for:

- New container berths.
- A new car ferry terminal.
- A new deepwater quay for bulk cargoes.
- New additional land areas for transit storage of bulk and general cargo.

All such works carried out by the Board in recent years were necessary to meet the immediate and growing needs of the Port and were carried out under statutory authorisation. These works in no way anticipated the outcome of these Studies.

#### Decentralisation

It has been suggested that the transport revolution presents an opportunity to decentralise Dublin Port activity to the benefit of other ports in the country. These ports will continue to serve their local watersheds and may develop very special local activities but, cheap transport is the essential requirement for the success of our international trade and increasingly the cheapest transport for this will be found in the large scale operations at the Port of Dublin.

Dublin Port must obviously be developed to cater for the growth in population forecast for the Dublin area and in addition the Port must be able to cater for expanding trade in the remainder of the country.

It is forecast that the volume of trade handled at Dublin Port would rise from 4,500,000 tons in 1965 to more than 10,500,000 tons in 1980 and 17,000,000 tons in 1990.

It is estimated that the volume of exports from the Port would increase to 1,240,000 tons by 1980 (current trade figures show that this estimate is conservative); that oil imports would rise to 5,400,000 tons in the same period, more than four times what they were in 1965 (current proposals for the establishment of an oil refinery at Dublin would substantially increase this figure), and that the import of "other goods" would increase to 3,700,000 tons, twice the 1965 figure.

When the Studies were being prepared a primary objective was the protection of job opportunities for the 12,000 people who earn their living in the Port area.

There are two vital reasons why new job opportunities must be provided at the Port — to accommodate the growing population of Dublin, to which reference has already been made, and to offset the redundancies which have been brought about by the transport revolution.

#### The Transport Revolution

Reference has been made to the transport revolution and its effect on Dublin Port, the speed of transition and the fact that the Port had to be substantially reconstructed and greatly enlarged to meet the different requirements of the new situation. The Port of Dublin had no option in the sixties but to plan and prepare for this period of change.

This revolution resulted from the development of unitisation, perhaps the best example of which is the general cargo container.

The advantages of unitisation are several. At each point of transfer, there is only one item to handle in place of hundreds; there is only one crane lift instead of many; it takes a fraction of the time required under the old system to load and discharge and consequently more ships can be handled; pilferage and breakage can be greatly reduced.

#### Loss of Employment

In relation to employment these new techniques have greatly reduced the actual labour requirements.

In the cross-channel sections of the Port, the number of dockers has fallen from nearly 1,000 in 1961 to 200; the deep-sea docker complement has dropped from 1,000 to 550; 70 fork lift truck drivers have lost their employment which has been taken over by the reduced docker strength.

It is against this background that the recommendation has been made that the Port Authority should develop the possibilities for the establishment of port industries to replace those job opportunities lost through increased labour productivity and to provide job opportunities for the increasing Dublin population.

The Board is conscious of the fears expressed by residents north and south of the Port about amenity preservation.

#### Water Pollution

Pollution in the Dublin Bay area rarely originates in the Port. It comes down from the city and its environs. The Port is therefore not the cause of pollution but the victim of it and the Board has no control outside the area of the Port.

Shipping and installations within the port area itself are policed strictly by the Board to prevent pollution. For example, over the past 10 years almost 15 million tons of oil have been discharged and stored at the Port. As a result of the very strict supervision imposed by the Board no spillage of any real consequence has occurred during discharge. If in the rare instance a spillage from a tanker should occur, it can be contained by an oil boom and prevented from spreading beyond the



# Dublin

# Port

# Redevelopment

immediate vicinity; the oil can then be recovered from the water.

In two instances in which oil accidentally escaped, not from a ship but from drains serving installations in the Port area, some contamination occurred on the foreshore. The companies involved were, however, compelled by the Board's officers to accept responsibility for immediately cleaning the area affected, and were later successfully prosecuted by the Board in the Courts.

In so far as the Port is concerned, whether it is the working port or the associated undertakings in the area, the Dublin Port & Docks Board enforces to the full extent of its power measures to prevent pollution.

Dublin Corporation is at present engaged in modernising the system for the disposal of sewage and the Port Authority is co-operating with them by making available a considerable area of land for an extension of the settlement tanks so as to aid in purification.

The Dublin Port & Docks Board has joined with the Dublin Corporation and the E.S.B. in commissioning and financing a technical examination of the causes and extent of water pollution in the Liffey Estuary and Dublin Bay.

#### Air Pollution

Sources of air pollution in the Port have greatly decreased in the past 50 years with a substitution of oil burning and diesel ships for coal burners. The E.S.B. is also fully alive to the problem and has paid particular attention to it, especially in the design of their Poolbeg generating station.

The Board's powers to control air pollution in existing industries are limited and enforcement is largely dependent on the co-operation of the organisations concerned. This has not always proved adequate and the Board would, no doubt, welcome the enactment of the necessary legislation but any new industries which are established in this area could and should be required to give very positive assurances which would be capable of legal enforcement. Indeed, undertakings which could represent a serious hazard should not, in fact, be permitted in the Port area.

#### Refuse Dumping

Reclamation is carried out by the Board by the deposit of sand and gravel dredged from the water area and pumped ashore. If necessary all land required for port purposes could be made in this way.

For many years, by agreement between the Port Board and the Dublin Corporation, the latter has been permitted to deposit city refuse in parts of the Port area. In this way the Dublin Corporation is provided with a convenient and economical dumping ground and the land reclaimed becomes available for port use and the provision of amenities such as parks and playing fields. Fairview Park is undoubtedly the best example of this policy.

#### Port Traffic

The Board considered possible objections to the further development of Dublin Port as the national port based on the belief that the volume of Port traffic in Dublin contributes substantially to the City's traffic problem. The report of Mr. Baker shows that this belief is erroneous. Dublin Port traffic comprises only about 7 per cent of the total city traffic. Moreover, traffic counts show that the annual increase in Port traffic is very much less than that of city traffic. The development of the liner train concept will tend to divert some of the Port container traffic from road to rail.

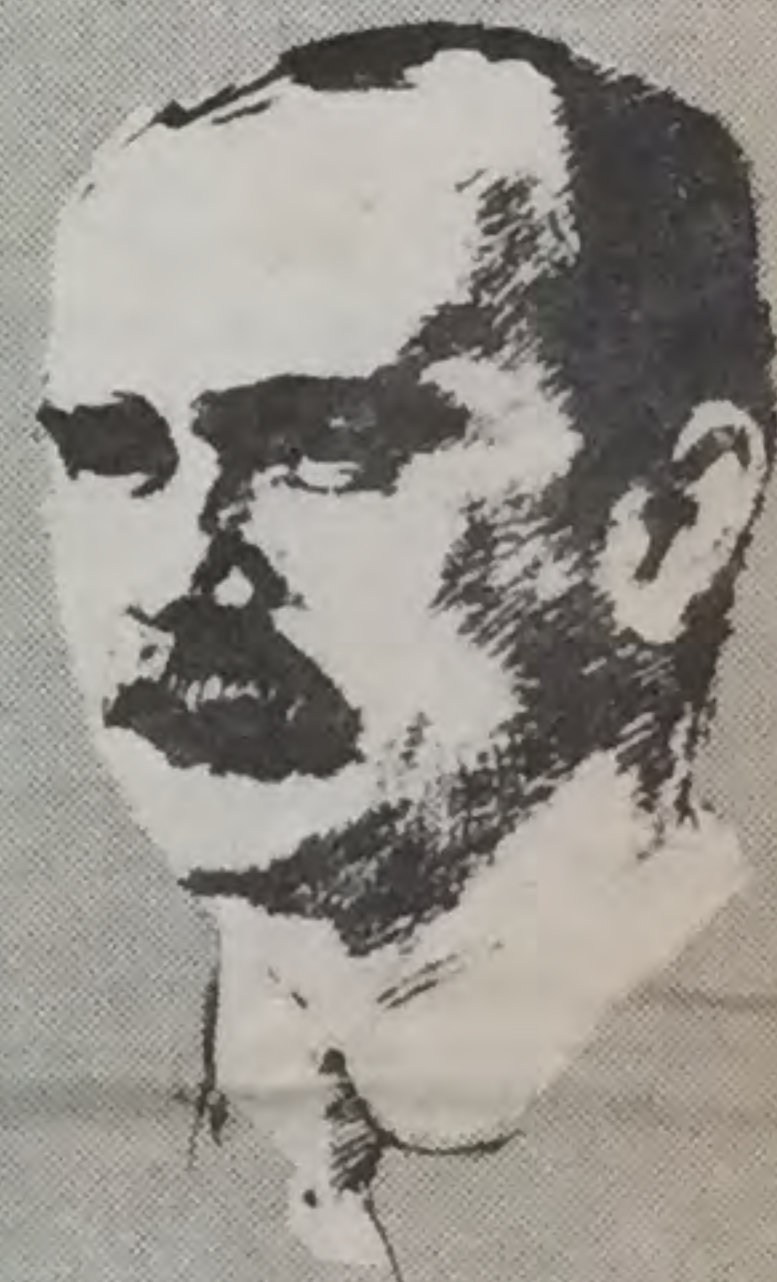
Port based industries have a low traffic generation relative to typical city areas and uses. Further, these industries tend to be orientated on import-export lines with transshipment in many cases a notable feature.

It appears from economic research that in order to provide for expansion of the working Port and of the Port industrial zone it would be necessary to reclaim about 2,000 acres.

Dublin will still have to develop important industrial centres away from the Port and this is all the more necessary because the possibilities of the port area are certainly not unlimited.

*To be concluded next month*

## 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 St. James's Street, Derry.

MUNSTER: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay, Cork. F. Reynolds, c/o 19 New Road, Killeely, Limerick. P. O'Callaghan, Cromane Killorglin Co. Kerry. An Runal, 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. An Runal, 35/37 Dominic Street, Galway.

I Wish to Join the Republican  
Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_