

an spréach

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Independent non-profit Socialist Republican magazine



**THE DIRE STATE WE'RE IN
HOUSING APARTHEID IN THE SIX COUNTIES**

Post-Repeal

What now
for women's rights?

Ár nOidhreach Theangeolaíoch:

An fhírinne shearbh

Border Poll

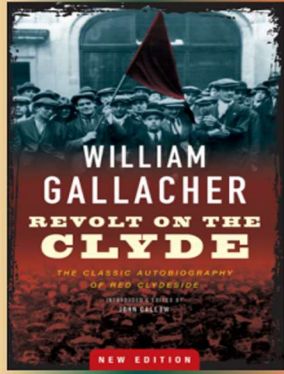
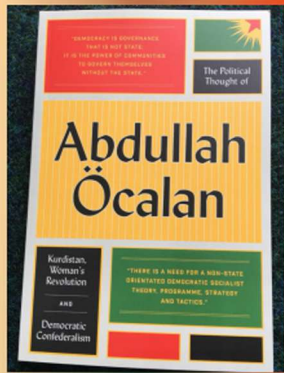
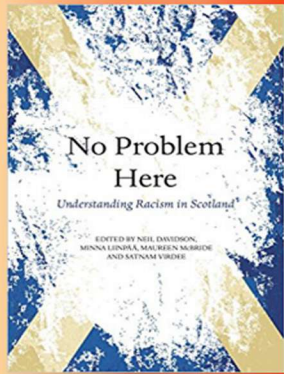
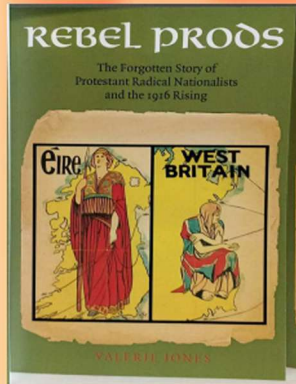
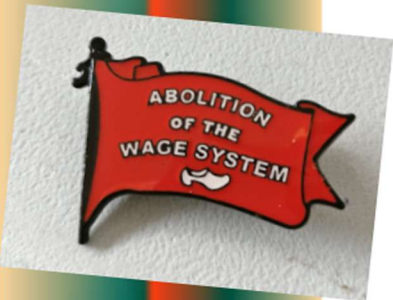
Republicanism
& the great debate

Oh England, do you really think it's over?

Remembering the eight IRA Volunteers who died at Loughgall

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Is iris poblachtach sóisialta í **An Spréach** curtha le chéile ag rionnt gníomhaithe polaitiúla.

An aidhm atá leis ná tuilleadh léargais agus dearchtaí ón phobal poblachtach sóisialta a chur i do láthair mar léitheoir, ábhar nach mbaineann amháin leis an troid shaortha shóisialta náisiúnta in Éirinn agus idirnáisiúnta. Ní hionann na dearcadh luaithe anseo agus dearcadh an fhoilseacháin ach is iad dearcadh de chuid an údair iad.

Cuirfear fáilte roimh gach gníomhaí polaitiúil ábhar a chur ar fáil, ailt tuairimíochta, litreacha, anailís stairiúil agus gach aon ábhar cuí san áireamh. Tá sé de cheart ag an eagarthóir ailt clúmhillteach nó ionsaitheach a fhágáil ar lár.

Caithfear ainmneacha iomlána agus fíor ainmneacha a bheith ar fáil, go fiú nuair a úsáidtear ainm cleite, sonraí teagmhála ábhartha san áireamh. Ná déantar dearmad, tá seans ann go n-iarrfar ort eagar a chur ar do shaothar sa dóigh is go bhféadaimis an spás leathanaigh a líonadh mar is ceart. Tá seans ann ar a bharr sin go ndéanfar coiriú ar phíosa le seo a eascú ach déanfar achan iarrachta an cothromas agus dearcadh an phíosa sin a thabhairt, gan claonadh.

Is iris neamhbhrabúis í 'An Spréach' a sholáthraíonn airgead maidir le costais reatha amháin, costais clódóireachta agus tairis atá bainteach léi.

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An Spréach is an independent Socialist Republican magazine formed by a collective of political activists.

It aims to bring you, the reader, a broad swathe of opinion from within the Irish Socialist Republican political sphere, including, but not exclusive to, the fight for national liberation and socialism in Ireland and internationally.

The views expressed herein, do not necessarily represent the views of the publication and are purely those of the author.

We welcome contributions from all political activists, including opinion pieces, letters, historical analyses and other relevant material.

The editor reserves the right to exclude or omit any articles that may be deemed defamatory or abusive.

Full and real names must be provided, even in instances where a pseudonym is used, including relevant contact details. Please bear in mind that you may be asked to shorten material if necessary, and where we may be required to edit a piece to fit within these pages, all efforts will be made to retain its balance and opinion, without bias.

An Spréach is a not-for-profit magazine which only aims to fund its running costs, including print and associated platforms.

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OH ENGLAND, DO YOU REALLY TH

In early May of 1987, 8 volunteers of the Irish Republican Army East Tyrone Brigade lay preparations for the continued implementation of a strategy that would see British security forces removed from rural areas in Ireland. Their target: the fortified RUC base in Loughgall.

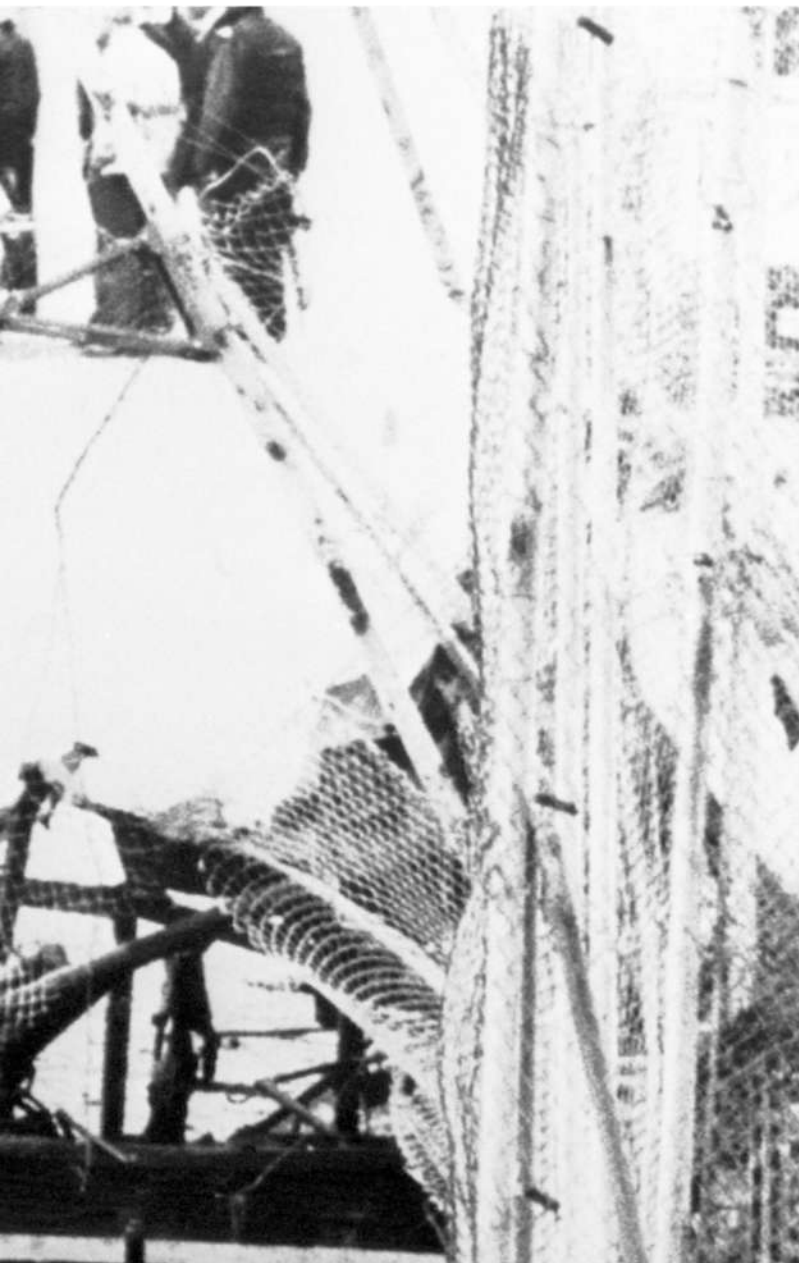
The IRA's East Tyrone Brigade was active mainly in eastern County Tyrone but often took part in operations in neighbouring parts of County Armagh. By the mid-1980s it had become one of the IRA's most effective and professional Active Service Units in the Irish Republican Army. Members of the unit, such as Jim Lynagh and Pádraig McKearney, advocated a strategy of destroying bases and preventing them being rebuilt or repaired, thereby "denying ground" to the forces of the occupation.

In 1985, Patrick Joseph Kelly became its commander and began the strategy's implementation. In the subsequent years it carried out two major attacks on RUC bases often described as "spectaculars".

The first was an attack on the RUC barracks in Ballygawley on 7 December 1985, two RUC personnel were killed in this attack. The second was on an RUC base at The Birches on 11 August 1986. In both, the bases were raked with heavy gunfire as volunteers moved in and detonated large bombs containing Semtex, causing considerable damage. In the attack at The Birches, they had breached the base's perimeter fence with a digger that had a bomb in its bucket. The operation being a huge success, they planned to use the same tactic in an attack on the lightly-manned Loughgall base.



HINK IT'S OVER?



The IRA's attack involved two teams. One team would drive a digger with a bomb in its bucket through the base's perimeter fence and set it to detonate. At the same time, the other team would arrive in a van and lay down heavy fire on the base, with the goal of wiping out the base and any occupation forces inside. Both teams would then disengage and leave the area in the van.

To avoid security checkpoints, the bomb was ferried by boat across Lough Neagh, from Ardboe to Maghery. The van and digger that would be used were hijacked in the hours leading up to the attack. The van, a blue Toyota HiAce, was stolen by masked men from a business in Dungannon. The digger was taken from a farm at Lislasly Road, about two miles west of Loughgall. Two IRA members stayed at the farm to stop the owners raising the alarm. IRA Volunteer Declan Arthurs drove the digger, while two others drove ahead of him in a scout car. The rest of the unit travelled in the van from another location, presumably also with a scout car.

The IRA unit arrived in Loughgall from the northeast shortly after 7PM. All were heavily armed, carrying H&K G3 rifles, one FN FAL rifle, two FN FNC rifles, a Franchi SPAS-12T shotgun and a Ruger Security-Six revolver. Wearing bulletproof vests, boiler suits, gloves and balaclavas, the digger drove past the police station, turned and drove back again with the Toyota van doing the same, ostensibly to check if the coast was clear. Members of the unit felt that something was amiss, and debated whether to continue, but decided to go ahead with the attack. Tony Gormley and Gerard O'Callaghan got out of the van and joined Declan Arthurs on the digger, supposedly "literally riding shotgun", with weapons in one hand and a lighter in the other.

At about 7:15, Declan Arthurs drove the digger towards the base. In the front bucket was 200–400 lb of semtex inside an oil drum, partially hidden by

rubble and wired to two 40-second fuses. The rest of the unit followed in the van with Eugene Kelly driving, unit commander Patrick Kelly in the passenger seat whilst in the rear were Jim Lynagh, Pádraig McKearney, and Seamus Donnelly. The digger crashed through the fence and the fuses were lit. The van stopped a short distance ahead and the team jumped out and began laying down fire on the building. At the same time, the bomb detonated, destroying the digger along with much of the building, and injuring three members of the occupation forces.

Within seconds, the SAS returned fire from hidden ambush positions in and around the station. 600 spent cartridge cases from the SAS were recovered with approximately 125 bullet holes in the bodywork of the van. The IRA volunteers returned fire, commencing a heavy gun battle.

All eight were killed in the hail of gunfire; all had multiple wounds and were shot in the head. Declan Arthurs was shot in a lane-way opposite Loughgall Football Club premises unarmed without a firearm in his vicinity except for a cigarette lighter close to his right hand. A number of the wounded IRA members were shot dead as they lay on the ground after the gun battle. The IRA members in the scout cars escaped.

Two civilians travelling in a car were also shot by the SAS. The two brothers, Anthony and Oliver Hughes, were driving home in a white Citroen. About 130 yards from the base, SAS members opened fire on them from behind, killing Anthony and badly wounding Oliver. The Citroen had approximately 34 bullet holes. The villagers had not been told of the British operation and no attempt had been made to evacuate anyone, or to seal off the ambush zone.

The Loughgall Martyrs were gallant and brave heroes, who did not shirk from their responsibilities when it came to opposing the occupation.

We remember them with pride. •



BORDER POLL: *CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT?*

Over the last twenty-four months there has been much talk of Irish unity via a border poll in political circles both North and South of the island of Ireland, in no small part due to the seismic political changes that have taken place. The republican position, for the most part, has been to ignore or overlook this enlarging debate, however as this position continues to gain momentum I feel it is important for republicans to begin discussing the subject seriously considering all the opportunities and obstacles, some of which I will lay out here.

My own belief is that a border poll is not a desirable path to Irish unity. Self-determination is a fundamental right, enshrined in common articles 1 of the UN Charter, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights. The British government should, without demand, make a statement declaring a timetable for withdrawal post-haste so the Irish people can determine their own political, economic and social future within the framework of remedial external self-determination.

However, that eventuality is unlikely. The Irish government, along with the Northern political parties consented to the British government having a role in the North post-98 with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement – an internationally binding treaty submitted to the UN – so it is unlikely that Britain will relinquish that role without a majority on the island expressing their will for a border poll or a different path altogether.

Keeping that in mind, coupled with the fractured and weak status of organisational Irish republicanism, the only path to Irish unity being propagated via the mainstream media is the border poll article contained within the Good Friday Agreement. It is simply my opinion, that regardless of republican feeling toward it, this poll will happen within the next five to ten years as a result of Brexit, demographic change and unionist intransigence on rights based issues.

Setting aside abstract notions of legitimacy or just ways to deliver a solution to the Irish question, republicans must grapple with that prospect. We have, thus far, failed to

lay out a viable path toward Irish unity that grips conversation in the same way a border poll has since Britain's decision to secede from the EU. It is therefore easy to see why the majority of Irish people view such a poll as an entirely legitimate concept.

The result of the triggering, or slightly pre-triggering of a border poll, will be a campaign for Irish unity made up of the various contemporary proponents of it. It would be morbidly ironic if a significant section of society was mobilised in a campaign for Irish unity and there was no republican involvement, even more ironic would be if Irish unity were to emerge from a border poll and republican contribution was absent. It leaves republicans with a dilemma that may need to be overcome sooner rather than later. Republicans can either contribute to a campaign for Irish unity, albeit within the parameters of the Good Friday Agreement, or remove themselves from that equation by defining another viable path. Participation and absence equally have pros and cons.

There are two noteworthy areas where Irish republicans can develop a critical engagement with a border poll. Primarily, should a united Ireland emerge from said poll, then a united, sovereign republic should proceed as the only acceptable outcome. That case should not be altered by some within the political establishment, North and South, who would allow the Northern state to continue indefinitely. Republicans are the only group of ideologues who will put forward this position with vigour and frame it as an immutable outcome.

Additionally, a border poll would put Irish unity firmly at the top of the political agenda, offering republicans the opportunity to propagate the type of society they wish to create. Irish unity, regardless of how it comes about, is viewed by republicans as a vehicle for creating a better society and republicans could use the platform to project their vision in the public domain and ensure it takes a place in mainstream political discourse.

However, there are several issues that must be noted and discussed further by republicans within the wider border poll debate. An Irish republic, as traditionally envisaged, may not emerge from a successful campaign. A quasi statelet may continue, either temporarily or permanently, as Dublin attempts to

placate disenfranchised unionists. Also, if republicans accept a border poll and campaign for a yes vote, then equally they are bound by a no vote and effectively wed themselves to a negative outcome. In this situation, republicans accept a clause within the Good Friday Agreement, which may legitimise Britain's occupation of the Six Counties.

Furthermore, a poll may have the potential to unite Ireland, but it does not have the potential to unite its people. It may further polarise nationalists and unionists. It is also won't end the scourge of sectarianism. Moreover, any united Ireland that may emerge from a border poll is likely to find itself within the structures of the European Union, which is inherently problematic for republicans as the EU further impedes upon the sovereignty of the Irish people – arguably on the same level as the British government. In addition, social justice or even socialism is off the table – the vote won't encompass the economic structure of a united Ireland and rather republicans will have to agitate for a constitutional convention after a successful vote and attempt to construct a desirable society through that instrument while accepting it is a longer-term aspiration.

To conclude, a border poll is inherently problematic for republican activists containing obvious bear traps and several variances that need to be worked out if republicans are to engage with a future campaign. For what it's worth, I believe republicans, on a collective basis, need to tackle this issue head on and deduce a coherent position that will not relegate us to the margins of political life permanently. This may include recognising that stripped back, a border poll offers some potential to end partition. It could be argued that this opportunity is too good to ignore, particularly considering the traditional gatekeepers of a united Ireland are weak and disorganised, this could provide the impetus to rectify that and harness a political energy that we did not create. If there is scope to move the independence project forward then it must be considered, equally the pitfalls must be explored further. However, if nothing else, the talk of a border poll highlights the impending need for republicans to get organised.

Let us think on that. •

By Stephen McCourt



BORDER POLL SHOULD BE OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR IRISH REPUBLICANS

So what exactly is wrong with a Border Poll and uniting the 6-county northern statelet with the 26-county Free State? Isn't that what we Irish Republicans have always wanted? A United Ireland? Well in one word – NO.

This is a common misconception among the general public, you will hear people opposing a united Ireland based on the fact that in the Free State there is no NHS and other such aspects of the welfare state that are in the 'North'. Similarly, people also comment on how the Free State cannot 'afford' the north-east. I have lost count of how many times I have had to dispel these myths and explain that Republicans oppose the Free State as much as anyone. Our goal is not merely a united Ireland but we seek the establishment of the Republic as envisaged and already declared by the Provisional Government of 1916.

Ireland has been united before, up until 1922 in fact, albeit united British rule. The Partition of Ireland has been in place since 1920, this was cemented after the signing of the so-called Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1922. The Republic declared and fought for since 1916, that all Republicans pledge their allegiance to, was suppressed in the bitter counter-revolution that followed and in its place the two partitionist states were set up. Republicans since the partition of Ireland have been fighting a war against these two illegitimate states.

One of the main lies that the Irish public are fed about the genesis of the 26 County state is that the Free State draws its constitutional line of authority from the 1916 Rising and the all-Ireland General Election of 1918. In reality, the Free State originates from Britain's Government of Ireland Act 1920, following a decision made at the only sitting of the House of Commons of Southern Ireland in January 1922, formed under this British Act. I expect and hope that

this will be pointed out by all republicans in the next few years, particularly with the centenary of the 1918 election looming.

So much like the 6-County state, the 26-County State also exists in complete defiance of the Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916 and re-affirmed through the first all-Ireland Dáil Éireann.

As Republicans we all recognise that the Partition of Ireland must end, it is our duty to fight for the all-Ireland Republic as proclaimed, not a watered down version and certainly not an extension of the Free State jurisdiction over all of Ireland, which is exactly what any border poll will offer.

We must strategise and formulate our demands, and demands they are, not mere requests to be put through a rigged border poll that is organised and overseen by the British and Free State Governments. We must remember these people are our enemies and in their respective ideologies remain greatly opposed to basic tenants of radical Irish republicanism.

In exploring the calls of those asking for a border poll, the language itself is one of a submissive, 'give us a border poll'. This is the language of a slave, implicit here is the notion that a border poll is something for our imperial masters to give us and something for us to beg for. The constant requests from nationalists for a border poll has them exactly where the Brits want them, in an act of public subservience.

Of course this isn't the first time in history the idea of a border poll has been mooted, this isn't some great enlightened idea that was formulated and added to the GFA. In fact, we have already had a border poll back in 1973, one which Republicans rightly boycotted. Hence, since then, what exactly has changed? The fundamental tenets of Republicanism are exactly as they were in 1973.

The idea that Brexit provides the

perfect opportunity to beg for a border poll, could be described as reactionary, perhaps relying on the nostalgic and romantic idea that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity'. Admittedly I had hoped that Brexit would increase a demand for the Republic and a re-awakening of Republican sentiment, but a border poll provided by the British and Freestate wasn't exactly what I had in mind.

The idea that a border poll is just a stepping stone is one to treat with caution, we have heard all this before, every single revisionist step taken in Irish history by groupings of one-time Republicans has been described in a manner similar, from the Home Rule Bill of 1912, Treaty of Surrender in 1921 to the failed GFA. If, (and it's a big IF) the border poll did succeed, its outcome would be influenced by the conservative political establishments in power, you would see nothing more than a 32-county Free State, the Republican project would be diminished. I believe firmly that what would follow would be far from a renewed appeal for the Republic, but a move into a campaign of reformation within the Free State, with many engrossing themselves in the status quo.

Our history shows Ireland was artificially divided and we want to end this, we also and more importantly want to see the re-establishment of the Republic. This must then spell the dissolution and ultimate end of the two illegitimate institutions, something a border poll does not even hint at.

As mentioned, in 1973 Republicans boycotted the border poll. I believe the only logical thing for Republicans to do this time around is again boycott any proposed border poll, then campaign around this boycott and promote the all-Ireland Republic of 1916 alongside it. This will ensure there is a boycott in place, a Border Poll certainly won't be representative of the Irish nation acting as a single unit anyway. We must hold out for the Republic and, to paraphrase an oft-used quote of Seán MacDiarmada, damn their concessions.

Admittedly, we have a long way to go in educating the nation, in

lobbying and securing support for the Republic. The border poll will confuse the debate and ensure that Irish people as a whole are rubber stamping the whims of the conservative and reactionary political establishments of both Britain and the Free State. If passed, the Free State's mandate will continue to be strengthened, and in the minds of its supporters and commentators here and over the world the question of Irish independence will be seen to be over. Ironically, in such a scenario, it would be the Free State achieving a total victory, and the cause of Irish Republicanism will be defeated. Bitterly ironic that this could occur a century since the counter-revolution of 1922 - 23, in which so many Republicans sacrificed their lives for the Republic. The Freestaters will finally have won.

There are republicans backing the idea of a border poll, who claim to be socialist-republicans in the tradition of Liam Mellows and James Connolly. In closing, ironically, no one could sum up my feelings on the matter better than both these men.

On the eve of counter-revolution, Mellows said: 'It is a fallacy to believe that a Republic of any kind can be won through the shackled Free State. You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. The Free State is British created and serves British imperialist interests. It is the buffer erected between British capitalism and the Irish Republic.'

Connolly, too, foresaw the conservatism and hollow nationalism of the Free State when he said: 'If you remove the English Army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts will be in vain.'

Yes, a border poll does offer the opportunity of a united Ireland. But true independence and the re-establishment of the all-Ireland Republic, the Republic declared in 1916, that Liam Mellows, James Connolly and their comrades died for? That would be a firm NO. •

By Cait Trainor



AN TEANGA GAEILGE I BPRÍOSÚN

Much has been written about an teanga and how much it has been decimated in many parts of the country. Thankfully a lot of Irish republicans were to the fore in reviving it at a time when there was talk of revolution and the overthrow of the British oppressors. Those same oppressors systematically tried to wipe out all aspects of our culture as they carried out many massacres and stole much of our land. It was a conscious decision on their part but despite all they threw at us there were always women and men who stood up against them.

By standing up to the oppressor meant death, exile or imprisonment and thousands were willing to take that risk by taking up arms. In the 800 years since our country was invaded by the English there have been countless armed struggles but for this piece I will concentrate on the 20th century.

At the turn of the century there was a revival of the language which was clearly political. At that time much had been written about how important the revival was to reawakening the people and encouraging many to get involved in not only open cultural groups but also in secret revolutionary organisations. People like Pádraic MacPiarais were under no illusion about the importance of an teanga and MacPiarais himself wrote extensively about it, the best known of his writings was 'The Murder Machine'.

It was around this time when many men and women were also talking of armed action against British rule and this came about on Easter Monday 1916. The Rising lasted six days and when the rebels surrendered the British executed 15 men in Dublin and Cork and one later in London. They also imprisoned thousands. Whilst in prison educational classes were set up and the most popular were ranganna as gaeilge. A lot of the prisoners were fluent speakers and they saw the importance of passing it on to others.

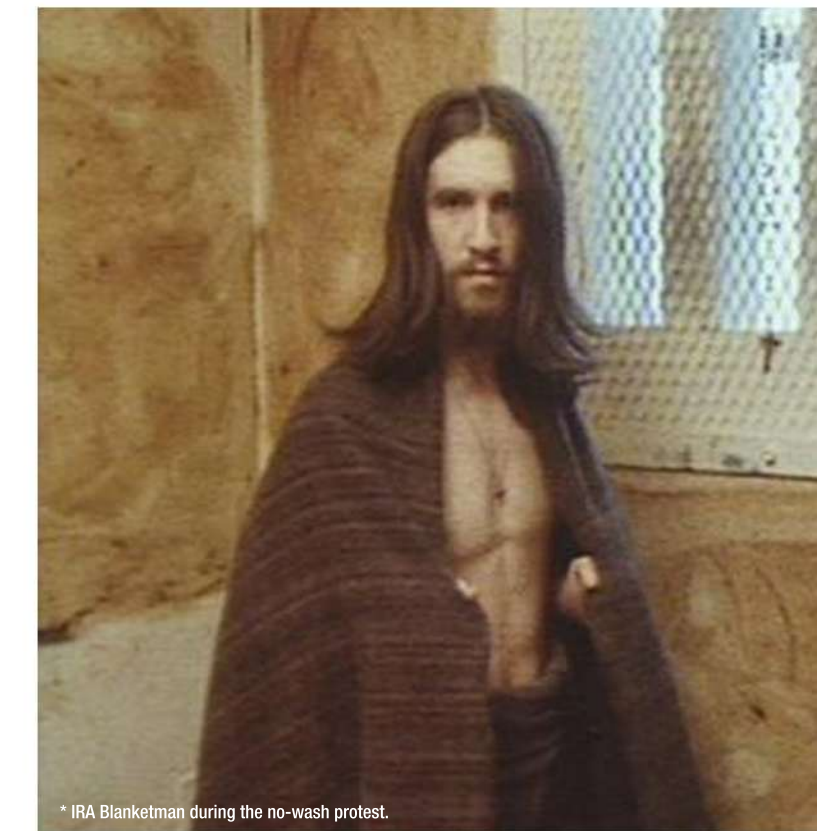
In other struggles since 1916 the gaols were full of republicans, most of whom took the opportunity to either learn or improve their use of it. My father, Pat McCotter, was a fluent speaker and whilst imprisoned in Crumlin Road prison in the 1940's he

taught many men. Growing up my father would encourage me and my brothers and sisters to speak as gaeilge but because I didn't take it seriously I only knew the basics. When at scoil I took gaeilge as a subject and also took part in feseanna where an teanga would be spoken but when I left scoil I would rarely speak it but always intended learning it as I got older. The problem for pupils in scoileanna in the 6 counties at that time was that the unionist state was hostile to an teanga so many brothers and nuns who came from the 26 counties were promoting it and our games and they should be commended for that.

In July 1976 I was lifted from the house by the RUC and taken to the notorious Castlereagh interrogation centre in east Béal Feirste. I was 18 and unprepared and after three days I was charged with the armed hi-jacking of a car. After appearing in a court I was remanded in Crumlin Road prison. I was in A wing and knew some of the lads and after settling in we were encouraged to go to Irish history and language classes. They were held in the yard but being on remand it was hard to settle and to concentrate so the classes weren't taken seriously.

In January 1977 I was sentenced to 3 years and immediately went on the blanket protest. The first couple of months were very hard as the screws would regularly beat us trying to make us come off the protest. In April of that year, with the numbers growing we were moved to H-5 and right away the atmosphere changed with little or no brutality being meted out to us.

We were locked in our cells 24 hours a day and the only time we got out was to slop out and go to mass once a week. We didn't have radios and no reading material except a bible. With four wings in the block it was important contact was kept up between each wing so every night those with gaeilge would shout messages back and forward to the block staff. All of the screws were hostile to our culture and as most of them were loyalist we knew none would speak gaeilge but in case any did nothing secretive was ever shouted out. Each wing had at least one fluent speaker so he would teach others



* IRA Blanketman during the no-wash protest.



* Aerial view of H-Blocks, Long Kesh prison.

who had a cupla focal. Because there was no written material we wrote verbs and phrases on the bare white be used to have a rang so the lads had to keep quiet. At that time I was a practising catholic and like nearly everyone on the wing I would join in saying the rosary every night. It would be done as gaeilge but as time wore on I started to question 'my faith' and stopped going to confession, taking communion and saying prayers. However, I respected the others who continued to pray out the doors and would keep quiet.

Some of the priests who came in each Sunday to say mass were gaeilgeoirí and they would often translate certain words and phrases which none of us knew. We would also get pages of Buntas Cainte and other leabhair smuggled in which was of great benefit to us. Songs such as Óró sé do bheatha 'bhaile and Báidín Fheilimí were learned and sung with gusto especially when the beatings resumed and we were forced to go on a no-wash protest. In March 1978 we embarked on a no-wash protest because the screws



started beating men going out of their cells. Because there were no toilets in the cells we would slop out our piss pots twice a day and this too led to tension. After a number of weeks we refused to slop out so poured the contents of the pot out the window. This led to the yards being covered with raw sewage so the screws started to go around the cells with a large bin on a trolley and told us to pour the slops into it. Every so often they would deliberately pour the bin into cells so the camp staff told us to refuse to comply with this. We then

began to spread our shit on the walls and ceilings and to counter the smell the administration moved men from one wing to another block enabling them to clean a wing every ten or twelve days.

Orders from the staff were always given as gaeilge and this meant we all had to learn to speak it so most became liofa quickly. This angered the screws and when messages were being shouted between the Blocks at night they would regularly bang grilles and make noise but they

became fed up with it. An teanga was very important to us, not only for political and cultural reasons but also enabling us to communicate.

When I got released in 1979 I took some classes in peoples' houses but didn't have the patience so gave it up. I would speak it as often as possible and when meeting a stranger they would guess where I learned it because people started saying it was a 'jailtaect' dialect.

When I was back inside a number of times after that more gaeilge was being spoken and ranganna were very popular. In the early 1990's when I was back in the H-Blocks things were very different as we had our own clothes, segregation from loyalists and we ran our wings – it was political status but the prison administration never admitted that was what we had. Besides having our own education we could also enrol in the Open University and teachers would come in to teach Gaeilge, history, English and other subjects which led to men getting degrees, O and A levels. I got an O level and fainne oir as gaeilge and I was content with that because I didn't have the discipline to further.

In 1994 we went to the administration and suggested we move certain men to a wing in H-6. They were always wary of us and during meetings between us on the camp staff and governors and senior prison staff they would claim that we were trying to break things down in order to plan escapes. Of course we denied this.

They agreed to let men move to that wing so we contacted lads who were keen to learn gaeilge quickly and others who were very good at teaching it and they were the first to set up a gaeltacht wing. We named it An Fuisseóg in memory of the ten men who died on hunger strike in 1981. It became very successful and from then until the last prisoners were released from Long Kesh in 1999 many men became liofa and they too went on to teach it when released. •

By Pádraic Mac Coitir

Scoil Éanna

If you are thinking of something to say,
 Pick up An Phiarach, he'll blow you away,
 "The murder machine" is still with us today,
 Relentlessly, busily, churning away,
 In schools and universities, the incubating nurseries,
 Queens, UCD, and Trinity,
 This is not the definitive list,
 Of craven imperial apologist,
 Neo-dash colonial propagandist,
 And lying misleading revisionist,
 But we continue to resist,
 In factory, field, or on the pitch,
 In Gael Scoils, and in forums just like this,
 For they Can't, win and we Won't Loss,
 So give yourselves a Bualadh bos.

~ Colum Mac Giolla Bhéin



PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR

THE NPA'S FIGHT FOR THE HEART OF THE PHILIPPINES

By Séamus Kelly

Since 1969, Communists in the Philippines have been waging a Protracted People's War for National Liberation and Socialism. Today, the primary aim of the revolutionary forces is to oust the fascist regime of Rodrigo Duterte and establish a People's Governments across the 7,100 islands that make up the Philippines.

The revolution is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, its army, the New People's Army, and a United Front, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. Together these three instruments of the revolution have become the weapon and the shield of the Filipino people struggle for National liberation and Socialism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines was re-established on December 26 1968 by a tight group of just 12 communist cadre under the leadership of Jose Maria Sison. Inspired by the teachings of Chairman Mao and the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the party was established by a new generation of cadre to break with the revisionism that had come to dominate the movement in the Philippines. The party began its rebuilding project by concentrating on the ideological development of its cadre, guarding against revisionism studying the works of Marx, Engels Lenin, Stalin and Mao and applying them to the concrete conditions of the Philippines, a semi feudal, semi colonial country in South East Asia.

The first important breakthrough for the party came when Sison linked up with the remaining revolutionary cadre of the Hukbalahap(HMB). The

HMB were guerrillas who had waged armed struggle against japan under communist leadership during World War 2. Under the leadership of the re-established Communist Party, the guerrillas began ideological training, alongside a programme of mass work and military training that led to the establishment of the New People's Army on March 29 1969.

The Revolutionary movement now began a period of intense mass work, implementing the Mass Line, the communist tool of organising developed by Mao Tse Tung during the fire of the Chinese Revolution. This period of mass work lead to the establishment of a revolutionary united front, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines which unites all progressive forces in the Philippines from religious groups to trade unions, students, women and youth organisations along with organisations of peasants, behind its 12 point programme for National liberation and Democracy.

Under the leader ship of the Party, the New People's Army launched a Protracted People's War, beginning with a phase of guerrilla actions in order to win the support of the masses and began to establish guerrilla bases amongst the peasants. Writing in 1974 Jose Sison stated 'to paraphrase chairman Mao, without an Army like the new people's Army, the people have nothing'. He continued, 'In carrying out a people's war, the Party builds the people's Army as its main form of organisation. It is not only an organisation where the party membership is most concentrated. It is also an organisation for uniting the proletarian revolutionaries and the peasant masses both within the army

and in the localities. In this way, the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, so necessary in a national United Front takes the most effective concrete form'.

By following this line, the Communist Party has been able to build the People's Army into a strong force of an estimated up to 20,000 red fighters in the field today and many millions of urban and rural poor mobilised in support of the armed struggle through the National Democratic Front. The revolution has spread to all major inhabited islands in the archipelago and it is believed that the Communist Party of the Philippines although an illegal organisation, now have 33% of the nation's entire territory under its control.

The guiding ideology of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army is Marxism- Leninism-Maoism. The party understands that there are a number of stages to the strategy of Protracted People's war as devised by Chairman Mao that it must pass through before victory. Before the revolutionary movement can launch its Protracted People's War it must accumulate or gather its forces. The first phase of the PPW is the strategic defensive, where the revolution defends the development of its base areas and the regime continues to be on the offensive. The second phase is the strategic equilibrium where the revolutionary forces and those of the regime have reached a stalemate. The third and final stage is the strategic offensive where the revolutionary movement has consolidated its strength to launch the final offensive to oust the regime from power.

On account of the many difficulties and setbacks that come from fighting in a small mountainous archipelago made up of 7,100 islands the Communist Party state that the revolution is still in the phase of Strategic Defensive. But as they now control 33% of the country it is only a matter of time before the revolution reaches the important stage of Strategic Equilibrium.

The areas under the control of the communist party are known as red areas. It is here in the jungles and mountains of the Philippines that the People's government is being formed and gathering strength. Red areas have their own People's governments in which youth, women and minorities including ethnic and LGBTQ, play a key role. The CPP estimate that only 10% of a red fighters time is spent on military operations while the other 90% is spent amongst the masses engaged in both political and productive work in support of the people.

Yet the New People's Army has been built into a highly effective fighting force, capable of defending the people not only against the forces of the regime but also against the actions of foreign multi nationals that are robbing natural resources.

Today the NPA continues to wage its protracted war for National Liberation. Jose Maria Sison now in political exile in the Netherlands has stated that it will be easier to overthrow Duterte than to make peace with him, setting the stage for the revolutionary armed struggle in the Philippines to continue until victory.

Victory to the Protracted People's War in the Philippines! •

POVERTY AND THE FREE STATE ECONOMY: GROWTH ON BOTH FRONTS?

By Matthew Foster

Ireland, the once laughed at economy with little prospects for growth, even after the 26 counties ridding itself from the economic leech of British imperialism, became, and has once again become, a well-respected economy amongst their European Union Partners following their 'successful' bailout exit in 2014 .

Compared to the other states ravaged by austerity, Ireland's recovery and growth have been likened to a miracle. However, Ireland's recent growth has been contradicted by bubbling poverty, which shows no sign of ending; a disturbing trend of Neoliberal economics that must be analysed and overturned .

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the standard measurement of economic growth. GDP is the value of production and consumption within a given economy, often measured per capita, that is to say it is placed against the average national income within the given economy. While there are issues with this measurement from a mathematical standpoint , it is mostly accepted. Generally, as long as a states GDP per capita increases and their population is stable, your economy is growing and wages are increasing .

However, whether this growth is good is a different matter.

Ireland's growth from 2002-2008 was massively influenced by corruption by the Fianna Fail government and imploded in a massive banking crisis in 2008; so not all growth should be cherished equally and Ireland's current growth should be scrutinised.

Ireland's statistics are mathematically impressive. Average GDP growth per year when the British Empire was at its height in the mid to late 19th century was little over 1%. The 'Golden age of Capitalism' (1946-1973) saw average growth in the developed world of around 3% . Ireland's GDP per capita growth in 2014 (the first year after their bailout) was 8.6%, and rose massively a year later to over 20% .

Since then it has inevitably fallen, but the continued positive growth has been used as the hallmark of Irish success. However, there should be a massive asterisk next to Ireland's perceived success because it has managed to grow, but unable to recover without using its working base as the sacrificial lamb.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) critiqued Ireland's overreliance on massive capital

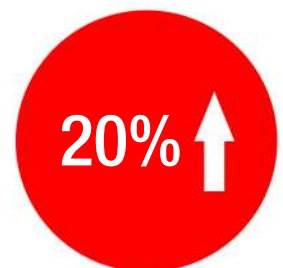
flows, Foreign Direct Investment and public sector cuts to achieve this growth; stating that the rewards for growth have been scarcely felt by the Irish population.

The problem with critiquing Ireland on the basis of poverty is specificity. For instance, inequality in Ireland has been stable by any states standards; Ireland's Gini coefficient after tax has not varied before during or after the 2008 crisis . However, there are areas in which there are massive problems.

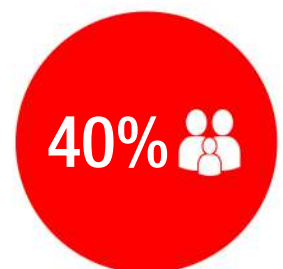
The Central Statistics Office's Survey on Income and Living Conditions in 2017 showed only minimal change for those 'at risk of poverty' in the years 2015 - 2017, years in which Ireland's growth made it an economic prodigy . In fact, without social welfare Ireland's poverty rate was predicted to be 40% of the population instead of 16.5%; highlighting that much work is needed to improve the conditions of Ireland's working class.

A plethora of other issues have become intertwined with this problem, in particular Ireland's growing homelessness crisis which is mostly ignored by the Irish government . Therefore, it is clear that Ireland's plan for recovery has generally worked, in the sense Ireland has grown. But

the underlying issues of the Irish economy and its Neoliberal overtones are still ever-present; the growth is at the cost of the country's poorest people and real change is needed to redeem Ireland's overly unequal growth. •



*Over 20% increase in GDP in 2015 did little to alleviate poverty amongst the working class.



*Without social welfare Ireland's poverty rate was predicted to be 40% of the population.



JULY - SEPTEMBER 1968

The first in our series of '50', chronicling history from five decades ago, in what could be argued is one of recent histories most tumultuous periods. In this edition, we have given particular focus to a number of the headlines of the period, in particular, the war in Vietnam, the 'Warsaw Pact' invasion of Czechoslovakia, Black liberation movements in the USA and the rise of the Civil Rights movement in Ireland.

1st July - The Phoenix Program, intended to identify and "neutralize" the infrastructure of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was launched by the American CIA.

6th July - The FBI sent a memorandum to its field offices outlining 11 approved COINTELPRO (COUNTER INTELIGENCE PROGRAM) practices for disrupting American anti-government organizations collectively described as the "New Left". The ideas ranged from sending anonymous information and misinformation to the local press and the families of organization leaders, to instigating personal conflicts among group leaders, to more extreme measures such as to "create the impression that leaders are 'informants for the Bureau or other agencies'" and to "have members arrested on marijuana charges." [see photo].

July 9th - The flag of North Vietnam was raised over the Khe Sanh Combat Base by the North Vietnamese Army, 12 days after the United States Marines had scuttled and abandoned the outpost.

July 17th - The 17 July Revolution took place in Iraq as the Ba'ath Party overthrew the government of Abdul Rahman Arif and put the Middle Eastern nation under the control of its Revolutionary Command Council.

July 18th - Czechoslovakia's Prime Minister Alexander Dubcek went on national television and radio and told his people that he and the Communist Party would continue the 'democratic reforms' of the Prague Spring, despite demands from the party chiefs in the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies to discontinue the reforms.

July 22nd - El Al Flight 426, from London to Tel Aviv, was hijacked by three members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The commando group forced its way into the cockpit and pistol-whipped the pilot, Captain Obed Arbabanel, and ordered the copilot to fly to Algiers. The PFLP commandos had selected Flight 426 believing that Israeli General Ariel Sharon was on board, and that Arbabanel carried a diplomatic pouch that would reveal Israeli state secrets.

Jul 23rd - Ten people were killed and 18 others wounded as police in Cleveland, USA, and a black nationalist militant group fought a gun battle in a predominantly black neighbourhood in Ohio city. The violence started when five men with automatic rifles fired at a police car, followed by sniper fire from apartment blocks nearby. Fred "Ahmed" Evans, the leader of the Black Power advocacy group "Black Nationalists of New Libya", reportedly told three arresting officers, "If my carbine hadn't jammed, I would have killed you three. I had you in my sights when my rifle jammed." The gun battle ended with the intervention of 2,600 Ohio National Guard troops.

August 2nd - Melitón Manzanar, 62, a Spanish police superintendent and director of the Brigada Político-Social secret police force in San Sebastián, was assassinated by the Basque separatist group, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) at his home in Irún.

August 11th - The Soviet Union, East Germany and Poland began military maneuvers near their nations' borders with Czechoslovakia.

August 17th - The third and final phase of the Tet Offensive began with a massive attack by the North Vietnamese Army and the National Liberation Front on 27 South Vietnamese cities and towns, as well as 47 airfields and 100 outposts. The fighting would continue for more than six weeks, finally ending on September 28.

August 20th - At 11:00 p.m. local time (2000 UTC), the 'Warsaw Pact' invasion of Czechoslovakia began as troops and tanks from the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary crossed Czechoslovakia's borders (with Bulgarian troops coming in from the Soviet side, and units of the 24th Soviet Tactical Air Army began landing Antonov troop and tank carriers at Prague's Ruzyně Airport and at the airports in Bratislava, Brno, Kosice, Ostrava, Karlovy Vary, Pardubice, Poprad, and other Czechoslovakian cities. The "Prague Spring" of political liberalisation had come to an end as 500,000 'Warsaw Pact' troops, 6,300 tanks and 550 combat aircraft and 250 transport planes carried out the largest Soviet attack in peacetime and the biggest operation in Europe since World War II had ended.

August 24th - The 'Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association' staged the first civil rights protest march held in the Six Counties, to call attention to discrimination against the Nationalist community. Between 2,500 and 4,000 people marched peacefully from Coalisland along the five-mile route to Dungannon, where local RUC barred the marchers from conducting a rally.

August 31st - The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine released the last 12 hostages that they had held captive for forty days after the July 22 hijacking of El Al Flight 426. Of the original 48 people originally on board before the plane was diverted to Algiers, the seven crewmembers and five male passengers, all Israelis, remained and were flown to Rome to be handed over to Italian authorities. Israel, in turn agreed to release 12 Arab commandos being held in Israeli jails.

September 8th - After a ceasefire of almost 11 months, the War of Attrition between Egypt and Israel (the period between the 1967 and 1973 wars) erupted into large scale fighting as the Egyptian Army began firing artillery shells against Israeli Defense Force positions.

September 13th - Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact three weeks after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Albanian government had ceased participating in Warsaw Pact maneuvers six years earlier. Enver Hoxha, the premier of Albania, declared that "The Warsaw Treaty no longer serves socialism and peace," Hoxha said, "it no longer serves the cause of the working class and proletarian internationalism, and it has lost the ideological and class basis on which it was created. It now serves the revisionist bourgeoisie, it serves the big-power chauvinistic narrow interests of the Soviet revisionist leadership as well as the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance for the domination of the world".

September 20th - Eastern Airlines Flight 950 was hijacked during its flight from San Juan, Puerto Rico to Miami, and diverted to Havana, marking the eighth hijacking of an airplane to Cuba up to that date in 1968.

September 23rd - The third and final phase of the Tet Offensive, came to an end with the withdrawal of the North Vietnamese Army's 5th, 7th and 9th infantry from the Tay Ninh Province and the Binh Long Province, more than six weeks after the August 17 attack on 27 South Vietnamese cities and towns, as well as 47 airfields and 100 outposts.



*Fred Hampton, national spokesman for the Black Panther Party, who was murdered by members of the Chicago Police Department, as part of a COINTELPRO operation.

REAL CHOICE IS NOT CONFINED TO PREGNANCY

REPEAL REFERENDUM: PLANTING THE SEEDS FOR REVOLUTION

By Fionnghuala Nic Roibeaird

Much like the Marriage Equality referendum that preceded it, the Repeal the 8th referendum has galvanised a whole new generation of activists who are now wondering: what next?

For those of us who have been involved in the organising for this campaign for years this is exactly what we have wanted; to educate and agitate in struggles so that we have more people to organise with. For a truly feminist society cannot be achieved while capitalism remains. We strive for a revolution and in working towards this we recognise our work is in planting the seeds for the revolution. Working within campaigns, such as the Repeal referendum, we have an opportunity to learn from each other and to scatter the seeds of the revolution.

The issue of abortion has ring-fenced feminism in Ireland for several decades now and the importance of abortion rights and

indeed this victory cannot be understated. This movement was essentially dead when this latest wave of choice activism emerged in 2012. No politician wanted to touch the subject, even when Savita Halappanavar died as a result of the 8th Amendment, politicians wanted nothing to do with reform. A grassroots movement led by angry women forced the most conservative and misogynist government, that was completely anti-choice upon entering government, into a pro-choice position; it was no mean feat.

The reality is, however, true choice and true freedom from sexist oppression cannot be achieved in this society. Indeed, within this society we are not only met with economic and sexist oppression, but racist, homophobic, and sectarian oppression among others. Migrants account for 40% of all maternal deaths in Ireland, with migrant men and women comprising only 17% of the population. Despite this, migrant issues were not

present in the mainstream Together for Yes campaign. This has inflicted a harm on our migrant comrades that Irish feminism must work to heal and we must ensure it does not happen again.

This disproportionate figure reveals a vicious and deadly racism that is not only confined to our maternity services. Ireland's Direct Provision centres would be better described as prisons, with the right to work withheld and adults living on a meagre allowance of €19.60 a week and children on €9.60. Within these institutions women are subjected to patriarchal oppression, often left to carry the emotional burden of managing the money and in the case of mothers, their children's emotional wellbeing, demonstrating that patriarchy knows no bounds. MASI, the Movement for Asylum Seekers in Ireland, has been campaigning to end this barbaric system for a number of years and now some Repealers are turning to their attention towards supporting this campaign.

The cervical cancer scandal that erupted during the referendum is a further indication of just how little women's lives are valued within this misogynist society. The government was saved by the referendum which tied up the energies of feminists who other-

wise would have toppled the government in rage and fury at how our sisters have been treated. This devaluing of women's lives occurs in the context of 1 in 7 of us being subjected to severe physical abuse by a partner, with the murder of Clodagh Hawe and her children acting as the most salient indicator of society's hatred of women. This occurred under the same government that has never reversed the "austerity" driven Fine Gael – Labour cuts to child benefit, a very gendered cut. This is the same government that will continue to see families take to the streets to sleep at night with rents at higher prices now than what they were during the height of the Celtic Tiger.

Real choice isn't confined to pregnancy; it is not having to choose between feeding your children or heating your home. It is not having to choose between going to a job that is making you ill or losing your home. It is not having to choose between living in a warzone and a Direct Provision centre. True choice is the ability to live our lives free from coercive oppression, and this must be the goal of women's rights post-repeal. •



HOUSING APARTHEID DEMONSTRATES THE DIRE STATE WE'RE IN

50 YEARS ON FROM THE BIRTH OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, WORKING CLASS CATHOLICS IN THE NORTH CONTINUE TO SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES OF INGRAINED DISCRIMINATION IN SOCIAL HOUSING PROVISION...

By The Skint Scribbler

FIFTY YEARS AGO this month, three civil rights activists began a squat of a house in Caledon, county Tyrone to protest the unfair allocation of housing by the unionist government in the Six Counties.

The story is well known. A family, who happened to be catholic, denied a home in favour of a young single professional, who happened to work for the ruling Unionist party. A window was smashed with a poker to gain entry to the house to make the protest. A sledgehammer was employed to break down the front door to remove the protestors. The resulting media coverage broadcast the plight of homeless catholics beyond the neighbourhoods where it had been a way of life to endure for decades.

The case was well made. In truth, it was an easy one to make. Spurred on by the law granting the vote only to homeowners and enabled by the gerrymandering of electoral constituencies, unionist-controlled councils ruthlessly ensured the most demonstrably loyal were invariably at the head of the queue when it came to housing allocation, while poor

catholics languished in slums such as the Springtown camp in Derry. Within weeks of the Caledon sit-in, members of Derry's Housing Action Committee were blocking the aptly named Craigavon Bridge; within months, thousands were on the streets in support of the civil rights movement's modest demands.

Within a matter of years, the Civil Rights Association's demand for a points system to determine the allocation of housing had been conceded, while control over housing was eventually removed from unionist councils and placed in the hands of the new, officially impartial Housing Executive.

Job done, you might think. Not quite. While the power of the unionist one-party state was indeed broken on a range of issues through popular mobilisation, housing discrimination in the Six Counties remains a live issue in 2018.

According to the latest available statistics, there are 39,338 households on the waiting list for social housing in the North of Ireland. Of this number, 22,097 are judged by the Housing Executive to be in 'housing stress', which is effectively

a state of homelessness. The rate at which new homes are being built is woefully inadequate to address this crisis: in 2015, for example, 542 socially-owned houses were built throughout the North.

While it is a self-evident fact that those on the receiving end of this crisis are the poor, the sectarian nature of the northern state dictates that it is the catholic poor who suffer disproportionately. They do not suffer alone. Refugees, asylum seekers and other new arrivals are frequently forced into overcrowded accommodation at the mercy of exploitative landlords.

Take the case of north Belfast as an example, an area that has long served as a microcosm for the northern state's broader attitude to its citizens. In 2014, there was a deficit of 666 households in majority catholic areas in the north of the city while there was a parallel surplus of 72 houses in protestant neighbourhoods. Even those 72 houses were beyond the reach of those catholics in need due to the risk of intimidation and violence from unionist paramilitaries. Since 2014, there has been no significant new build in social housing in north

Belfast.

Contrary to what officials in high places like to claim, this is not because of a lack of land on which to build. The vacant Hillview site on north Belfast's Crumlin Road has long been the subject of a campaign by families in desperate need of housing. The catholic enclave of the Short Strand in east Belfast, where 52 households live in a state of 'housing stress', lies cheek by jowl with the huge Sirocco site which has lain empty for years. In the south of the city, the Market community contains 86 households in a state of effective homelessness. The Market is adjacent to the Gasworks, part of which has long been zoned for social housing and, yet, not a single brick has been laid. In 2017, Belfast City Council's planning committee voted to rezone the land on the Gasworks for commercial use, including a multistorey carpark.

In 2002, Belfast City Council signed up to the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City. Among the commitments included in the Charter is that "all citizens have the right to proper, safe and healthy housing." Sixteen years on, Belfast City Council is clearly still

in breach of this obligation.

Fifty years on from the formation of the civil rights movement in the North, the goal of adequate and equal provision of housing remains unfulfilled. And yet, no one in a position of authority will deny, at least publicly, that families have a right to adequate housing. But all the public declarations in the world don't change the fact that there are thousands of families in Belfast – 7,000 going by the latest estimates – who are living in emergency accommodation, sharing with relatives, sofa surfing, or making do in cramped, run down, deeply inadequate housing, often in tower blocks.

In 2014, a number of Belfast families on the housing waiting list who had formed themselves into the Equality Can't Wait campaign wrote an open letter to the relevant government ministers and put their case thus: "While we wait we live in hostels, in temporary single let accommodation, in housing with such poor conditions that our children are made sick. While we wait we live in expensive insecure housing with unaccountable landlords. While we wait we are homeless and sleeping rough or dependent upon the charity of family and friends. While we wait our children grow up with nowhere to play, nowhere to call home, nowhere to make friends."

So what's preventing the resolution of this problem? In short, it is the same correlation of interests that has ever stood in the way of progress in the northern state: money, bigotry and political power.

In recent years, councils in the North have had powers of planning returned to them, enabling them to play a part in determining where social housing is built and when. In areas like north and south Belfast, where the electoral balance is weighted very finely in favour of unionism, it is not in the interests of unionist politicians to accommodate the building of homes which will most likely be occupied by non-unionist voters. Hence, when they get the chance, unionist councillors habitually vote against plans for social housing which will go to the wrong people in the wrong neighbourhoods. In 2009, the Housing Executive ended its policy of 'ring-fencing' social housing in areas of high demand, such as north and west Belfast and Derry. During his tenure as Stormont minister with responsibility for housing, the DUP's Nelson McCausland – not coincidentally, an assembly member for north Belfast – went so far as to propose the abolition of the Housing Executive.

Aligned with this sectarian power grab are property developers who are determined to make the maximum

amount of profit from the lowest possible investment. So just as the Gasworks site in south Belfast is earmarked for a carpark and the extension of an already massive hotel, so the Sirocco plot which could alleviate housing need in the Short Strand is to be used for a new hotel and other commercial properties. Hillview in north Belfast is to be a shopping centre, while families in cramped, damp-infested flats overlooking it are expected to wait forever for a decent standard of living.

This state of affairs is clearly untenable. But crises which are contained within the poorest sections of society are always bearable for those who profit as a result of them. It is only when those with decision making power find every alternative closed to them but the one of allowing justice to prevail will change happen. The three activists who occupied that house in Caledon knew this; the men and women of Derry's Housing Action Committee recognised this and so did the thousands who took to the streets half-a-century ago in support of civil rights.

In his study of past redevelopment of Belfast, the inequality this perpetuated and the campaigns organised in opposition, the urban planner Cliff Moughtin wrote: "Irrespective of the reasons for the

change of policy, community action where powerful groups have the ability to stop developments if extended over the whole range of urban government could make cities ungovernable."

It's time for the penny to drop. The crisis which the powerful created must be brought back to haunt them. ●

If you would like to respond to this or any other feature in this magazine, you can do so by contacting us at any one of the following:
Web anspreach.org
Email info@anspreach.org
Facebook [/anspreach](https://www.facebook.com/anspreach)
Twitter [@anspreachmedia](https://twitter.com/anspreachmedia)
Instagram [/anspreach](https://www.instagram.com/anspreach)



Organisation

A revolutionary organisation establishes itself through the action it takes. What makes an organisation and gives it a reputation is its revolutionary action.

- Carlos Marighella

Do not fix guerrilla organisation. Tailor it to your needs.

- Che Guevara

I appeal to all old comrades to be up and doing, Those of you who have lapsed, return; those who have lost heart, cheer up; those who have heart, pull in the indifferent and stimulate dormant or defunct branches.

- John Maclean

Women

For the revolution to triumph in its totality there must be emancipation of women. Women will never be emancipated without a victorious working-class led revolution.

- Samora Machel

Everyone tells me I'm a feminist. All I know is that I'm just as good as others... and that especially means men. I am definitely a Socialist, and I'm definitely a Republican. I believe in a United Socialist country... definitely Socialist. Capitalism can offer our people nothing, and yet that's the main interest of the British in Ireland.

- Mairéad Farrell

To understand how any society functions you must understand the relationship between the men and the women.

- Angela Davis

For every woman they try to intern, I am confident that another fifty women will step forward to take their place in the struggle for justice. The British can't put the women down and they will never put the women down.

- Máire Drumm

Youth

Youth of Ireland, stand prepared
Revolution's dread abyss
Burns beneath us, all but bared.

- James Clarence Mangan

Everyone, Republican or otherwise, has their own particular part to play. No part is too great or too small, no one is too old or too young to do something.

- Bobby Sands

We must concentrate on our youth - salvation of the country lies in this... The Fianna ideal can save the future.

- Liam Mellows

To be a student and not a revolutionary is a contradiction.

- Salvador Allende

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you. The world belongs to you,

- Mao Zedong

Class

In the long run the freedom of a nation is measured by the freedom of its lowest class; every upward step of that class to the possibility of possessing higher things raises the standard of the nation in the scale of civilisation; every time that class is beaten back into the mire the whole moral tone of the nation suffers.

- James Connolly

In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality; while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

- Karl Marx

Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.

- Paulo Freire

Revolution

We are sustained by the deepest conviction that ideas are worth more than weapons, no matter how sophisticated and powerful those weapons may be. Some may have believed that the rise of the empire to the status of the sole superpower, with a military and technological might with no balancing pole anywhere in the world, would frighten or dishearten the Cuban people. Yet, today they have no choice but to watch in amazement the enhanced courage of this valiant people... we will face up to any threats, we will not yield to any pressures... we are prepared to defend our homeland and our Revolution with ideas and with weapons to our last drop of blood.

- Fidel Castro

The storm is here. From the clash of these two winds the storm will be born, its time has arrived. Now the wind from above rules, but the wind from below is coming... The prophecy is here. When the storm calms, when rain and fire again leave the country in peace, the world will no longer be the world but something better.

- Subcommandante Marcos

Here and Now we are building our Future:

This memory
can never be erased.
My father was a fighter:
he was often behind bars,
held in solitary, tortured,
every human right denied.
Still his eyes burned with defiant flame.

I was then only four years old,
I didn't know the way
to the military prison,
everything was so different then.

I was taught about the prison
through taunts and insults.

I don't know how my mother managed;
They let us in to see him in his cramped corner

And he raised his clenched fist
although weak and wide-eyed, unshaven and hollowed,
his mouth swollen red.

It was then i began to dream of another homeland and
longed to trap a star.

- Gloria Gabuardi

Sacred Hope:

Here in prison
rage contained in my breast
I patiently wait
for the clouds to gather
blown by the wind of history

No one
can stop the rain.

- Agostinho Neto



DIRECT PROVISION AND THE RIGHT TO WORK

By Aylisha Hogan

Liberty Hall, Dublin, is an icon in the struggle for Irish freedom and for the freedom of the working classes. It seemed only fitting that in June of this year, the building hosted the re-launch of the grassroots asylum seeker-led Right2Work campaign. This campaign, an inspiring example of activism and solidarity, demands those living in direct provision be granted the immediate right to work. "Direct provision is a means of meeting the basic needs of food and shelter for asylum seekers directly while their claims for refugee status are being processed".

When the system was introduced in April 2000, the intention was that asylum seekers would spend no longer than 6 months in direct provision. 18 years on, the average stay in Direct Provision is 38 months, well exceeding the 6-month period it was designed for. 13.4% of asylum seekers have spent more than 8 years in Direct Provision and 33% have spent more than three years.

Direct provision, by design, dehumanises and degrades all those who live within the system. People live in direct provision centres, most which are former hotels or holiday camps run privately by the holders of lucrative government contracts. Asylum seekers live in isolation, segregated from communities both physically and in how they are presented as 'the other'. Shame and stigma follow as they try and navigate their complex integration into Irish society. 'Residents' must obey strict rules which prevent them from accessing some of the most basic freedoms which ordinary citizens take for granted.

There are currently 5664 residents of direct provision seeking either refugee status or international protection status, around 74% are of working age yet are denied the right to work.

The human cost of the system is staggering, at the Right2Work launch those living within it shared their testimonies and the pain caused by direct provision and the denial of the right to work. Fundamentally, the denial of the right to work prevents asylum seekers from entering Irish society and moving through it without shame or stigma. It enforces idleness perpetuating stereotypes of asylum seekers as 'lazy' or 'scroungers'. It also prolongs isolation, preventing the fostering of friendships and human relationships which could help overcome these stereotypes and others. Asylum seekers have fled their homes for reasons of violence, conflict, and persecution, to start a new life in Ireland, they should be given the opportunity to do so.

In February 2018, the Irish Supreme Court ruled this to be unconstitutional. In response, the government legislated for a very restricted right to work; asylum seekers could only apply for jobs paying €30,000 p.a. and find an employer willing to pay €1,000 for the work permit. In addition, the government has ring-fenced over 60 sectors meaning asylum seekers cannot apply for jobs within those sectors. A limited number of people qualify for a self-employment permit. In addition, the fact that foreign qualifications are not recognised and that asylum seekers cannot access training, bank accounts, or driving licences prevent them from accessing employment. New legislation must be introduced allowing asylum seekers unrestricted access to employment, addressing barriers which may prevent them from doing so. This campaign is the beginning of a movement in Ireland to see asylum seekers recognised as human beings with human rights. •

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A CHALLENGE TO THE IRISH P

By Robert Murtagh

Over 120 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza over the last two months during the 'Land Day Protests', including an 8 month old baby and a 21 year old nurse. This is just the latest in what is the perpetual occupation and siege of Gaza. The 'Land Day Protest' occurs on the 70th anniversary of the N'akba, or "The Catastrophe", when over seven hundred thousand Palestinians were expelled from their homes and forced into refugee camps in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Today, approximately 5 million Palestinians still live in these camps; despite their right to return, affirmed by the UN, they are denied by Israel.

Israel's actions have seen people from across the world take to the streets to show their solidarity to the people of Palestine. U.S. ambassador to the UN, Nikki Hayley, was greeted with chants of "Nikki, Nikki, can't you see? You are on a killing spree!", when she attended the University of Houston in May. Seven protestors were arrested outside the offices of Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, there to urge him to condemn the recent violence in Gaza. Recently, the Argentine national football team decided not to play Israel in a pre-World Cup friendly, and world renowned Colombian singer Shakira ruled out a concert in Tel Aviv, reportedly due to pressure from BDS activists.

Closer to home, we saw hundreds take to the streets across the island to express their outrage and display solidarity. However, I won't be the only one who felt despondent, marching through Belfast, my flag flying high, it was too much like groundhog day. Israel kills innocent Palestinians, we take to the streets, but nothing changes. Don't get me wrong - taking to the streets is an important part of raising awareness for any injustice, but it mustn't stop there.

Recently Tánaiste and Foreign Minister, Simon Coveney, met with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. This meeting should

never have happened. The Tánaiste stated that the conversation was, "open and frank." No, "open and frank", discussion can justify the actions of the Israeli Defence Force over the last two months, actions which can only be described as a massacre. The Irish government is openly ignoring the call from Palestinian Civil Society in 2005 to pressure Israel in ending the occupation through boycotts, divestment, and sanctions.

It would be precipitous for us to simply expect the government to act on this call. Rarely do government's change the status quo without pressure mounting from the grassroots level. This meeting between Coveney and Netanyahu should tell us one thing; we aren't doing enough. There has been some fantastic news coming from councils across Ireland supporting the BDS campaign, but it must reach central government. The Pro-Palestine movement across this island must unite, and we must organise. By organise, I don't mean take to the streets, but lobby politicians in the Oireachtas.

Israel winning Eurovision felt like a blow to those of us campaigning for justice in Palestine. But upon reflection we must recognise that this provides us with the perfect opportunity to unite and work together to achieve one goal; the boycott of Eurovision. Israel will use the competition to show itself as a normal state, except we know that isn't the case. Eurovision being held in Israel next year gives us the unique opportunity to shine the spotlight on the treatment of the people of Palestine, and the gravity of the humanitarian disaster in Gaza. Standing outside the Israeli embassy or City Hall isn't going to achieve this goal. Only by reaching the top levels of government and media will this campaign get on the agenda. The Pro-Palestine movement is fantastic at mobilising people and grassroots activism, but we must also be prepared to walk the halls of Leinster House and sit down with Irish lawmakers; without it, the protests mean nothing. We must create an environment where no Irish

PRO-PALESTINE MOVEMENT

government official feels comfortable meeting with an Israeli government representative, not least the Foreign Minister.

We must also recognise that anti-Semitism IS an issue. Our movement is one with its foundations in the principles of justice and equality for all. Unfortunately, our campaign has attracted some whose notions of justice and equality ends with Jews. We cannot allow these people space, people who subscribe to tropes like, "Jews control all the media." It must also be clear that any association between Israel and the Nazi's is wrong –Yes, Ken Livingstone was wrong. Centuries of pogroms and the Holocaust aren't simply confined to the annals of history, it forms a major part of contemporary Jewish consciousness and that must be recognised. If we understand the role slavery continues to play in Black political consciousness, why can't we understand that role the pogroms and the Holocaust play on Jewish political consciousness?

This does not mean we must compromise on fighting for equality and justice for the people of Palestine, the answer to historical anti-Semitism isn't the occupation and besiegement of Palestine. The wrongs of the past must not be avenged by the wrongs of today. But to simply ignore the agonizing history of the Jewish people allows anti-Semitism to breath and grow. We all have a duty to call out anti-Semitism whenever it rears its' ugly head, and to ensure our organizations are free from such people. This is not easy, it may involve ending long-held professional and personal relationships, but it is non-negotiable.

This article aims to serve as a challenge to us all who call ourselves Pro-Palestinian activists. We owe it to those Palestinians suffering day and daily at the hands of the repressive Israeli state to do better. We must reach high levels of government and unite as one movement to boycott Eurovision, and use it as an opportunity to inform the wider public. We must also be consistent in our fight for equality and justice which means excluding anti-Semitic voices from our movement. Once we achieve this, we can do our bit to ensure that one day soon, Palestine will indeed be free. •



ÁR NOIDHREACTH THEANGEOLA

Le Ben Ó Ceallaigh

Is minic in Éirinn go gcloistear caoineachán faoi chás na Gaeilge agus faoin imeallú atá á dhéanamh uirthi le blianta fada. Tuigean muid uile faoi seo go bhfuil pobal urlabhra traidisiúnta na teanga á lagú go leanúnach le fada an lá. Léirítear an fhírinne seo go soiléir sa litríocht shochtheangeolaíoch.

In 2007, mar shampla, dearbhaíodh i saothar suntasach, An Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangeolaíoch ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht (SCT), nach raibh fágtha ach idir 15 agus 20 bliain ag an nGaeilge mar theanga phobail sna ceantair Ghaeltachta is láidre a mhaireann (Ó Giollagáin et al., 2007: 27).

Léirítear i dtaighde nua go bhfuil cumas nó acmhainneacht teanga i bhfad níos fearr sa mBéarla ná sa nGaeilge ag gasúir óga atá á dtógáil le Gaeilge amháin sa mbaile i gceantair láidir Gaeltachta (Péterváry et al., 2014). Mar gheall ar an meath tromchúiseach seo atá tagtha ar chroiphobal na teanga, maíonn saineolaithe áirithe gur gearr eile a mhairfeas an teanga sa tír trí chéile. Ina leabhar *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*, míníonn Nettle agus Romaine an pointe tábhachtach seo:

“When a language is no longer being passed on at home, efforts to promote it outside that domain...usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial”

Ar an drochuair, ní haon scéal éagsúil é cás na Gaeilge in Éirinn. Go deimhin, is é an bás atá i ndán do fhormhór mór na dteangacha atá á labhairt ar chlár na cruinne faoi láthair. Sa lá atá inniu ann, tá na mílte teanga á labhairt ar domhan. Ina ainneoin seo, dá gcuirfí ceist ar an mórchuid againn, is dócha nach mbeimis in ann ach cúpla scór acu a ainmniú (ar a méid) – na cinn mhóra chumhachta agus iad siúd a bhaineann le náisiúinstát ar leith agus b'fhéidir corrcheann eile ar ar chuala muid trácht uirthi in alt *National Geographic* nó a mhacasamhail sin.

Is cinnte agus sainmhíniú á thabhairt ar céard is teanga ann, go minic nach n-úsáidtear aon slat tomhais ach amháin ceann atá lonnaithe in idé-eolaíochtaí polaitiúla. Samhlaigh,

mar shampla, dá mbeadh aon aonad polaitiúil amháin ann a chlúdódh Éire, Albain agus Oileán Mhanann. Dá mbeadh a leithéid de náisiún ann, drochsheans go gceapfadh muid go bhfuil trí theanga éagsúla ann – Gaeilge, Gaelg agus Gàidhlig – ach an t-aon teanga amháin le canúintí éagsúla. Mar sin, is minic a úsáidtear socruithe na hardpholaitíochta in ionad coinníollacha teangeolaíochta, comh-intuigeacht, mar shampla, chun líon na dteangacha a chomaireamh.

Fiú i measc an dreama úd a bhíonn ag plé cúrsaí teanga go gairmiúil, is cosúil nach lia duine ná barúil ar an gceist seo faoi líon na dteangacha. Ach mar sin féin, is é an cuntas is déanaí atá ag an suíomh cáiliúil agus gradamúil, *ethnologue.com* go bhfuil **7,106 teanga beo inniu**.

Is soiléir, mar sin, gur mó i bhfad líon na dteangacha ná líon na náisiúinstát (193 ballstát sna Náisiúin Aontaithe ag deireadh mhí na Samhna 2014). Fiú nuair a thugtar tíortha le cúpla teanga oifigiúil san áireamh, ciallaíonn sé seo go bhfuil na mílte teanga ar domhain gan aon stádas oifigiúil nó cosaint pholaitiúil acu. Ní hamháin sin, ach – mar a tharla don nGaeilge – rinne na mórchumhachtaí coilíneacha iarracht cuid mhaith de na teangacha a chur chun báis d'aon turas, agus iad ag baint úsáide as modhanna brúidiúla go minic.

Tá impleachtaí na staire impiriúil seo le feiceáil ar fud na cruinne go dtí an lá atá inniu ann. Léiríonn obair an tsochtheangeolaí Suzanne Romaine nach bhfuil páiste ar bith ag foghlaim aon cheann den bheagnach céad teanga bundúchasach atá i Stát Chalaifornia agus nach mairfidh ach glac beag de na céadta teanga dúchais san Astráil níos mó ná glúin nó dhó eile (2003: 442). Is é an scéal céanna é, a bheag nó a mhór, ar fud an domhain.

Cuireann an teangeolaí agus caomhnóir K. David Harrison in iúl go lom é in a shaothar *When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Knowledge and the Erosion of Human Knowledge* ina ndeir sé go bhfuil na cainteoirí deireanacha de níos mó ná leath de theangacha an domhain beo cheana féin, agus is seandaoine atá sa bhformhór acu (2007: 1).

Ach mar sin féin, tá breis is 7,000 teanga fós beo ar domhan – is é sin le rá go bhfuil níos mó ná 7,000 cultúr agus stair éagsúil againn agus a saibhreas agus a saintréithe féin ag chuile cheann acu. Mar chéatadán den daonra domhanda (tuairim is 7.2 billiún duine faoi láthair), áfach, tá líon na gcainteoirí atá ag tromlach na dteangacha seo fíor-bheag.

De réir *Ethnologue*, ní labhraíonn 94% de dhaonra an domhain ach 6% de na teangacha. Tá 81% acu (sin 5,756 teanga) á labhairt ag 1.1% den daonra.

Cé go bhfuil cúrsaí go dona, níl sé ach le scór bliain anuas go bhfuil tuiscintí ag forbairt i measc teangeolaithe ar an athrú tubaisteach atá i ndán d'oidhreacht theangeolaíoch an domhain.

Tháinig borradh faoin gcaint seo uile nuair a foilsíodh alt le Michael Krauss dar teideal *The World's Languages in Crisis* san iris acadúil *Language in* 1992. Ag baint leasa dó as na fíricí agus an taighde ba dhéanaí, bhain Krauss an tátal amach nach raibh ach 10% de theangacha an domhain sách láidir go bhféadfaí a bheith muiníneach go dtiocfadh siad slán tríd an aonú haois is fichead (Krauss, 1992).

Sa bhliain 2006, ba ghruama an mhaise dó é ach chuaigh Krauss siar ar a thuairim go raibh thart ar 700 teanga seasmhach agus slán. Maíonn sé anois go bhfuil fíor-fhigiúir na dteangacha atá saor ó bhaol an bháis i bhfad níos ísle ná sin fiú. (in Ó Giollagáin, 2011: 152).

Ciallaíonn sé seo uile go bhfuil an chuma ar an scéal, de réir an eolais agus an taighde is nua-aimseartha, go gcaillfidh muid teanga amháin, ar an meán, gach uile dheich lá go gceann i bhfad eile (Harrison, 2007: 5). Gan dabht, tá teangacha ag fáil bháis nó ag forbairt le bheith ina dteangacha eile le fada an lá mar chuid de phróiseas na staire.

Mar sin féin, tuigtear do shochtheangeolaithe gur airde an ráta bagartha agus báis anois ná a bhí sé a riamh roimhe ó thosaigh an cine daonna ag caint – an tréith dhaonna is mó a dhéanann idirdhealú idir muid féin agus ainmhithe eile.

I bhfianaise na bhfíricí seo ar fad, is léir go bhfuil athrú mór dochúlaithe ag tarlú ar an gcaoi a maireann daoine. In ionad an t-iliomad teangacha a bheith á labhairt ag grúpaí eitneacha mar chuid nádúrtha

AÍOCH: AN FHÍRINNE SHEARBH

dá saol, dá n-oidhreacht agus dá bhféiniúlacht, laghdófar an ilghnéitheacht seo faoi 90% le linn tréimhse saoil na glúine is óige atá beo inniu.

Agus céatadán suntasach de theangacha chomh lag sin nach bhfuil ann ach glac beag seandaoine fós á labhairt, is cosúil go sleamhnóidh roinnt mhaith de na teangacha seo ó chlár na cruinne sula ndéanfar aon taifead ná tuairisc orthu. Nuair a fhaigheann na cainteoirí deireanacha bás, mar sin, tá sé ar nós nach raibh siad ann a riamh.

Nuair a chailltear teanga, tá sé thar a bheith deacair í a fháil ar ais mar theanga bheo bhríomhar arís. Ní bheidh aon bhreith ar ár n-áifeala againn.

I gcodarsnacht leis an ngéarchéim uafásach eile atá ag tarlú faoi láthair, géarchéim na timpeallachta, tá an díothú seo ag tarlú a bheag nó a mhór i ngan fhios don saol.

“Mar gheall ar stair na tíre seo, thuigfeadh cainteoir Gaeilge ar bith go dtosaíonn bás teanga le dúshaothrú agus cos ar bholg polaitiúil, sóisialta agus eacnamaíochta. Ní haon comhtharlú é nach mbíonn teangacha lucht an rachmais i mbaol báis choíche.”

Má tá baol suntasach báis ann d’os cionn 90% de theangacha roimh dheireadh na haoise seo, is furasta a fheiceáil gur chóir níos mó airde a thabhairt ar an ábhar práinneach seo agus nach áibhéileach ar chor ar bith an focal “géarchéim” chun cur síos a dhéanamh ar na hathruithe móra atá ag tarlú don chaoi a gcaitheann daoine a saol ar an domhan seo.

Tá muid ag fágáil an domhain ilghlóraigh sin a mhair tríd stair an chine daonna go nuige seo in ár ndiaidh agus ag tabhairt aghaidh ar ré nua a bheas i bhfad níos aonteangaí ná mar a bhí.

Agus an geilleagar caipitleach á scaipeadh féin agus an domhandú nualíobrá-lach ag teacht chun cinn le leathchéad bliain anuas, tá níos mó agus níos mó teangacha ag imeacht ar shlí na fírinne.

Ar ndóigh, ní hionann comhghaol agus cúisíocht ach fós féin, níl dabht ar bith ann ach go bhfuil go leor de na príomhthréithe a bhaineann leis an nualíobrálachas – imirce, cáthú, dífhos-taíocht forleathan, síor-scaipeadh an chultúir Angla-Mheireacánaigh srl. – ag cur brú ollmhór ar mhionteangacha an domhain.

Mar gheall ar stair na tíre seo, thuigfeadh cainteoir Gaeilge ar bith go dtosaíonn bás teanga le dúshaothrú agus cos ar bholg polaitiúil, sóisialta agus eacnamaíochta.

Ní haon comhtharlú é nach mbíonn teangacha lucht an rach-mais i mbaol báis choíche.

Agus pobal domhanda fíorbhocht cruthaithe ag an gcóras caipitleach (níos mó ná 2.8 billiún duine ag maireachtáil ar níos lú ná luach \$2 in aghaidh an lae de réir na Náisiún Aontaithe), ní bhíonn an darna rogha ag daoine ach éirí as a dteanga agus a gcultúr dúchais agus iad ag iarraidh a mbeatha a thabhairt i dtír i gcóras atá dírithe ar leas céatadán bhig den daonra.

Anseo in Éirinn tá rátaí eisimirce agus dífhostaíochta tar éis éirí an-ard go deo le blianta beaga anuas. Ó thosaigh an ghéarchéim eacnamaíochta tuairim seacht mbliana ó shin tá an dífhostaíocht, an bochtanas agus an eisimirce ag déanamh dochair shóisialta as cuimse don Ghaeltacht – an oiread le gach cearn den tír – leis na mílte duine óg ag fágáil na tíre le dul thar sáile ag tóraíocht oibre.

Anuas air sin, tá ciorraithe uafásacha tar éis maoiniú don Ghaeilge a ghearradh go cnámh. Níl ach drochmheas léirithe ag an rialtas ar an nGaeilge. Rinneadh neamhaird ar na mílte againn ag máirseáil, “Dearg le Fearg”, agus maslaíodh muintir na Gaeltachta le hAire Gaeltachta gan Ghaeilge.

Nuair a chuirtear an t-eolas seo ar fad faoin gcás domhanda i dtoll a chéile, is furasta a aithint gur forleithne í bhfad bás teanga ná díreach imeallú na Gaeilge anseo in Éirinn. Mar a chonaic muid, tá géarchéim theangeolaíoch ag tarlú faoi láthair nach bhfuil a leithéid feicthe riamh cheana agus cé gur furasta don té a thuigeann an tábhacht a bhaineann le hilghnéitheacht cultúir a bheith in ísle brí faoi seo, tá cath fós le troid againn anseo ar son na Gaeilge.

Mar a mholtar sa seanráiteas, bímis ag smointiú go domhanda ach ag troid san áit ina bhfuil muid. Is cuid amháin, ach cuid fíor-thábhachtach í an troid seo ar son cearta phobal na Gaeilge a dteanga a choinneáil beo, sa streachailt mhór ar son domhain ina ndáiltear an mhaoin go cothrom – domhan ina léi-rítear meas ar ilghnéitheacht éiceolaíocht agus cultúir agus nach bhfuil faoi smacht lucht na cumhachta, na mbaincírí agus na gcorparáidí móra.

Beirimis bua! •

MARKETISATION OF EDUCATION

By Connor Veighey

When we think of university life and our student years we typically envision an exciting new stage in our lives – free from the stiff regiment of school and able to take more responsibility over our own lives without parental oversight. Though nervous and unsure of what the next number of years will hold, a new student on their first day will likely be looking forward to meeting lots of new friends, getting involved with all of the clubs, societies and experiences that university has to offer and developing a deeper knowledge of the subjects they're most passionate about.

This is, however, little more than an idealistic dream considering the wellbeing crisis on our campuses. A recent study by NUS-USI reported 50% rise in deaths by suicide among students in England and Wales in the last ten years. Even where the result isn't as extreme, still we're witnessing a 50% increase in the demand for mental health services. This problem has continued to go untreated as funding is repeatedly slashed in the endless move to drive up profits, for example 14 of Britain's top universities showed trends of increasing demand for counselling services yet simultaneously decreasing funding for these services between 2006/7 and 2011/12.

There is little doubt that an individual's wellbeing is in many cases environmentally influenced and so in taking the university as the primary environment with which the student interacts, and thus asserting that the particular nature of this relationship has significant bearing on the student and their wellbeing, we can see this crisis not as some naturally occurring phenomenon but one that is produced through a series of policy decisions and that therefore may be solved through alternative policies.

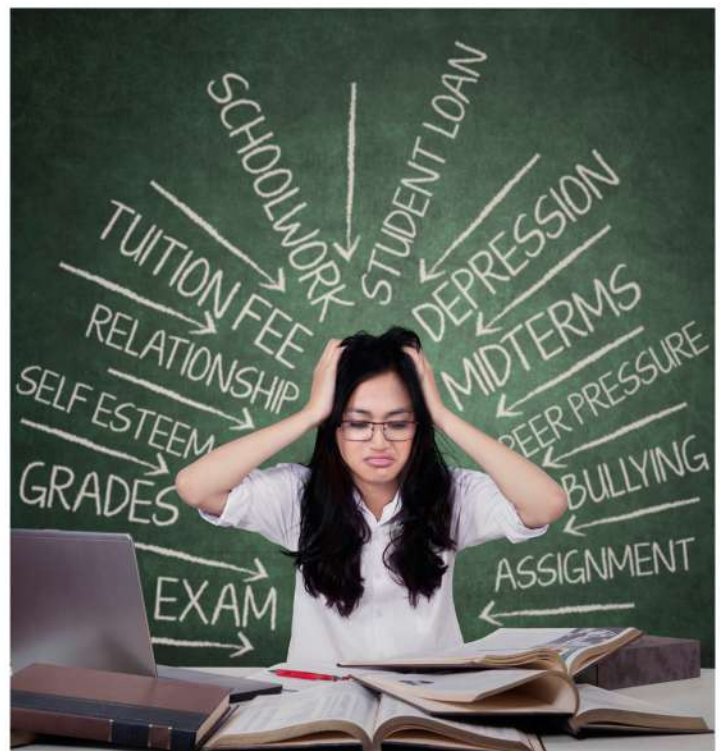
In understanding the nature of the modern university, we can sort the influencing factors into three broad and interconnected categories:

financial pressures, the pressure to excel academically and the breakdown of community.

Financial pressure is in of itself a significant factor in influencing wellbeing, with 39% of surveyed students citing it as a factor in their mental health¹, in part due to direct consequences such as the accrual of debt and subsequent decades of reduced potential revenue. However, the costs associated with studying that are in addition to fees – such as rent, household bills, living, study materials, transport etc. – have much further reaching implications, for example in the requirement for the student to seek employment. This is not to say that there is anything wrong with a student having a part-time job alongside their studies, indeed this can be extremely beneficial to their overall development, but it is the necessity of work and to work increasingly long hours that should be of concern. This is due to it's impairment on academic performance - as the student is able to dedicate less time to studying, the additional stresses associated with balancing an increasing workload and, finally a breakdown in the community aspect of university. This latter point is in part due to the lack of time the student has to engage in extra-curricular activities such as clubs and societies based on their interests or simply socialising with their peers.

Additionally, the cost of rent (in excess of £400 in many instances) has led to the, "attenuation of the residential idea of the university" as the number of students choosing to live with their parents more than doubled from 1988 to 2013 and nearly 8 in 10 of these citing financial concerns as their main reason for doing so.

The ideology of marketisation must be understood as being supported culturally. Students are encouraged to adopt the character of the self-made, self-sacrificing entrepreneur as their identities are recast in terms of their relation to the



capitalist market. This is related to the pressure to excel academically and idolised as a means of being a free and self-reliant individual, but I counter that one is not free as long as one is financially indebted, forced to work outside of their choosing and unable to seek independent living. Additionally, one is not free if their identity has been reduced to a consumer or product and they suffer the accompanying pathologies. These pathologies include a twin sense of chronic anomie and egoism, whereby students feel increasingly disconnected from a university community which favours a crude individualism and competition. Durkheim attributed each of these pathologies – which are demonstrated practically through manifestations of poor mental health, such conditions as anxiety and depression - to the question of why the suicide rate rose in times of prosperity, ground-breaking in face of the conventional wisdom that the misery of poverty was responsible for people committing suicide.

Marketisation hasn't only affected students but staff as well who have faced both casualisation of their working practices and continual pressures to generate ever-greater wealth for their employer. This was seen most recently in the proposed changes to the superannuation scheme but is also reflected in a long-running instrumentalist trend that involves academics researching the areas of greatest profitability and which are most attractive to external investors, rather than necessarily the greatest social good – this is what is

truly meant by a university meeting the needs of a capitalist market society.

Though this has been a very brief overview, we can see the university as a perfect microcosm for the ideological path that our society is on. Where we may view a university as an institution and a community with a social purpose – the personal development and emancipation of individuals through education and social relations – it has been transformed into little more than an alienating and pathological engine for wealth-production. Given the dialectical relationship between an individual and their sense of personhood and wellbeing, we can conclude that an all-encompassing structural approach, a root and branch strategy, is required in order to adequately address the crisis in wellbeing among students.

Our task is therefore to build a coalition that stretches across students and staff, unions and universities, charities and government with the goal of establishing an association in which the free development of all is the condition for the free development of each. •

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SAY NO TO ROYAL VISITS

Recent years have borne witness to an increase in the frequency of British Royal visits to both states in Ireland.

Royal visits are not a new phenomenon here, British Kings and Queens have been coming to Ireland from as far back as the 1600's fighting their wars for crown legitimacy. The more modern policy of 'normalisation', in which Britain uses its monarchy in a grand imperialist public relations exercise, is in full swing.

The effects of this policy can be seen in the behaviour of the mainstream Irish political parties and in their interactions with the British state and its representatives.

Those parties, and in particular those who supposedly pay homage to the leaders of 1916, like James Connolly, should take heed of the words of the rebel leader himself.

Connolly wrote, in reference to a planned visit to Ireland by King George V, "*...we can only regard the visit of the King as adding fresh fuel to the fire of hatred with which we regard the plundering institutions of which he is the representative.*"

The Commandante knew only too well that to receive a monarch, even if not to bow or curtsy, was to confer legitimacy on the Institution, and all that it represents. •

Fellow-Workers,

As you are aware from reading the daily and weekly newspapers, we are about to be blessed with a visit from King George V.

Knowing from previous experience of Royal Visits, as well as from the Coronation orgies of the past few weeks, that the occasion will be utilised to make propaganda on behalf of royalty and aristocracy against the oncoming forces of democracy and National freedom, we desire to place before you some few reasons why you should unanimously refuse to countenance this visit, or to recognise it by your presence at its attendant processions or demonstrations. We appeal to you as workers, speaking to workers, whether your work be that of the brain or of the hand – manual or mental toil – it is of you and your children we are thinking; it is your cause we wish to safeguard and foster.

The future of the working class requires that all political and social positions should be open to all men and women; that all privileges of birth or wealth be abolished, and that every man or woman born into this land should have an equal opportunity to attain to the proudest position in the land. The Socialist demands that the only birthright necessary to qualify for public office should be the birthright of our common humanity.

Believing as we do that there is nothing on earth more sacred than humanity, we deny all allegiance to this institution of royalty, and hence we can only regard the visit of the King as adding fresh fuel to the fire of hatred with which we regard the plundering institutions of which he is the representative. Let the capitalist and landlord class flock to exalt him; he is theirs; in him they see embodied the idea of caste and class; they glorify him and exalt his importance that they might familiarise the public mind with the conception of political inequality, knowing well that a people mentally poisoned by the adulation of royalty can never attain to that spirit of self-reliant democracy necessary for the attainment of social freedom. The mind accustomed to political kings can easily be reconciled to social kings – capitalist kings of the workshop, the mill, the railway, the ships and the docks. Thus coronation and king's visits are by our astute neversleeping masters made into huge Imperialist propagandist campaigns in favour of political and social schemes against

democracy. But if our masters and rulers are sleepless in their schemes against us, so we, rebels against their rule, must never sleep in our appeal to our fellows to maintain as publicly our belief in the dignity of our class – in the ultimate sovereignty of those who labour.

What is monarchy? From whence does it derive its sanction? What has been its gift to humanity? Monarchy is a survival of the tyranny imposed by the hand of greed and treachery upon the human race in the darkest and most ignorant days of our history. It derives its only sanction from the sword of the marauder, and the helplessness of the producer, and its gifts to humanity are unknown, save as they can be measured in the pernicious examples of triumphant and shameless iniquities.

Every class in society save royalty, and especially British royalty, has through some of its members contributed something to the elevation of the race. But neither in science, nor in art, nor in literature, nor in exploration, nor in mechanical invention, nor in humanising of laws, nor in any sphere of human activity has a representative of British royalty helped forward the moral, intellectual or material improvement of mankind. But that royal family has opposed every forward move, fought every reform, persecuted every patriot, and intrigued against every good cause. Slandering every friend of the people, it has befriended every oppressor. Eulogised today by misguided clerics, it has been notorious in history for the revolting nature of its crimes. Murder, treachery, adultery, incest, theft, perjury – every crime known to man has been committed by some one or other of the race of monarchs from whom King George is proud to trace his descent.

"His blood
Has crept through scoundrels since
the flood."

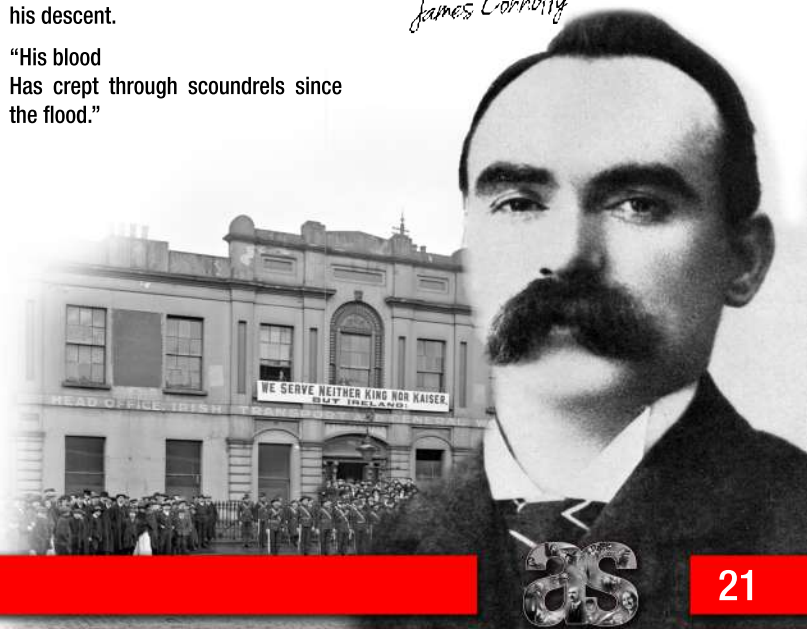
We will not blame him for the crimes of his ancestors if he relinquishes the royal rights of his ancestors; but as long as he claims their rights, by virtue of descent, then, by virtue of descent, he must shoulder the responsibility for their crimes.

Fellow-workers, stand by the dignity of your class. All these parading royalties, all this insolent aristocracy, all these grovelling, dirt-eating capitalist traitors, all these are but signs of disease in any social state – diseases which a royal visit brings to a head and spews in all its nastiness before our horrified eyes. But as the recognition of the disease is the first stage towards its cure, so that we may rid our social state of its political and social diseases, we must recognise the elements of corruption. Hence, in bringing them all together and exposing their unity, even a royal visit may help us to understand and understanding, help us to know how to destroy the royal, aristocratic and capitalistic classes who live upon our labour. Their workshops, their lands, their mills, their factories, their ships, their railways must be voted into our hands who alone use them, public ownership must take the place of capitalist ownership, social democracy replace political and social inequality, the sovereignty of labour must supersede and destroy the sovereignty of birth and the monarchy of capitalism.

Ours be the task to enlighten the ignorant among our class, to dissipate and destroy the political and social superstitions of the enslaved masses and to hasten the coming day when, in the words of Joseph Brennan, the fearless patriot of '48, all the world will maintain

"The Right Divine of Labour
To be first of earthly things;
That the Thinker and the Worker
Are Manhood's only Kings."

James Connolly



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