

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

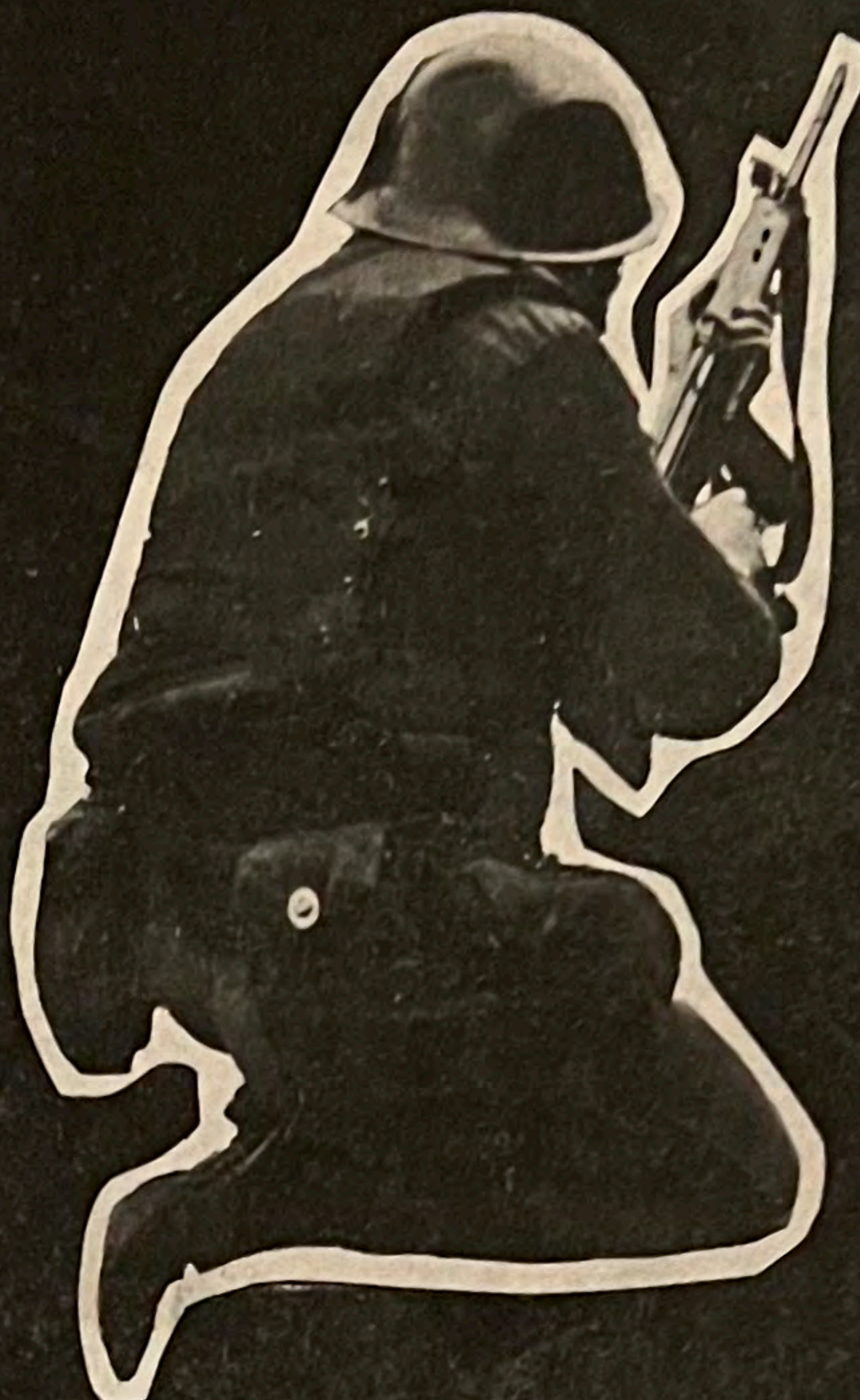
Marta (March) 1971, Iml. XXV. Uimhir 3. Luach 5p (1/-), (U.S., Canada and Australia 25c.)

The political orders of the British forces in Belfast is to cause trouble in the ghetto-like nationalist areas. Their method is frequent arms searches of houses, stopping and searching of cars, insulting remarks and gestures to the ordinary people as they go about on patrol. By continuous provocation they hope to create a confrontation atmosphere and whip up a war hysteria. Political statements from Stormont and Westminster and from British Army officers on the spot in Belfast feed the flames. The toll of dead and injured show how well they have succeeded in their aim.

The Tory-Unionist statements also played on the differences between the Official and Provisional I.R.A. in an attempt to provoke internal conflict. The British officers are looking forward with glee to a repeat of their Aden experience where they managed to get two rival factions in the liberation struggle, Flosy and the Liberation Front, to attack each other. The talk in the officers mess proves that the age old tactic of imperialism — divide and conquer — is again being tried out.

The success of the British Army policy of provocation has made it possible to portray the violence in the North as stemming from a small group of desperate men in a small area of the North: sufferings of the civilian population that the Army thugs are responsible for are forgotten in the rush of sympathy for the poor British boys who try so earnestly to keep the peace.

On the political level the preoccupation with riots and shooting help eclipse Civil Rights demands and act as a smokescreen for repressive legislation and the movement towards Federal talks.



The escalation of violence will also justify the imposition of a new constitutional arrangement with Ireland as a whole involving our own Union Jack Lynch in a re-write of the Government of Ireland Act. In other words,

a re-opening of the Treaty talks. In the new Treaty talks, is the balance of forces not much more in favour of the British than in 1921? Common Market entry has added even more urgency to a new settlement of the Irish question by Westminster. Hence the British initiative on the streets of Belfast.

The present policy also suits the Unionist Party down to the ground. John Taylor, Craig's understudy in Home Affairs could tell an Orange rally in Benburb recently that "those few Unionist M.P.s who criticise the Government, differ very little from Government policy". Slowly and inexorably the Unionists divided by the Civil Rights Movement are being re-united with calls for the use of the Special Powers Act and the introduction of internment coming from all sides. The British Army activity on Rathlin island would seem to bear out fears that internment of all Republicans active in the North is in prospect.

The final and, perhaps, the greatest damage which can result from the British move is the further estrangement of the Catholic and Protestant working people. Because it suits Britain and the Unionists to once again play the Orange Card in a desperate attempt to stem the popular demand for civil and political rights every effort must be made to see that they do not succeed. See pages 8 and 9, inside.

With the preparations to enter the Common Market and 'Ulster '71' exhibition to worry about the Unionist Government might plump for internment. It would be foolish to expect that, in the event of internment, there will be any discrimination between Official or Provisional I.R.A. This is one area where there is no discrimination in the North.

BRITISH AIMS

The centuries old struggle of the Irish people has been a struggle for ownership of the wealth of the Irish nation. It has been and still is a struggle for the reconquest of the land and resources, industrial and commercial wealth from British imperial interests and native parasites and vesting them in the control of the workers and small farmers of Ireland. The nature of the struggle is precisely the same North and South: the religion of the workers and small farmers is immaterial.

If Ireland joins the Common Market British and other foreign interests will be given the legal right to rob and exploit us at will. Nor would the Irish people have the power to prevent it as legal sovereignty over economic and social matters will be signed over to a bureaucratic commission in Brussels.

The Irish people must fight the Grand Coalition that urges them into the Common Market. Fianna Fail have coalesced with Fine Gael and the Unionist Government in the North to repeat the Act of Union, to make Ireland a plunderland for the big industrialists of Europe and a playground for resting exploiters. The Unionist Government in the North will vote in the people living there at Westminster without consulting them. Fine Gael and Fianna Fail will dip into the public purse in the South to finance a propaganda blitz prior to the referendum which the Constitution of the 26 County area forces on them.

In the context of the struggle to be waged North and South the decision of the Irish Labour Party to actively oppose entry is welcome if backed up by action. For too long now the Republican Movement has ploughed a lone furrow in its opposition to this sell-out of the basic interests of workers and farmers alike.

Many workers have felt the effects of the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement signed by Charles Haughey; many more see the shadow of unemployment darkening the future of their families. The answer is to use their Trade Union to lodge their protest now.

In the North the Ulster Farmers Union reserve their position on the Common Market issue unlike the big-farmer dominated National Farmers' Association in the South who are busily betraying their small-farmer neighbours to the planned Mansholt massacre.

And the news from Norway is encouragement for those who feel that entry is inevitable and opposition futile. The Coalition government there resigned as a result of pressure from small-farming and fishermen's groups campaigning against entry.

If Norway's fishermen and small farmers can force their Government to withdraw, can Ireland not compel their own Quisling government to withdraw before it is too late?

Now is the time to make your voice heard.

COMMON MARKET — COMMON FIGHT



● Donnchadh Mac Raghnaill.

Mac Raghnaill in death struggle

Donnchadh Mac Raghnaill, the most prominent member of Sinn Fein in Meath and Louth, got out of bed in the early hours of Sunday, February 28, in response to a ruse and was set upon by six men as soon as he came to the door of his house.

At about 12.40 a.m. a man called to the Mac Raghnaill home at Lourdes Square, Drogheda, with news that his car had been in collision with Donnchadh's car which was parked outside and asking him to inspect the damage. The man continued talking to Donnchadh's mother for some minutes while he got out of his sick bed and dressed. Immediately he reached the gate outside he was set upon by three men who attempted to force him into a white or cream coloured car. Realising he was trapped Donnchadh began to fight with the men and shouting at the top of his voice to raise the alarm.

Three other men, one carrying a pistol, joined in the attack beating their victim over the head with the weapon and forcing him into the car. By this stage, however, neighbours had begun pouring out of the adjoining houses and the alarm was raised as three cars sped from the scene.

While the cars were in motion Donnchadh managed to kick one of his assailants out of the seat onto the roadway. He also managed to smash the rear window of the car.

Having paused for some time on the outskirts of Drogheda while one of the men tried to use a walkie-talkie radio to contact somebody the car drove at speed to an abandoned house near Julianstown on the Dublin side of Drogheda.

At this stage Mac Raghnaill's attackers were panicking as the alarm had been raised and were disagreeing among themselves as to what to do. Snatches of conversation overheard by their prisoner included "shoot him now" and "no, break his two legs." Despite repeated attempts the men failed to get into the house.

Car headlights passing on the main road nearby caused them to duck in alarm and taking advantage of one such occasion Mac Raghnaill knocked down the two men guarding him and made good his escape. Upon reaching the main road he stopped a passing car which brought him to the

Lourdes Hospital with blood streaming from his head wounds. Mac Raghnaill received ten stitches in the head as well as sustaining a black eye and a chipped ankle.

Later on the same morning a black Mercedes car was stopped at a roadblock in Dublin and two men arrested. The men, James Flynn with a Dundalk address, and Rodney Fleming with an address in Armagh, were later charged with causing grievous bodily harm to Mac Raghnaill.

The breakaway Sinn Fein group issued a statement disclaiming responsibility and deploring the attack. In answer to a question Donnchadh Mac Raghnaill stated that he did not think the men belonged to the Provisional I.R.A.

Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein, visited Mac Raghnaill in hospital to congratulate him on his courageous stand and to wish him a speedy recovery. Matt Larkin of N.A.T.O. and Seamas O Tuathail of the United Irishman and the N.W.R.L., also visited him in hospital.

Mac Raghnaill is one of the best known political figures in the Louth-Meath area holding official positions in Sinn Fein, National Association of Tenants' Organisation, and National Waters Restoration League.

Water - holes in Dundalk living room

"We have been pulling buckets of water out of the three big holes in the living room floor, but it just fills up again". The person who made this remark is Mrs. Kitty Hoey. The living room she referred to is in her home at Emer Terrace in Dundalk. The year is 1971.

Mrs. Hoey's problem began as far back as the summer of 1968 when she complained to the Dundalk Urban Council that there was a lot of dampness in her home. On this occasion council workmen dug a hole in the roadway outside and it seemed to solve the problem, but the dampness returned in November, 1970, and the council decided to dig another hole, this time inside the house — in the living room floor to be exact.

A leakage was discovered flowing into the house about 3 inches below the top of the foundations. It was patched up and the council plumber said that it should be left for a few days to ensure that the leak would not happen again.

This particular plumber was never seen again and a new plumber said that the leak was fixed and that any water remaining in the hole in the floor was caused by condensation! The Hoey family were not satisfied with this explanation and after much pestering of the Council Medical Assistant, Mr. McCabe, and the Engineer, Mr. Kenny, the latter decided to pump the remaining water from the living room.

The date fixed for this operation was the 19th of December and it entailed turning off the water supply to the house which in turn meant that there was no hot water either. After spending three weeks in this condition waiting for the pumping to commence Mrs. Hoey went to see the Medical Officer,

Mr. Doolan, who refused to visit the house and categorically denied that the health of the Hoey family was any concern of his.

When she approached the Engineer a week later he said, "What water?" and stated that he did not intend to do anything about her problem. The Dundalk Urban Council refused to see a deputation of four people on the matter. At this stage Mrs. Detta Martin, organiser for the Louth region of the National Association of Tenants' Organisation, called at the Hoey home and took a sample of the water from the hole in the living room floor which she sent to the Dublin Health Authority's City Laboratory.

An analysis was carried out by Mr. Fergus Hill, Public Analyst, and on his report sheet under Further Observations he wrote: "This is a fluoridated water and its characteristics are consistent with it being derived from the Dundalk town public supply".

This means that the Dundalk public water supply, for which the Dundalk Urban Council is responsible, is flowing into a house in that town and the council are refusing to do anything about it. When Mrs. Martin went to see Mr. Kenny, the engineer, with the water sample analysis, he said, "I do not want to see the report".

When Mrs. Martin pointed out the health dangers involved he walked off down the street shouting "I'm not interested, I'm not interested".

Does Mr. Kenny typify the attitude of the Dundalk Urban Council towards the common people of Dundalk?

Kevin Barry A.G.M.

The Annual General Meeting of the Kevin Barry Republican Club was held recently in the Kevin Barry Hall, 44 Parnell Square.

The following members were elected to the executive committee: C. O'Gorman, A. White, J. McCabe, M. Gill, M. Fitzgerald, L. Duignan, M. Dempsey, M. O'Neill, P. Earley, G. Duignan, M. Diviney, S. Hudson.

More evictions in Dublin

Dublin Corporation has resumed business after its Christmas recess. At least three evictions were carried out by this body during the last week of February.

Two were in Lourdes House, off Sean McDiarmada St., and one in Drimnagh. In all cases a large force of Gardai were present and the victims were young married couples with one small child. The sheriff's men broke down the doors, threw the furniture on to the street and succeeded in forcing or fooling the family into vacating the premises.

Night watchmen were then installed to prevent any attempt to reinstate the family.

Despite this precaution members of the Dublin Housing Action Committee and Sinn Fein succeeded in moving them back into their homes in every case.

Entrance was made by forcing the doors of the flats and the night watchman was in each case persuaded to leave without any resistance. In the case of the family at Drimnagh three members of the Gardai were on a 24-hour vigil on the house. At about 12 midnight a group of 17 people consisting of members of Sinn Fein and D.H.A.C. as well as local people swooped on the house, pushed the rather frightened Gardai to one side, broke down the door and reinstated the family.

During the same week two lobbies of T.D.s. were mounted by the Committee to Oppose Repressive Legislation (C.O.R.L.) to discuss the proposed Forcible Entry or Occupation Bill (1970).

Out of 144 deputies a total of only 20 had the guts or decency to meet their constituents. The

rest hid behind a large cordon of Gardai, fled out the Merrion Square entrance or trusted to the complex and bureaucratic regulations to make it impossible for more than a handful of people to be seen in over three hours.

Such conduct on the part of the elected representatives of the people, backed by the Police force, can hardly be expected to increase confidence in the so-called Democratic process. It seems as if homeless families must resort to physical force to wrest some semblance of justice from the system in which all the odds are on the side of the powerful and the wealthy — the speculator and the landlord.

Car assembly workers strike

Nearly 800 men employed at the Brittain Group car assembly plants in Dublin were on strike for a period of 17 days last month. The strike was in protest against the arbitrary suspension of six men whose only crime was that they attended the funeral of one of their workmates.

In the first week of the strike the workers of the Fiat assembly plant joined the strikers in a march of solidarity through the streets of Dublin. A strike committee was formed and the public were extremely helpful to the various picket lines providing hot tea on many occasions and over £100 was collected for the strike fund.

Towards the end of the strike the National Union of Vehicle Builders made it official in retrospect. The workers finally brought the strike to a successful conclusion by their tremendous determination and militancy, which was urged on by the widespread belief that the management may have engineered the strike as a fore-runner to an eventual close-down of the Irish car assembly plants on entry to the Common Market.

Free trade brings more closures

Another saga in the well known story of the Free Trade Agreement with Britain was enacted recently with the news that the Weir Textile Mills had suddenly closed their £100,000 factory in Tuam, Co. Galway.

The mill, which was re-opened by Anglo-Irish Weavers Ltd., a subsidiary of the Lancashire firm of J. and J. Porter of Blackburn, employed a total of 144 workers. Many of these returned from England to take up employment two and a half years ago.

The factory produced a range of mattress ticking and its closure was a direct result of the lowering of tariffs which undercut its prices. Mr. Bob Stanley, the manager of the plant, said "The factory just wasn't able to compete on the world market any more and the entire staff has been laid off."

And in Finglas, Duglin, 14 men employed by Gateaux Ltd. are threatened with redundancy. The Republican Trade Union Group in a statement have pointed out that this, too, is a direct result of the dumping of British goods on the Irish market. The statement points out that although the Free Trade Agreement has only reached half-way point in 1971 there are already 70,000 people unemployed in the 26 Counties. "What figure of unemployed can we expect when the Agreement reaches its full effects in 1975?" asks the statement.

The report of the Confederation of Irish Industry states: "few firms have benefited under the Free Trade Agreement and a growing number of firms are finding it to be significantly unfavourable."

Their home markets are coming under increasingly heavy competition from British firms without any corresponding enhancement of export opportunities."



● A view of the estimated 3,000 who attended the recent Coalisland to Dungannon Civil Rights march.

Coiste Cuimhneachain Naisiunta

EASTER ARRANGEMENTS

We request all units to furnish details of Commemorations before March 17th. We also request that orders for Easter Lilies be made as soon as possible and that outstanding accounts be settled.

DUBLIN COMMEMORATION EASTER SUNDAY

Assemble Custom House 2.30 p.m. March to Glasnevin 3.00 p.m.
Concert 8.00 p.m. Aberdeen Hall, Gresham Hotel.

BELFAST COMMEMORATION EASTER SUNDAY

Assemble Beechmount 2 p.m. March to Milltown Cemetery 3 p.m.
FURTHER DETAILS IN NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE.



● Derelict house near Julianstown to which Mac Raghnaill was taken by his assailants.



● Wolfe Tone Club picket in Andersonstown protests against N.I. Housing Trust Policy.

Housing Action in Belfast

When Major Chichester-Clarke recently paid a visit to the Dunmurry area on the south-western fringes of Belfast he was picketed by members of the local Wolfe Tone Republican Club.

The object of the picket was to highlight the disastrous housing policy which Major Clarke's government and the Northern Ireland Housing Trust are operating in the area. It was also in protest against the failure of the government to provide employment for the local people.

The Housing Trust had plans to develop a site at the Glen Road but the Wolfe Tone Club objected to the plans for two reasons: (1) The plans would only aggravate the problem of the lack of social recreation, welfare and employment facilities in the area, (2) The site in question would provide a good location for light industry giving much-needed employment in the area and it would also introduce some environmental balance in the Andersonstown-Suffolk area.

The Club pointed out, however, that it was not Republican policy to work against the building of more houses. On the contrary the Republican Movement believed that at least 15,000 new houses should be built annually compared with the government target of 12,000. However, in this case there were

sound social reasons for the stand taken.

In any case the Antrim County Council refused planning permission for the project and an inquiry into the affair was held at Stormont. Representatives of local organisations, tenants' associations, youth clubs and interested individuals attended the inquiry as well as representatives from the Wolfe Tone Republican Club, who outlined their opposition to the proposed plan.

The findings of the inquiry have not yet been made public. The Unionist Government has to decide whether it should give way to the dictatorial Housing Trust or acknowledge the wishes of the ordinary people in this area. The choice is not a difficult one.

Mr. Roy Bradford, Minister of Commerce, stated recently in Stormont that "it is a most difficult job finding sites for industry". The site on the Glen Road is still vacant.

Inquiry call for Goulding?



● Cathal Goulding.

Will Cathal Goulding be called before the Dail Public Accounts Inquiry into the £100,000 grant-in-aid for Northern relief?

Chief Superintendent John Fleming of the Special Branch and the ex-Director of Military Intelligence, Colonel Michael Hefferon, clashed in their evidence as to alleged contacts between Captain James Kelly and the I.R.A. leadership at Virginia, Co. Cavan, immediately following the events of August 1969.

Fleming's evidence was interspersed with phrases like "as far as we knew" "he thought it was Cathal Goulding", "as far as my impression goes", and "the money may have come from other sources." He stated that at least one consignment of arms came into Dublin Airport in October 1969, but admitted that he had no idea about the size of the consignment or where the aircraft came from that brought the arms.

It is generally felt that the clash of evidence in relation to Goulding will lead to a summons to give evidence before the Inquiry. Goulding's attitude as to whether he would give evidence

or not if summoned to do so is one of 'no comment'.

An Irish Republican Publicity Bureau statement issued on the evening of the day Fleming gave evidence states: "We categorically deny the accuracy of statements made by Chief Superintendent Fleming. Neither Cathal Goulding nor any other official of the I.R.A. ever received money or arms from Capt. Kelly, Messrs. Haughey or Blaney, or any other government source. Neither is it true to say that Cathal Goulding met Capt. Kelly in Virginia, Co. Cavan, at any time".

A widely circulated story holds that certain Fianna Fail sources offered £50,000 for the purchase of arms to the I.R.A. leadership on certain conditions. The conditions included abandonment of all political involvement in the 26 Counties by the Republican Movement and the dropping of certain named persons from the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Fein. The proposal was rejected following which a large amount of money was spent in Belfast in order to split the Movement.

Spelling out Common Market dangers

"Membership of the Common Market would inevitably accelerate emigration and within 20 years cause a loss of population more serious to Ireland than that caused in the last century by the 'Common Market' between Ireland and Britain which resulted from the Act of Union," said Mr. M. S. O Loingsigh, the convenor of the Common Market Study Group in Dublin recently.

He added: "When one considers the vast job of retraining and redirecting labour that is involved, even if the Government's fondest hopes are realised, one can only assume that the Government must know that it has not prepared for this, and has not been able to provide alternative employment in many cases where isolated industries have had to close during the last four or five years."

The continued opposition of the Republican Movement to Ireland's proposed entry into the E.E.C. has also been expressed recently in various parts of the country. Cumann an Phiarsaigh, Rathmines, Dublin, held a poster parade through the centre of Rathmines to draw attention to the dangers to the nation which would result from the present Government policies on the Common Market.

A leaflet distributed to shoppers listed the current food prices in four Common Market countries. This illustrated the high consumer prices paid in these countries for most of our basic foods, e.g., whereas steak in Ireland costs 45 new pence per pound, the current European prices are: 88 new pence in Belgium, 72 new pence in France and 69 new pence in Italy.

Butter, sugar and milk all cost more in the Common Market than

they do in Ireland at present, e.g., butter in Italy costs 52 new pence — more than twice the current Irish price. The leaflet pointed out that this 'dear food policy' was being used to lure the Irish farmers into the Common Market at the expense of the consumers but once we join the E.E.C. only the big farmers will survive. They will be able to pay the high food prices but what about the industrial workers and small farmers?

The leaflet urged the people of Rathmines to support the formation of an anti-E.E.C. Action Committee to prepare a broad non-political resistance to the Common Market and to begin by organising towards the Referendum campaign.

At a meeting of the Connacht Directorate of the Republican Movement in Balla, Co. Mayo, Cathal Goulding said:

"Fianna Fail have already accepted the Mansholt plans for agriculture and have been implementing those plans. They have decided to drive the small and medium size farmers off the land, to run down rural communities by withdrawing amenities such as schools, hospitals, post offices and to concentrate all development in a few areas called growth centres."

He said that the Government could not have succeeded to the extent they have without the help of farming organisations, especially the N.F.A., which he accused of deliberately leading the farmers into blind alleys. He continued:

"If the small farmers want to fight for their future, then they must do so outside the ranks of the N.F.A. They must organise themselves to fight both the Government and the N.F.A. and they must look for solidarity and assistance from the industrial workers."

A meeting of Republican Club representatives from all parts of the Six Counties was held recently in Belfast to launch a Northern anti-Common Market campaign. Addressing the delegates Tomas Mac Giolla said: "The Belfast government has no voice whatsoever in the present Westminster negotiations for British entry and there will be no question whatever of a referendum as in the 26 Counties."

He said that the Six County people must therefore devise their own tactics to bring maximum pressure to bear on the Westminster government to ensure that their position is taken into account in any negotiations for the E.E.C.

An tUas. Mac Giolla continued:

"There are many good reasons why Britain may wish to join the E.E.C. — economic, political and military. None of these reasons hold good for Northern Ireland, which has its own peculiar economical and political difficulties. Therefore the people of Northern Ireland must demand of the Westminster government that in her negotiations with the E.E.C. she seek an "exclusion clause" for Northern Ireland. This would obviously be a new element in negotiations but is only different in degree from Norway's negotiations for exclusion of the farmers of Northern Norway from the terms of the Rome Treaty."

Far and Near

● About 50,000 German farmers poured into Bonn in special trains and buses from all parts of West Germany to protest against rising costs, falling prices, and the agricultural policies of the Common Market. The demonstration, which was the largest the farmers have ever held, passed off relatively peacefully under the eyes of 1,700 policemen.

● Who succeeded in having rebel ballads banned from Radio Eireann? Was it Declan Costello's new "Peace Committee"? Who are they to decide what the Irish public should hear on the national network? Radio Eireann claim to gauge feelings by the number of phone calls on any issue. So, if you want to hear rebel ballads on protest at this censorship ring Dublin 42981/693111 and let them know!

● Chairman of the forthcoming Crossbarry Commemoration will be Dick Murphy who was elected at a recent Committee meeting. Secretary is Jimmy O'Keefe. It is expected that Tom Barry will accept the invitation to speak at the Commemoration.

● Frank Gogarty, Vice-Chairman of the Civil Rights Movement is serving a six month jail sentence. His crime? Calling a group of British soldiers "bastards" after they had assaulted and kicked him while he was in the course of collecting data from local people in a Belfast suburb who complained of British Army thuggery and violence. No wonder there is no peace in the North.

● Aidan Corrigan of Dungannon, a director of "The Voice of the North" was seen at the recent Civil Rights March in Co. Tyrone. This time it was "An Phoblacht" that he took out of a car-boot for distribution.

● The East Donegal Branch of the National Waters Restoration League held fish-ins on the Ramelton Pool at the mouth of the River Lennon on Saturday, February 13, and Sunday, February 21. At least two salmon have been caught and fishing is continuous. Captain Watt claims to own the pool.

● The Pinewood Residents' Association of Ballymun and the Greenfield Park Residents' Association, Whitehall, Dublin, representing more than 2,000 households in their area voted unanimously for the abolition of ground rents.

● The Project Arts Centre, Dublin, is currently holding an exhibition of revolutionary posters by artist Jim Fitzpatrick, finishing on March 20.

● Sir Richard Quin was made Lord Adare in 1800 for agreeing to vote for the Act of Union. James Alexander, member for Derry, was created Earl of Caledon and paid £15,000 to vote for the Act of Union. What will Jack Lynch, Garret Fitzgerald and Chichester-Clarke get for dragging Ireland into the Common Market?

G. J. GINTY

MONUMENTAL SCULPTOR



Branch Yard—Castle Street, Castlebar. Phone: Castlebar 272.

KILLALA ROAD, BALLINA Phone: Ballina 544.



KEVIN BARRY COMMEMORATIVE POSTER by Jim FitzPatrick. ONLY 22½p

TO THE UNITED IRISHMAN 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Please send me the Kevin Barry Poster 1 pound P.O. for

NAME ADDRESS

AN BRADAN AGUS IASCAIREACT AN BHRADAIN

ANNRAOI O LIATHAIN SEAMUS MAC UALGHAIRG

Is croibhriste an tseilg é Salar, an Léimí, mar a thug léigiú-naigh Chaeasair ar an mbradán nuair a chonaiceadar den chéad uair in aibhneacha na Breataine é, agus is deacair a rá cé acu galar nó caitheamh aimsire é a bheith ar a thóir le slat agus dorú. Bíonn sé chomh giodamach le gearrchaile, chomh bómánta leis an dódó, chomh stailceach le miúil agus san am céanna chomh glic leis an sionnach.

Dá ghlice é beidh tú in ann dó lena bhfuil de eolas sa leabhar seo. Sin má bhíonn tú in ann do rud ar bith lena mbeidh de gháire déanta agat faoi na scéalta. Murar fear slaité ná bean scéalta tú bainfidh tú tairbhe as an bhfealsinacht. Agus mura bhfuil tú in ann léamh tig leat breathnú ar na pictiúir.

crua £1.05 pc 10p

Iacáiste triain do bhaill ár gClub

SAIRSEAL AGUS DILL

Br Arpháirce Ath Cliath 6

eagarfhocal

Together Fight

This month we must welcome the decision of the Irish Labour Party to oppose Irish entry to the Common Market. Last month we pointed out that of the two annual conferences — Fianna Fail and Labour—that the latter was potentially of much more importance to the future of the country and the Irish nation than the former: that a decision by the Labour conference to oppose the Common Market could, in effect, save the livelihood of many of the delegates to the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis who were too involved in the leadership personality struggle to see the rank treachery and betrayal of the Government's surrender of Irish sovereignty.

For once in its existence the Labour Party has taken a stand on a national issue. It had always been Labour's weakness among the political parties that it alone oscillated between a national and an anti-national stand. Hence the

fluctuating vote accorded to Labour over the years. Fine Gael had the anti-national image, Fianna Fail the pro-national image, while Labour stood in an ambiguous light. It was Labour's lack of a national image and not its socialism which lost it votes in the last General Election

How sad it is then to see the beneficial effects of its declaration on one aspect of the national issue cancelled out immediately by Conor Cruise O'Brien's reneging on another no less important one — the claim to national sovereignty. For all his scholarship on Parnell, Cruise O'Brien could calmly state that full de jure recognition should be accorded the Stormont Government and that the Irish people should accept the right of Unionists to opt out of the Nation. As Sinn Fein have pointed out, even the Fine Gael party have never gone that far in their surrender to British imperialism. In fact, Fine Gael expelled one of their members, James Deegan, for advocating such a policy.

Fianna Fail were quick to seize the opportunity and Jack Lynch re-assured the country within twenty-four hours that Fianna Fail had never relinquished the national claim to national sovereignty.

Is this statement official Labour Party policy or is it an individual expression of opinion by Cruise O'Brien? If it is Labour policy then the Irish Labour party finds itself allied with the Irish Communist Organisation and their new convert Conor Cruise O'Brien in accepting the two nation theory spawned by Desmond Fennel and Major Ronald Bunting. The idea that a nation is based on the accident of religion might be a new and exciting one and the possibilities of the spreading of cosmopolitanism arising from intermarriage between them might be encouraging but advocacy of such doctrines must surely lead to a divorce between Labour and the Irish body politic.

O'Brien's pointed refusal to move a composite resolution urging co-operation with Republican groups in opposing the Common Market demonstrate an intellectual snobbery Labour could well do without. Any opposition by Labour to the Common Market is co-operation with the Republican Movement and is unreservedly welcomed by us. We know that the rank-and-file Labour people will actively oppose the Common Market and co-operate at the local level with Republicans. Only a person lacking a sense of proportion could rule out co-operation among those fighting this iniquity in face of the Fianna Fail-Fine Gael Coalition. Let us to work — together.

Don't be afraid

If we are not striving to change the society in which we live then we have no right to be heard and if anyone or any group see no reason to change the society in which they live, then they have no need to speak let alone a right to be heard.

Society can judge what it is and if it is to the wishes of a society then the force of argument is an abuse. But we who preach change have a right to be heard since society has a right to listen.

Some among us are disillusioned because they focus their attention exclusively upon the immediate political scene and the behaviour of the 'majority' whether that be in O'Malley's Bill, Lynch's standing ovation, Corish tears for Crown servants, Craig's immodest lust for power or Hillery's window-dressing in Brussels. These are the signs of 'majority' only because the real majority are not just involved. What now appears to be 'majority' is in reality a mean majority and we shall one day laugh that some thought the silly set-up to be permanent. It is not permanent but our work is permanent and our work now is to involve more and more people.

Prepare, men, for an active part in the affairs of nation. This preparation is possibly the most difficult task since you must overcome the fear that many feel — not without reason — that Republicans preach only a change in the laws and the institutions. But this is not so. Such mere changes are in vain unless the ordinary person is freed from the apprehension that he is going to be subject to the whims of another O'Malley, or another Topping.

Prepare the ordinary man by stripping the State of its facade. Show him the powerful organised groups who lie concealed but who manipulate arms of influence. Stand on the rostrum and strip the 'majority'. Don't hide the truth in the office talk: don't draw back at the work bench; don't hesitate to nail a lie. It is everywhere you need to speak. Don't be afraid!

Gluaiseacht ar strae

Is dóigh go raibh a bharúil féin ag gach duine ó thús i dtaobh gluaiseacht na Gaeilge, de réir na gcuspóirí eile a bhí snamtha ag an duine le cúis na Gaeilge. Agus bhí cuspóirí eile snamtha le Athbheochan na Gaeilge mórán ó thús. Samhalafodh ó thús gur cuid den chúis meas a bheith againn orainn féin mar dhaoine agus mar chine. Ar mhaith leis an meas seo bhac an chúis muintir na hÉireann faoin bpota Pádraig a ól. Fuagrafodh go raibh nása áirid ar leith againn ba chóir dhúinn a chaomhnú mar mhuintir. Rud nach raibh choctúrtha ach ar den chultúr é mar sin féin, rud freisin a bhí fíorghar don phoilitíocht, ba ea an teagasc faoi dhéantúis na hÉireann, teagasc a ghlacadh cinnire poilitíocht chuige féin go goirid.

Tháinig athrú poilitiúil i gcursaf na cúise nuair a hathraíodh Bunreacht nó Córú Chonra na Gaeilge i 1915. Tá barúil ag duine dhá bhfanadh an Chraoibhín feidhmiúil sa gConra go dtiocfadh athraithe móra eile leis na blianta. Ní dóigh liom go bhféadfadh duine ar bith a rá gurb ionann Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge in aon ghné di inniu leis an nGluaiseacht a bheartaigh an Craoibhín, Eoin Mac Néill agus an tAthair Ó Gramhna.

Bhí agus tá iarrachtaí dhá ndéanamh le athraithe a thabhairt chun críche. Ba mhór an t-athrú eagrais atá dháiríre neamhspleách a bheith i gCúige Uladh, ach b'éigean sin de bhárr an dá státa. Bhí an Coga Cathartha ní ba dhéire sa gConra b'fhéidir na in aon áit eile i saol na tíre. Nuair a chinn ar na Státairí greim a fháil go baileach ar Chonra na Gaeilge d'fhéach siad le é a chur de dhroim seoil. Ba mheasúla go mór *bureaucracy* Gaeilge an státa nua — lucht na Bheistí Bán mar thug Seamus Mhac Grianna orthu — ná Conra na Gaeilge. Dearmad a dhéanas námhaid na Gaeilge go slean siad gur teanga ag *bureaucracy* an Rialtais í an Ghaeilge agus go bhfuil siad sin dhá héigniú ar dhaoine eile. Ní raibh sin amhála ariamh. Go luath i saol an Státa dúirt Seoirse Mac Niocail, go poiblí, *by hog, dog and devil*, go gcurfí an Ghaeilge i gconra. Ba dhona a bhí a anáil fuairithe san am a raibh an chaint sin séanta ag an Aire Airgeadais, Leas-Uachtarán an Rialtais, fear mór na Gaeilge, Eamán de Blaghd. Ar a laghad ar bith rinneadh an chaint sin. Ní dhéanfaí inniu í.

Rinne na sean-Chonróirí a thaobhaigh leis an Státa nua sna fichidí agus na daoine eile a thaobhaigh sna tríochaidí le oidhrí nua an Státa sin, daoine ar nós an tSeabhaic, agus Airt Uí Riain, iarrachtaí le cumainn eile a thionscailt i gcoimhlint le Conra na Gaeilge. Bhítheadh ag súil go seargfadh Conra na Gaeilge faoin a n-anáil sin mar adreiftí go seargfadh an Státa féin sa Rúis faoi anáil an Chómhchumannachais. Níor éirigh leo sin. Shéalaigh siad as ó cheann go ceann. Is dóigh gur choinnigh siad cúl ar Chonra na Gaeilge ó chuid den sean-spionna a bhí inti roimh 1921 a ghabháil ar ais. B'shin é a gcuspóir dar ndóigh. Sna ceatharachaidí féin, le linn an Choga, bhí Conra na Gaeilge fós i riocht rud do-thargairithe a dhéanamh, geitise réabhlóideach a chur air féin. Thuig de Valera nárbh fhéidir a bheith muintineach as. Má bhí athrú ag teacht níor dhóide beirthe nó b'athrú réabhlóideach é. D'fhéach sé chuige nach dtiocfadh. Chuir sé an frithbheart ar siúl, Seanad lánchumhachtach na teanga, Bráithreachas na Poblachta i gceannas ar Óglaiigh na hÉireann, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge. Séard is mó is dtól cuimhne le duine gur iarr de Valera, lá tionsclaíthe na Comhdhála i dteach an Ard-Mhaoir, trí gháire cnoic d'easbag Aifriceach eicint a



le Máirtín Ó Cadhain

● Sliocht é seo as paimfléad le Máirtín Ó Cadhain a fhoillseofar i rith na míosa seo. "Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge — Gluaiseacht ar Strae" is teideal dó. Tá trácht ann ar stair Ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge, ar a h-áit in Éirinn an lae inniu, agus ar an todhchaí. Toradh beag breise an leabhrán seo ar an intinn ba bhisúla in Éirinn len ár linn. Maireann an chraobh ar an bhfál cé nach maireann an lámh a chuir.

bhí sa láthair. Geitise deas beannaíthe poilitíocht, déarfá.

Mar sin féin an dream ar éirigh smacht na Comhdhála leo ar dtús as coup d'état ba dream forásach go leor iad faoi cheannas an Chomhchaidrimh. Ach ba bheag nach ndearna siad sin féin frithbheartaigh, *reactionaries*, ar áit na mbonn. Ba lór go raibh Glúin bhíogóideach na Buá ann, dream a bhí ag clúsafocht goirid roimhe sin le smaointe na bhFaisisteach agus na Nazíach. *Enfin vint Malherbe*, an Blaghdach, le bheith in a chathaoir smála ar an gComhdháil.

Bhain an Chómhdháil amach an cuspóir a chuir de Valera in áirid di, gan aon teacht aniar ná aon déantús maitheasa a bheith inti féin ach easaontas a bhuanú agus a bheith in a ceap tuisle ar aon ghluaiseacht eile. Is lárionad í don mheasúlacht, do na frithbheartaigh, do na beagmhaitheasáigh, do na cipiléaraí, ariamh ó shoin. Mandairneáid meamramaille í, párfhlaitheas is plúchtá na tríú Poblacht na Fraince a rinne sraith ar lár cho réidh sin roimh na Gearmánaigh i 1940.

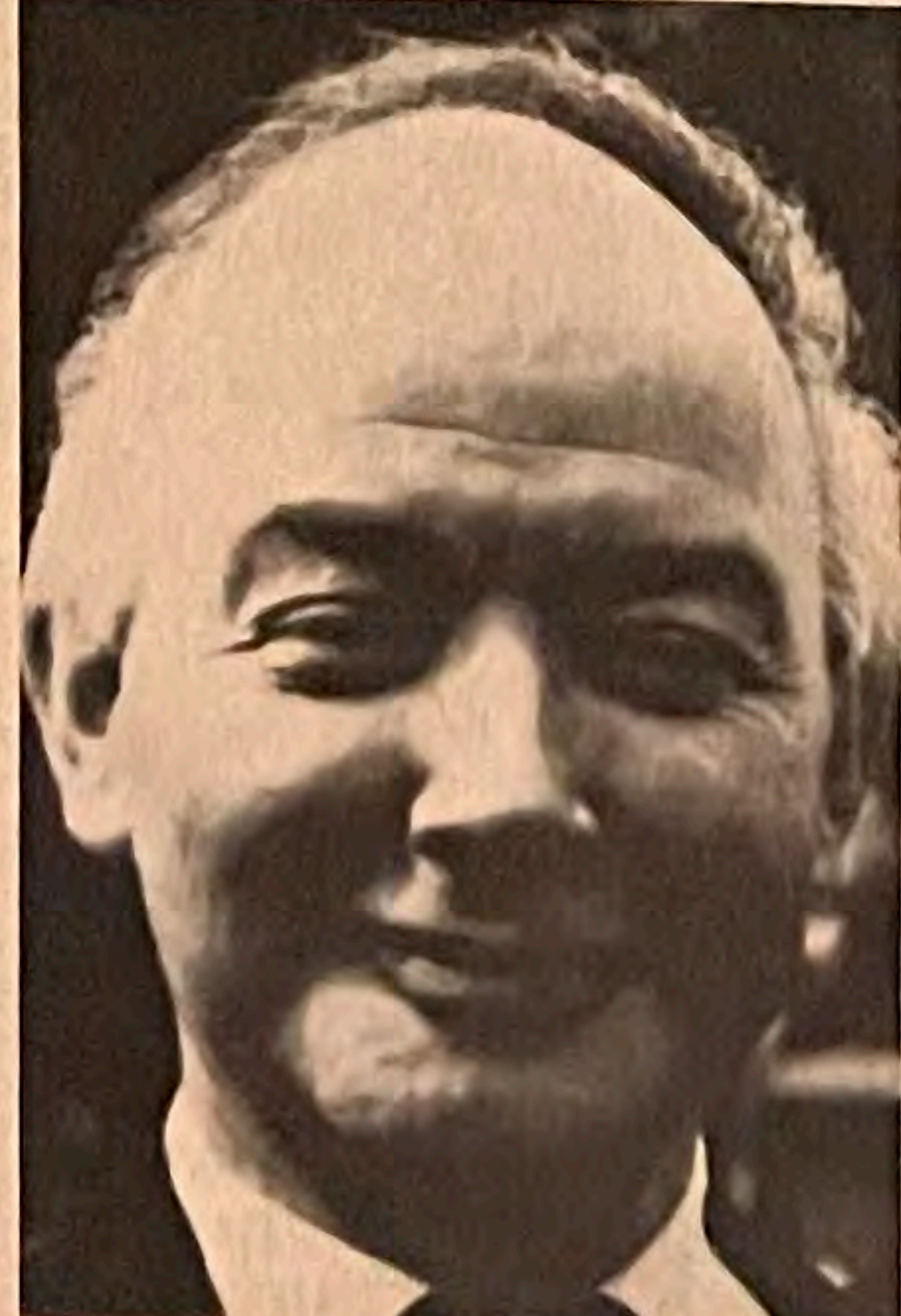
Ó thús bhí freasúra idir Conra agus Comhdháil. Go drugallach stuacach a bhí an Conra páirteach in eagrais na Comhdhála a bhí in a rud cho haimhréiteach sin go gcaithfeadh sé go mba threifeideacht as ceann de Valera féin a bhí ann. Ba iad malairt na rudaí a bhí dhá mhola ag an gComhdháil a níodh an Conra, len a neamhspleáchas féin a fhoilsiú is dóigh. Mar shampla i dtús na gcaogaidí bhí daoine cho corraithe sin faoin nGúm gur léar go dtiocfadh athrú. Bord foilsitheoireacht státa a bhí an Chómhdháil a mhola. In a suí ag an gcrúinnú céanna bhí méaracháil tarcaisneach sínte ag ionadaithe an Chonra: "Bord státa! an bhfeiceann sibh é?" Táill, mórán an rud céanna atá i mBord na Leabhar Gaeilge, a mhol siad féin.

Is mó sriana a choinnigh an Chómhdháil ar an gConra ná a mhalairt. Fuair an Chómhdháil cipiléarach eicint i gcónaí le déanamh. Bhí an frithbheartach mór, Mac an Bheatha, bréagtha le comhairle a thabhairt don Chonra aon uair, i dtaobh a ndearmaid gan a bheith ag leanacht ar a lorg féin.

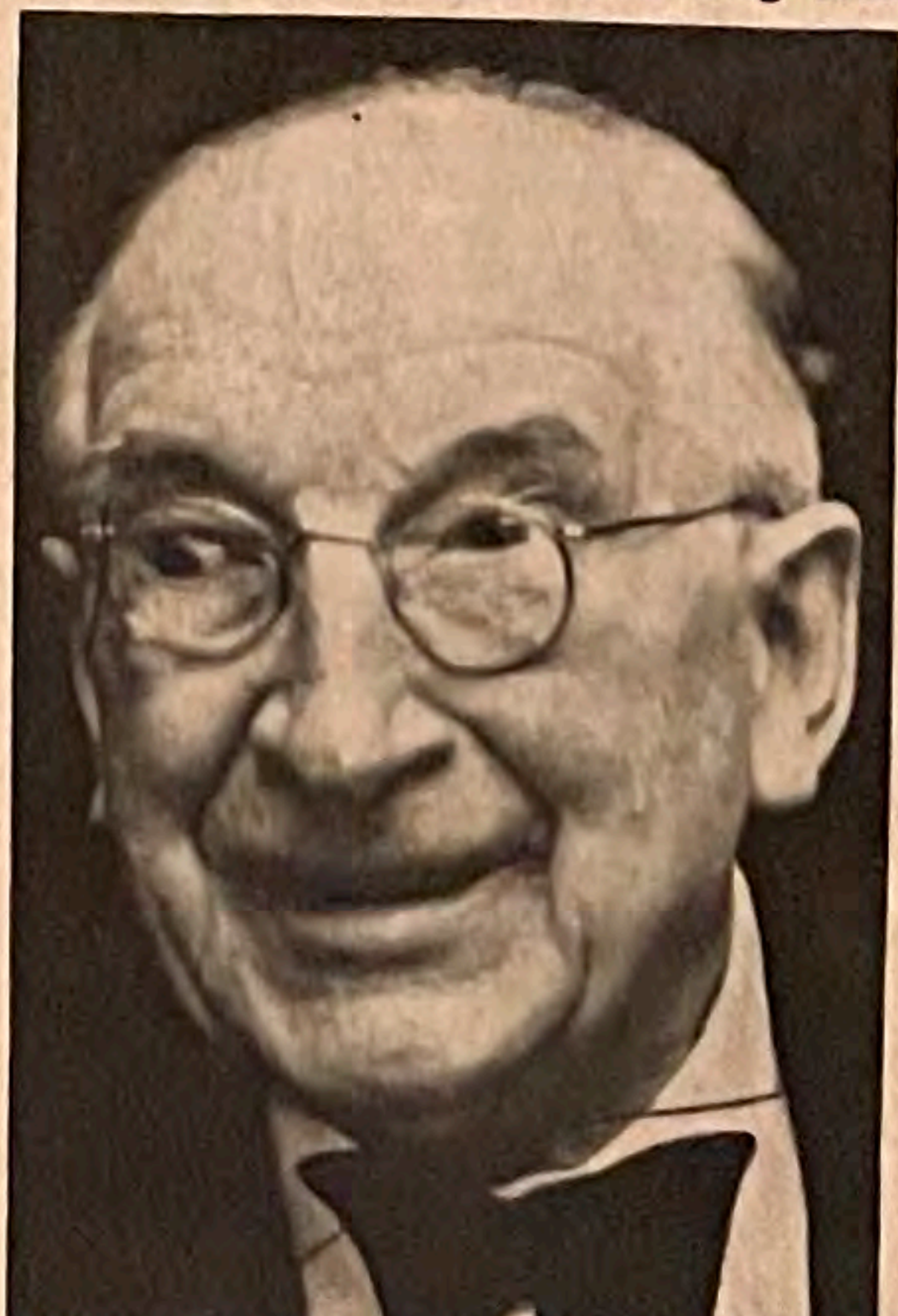
D'éirigh an Conra as na rúin cháinteach a raibh feidhm eicint leo i gcónaí ariamh. Ba dheacair don Chonra faoin ngrian dhalltach mheasúlacht seo gan dhul i measúlacht seo gan dhul i measúlacht iad féin. Chua, Ní féidir an geitise meath-réabhlóideach féin a shamhalú leis an gConra anois, poblachtóir aithnid eicint dhá ainmniú, mar dhúshlán, ina uachtarán air. Le blianta anois, mar chómhartha cosanta is dóigh, is ag deasú níos gaire don thoras is caomhantaf in Éirinn, Cumann Lúthchleas Gael, atá sé.

Múille aimrid í an Chómhdháil. Níor thúsáigh sí tada fós ariamh, fiú an Club Leabhar féin, ach ná rudaí míthreoirach. Cuimhníonn cuid agaibh b'fhéidir ar na táinte síniúcháin a cruinníodh ón bpobal ar son na Gaeilge. Is feasach dom gur síos le fána i leithreas a tligeadh na mílte acu. Dúirt cuid againn gur leibideach an mhaise dhóibh na múrtha fáilte a chuir siad roimh Pháipéar Bán na Gaeilge nárbh shiú do sheacht mallacht é. Tá na fáinní ag dul i líonmhairteacht ar chostas na ndaoine in aghaid an lae — agus an Ghaeilge ag dul chun laige. Phoibligh siad i gcomhar leis an gConra achainí "na ndaoine measúil" le goirid. Is é comhartha corpanta na measúlacht seo dinnéir choistí na Comhdhála sna hóstáin mhóra, aithris ar Thaca agus ar Ridirí Cholambáin nach foláir dhuit a bheith i do chomhalta díobh le postaf arda na Comhdhála a fháil. An féidir le duine ar bith rud ar bith a chur ar shon na gaileamaisíocht seo fré chéile? Breá nach gcuireann an Rialtas a ladar isteach anseo agus comhtháthú nó *merger* a chur i gconorthu? Tá airgead dhá chaitheamh ar oifig, ar fheisteach agus ar chóirí cath oifige, tar éis go ndéanfadh an oifig eile, ceann an Chonra. Tá airgead dhá chaitheamh ar fheadhmáireach arb é a n-aon fheidhm a bheith ag bogadaí timpeall ina scanailí chorpanta don LFM agus do námhadaí eile na Gaeilge agus ina síor-gach do shfor-fháillí an Rialtais sa nGaeilge, arae gach uair a bhfeiceann Aire Rialtais duine acu ina chóiríú cath, líonann a chroí lán de dhóchas agus do mheanma, déarfá sé go bhfuil chuile shórt i saol na Gaeilge ar fheabhas agus colló sé eadra eile ar an gceán sin!

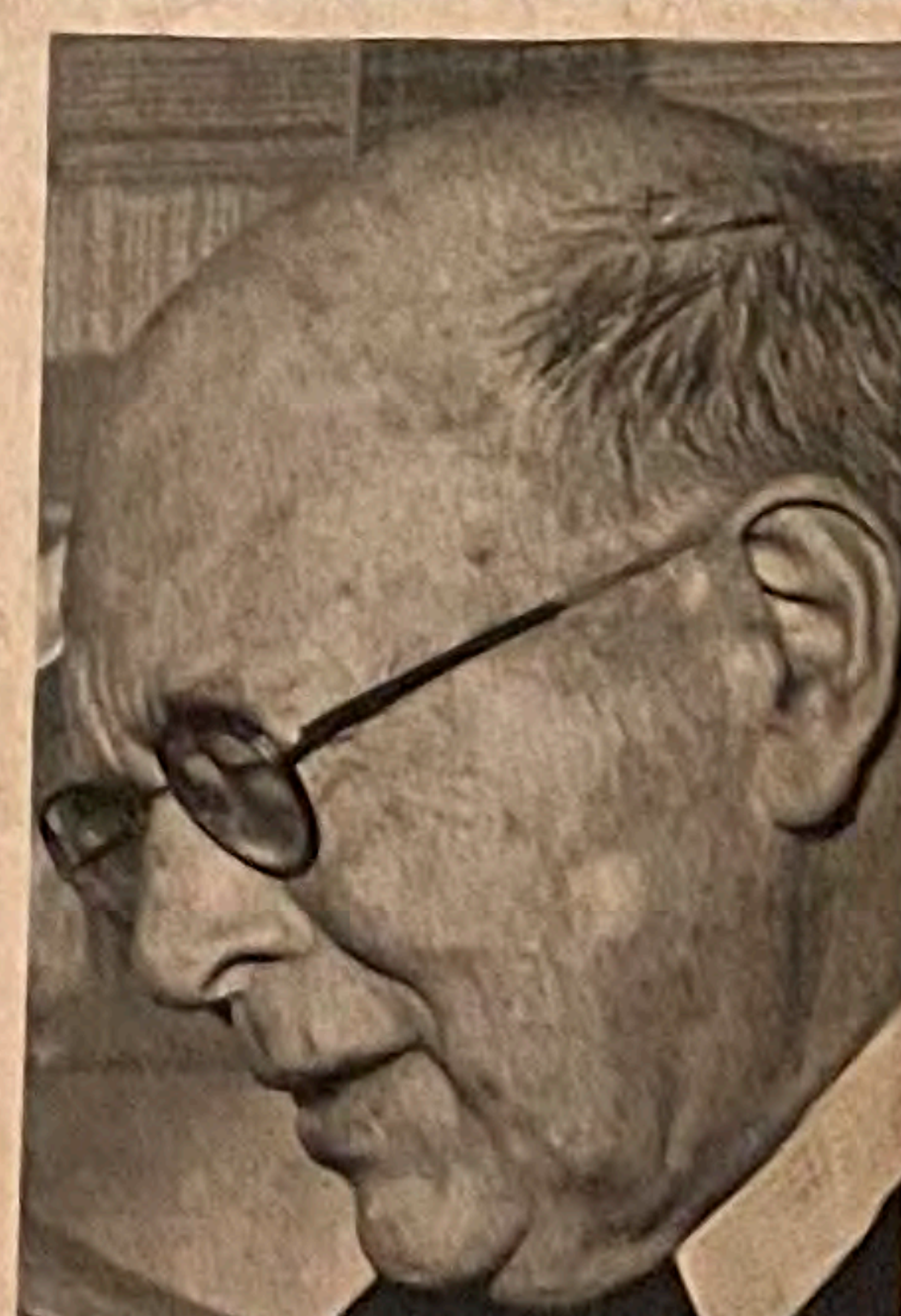
Ní dea-chosúlacht é faoin gConra, Inniu, páipéar Mhic an Bheatha a bheith mólantach go leor air le fada. An chlaiteacht is mó sa gConra, b'fhéidir, a dhócheall le aon athrú tar éis gur rud é athrú atá doseachanta. Mar sin féin is minice an Conra ag cur chuige amháil is dá mba rud intseachanta athrú ar bith. Is cosúla Conra na Gaeilge inniu leis an gConra a bhí ann i 1900 ná an Eaglais Chaitliceach Romhánach inniu leis an gceann a bhí ann i 1950 go mór fada. Labhair mé ar Mhandarínéad ar ball. Is údar faitís liom na mealltracháí móra plúchtach *tradition — tradition* marbh a lán dhe — a fheicim caite timpeall agus a mbíonn an-tóir againn fillle air, an chuid mharbh agus eile. Scríobh Dónall Ó Corcara roinnt leabharán ag míniú céard é Conra na Gaeilge. *What is this about the Gaelic League* agus mar sin. Ba *tradition* ann féin de chuid Chonra na Gaeilge agus níorbh é an *tradition* ba mheasa é dar ndóigh gurbh é Dónall Ó Corcara agus nach aon duine eile a scríobhfadh na leabharáin sin. Tá *tradition* den chineál céanna ag Cumann Lúthchleas Gael, nach mbéadh sé sonaí dhá mba aon duine eile ach Bryan Mac Mahon a scríobhfadh a gcuid tóstail faoin aer i gcomhair Pháirc an Chrócaigh. Níl a fhios agam ar léigh na Conróirí caint an Chorcaigh faoi Chonra na Gaeilge. Scéal cinnte nach é an mheabhair cheart a bhain siad astu.



Sean Óg O Tuama . . . "poblachtóir aithnid eicint dhá ainmniú, mar dhúshlán, ina uachtarán".



De Valera . . . "trí gháire cnoic d'easbag Aifriceach eicint".



De Blaghd . . . "cathaoir smála ar an gComhdháil".

THE
COU
OF
BILLY
McM

The most co
in Belfast last
undoubtedly Bill
It was Billy McM
standing of the
British Imperialis
that prevented
ment of a civil w
Under heavy pres
of the activity of
Army in attempt
voke a full-scale
in the national
Belfast on the on
on the other bec
undisciplined activ
mer comrades and
McMillen kept his
used his influence
the British Army
giving the maxim
tion to the victims
Army aggression.

To appreciate o
pressures involved,
would have to live
and experience the
created by British
and the thuggery o
lined elements bent
fighting.

Since the walk-ou
Sinn Féin Ard I
over a year ago "T
Irishman" has pursu
of saying nothing th
promote disunity or
in personal abuse.
still our policy. At
when the whole of
Ireland is in the bal
the Unionist-Fianna
tempt to drag Ireland
Common Market, at
when the Civil Right
ment has put the Gov
of Ireland Act into th
ing pot, the Republic



Students of the Queen's University Republican Club Belfast, were the first to protest against the banning under the Special Powers Act of the wearing of black berets and "military-style uniforms" at Republican demonstrations. Five members of the Club are pictured above on the balcony of the Student's Union at the University where they displayed the Tricolour and the Plough and Stars.

Organising progress North and South

Four new Sinn Fein Cumann have been formed recently in various parts of the country. The areas involved are Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, Killybegs, Co. Donegal, and Dublin.

Present at the inaugural meeting of the Jimmy Joe Reynolds Cumann in Ballinamore were Emmet Goulding, Dublin, Seamus Reid, Connacht representative on the Ard Comhairle, and Breasal O Caoilai, Connacht Sinn Fein Organiser.

Emmet Goulding said: "If Ireland joins the Common Market it will mean the end of small and medium size farming in this country—only the biggest and richest will prosper".

Officers elected were: Chairman, Charlie Christie; Secretary, Maureen McLoughlin, Drumrane, Ballinamore; Treasurer, John McKenna.

The new Cumann in Killybegs will cover the South Donegal coastal area from Donegal town west to Kilcar.

The following were elected officers: Chairman, Frank Gallagher; Vice-Chairman, M. Mullan; Secretary, Mary Murray; Treasurer, J. McAllister; Publicity Officer, E. O'Rourke.

Tomas MacGiolla presided at the formation of the Wolfe Tone Cumann in Ballymun, Dublin.

And in another area of Dublin—Palmerstown-Chapelizod—Sean O'Cionnaith was present at the formation of the new Sean Mac Diarmada Sinn Fein Cumann.

In the Six Counties progress is also being made with the news that two new Republican Clubs were formed recently.

In Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone, Malachy McGurran, Six County Organiser, presided at the formation of the Joe McGarrity Republican Club. He said that it was the duty of the members of the new club to give a lead to the local people in the coming struggle against entry into the Common Market, because entry would mean the rural depopulation of Tyrone among other areas.

The members elected Mr. P. J. Mulholland chairman for the coming year.

Mr. Frank McGlade was elected chairman of the Sean Mac Diarmada Republican Club at its first meeting which was held recently in the Ardoyne area of Belfast. The meeting was presided over by Malachy McBurney who explained the policy and tactics of the Movement to the large attendance.

McGlade on "illegal document" charge

"I am a Republican and always will be," said Frank

McGlade, unemployed labourer, one of the best known Republicans in the country, in a recent Belfast court case.

He was charged with possessing an illegal document about the I.R.A. Giving evidence for the prosecution Detective-Constable Mark Crozier said that while conducting a search of the McGlade home last August he found a document about Republican affairs.

Frank conducted his own defence in the case and pointed out that the pamphlet was not concealed as alleged. "I bought the pamphlet, which was published by the Trinity College Republican Club at Queen's University some time last year. In it was a statement by Mr. Seamus Costello which had been reported in the newspapers in Northern Ireland five years ago. So if it was illegal for me to have the document in my possession, then it was similarly illegal for newspapers to produce stories about subjects in the pamphlet."

He was fined £10 but when he asked for leave to appeal the senior magistrate granted it, and congratulated him on how ably he had put his case saying that some higher authority might take a different view of the matter.



Frank McGlade, Chairman of the Mac Diarmada Republican Club, Ardoyne, Belfast.

"Shove over a bit, your honour, sir" at Lismore

The Waterford Branch of the National Waters Restoration League on Sunday, February 21, at Lismore, forced the Duke of Devonshire once again to share his exclusive fishing on the Munster Blackwater with some of the plain people of Ireland. This was the first major fish-in in the South-East since the season commenced and drew a large crowd of onlookers and anglers. A leaflet distributed by the

organisers of the fish-in points out that the Duke of Devonshire is a direct descendant of Lord Mountjoy, one of the generals of Elizabeth I who ravaged Munster by fire and sword in the late sixteenth century. The claim to the fishing rights of the Blackwater exercised by the present Duke "stems from the fact that the Duke of Devonshire controlled most of Munster after the conquest". The leaflet also pointed out that this claim to ownership is not confined to the River Blackwater as the Duke also claims sea-fishing rights at the estuary of the Blackwater, from Ardmore to Youghal.

The Boyne Valley Branch of the N.W.R.L. organised a very successful fish-in at An Uaimh on February 7. The newly formed Sinn Fein Cumann at An Uaimh supported the protest. Donnchadh Mac Raghnaill, Chairman of the Boyne Valley Branch attended and spoke at a public meeting preceding the fish-in.

Further fish-ins planned for the immediate future include one on the River Nore at Inistioge (Sunday, March 7); Curraghmore Estate of Lord Waterford (Sunday, March 21); McCalmont Estate on Nore and River Liffey at Leixlip (Sunday, April 4); De La Poer Estate at Kilsheelin on the Nore (Sunday, April 18).

"Abolish boards" commission is told

The present Boards of Conservators should be abolished and replaced by regional fishery councils, the Government Commission on Inland Fisheries was told by the Enniscorthy District Anglers' Association at Enniscorthy last month.

In a one-and-a-half hour meeting with the Commission the Anglers' Association came out strongly in favour of public ownership. The delegation to the Commission was led by the Chairman of the Club, Mr. Joe Cashe of Enniscorthy. Committee members Mr. Patrick Courtney, Enniscorthy and Mr. Alphonsus Doyle, Dunsinane, also attended.

The submissions of the Anglers' Association covered all aspects of inland fisheries setting out the demand for public ownership, sketching the outline of an alternative system and answering specific objections to a take-over by the public of all inland waters. Extracts from the memorandum state:

"We want the right as ordinary, free Irishmen—a freedom bought in blood—to fish our river and its tributaries without seeking the permission of ex-British Army personnel, or landed Irish 'gentry', many of whom would have bitterly opposed our fight for freedom; just as they are today bitterly fighting the logical outcome of that dearly won freedom—our right to fish and conserve our own rivers.

"As a State we have already nationalised many industries; so on principle the Government is not opposed to nationalisation as such.

"The Regional Fishery Councils, under the direction of the Inland Fisheries Trust, with competent and fairly paid staff, could create a genuine desire on the part of all fishermen to work together for the common good.

"We are not saying that everything would be perfect if all the inland waters were nationalised, but we are saying that more interested people would have a personal interest in doing all in their power to solve any problems that could arise under a system of public ownership.

Recasting of local government

The White Paper on Local Government Re-organisation, published last month and available for 22p from Government Publications, G.P.O. Arcade, Dublin 1, is compulsory background reading to anyone interested in the next local elections.

It contains a number of proposals, many of which are enlightened and progressive.

The core of the progressive elements in the proposals consists in the grouping of certain counties which are weaker in population into larger units which are able to support the necessary services on an economic basis.

This might be regarded as making the local authorities more remote; on the contrary it can bring them closer in that there is provision for area committees and community councils to exist on a local and accessible basis, as sub units of the larger body.

It is proposed to extend these area committees by co-opting of representatives of active local bodies, and to centre them in a

local community office, where all local authority services would be available, and which could act as a local cultural centre.

However, the weakness of the proposal is in the failure to spell out the co-optation procedure. Who decides whom to co-opt? If there is a procedure whereby, for example, a local Macra na Feirme branch is invited to nominate someone, how is the list of such eligible bodies decided? There is ample scope here for a strengthening of the patronage system, unless a 'nomination from below' procedure is accurately spelled out and made obligatory.

The provision of a network of community councils has already come up in the Gaeltacht and has received popular support. This White Paper in effect proposes the generalisation of this system in the grass roots of larger and more powerful authorities. This proposition has democratic potential provided the local authorities organisations are vigilant enough to demand it.

The amalgamation of Dublin City, County and Dun Laoghaire would give rise to a monster of extreme impersonality unless accompanied by the fullest possible development of area and community councils. The White Paper appears to envisage such councils only in remote North county areas like Rush or Naul. Is urban grass roots democracy inconceivable?

What is wrong with an area committee in Crumlin, Ballymun or Rathmines? This does not seem to be envisaged, but it could be demanded, and would be an important and accessible school of local democracy and citizenship.

The weakness is the failure to spell out the rules for housing priorities. This is universally known as the key local political patronage weapon. A local 'human rights' agitation to get the housing priority code standardised would transform politics in the 26 counties, just as the Civil Rights demands did in the Six Counties.

NATIONAL BOOK SERVICE

	Incl. Post	
Ground Rent is Robbery	15p (3/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stolen Waters (The case for public ownership of Ireland's rivers and lakes)	14p (2/9)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ua Rathaille (P. O. Snodaigh)	9p (1/9)	<input type="checkbox"/>
An Aisling (M. O. Cadhain)	10p (2/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Republicanism, Christianity and Marxism (D. Kelleher)	17½p (3/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ireland's European Tradition (John DeCourcy Ireland)	20p (4/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Our Own Red Blood. Sean Cronin	20p (4/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
WRITINGS OF JAMES CONNOLLY:		
Labour in Irish History	22½p (4/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour, Nationality and Religion	12½p (2/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
The New Evangel (Erin's Hope)	12½ (2/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Re-Conquest of Ireland	16p (3/3)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Revolutionary Warfare	10p (2/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Relevance of James Connolly in Ireland today (George Gilmore)	7½p (1/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Republican Congress (George Gilmore)	32½p (6/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Irish Mining—the need for action (Resources Study Group)	22½p	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Norman Invasion of Ireland (Richard Roche)	32½p (6/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Irish Above Politics—Máirtín O Cadhain	9p (1/9)	<input type="checkbox"/>

RECORDS (LPS)

James Connolly and selection	£1.15 (23/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Irish Songs of Freedom	75p (15/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Songs of the Irish Republic	£1.05 (21/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Loyal, Faithful and True (A miscellany of Orange Songs)	75p (15/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>

POSTERS

Barnes and McCormack (black and white)	5p (1/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kevin Barry (colour poster, see back page)		

Select the items you require by marking the quantity in the appropriate box

Please send me the items marked

NAME

ADDRESS

Enclosed is P.O. value £.....

Send orders to the United Irishman Office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

SEAN SOUTH AND O'HANLON SOCIETY

organise Irish Republicans and supporters in Australia.

For details contact:

TOM HOPKINS,
18 Merricks Close, Lower Fern Tree Gully, Victoria,
Australia. Telephone 7581353.

High-density housing

In recent years Belfast has been subject to much re-development particularly in the residential areas. Because the physical size of the city is limited by the Matthew Stop Line the territorial limits of re-development have been confined, e.g., new dwellings have been constructed in the same localities as the old ones.

This has meant that the inefficiency and inequality in the use of land within the city area which stems from the days of the Industrial Revolution is being preserved and maintained. The result is that at present new housing in working class areas like the Falls, the Shankill and East Belfast is being constructed at densities of 70-80 dwellings per acre, while in areas like the Malone Road, Knock and the Antrim Road housing is allowed to exist at densities averaging 4-5 dwellings per acre.

The type of new dwelling being offered to those people who are re-housed consists mainly of flats and maisonettes in Point and Slab Blocks. A recent report by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children pointed out the detrimental effect this type of dwelling has on the psychological development of children.

The report stated that conditions in such flats may, "if they are sufficiently severe, lessen that child's potential for intellectual development; under some circumstances they may shape or warp his entire personality . . . few people would question that life in a flat, places severe restrictions on small children."

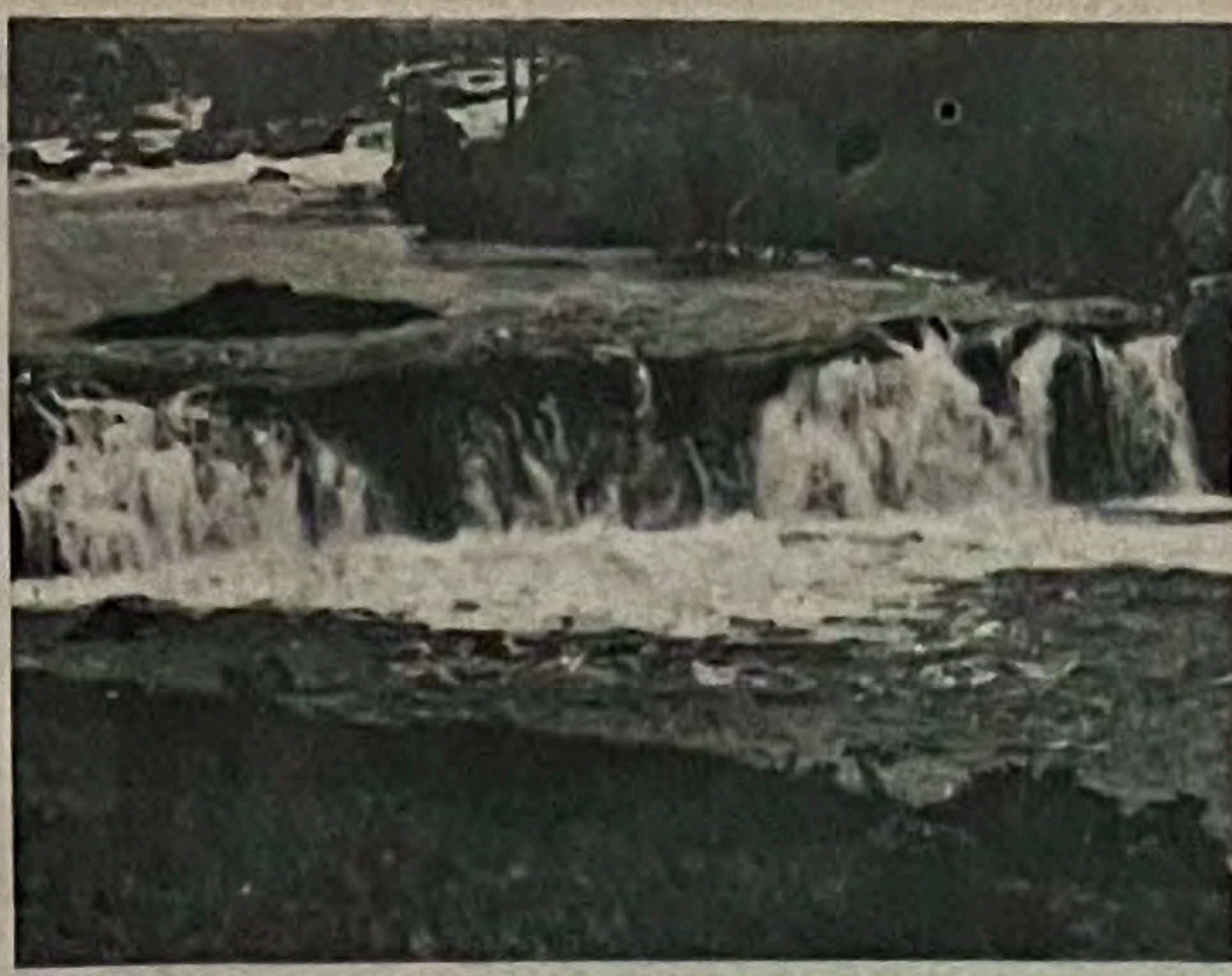
The British Medical Journal in an article on "Flat and Apartment Life" draws attention to "higher incidence of overt neurosis . . . higher incidence of psychoneurotic disorders in women . . . higher incidence of respiratory infections in young women and children". The common conclusion of most research into high level high density housing is that it is not suitable for family life, yet the working people of Belfast are being rehoused in such dwellings.

Their plight has recently been publicised by the Belfast Housing Action Committee who have produced a comprehensive pamphlet on the problems of the ordinary people who are being rehoused in the city.

The new blocks of flats in question are built under the management of the Northern Ireland Housing Trust which feeds such requirements as density levels, space requirements, and house types to several competing firms whose own design teams then produce a housing solution for the Trust to select on a competitive basis. In such a struggle for contracts the firms involved cut housing standards, construction costs and the quality of materials to an absolute minimum which results in an inferior type of dwelling being produced.

But perhaps the most sinister aspect of re-development in Belfast is the fact that no attempt is being made to get away from the old planned ghettos. This can be seen in the Lower Falls area where redevelopment is taking place between the Falls Road, Grosvenor Road and Durham Street. This area is to be cut off from the nearby Shankill Road by the new urban motorway which will form a new and more permanent "peace line" made of concrete and steel, thereby denying for generations the Catholic and Protestant communities the hope of integrated housing in an area where it is most needed.

The Belfast Housing Action Committee has called for an end to ghetto housing, more equal use of housing land in Belfast, a lower maximum housing density, an improvement in housing standards and new planning powers to meet the needs of people—not property. We support them in their demands.



FISH-INS

Don't delay—fish-in to-day!

Introducing the "Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill" in the Dail, Mr. C. S. O'Malley referred specifically to the "form of intimidation" known as "fish-ins". Most comment on the proposed Bill was critical and confined itself to the anti-squatting aspect. But the timing of the Bill suggests that "fish-ins" were very prominent in the minds of the framers.

Squatting has been known to be on the decline in Dublin for some time now and has not made headlines for some months past. Nevertheless the Fianna Fail Government press past a heavy backlog of legislation with this enactment. The motive could be to head off this season's "fish-in" campaign before it can properly get off the ground and affect fishery values for the third year in succession. For the past two years the value of fisheries on the market have steadily declined because of the active campaign for public ownership. The establishment of the Inland Fisheries Commission, injunctions granted to a variety of owners and increasingly frequent prosecutions by the Attorney-General failed to deter those taking part in the protest. If a law that would adequately cover the situation in favour of the beleaguered owners were to be useful it would have to become effective by early summer.

The second proof that the "fish-in" campaign weighed heavily with the vested interests that suggested it is the penalty clause which stipulates that any damage done by the Garda in ejecting trespassers be paid by the latter on conviction. This gives carte blanche to the owner of the property or the Garda to do as much damage as they feel like doing in the full knowledge that the protesters will have to pay (or, more likely, serve jail terms in default).

Surely, this was not aimed primarily at those who occupy houses as the majority of these houses occupied by squatters are already due for demolition and where damage caused by the Garda could only be of help to the demolition crews? Undoubtedly, Lismore and Devonshire Castle seizures caused the drafting here.

The "guilt by association" clause is completely new to law and creates a fresh category of criminals and could be used against Housing Action Committees, N.W.R.L. Committees and even against the United Irishman for supporting and advocating such actions.

This section not only makes it a crime to advocate or encourage squatting or "fish-ins", but it will make it a crime to belong to a group one of whose members, claiming to speak on behalf of the group has been convicted for encouraging or advocating behaviour of this kind. In the case of members of such a group, the onus of proving their innocence falls on them, completely contrary to the normal assumption of common law that a person is innocent until proven guilty. This clause alone attacks three vital freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of the press.

If the Bill becomes law the worst hit victim will be the National Waters Restoration League as its area of operation is restricted to certain known sites and methods. Already the Garda have been forced to drop a charge of causing malicious damage in excess of £50 against those who last year occupied Slane Castle. Under the new law the State, acting for the River Lords, will not only easily obtain conviction against protesters for damage done by the Garda but will find in the law an added incentive for the Garda to do damage in the course of duty. In effect, it gives the Garda more of a say in the sentence a protestor would receive following conviction than the judge pronouncing it!

The answer of the N.W.R.L. has been to issue a general call to all branches for a widespread "fish-in" campaign to be used as a platform to explain to the public the idea behind the Bill. The statement says that the Bill is designed "to beat off the historic demand of the Irish people for public ownership of their rivers for yet another period of time and so salvage the robber rights of private ownership by a partisan use of the Garda".

So don't delay—fish-in today.

Building societies clamp down

It was learned last month that most of the leading building societies in this country have decided on an almost complete close-down on house loans. The only loans which are being serviced for the next six months at least are those for which applications have been in hand for some time, and applications from those with either an existing mortgage or investment. The Building Societies have said that they will not consider any new applications for several months.

They say that the reason for the current ban on loans is the recent enormous increase in the volume of applications now pouring in for house loans. However, it is believed that the bank strike and its after effects are to blame.

Despite the banks dispute business for the societies last year was excellent — the Irish Permanent, for example, issued over £15 million in loans and in August alone (during the Banks dispute) investment receipts were £2.76 million. The present growth rate of the combined societies has been 17% per year, but it now looks that the present decline in credit availability will lead to a fall in profits this year especially for the "big four" — the Irish Permanent, the First National, the Educational and the Irish Civil Service — who together form the Irish Building Societies' Association.

The purpose of a building society is defined by an act of 1874 as being the raising, by subscriptions of the members, of a fund for making advances to members by way of mortgage on leasehold or freehold estates. In present day reality this means that a person who signs for a loan to help him buy a house costing £3,500—£3,750 at an interest rate of 9% must pay a sum in excess of £11,000 before he can call the house his own.

One of the more interesting insights into the internal economics of these societies is that as a rule they spend substantially more on advertising and commission than they do on the salaries of their staff, e.g. in 1967 the Irish Permanent spent £71,277 on directors, staff and auditors and £155,538 — nearly twice as much — on advertising and commission. All this advertising expenditure is directed towards urging on one section of the community to invest at 5½% in the misery of another section that pays 9% for the same money.

The person who pays the 9% is generally the middle-income family man and the hardships created by the situation are obvious to anyone concerned with the social welfare of the Irish people. The Bishop of Galway, Dr. Browne, is on record as saying: "The current rate of 9% on borrowing imposes very serious social effects and the dear money is a very serious matter for young people who are setting out on married life and find 9% a very big and serious handicap. It can prevent the expansion of the housing programme".

There are at least 15 registered building societies in Ireland and last year the assets of the top four increased by 29% to £79.8 million and they expect that the £100 million mark will be passed by the end of 1972. Most of this money is obtained by the economic press-ganging of the common householders in this country.

To end this exploitation we call for the rationalisation of the whole building finance structure or better still the nationalisation of the system of providing building finance to the middle income group.



Tara worrie

It is to be expected that the private government's Mining — reviewed in the call for public owners of tax free p may soon

Already ship battle Trinity Co impression showed that therefore w

However, Was it not covered Av it was gov to foreigner themselves. £598,000 on Galway, Tip

Secondly, can only be involved," the tribulation of finance. The wages ratio capital is be contribution

Thirdly, ments cannot 'the nation's resources is a the people to ever it is in holds good ag

Both Tara there will be thus Patrick I be only plann years. Execu ably reported by the Study plot to help ju panies. Yet embarrassed a

It is perh approach of p the Stormont Fail path by

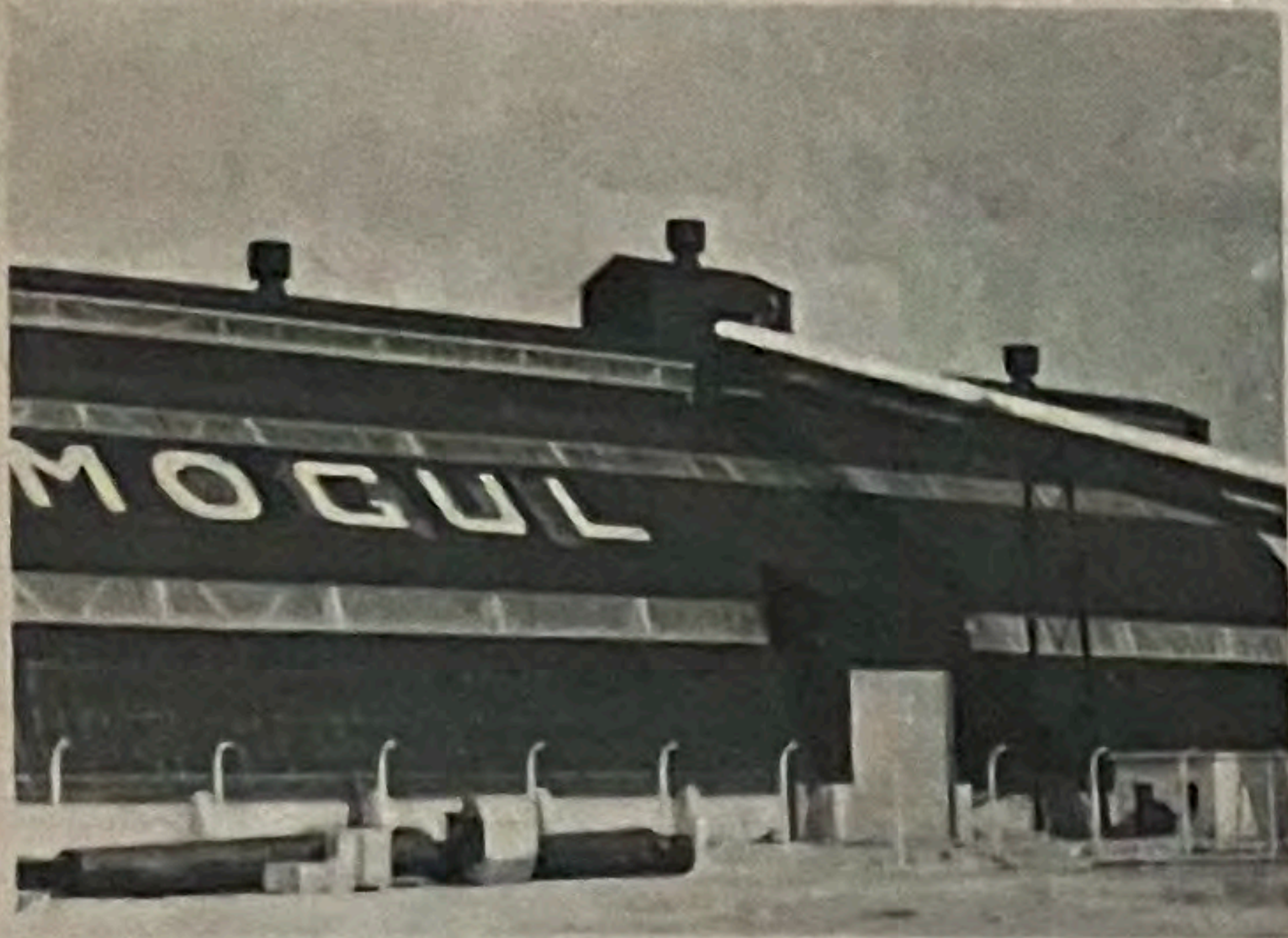
foreigners. As of January 22, Mr. Bradford, licences had al Zinc to explor Tyrone.

In answer Executive of R ing statement:

"In the light claims that 'the all its mineral the Minister of tion of a second Creator's munif go to God's seekers.

If Mr. Brad Irishman' he w in the 26 Cou people £230 mill edly been a bon gombeen men of Exchanges. Irel Northgate, Rio subsidiary pseud Irish Base Metal

We demand Development Act ownership, exploi interests of all ou assured that the campaign vigorou policy of economi



MINING

Tara and Northgate worried

It is to be hoped that officials in the appropriate government departments will have read 'Mining — The Need for Action' which we reviewed in January, and will have noted the call for public ownership. Certainly the foreign owners of the mines are concerned that their tax free plundering of our mineral resources may soon be over.

Already the first counter shots in the ownership battle have been fired. Prof. Alan Tait of Trinity College, in a recent article, gave the impression that it was foreigners that first showed that there was mineral wealth here and therefore we have no right to their profit.

However, the facts disprove both assertions. Was it not Mianrai Teoranta that first re-discovered Avoca? As pointed out in the Report, it was government policy to sell out mining to foreigners instead of exploiting the resources themselves. Between 1947-1954, Mianrai spent £598,000 on exploration, including surveys in Galway, Tipperary and Meath.

Secondly, while agreeing that "mining profits can only be large in relation to the capital involved," there is a need to consider the contribution of human capital as well as that of finance. Thus, in Tynagh where the profits/wages ratio is 194:27, it is clear that finance capital is being rewarded far in excess of its contribution compared with that of the workers.

Thirdly, a bad decision by former governments cannot be binding on the people, since 'the nation's sovereignty over the nation's resources is absolute'. Hence, it is the right of the people to change trade agreements whenever it is in their interest to do so, and this holds good against all claims of 'private property'.

Both Tara and Northgate are worried that there will be a state take-over of mining and thus Patrick Hughes of Northgate is reported to be only planning operations to last another five years. Executives of both companies are reliably reported to believe that the whole survey by the Study Group was part of a government plot to help justify the clear out of foreign companies. Yet the 26 Co. Government seem as embarrassed as anybody over the Report.

It is perhaps indicative of the bankrupt approach of politicians, North and South, that the Stormont Rump is following the Fianna Fail path by selling off national resources to foreigners. As reported in the Financial Times of January 22, 1971, the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Bradford, announced that two prospecting licences had already been granted to Rio Tinto-Zinc to explore possible reserves in Down and Tyrone.

In answer to him, the Northern Regional Executive of Republican Clubs issued the following statement:

"In the light of the Ulster 71 brochure which claims that 'the Creator . . . took out of Ulster all its mineral wealth' one can only suggest that the Minister of Commerce has had some intimation of a second coming. But the benefits of the Creator's munificence will, as things stand, not go to God's children but to foreign profit seekers.

If Mr. Bradford had read January's 'United Irishman' he would know that a similar policy in the 26 Counties will ultimately cost the people £230 million by 1980. There has undoubtedly been a bonanza in the 26 Counties for the gombeen men of Wall Street and Toronto Stock Exchanges. Ireland is being milked directly by Northgate, Rio Tinto etc. and also by their subsidiary pseudo-Irish companies e.g. Tara and Irish Base Metals.

We demand the amendment of the Mineral Development Act (N.I.) 1969 in favour of public ownership, exploitation, and development in the interests of all our people. Mr. Bradford can be assured that the Republican Movement will campaign vigorously to resist this disastrous policy of economic sell-out."

FREE TRADE

Closures and threatened redundancies

In 1965 when the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement was first signed, the more erudite economists in this country saw that there would be more losses for this country than gains and the whole move would make us more dependent upon Britain. These fears have proven correct, for our trade deficit has risen from £35 million in 1965 to £72 million last year.

This is the period when, allegedly, Ireland would get all the favourable breaks from the Agreement. Now, with the worst part of the deal to come we can only expect things to get worse rather than better. But just how much worse can they get?

A recent survey by the Confederation of Irish Industry found that 472 firms regarded the Agreement as 'distinctly unfavourable' and that British imports into Ireland had jumped 79 per cent. We are now Britain's third best customer and no wonder! Look at the firms that have closed down or are threatened by closure.

There is the celebrated case of Rawson's shoe factory in Dundalk which was killed by Free Trade and made five hundred workers redundant. Limerick shoe factory is similarly threatened.

As early as February 1970, the "United Irishman" reported that the Guinness company was beginning a run down of the James's Gate Brewery and transferring the most profitable parts of its operation to London.

Last month it was reported that Guinness had reduced man hours in Dublin by 25 per cent and that the final employment figure after "rationalisation" would be 2,000 compared with 3,500 now. No real plans have been put forward to absorb the redundant labour.

February 1971 also saw threats to close Anglo-Irish Weavers Ltd. in Tuam, which employ 130 workers.

Employment prospects within Gaeltarra Eireann are not too bright as a result of trading losses of £94,909 between April and December 1969. Their dismal prospects are attributed to the effects of free trade, which made conditions in the home market more difficult.

Last month saw the closure of Booth Poole's car assembly operation in Dublin, with a loss of 140 jobs. This followed the merger between Booth Poole and Britain Ltd., which is controlled by British Leyland.

The freedom with which British products can enter the Irish market is alarming the workers of Williams and Woods, the Dublin food products firm. In a protest to the Minister for Industry and Commerce, over 200 hundred workers demanded protection against the influx of imported consumer goods from Britain and the EEC.

Following the take over of the firm by Nestle's in 1967, there has been a growing tendency to shut down production here and supply the Irish market from Britain. Items like chocolates, soups, and coffee, which were formerly processed here, have since 1967, been imported and now a similar move is contemplated in regard to salad cream.

In Sligo 85 jobs were lost when the North West Chip Basket factory closed last spring. Seafield Gentex made all their workers redundant early last summer.

About the same time, Vidor (Eire) Ltd. laid off 133 workers due to free trade. The directors of this company had received £144,000 from the Irish taxpayers and it is interesting to note that Anglo Irish Weavers Ltd. got £100,000 of public funds.

Since last Autumn, the work force employed by Core Memories in Raheny has fallen from over 700 to under 200.

One factor which clearly emerges from the close linking of our economy, North and South with that of Britain's, is that the first plants to be closed during trade difficulties are those in Ireland. Employment is put at risk by decisions made in the interests of foreign financiers.



COMMON MARKET

Agriculture — the long term plan

If the Mansholt Plan is implemented in Ireland, then there will be few small farmers left to enjoy the dubious benefits of EEC membership. Between 1970-'80 over 5 million people will leave the land within the EEC and the long term plan is to create large holdings requiring equally large capital formations.

It will be near impossible for the small farmer to withstand the economic pressures of high finance, and Mansholt is designed to ensure that he is cleared out and the way opened to the big rancher.

The long term strategy of EEC agricultural policy is to have a cheap food policy, as against the present dear food policy. This is designed to assist industry and works quite simply.

Whereas Common Market policy is aimed to get maximum competition in industry, it seeks to protect agriculture for the benefit of French and German farming. The result is high food prices for consumers.

As pointed out last October in the "United Irishman", this policy has produced huge amounts of unsaleable surplus produce. In 1968 France alone spent £630m on buying up and distributing surplus food or the subsidisation of exports. In economic terms this is not free trade.

The Italian fruit growers are paid to let their produce rot so that the more expensively produced Dutch crop can be sold at high prices in Germany. The result of this policy is a contributing factor to the present unrest in Calabria.

Once the smaller farmers have been driven out, the EEC Commission in Brussels will be able to ignore the farm lobby and adopt a cheap food policy such as Britain has now. This would be disastrous for Ireland.

Even allowing that in the short term there might be gains for beef producers, Irish beef is not of the quality wanted by the continentals. Michael Dillon recently stated "Our livestock farmers are badly geared for getting the full benefits of a big European market" and went on to criticise the quality offered.

Industry is generally quicker to adapt to changing conditions, yet has been badly hit by free trade with Britain. Can we expect agriculture to adapt as fast and fare any better in a wider free trade area like the EEC?

In the case of bacon production Ireland will not be able to compete without eliminating thousands of processors. T. J. Maher stated last month that 'if Irish pig producers are to have any chance of competing in the EEC then there must be a tidying up of the processing sector . . . We will have to move to bigger units . . .'

This means that thousands in the allied industries will be made redundant and alternative work will have to be found. This cannot be done without the incentive of a 'tax holiday' on exports and as John O'Hagan of Trinity College noted there is scarcely an economist in the country who doubts that this concession will have to go with EEC entry.

"In the past few years the Community surpluses of temperate foodstuffs have got much bigger and these are the kind of foodstuffs we produce". So said Dr. Hillery at Lisdoonvarna, Co. Clare in February. It is evident therefore that there is little or no market for Irish agricultural produce in Europe.

Even where there are expected to be benefits such as from higher milk prices, economists like Marcus McInerney of UCD feel that within a few years such benefits will be wiped out.

As an alternative, wasteful lines of agricultural production should be reduced, e.g., milk which costs 27p per gallon to produce but which is only worth 3p, and state policy should be aimed at benefitting the small farmer.

Unless a more realistic attitude is adopted by the Redmondite Fianna Fail government, we will find ourselves in the same position as we were in after the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, facing an agrarian crisis without the degree of economic independence necessary to provide work for the dispossessed farmers and rural workers.



THE BRITISH AIM?

What is the British Army aim in Belfast? Working in conjunction with the Westminster and Stormont politicians the British Army last month made a well-calculated move aimed at exploiting the present differences prevailing between in the two I.R.A. camps.

A series of provocative searches — which yielded nothing — were pursued with unusual provocation and viciousness by units of the British Army. These occurred in the Ballymurphy area during the interregnum between the departure of General Freeland and the arrival of the ill-fated General Crum, the idea possibly being that neither the outgoing G.O.C. or the incoming could be blamed. The officer in charge, Farrar-Hockley, made statements calculated to whip up the incidents into a confrontation. "We are fighting a battle . . . I would not quite say it is a war yet". It was during this period also that the posting of the Duke of Kent to duty in the North was announced. All of these incidents tended to whip up a war hysteria.

The result was a week of bloody rioting as an alarmed population was dragooned into defence of their homes against the rampage by the British troops. One child was killed when run over by an army vehicle, and at least two adults and two soldiers. Both Official and Provisional I.R.A. were engaged in action at various times in the Ballymurphy area as the soldiers began to smash up the homes of locals and assault innocent persons. The Official I.R.A. were again in action in the Kashmir Rd. area with grenades and short-arms after Army jeeps had been sent careering recklessly through the area, knocking down a middle aged woman.

But the British Army brutality and recklessness, as always, had a purpose. The defence emergencies created in different areas at very short notice by their activities caused resentments between the two I.R.A.'s as each felt the other was "invading" its area. As a result of Official intervention in Ballymurphy and Kashmir, orders were given to Provisional units in those areas to disarm Officials and to adopt harder tactics, as a result of which a man was shot through the neck in Ballymurphy by a criminal element in the Provisionals and a Volunteer severely beaten in the Kashmir Rd. area.

Having increased friction between the two I.R.A. groups to near-explosion point the British Army could then suspend all searches, return to barracks, and wait for what some in Belfast now consider inevitable — a full-scale shooting war between the two I.R.A. groups.

... and the Tory profit

What is the political profit accruing to the Tories and Unionists from the new tactics of the British Army in the North? The Army was used to exploit the existing differences in the I.R.A. in order to encourage each side to compete with the other to prove to Irish public opinion which was the real I.R.A. The proven success of this *Modus operandi* could be gleaned from the propaganda war raging south of the border between Sinn Fein and the rival breakaway Sinn Fein. In the south the break-away group had thankfully availed itself of the Fianna Fail-Irish Press patronage. British Imperial patronage in the form of a "come out and fight" challenge might be equally accepted in the north. And what was a war of words in the south would quickly become a war of bullets in the conditions of Belfast.

In the event, the total response to the British Army provocation came up to expectations. Apart from any future results flowing from the sharpened tensions between the I.R.A. groups in Belfast the immediate rake-off was that the whole Civil Rights demand was reduced to a gun-battle between a small group of desperate men in a few areas of Belfast and the security forces. What Bill Craig had alleged since October 5, 1969 but failed to prove at any time was now apparently revealed to world opinion after a few nights of sporadic fighting — that the I.R.A. was behind all the trouble in the North. The effects of the Civil Rights march in Enniskillen and the hope that Civil Rights pressure could again be brought to bear was eclipsed in the flaring of violence. The answer given in Belfast that the fighting was a necessary defence of people's homes — and it was — looked false in the light of explosions and burnings taking place elsewhere in the North.

The profit for the Unionists was that the continued show-down in the Nationalist areas helped re-unite the party more and more. When public opinion felt that internment was about to be announced Chichester-Clarke announced new regulations under the Special Powers Act aimed

specifically at the Nationalist quarter — the wearing of berets and black arm bands and "military style" uniforms at Republican funerals. To have brought in internment would eventually have involved right-wing Unionist elements on the Shankill Rd. and kept the split in Unionist ranks alive. So no internment until the Unionists are well and truly united.

The major profit for the Unionists resulting from the confusion and tensions in the Nationalist areas is the possibility of an eventual civil war between the rival I.R.A.s. A secondary but no less important profit is the knowledge that at any time that

mass Civil Rights pressure begins to make its weight felt a calculated British Army "arms search" in the well-designated I.R.A. enclaves will achieve the desired response and effectually drive Civil Rights marchers off the streets.

For the Republican Movement there is nothing to gain and much to lose in the present situation. The Civil Rights Movement as a way forward for the oppressed minority in the North is in danger of being completely sabotaged. Already the compromising politicians of the S.D.L.P. are finding the courage to openly attack Civil Rights marches. Austin Curry could describe the recent

march from Coalisland to Dungannon as "ill-timed, badly organised, and just an end in itself" the day before the march took place.

Apart from wrecking a history-making organisation which it helped to success the Movement stands to lose what support and credibility it possesses as a result of a civil-war situation. That is the explanation for the tremendous restraint shown following the Ballymurphy shooting of a Volunteer. Such a struggle would completely discredit Republican philosophies, wipe out any hope of rational political action by the minority and plunge the risen people of the north into another twenty years of defeat and despair.

The major immediate loss is that the recent series of incidents have helped the Unionist overlords make it appear to their deluded followers on the Shankill that they have at last unmasked the Civil Rights plot and shown to the world that it is nothing but a front for the deadly gunmen of the Falls. Genuine and not-so-genuine Protestant ignorance has conveniently been confirmed in its belief that the Falls is an armed camp conspiring to effect a pogrom against their neighbours on the Shankill.

This represents a closing of the only road forward for Irishmen in the struggle against British Imperialism in Ireland — the uniting of people of all religions in a common struggle against the common enemy.

The greater part of the Tory and Unionist strength is their ability to make the Protestant population believe that the guns of the I.R.A. are to be used against them and to provoke a hysterical reaction based on fear. This fear and distrust is offset by a similar fear and distrust in the Catholic communities and is the basis for the anti-Catholic anti-Protestant attitude so common in the North. Republicans rise above this futile bitterness in theory but this has never been enough in the North where the vast majority of Republicans live in Catholic ghettos. Because of this not only must they rise above sectarianism but be seen to do so.



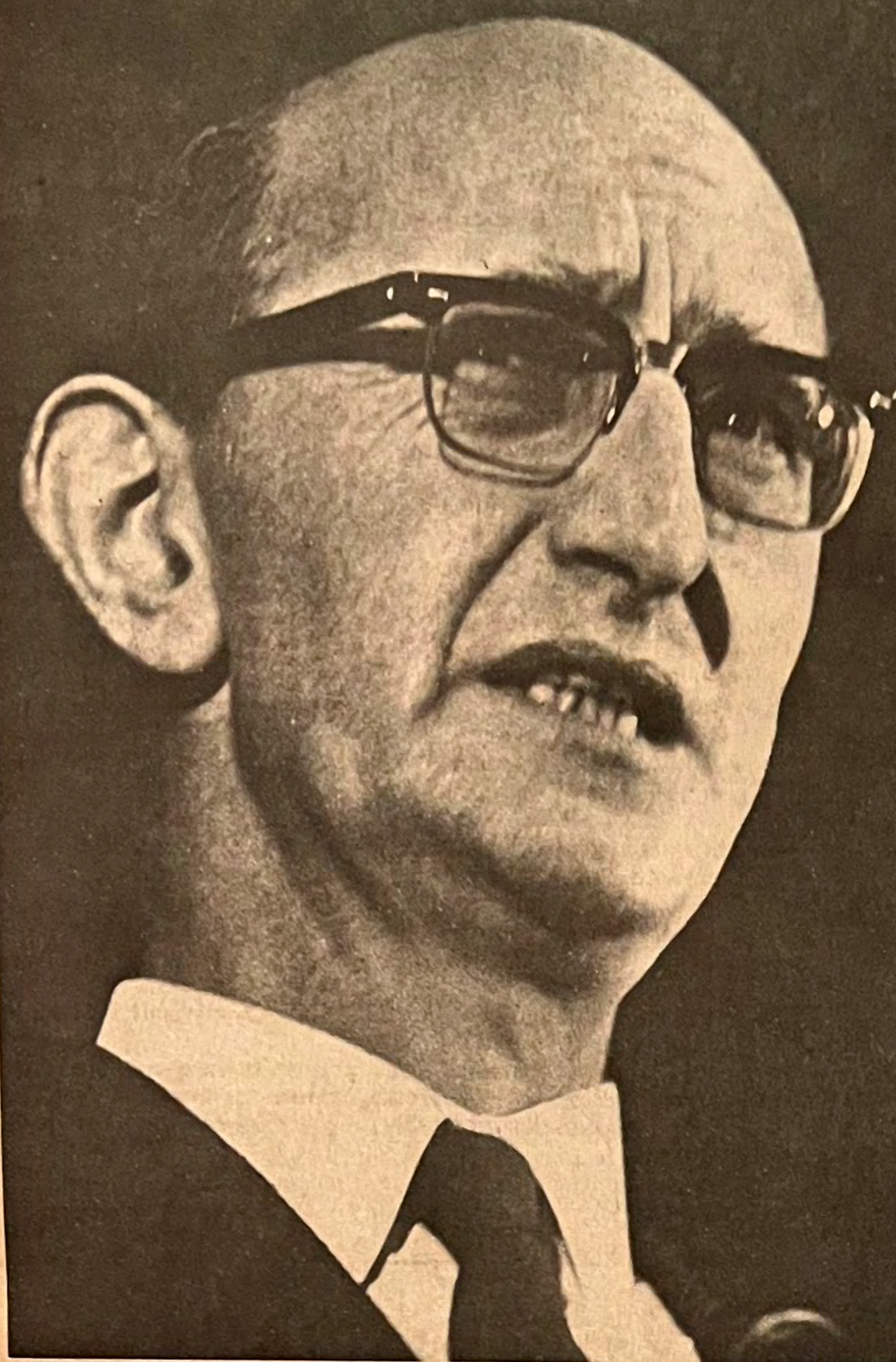
Stu
und
den
the

Or
pro
No
So

Four
have be
various
areas in
Co. Leit
Donega
Preser
meeting
Reynold
were En
Seamus
tative or
Breasal
Fein Or
Emme
Ireland
it will m
medium
country-
richest y
Office
man, Ch
Maureen
Ballinam
McKenna
The ne
will cover
coastal are
west to K
The fol
officers:
Gallagher
Mullan; S
Treasurer
Publicity
Tomas
the forma
Cumann
And in
—Palmer
O'Connell
formation
Mac Diar
In the S
also being
that two n
were form
In Carri
Malachy M
Organiser,
formation
Republican
it was the
of the new
the local pe
struggle ag
Common M
would mean
of Tyrone a
The mem
J. Mulholla
coming year
Mr. Frank
elected chair
Mac Diarma
at its first m
held recently
of Belfast. Th
presided ove
McBurney w
policy and ta
Movement to

McGl
"illeg
docum
charge

"I am a Repu
always will be."



WHO WANTS REPUBLICAN FIGHTING REPUBLICAN ?

THE COURAGE OF BILLY McMILLEN

The most courageous man in Belfast last month was undoubtedly Billy McMillen. It was Billy McMillen's understanding of the nature of British Imperialism in Ireland that prevented the development of a civil war situation. Under heavy pressure because of the activity of the British Army in attempting to provoke a full-scale confrontation in the nationalist area of Belfast on the one hand and on the other because of the undisciplined activities of former comrades and associates, McMillen kept his head and used his influence to thwart the British Army plan while giving the maximum protection to the victims of British Army aggression.

To appreciate exactly the pressures involved, a person would have to live in Belfast and experience the tensions created by British Army raids and the tuggery of undisciplined elements bent on faction fighting.

Since the walk-out at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis just over a year ago "The United Irishman" has pursued a policy of saying nothing that would promote disunity or engaging in personal abuse. That is still our policy. At a time when the whole future of Ireland is in the balance with the Unionist-Fianna Fail attempt to drag Ireland into the Common Market, at a time when the Civil Rights Movement has put the Government of Ireland Act into the melting pot, the Republican Move-



ment cannot afford the luxury of a split followed by faction fighting with Republican shooting down Republican. Nevertheless, the past year has seen a steady progression in this direction. The original Fianna Fail investment in such a split is now being added to by Tory and Unionist Governments.

Already, a young Republican is in hospital fighting for his life. The person who struck him down would describe himself as Republican. To take a stand for peace and non-aggression (since unity is ruled out by one side) when the natural tendency is one of retaliation and revenge for slights offered and hurts suffered is to take a stand of courage. Billy McMillen took such a stand in Belfast last month. Is there a possibility that all concerned could agree on the value of that stand and if they must disagree, to do so with dignity?

As the pattern and intent of British Army provocation became clear in Belfast, Tomás Mac Giolla, Uachtaran, Sinn Féin, issued an appeal asking that all those opposed to the British Army and British rule in Ireland be united in their efforts or "at least co-operate with each other". Issued on February 10, the appeal was met with an instant retort in a statement signed by Ruairi O Bradaigh which described Mac Giolla as a bankrupt politician seeking to avoid political eclipse for his party. The reply also ruled out any possible effort at unity or co-operation. In this the statement by the Provisionals continued the consistent attitude adopted by them since the walk-out from the 1970 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis.

"Public Attacks, Distortions"

The original Mac Giolla statement had commented on this hardline attitude: "For over 12 months now we have emphasised the need for co-operation of all republicans if we could have unity but all we got for our pains were bitter public attacks, distortion of our policies and objectives, many deliberate lies in regard to our members and our organisation, and a refusal even to speak to us. The Provisional IRA and the Caretaker Sinn Féin group embarked on a public war of words against us to which we refused to reply as we knew that such a verbal battle would lead inevitably in Belfast and some other areas to more and more violent attacks. This is precisely where their policy has led them now. Sinn Féin now calls on all republicans to withdraw from the brink of self-destruction. We urge the Caretaker group, whose publicity officer is foremost in building up the bitterness, to consider the grave position in which the Nation now stands and start to build goodwill among republicans."

In a further statement on February 13, Mac Giolla again commented on the critical situation in Belfast and the sources of the hardline attitude among the Provisional leadership.

"It is apparent from his quick and bitter reply to my appeal to all Republicans on Thursday last that Ruairi O Bradaigh, or at least his publicity officer who drew up the reply, is unaware or is happy with the situation which now exists in Belfast. I called on Republicans to cease confronting each other and face about to meet the common enemy. I did so because a Republican in Belfast was deliberately shot by another man claiming to be a Republican and a subsequent statement from the Provisional I.R.A. threatened to extend such shooting throughout the 32 Counties.

Just as Goebbels propaganda in Germany created the hate mentality which led to the subsequent atrocities so I maintain the stream of lies, distortions and incitement to hatred against the Official Republican Movement emanating from the Provisional and Caretaker groups is inevitably leading to shootings in Belfast and if continued will lead to similar acts in some other areas of the North and in the 26 Counties. No sincere Republican wants this. Certainly neither Sinn Féin nor the Irish Republican Army want it.

I know from my personal knowledge of them that the rank and file members of the Provisional I.R.A. and Caretaker Sinn Féin groups do not want it and it is quite obvious that the Irish people do not want it. Who then wants Republican fighting Republican?

The British Government and British Army naturally want it and are openly encouraging it. The Unionist Government and all shades of Free Statism in both Fianna Fail and

Fine Gael want it. Does the leadership of the Provisional I.R.A. and Caretaker Sinn Féin want it also? If they don't, then why does this publicity officer persist in creating the climate for it by a propaganda war, not against the forces of British Imperialism, but against the Republican Movement?

"Ruairi O Bradaigh, in his reply to my statement, said amid a welter of other inaccuracies and distortions 'Tomás Mac Giolla now appeals for unity in what appears to be a frantic effort to avoid political eclipse'. I did not appeal for organisational unity. We certainly don't want it now and I'm sure O Bradaigh's group doesn't either. I called for co-operation and unity of action where possible. This I believe is what all Republicans want. If we are to have it then we should reserve our attacks both verbal and otherwise for the common enemy.

Our verbal restraint in the face of the Caretaker publicity officer's McCarthyite communist witch hunt campaign has reached breaking point. We can only hope that the restraint of Republicans in Belfast in the face of even greater physical provocations will not crack.

We stand publicly over our Republican Socialist policies which are neither alien nor totalitarian. They are as Irish as Pearse and Connolly and are acceptable to the mass of the ordinary Irish people. Does Ruairi O Bradaigh and the Caretaker group support the British imposed capitalist ideology which is crushing the Irish nation and people out of existence? Only a social revolution can smash this system and save the Irish nation and this requires the united action of all groups and organisations who oppose British Imperialism and oppose the establishment North and South.

Republicanism has always been Separatist, Socialist and Non-Sectarian. To reject the Socialist content of Republican philosophy is to reject the mass of the common people. To reject its fundamental non-sectarian character is to reject the mass of the Protestant people. Separatism alone is not Republicanism and will not unite the Irish people for a victorious struggle."

No reply

Tomás Mac Giolla's second statement has so far elicited no reply from the breakaway Sinn Féin group but little hope exists that any change in attitude is pending.

Sense of history

Therefore, it is up to individuals in the breakaway group who have a sense of history to say nothing that would worsen relations and to do nothing that would cause friction. The history of the Republican Movement is riddled with examples of the present bitterness and hatreds. Nothing ever came of it but regression and defeat. How long the present atmosphere will prevail is difficult to predict but Republicans of the future will have to judge the events of to-day and try explaining them to the Irish public. What has passed to date will be difficult enough to explain without adding further bitterness to an already tragic era.



Sean O Bradaigh, President of breakaway Sinn Féin.



Ruairi O Bradaigh, President of Sinn Féin.

De Valera will go down in history as a person who was a personal success but a failure as a revolutionary.

After the recent Ard Fheis it is clear that the Fianna Fail party, under either its present or alternative leadership, falls into the same mould.

Worse still, Fianna Fail has become a party of reaction, one which does not hinder but actively helps the forces of imperialism in Ireland.

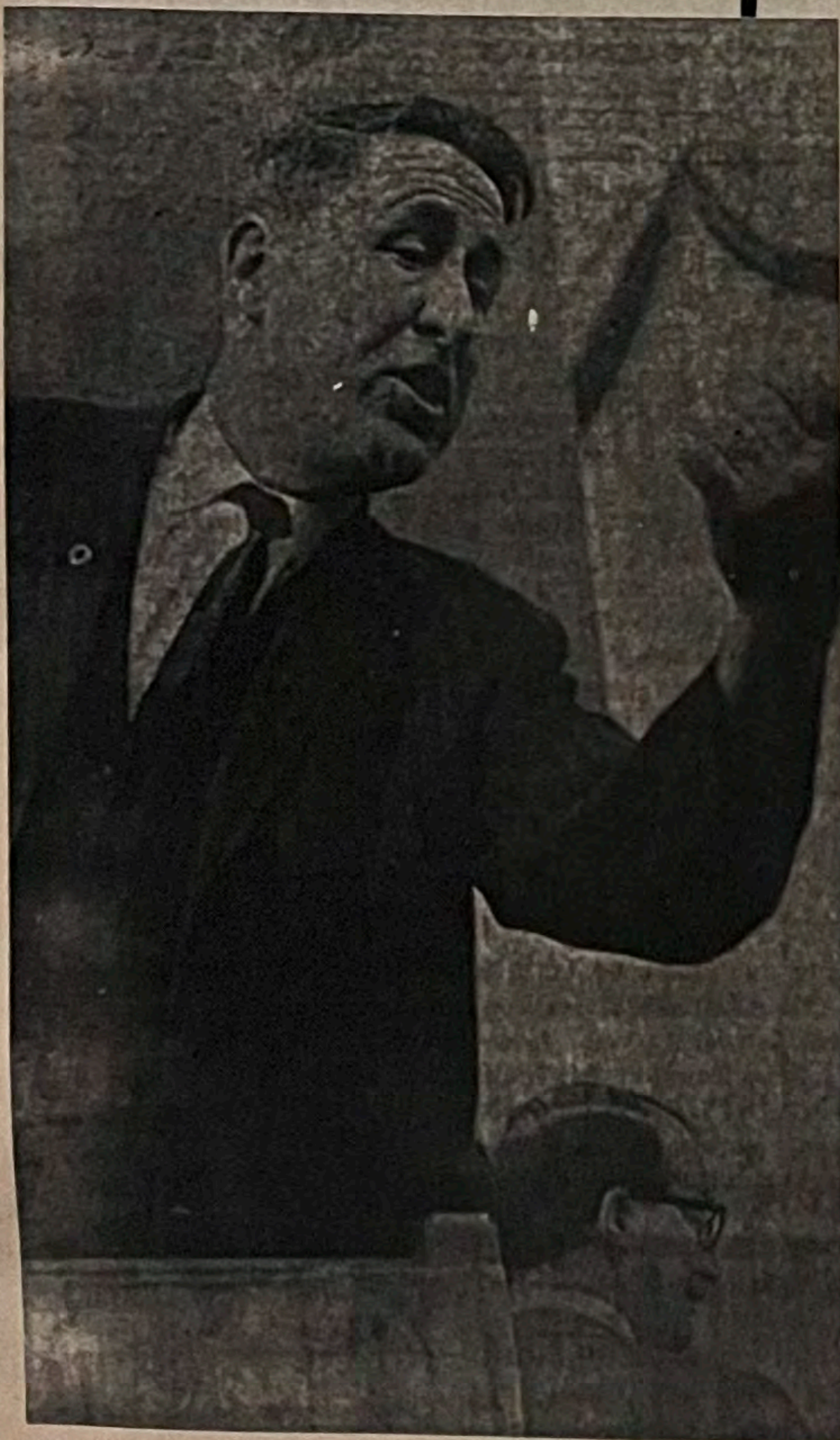
The parallel between Fianna Fail now and the party led by John Redmond is too close to go unnoticed.

Fianna Fail claim to be followers of Pearse and Connolly. They follow at such a respectable distance that they have lost sight not only of the men but of their principles.

The "unity brigade" of TACA and big business now rule Fianna Fail and a good section of the Irish people.

The position reached now by Fianna Fail was gravitated towards over the years. Power is now the only principle.

This article explains why.



After the schismatic Fianna Fail Ard Fheis where does Ireland stand? It might take months or even years for the truth to percolate fully into the national consciousness — but there is one great truth that stands out on the national skyline as the passion, tumult and horseplay fade from the memory. After a fifty year period of Republican fever, Ireland, in the person of Fianna Fail has shown a remarkable recovery. Weak residual signs of the fever come to less than four parts in a hundred and even that strain is nowhere as virulent or characteristic as the original virus.

Jack Lynch led a party from the R.D.S. that is satisfied to leave all the economic decisions affecting Ireland to Britain or Europe to make, reserving only a certain demand to home rule in internal matters. In terms of Republican political philosophy, in so far as Fianna Fail has claims to be Republican, Ireland is back beyond the 1916 position to the Home Rule position of the early years of the century. John Redmond, up to 1916, was leading towards a relationship with Britain that would give Ireland Home Rule while allowing the Imperial Parliament to look after defence, external relations and major economic matters affecting the destinies of the people of this island.

Jack Lynch, as head of Fianna Fail in 1971, is leading the 26 Counties back towards such a relationship with the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and the proposed entry of Ireland into the Common Market. History will see 1916 and all that flowed from it as a period of trauma suffered by the British domination of the Irish people followed by a complete recovery. After Ballsbridge, Jack Lynch has formally resumed where John Redmond was forced to leave off.

Not a heckle, not a sigh

The opposition to Lynch's openly professed Redmondism at the R.D.S. was not even Republican. The Blaney, Boland, Haughey faction concentrated all their firepower on personalities. Their main opposition to Lynch, had it emerged, was just a quibble — that of allowing the minority in the North defend themselves if they could. Enthusiasm without knowledge is a tragic, stupid thing. The ranting, raving shadows on the inside walls of the R.D.S. represented to some extent the beaten, betrayed instincts of Republican Ireland, but possessed neither philosophy, coherence or direction. Not a word, not a heckle, not a sigh while Jack Lynch pledged Fianna Fail to the grand coalition with the big-farmer Blue Shirt element in Fine Gael and the Unionist Party dragging Ireland into the economic and political slavery of the Common Market.

Contradiction in pose

The explosion in the North caught Fianna Fail in the paradoxical situation of having a Government in power pursuing the Redmondite policy of sub-servience to Britain while the party itself posed before the public as a Republican party. This contradiction was heightened to crisis point by the doomsday atmosphere emanating from the North and the response towards it by the public of the South.

The whole Fianna Fail party were caught between the upper millstone of an Imperialism which they had come to terms with and the nether millstone of a genuine Republican following which felt that the day of destiny had dawned at last for the party of destiny. Something had to give. What the Ard Fheis proved was that it was the pseudo-Republicanism of Messrs. Haughey, Boland and Blaney that had to give; the open subservient Redmondism of Lynch and Co. triumphed within Fianna Fail to an extent few people would have believed possible six short months ago. This is what the Ard Fheis has done. It has quantified the relative strengths as between Redmondism and pseudo-Republicanism and shown to what a terrible extent Irish minds and numbers have been sucked back into the British orbit. And in so much as it has done this the Ard Fheis is more than a comment on the Fianna Fail party; it is a comment on the whole political position of the Irish people. We have come full circle to the pre-1916 Redmond position.

That special train

Lynch's speech to the Ard Fheis shows just how firmly his eyes are fixed on London. When speaking of the oppressed minority in the North he fails to endorse the campaign of the Civil Rights Movement. Instead, he supports the Downing Street Declaration on civil rights, an unsatisfactory and half-forgotten British Government pledge on reform in the North.

Lynch's definition of Republicanism in this speech appears to be the final statement on a position he has been gravitating towards for some years. "Fianna Fail is a Republican Party. As such it advocates a democratic form of Government for the nation and it applies the same democratic principles to the government of the party itself". Laughable in the extreme when one considers the distorting influence of TACA on the democratic process. As to the government of the party itself we have the allegations of Boland and Blaney that the election of officers at the Ard Fheis was rigged and the sneers about the special train from Cork.

Delegates turning up to the R.D.S. to discover the idealism that motivates the party went home sobered by the knowledge that the predominant party doctrine is that of unity. Unity at all and every cost, it would seem. The patronage and corruption which the party used to stay in power has gained control and intends to keep it. The three great principles of the Fianna Fail party under De Valera were nowhere to be seen at the Ard Fheis—the ending of Partition, the building of a strong independent economy and the restoration of the Irish language.

Lynch's mumbling about the peaceful solution to Ireland's problems place him squarely in the high tradition of Daniel

FIANNA FAIL — THE FULL CIRCLE

O'Connell who, in Pearse's words, proposed "no political doctrine except the obviously untrue doctrine that liberty is too dearly purchased at the price of a single drop of blood". Lynch's position on the economy is exactly the opposite to what the Republican position is. Acceptance of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and the Common Market is the choosing of economic dependence in place of economic independence. Talk of "national identity" replaces talk of "national independence". Political follows economic slavery as night follows day.

No counsel for courage

The abandonment of the Irish language revival is a long standing symptom of Fianna Fail's growing sense of "reality". What need they, being come to sense, but fumble in the greasy till? And Faulkner's use of the sickening "outsider" ploy in answering the closure of Dun Chaoin National School show the depths now reached. Pearse's comment on the Redmondite party of his day is only too apt a description of the present Fianna Fail leadership. "The men who have led Ireland for twenty-five years have done evil, and they are bankrupt. They are bankrupt in policy, bankrupt in credit, bankrupt now even in words. They have nothing to propose to Ireland, no way of wisdom, no counsel of courage. When they speak they speak only untruth and blasphemy. Their utterances are no longer the utterances of men. They are the mumbblings and gibberings of lost souls".

Nor can Lynch's apparently outright victory in the incestuous struggle with Haughey, Boland and Blaney give him much sleep o' nights. Like Macbeth after the killing of Banquo and the escape of Fleance he can say to Paddy Hillery "we have scotched the snake, not killed it". Boland proved an easy isolationable embarrassment but Blaney nearly made it back to his position of Treasurer despite the injunction on his followers to vote for a rival every time they voted Blaney. Blaney used the Ard Fheis to gain a little ground from the floundering Boland and must be reckoned a danger in the future.

Haughey the new enigma?

Haughey, the cleverest of the dissidents, held back from the madding crowds, preferring to bide his time. Even now, Haughey has become something of an enigma with a mystery image rivalling that of De Valera in his hey-day. An economic crisis would generate an automatic call within Fianna Fail to the modern Cincinnatus who farms at Kinsealy and make his exclusion from the Cabinet an acute crisis for Lynch or even make him the natural leader of a Fianna Fail in opposition.

The Boland circus effectively diverted opinion and controversy from the most important single issue confronting the nation — the Common Market. Hillery's "enemies of the nation" syndrome usually exercised on people opposing the Common Market became an "enemies of Fianna Fail" one for the duration of the proceedings so effectively did the personality struggle dominate the scene.

Others of the motions on the Clar that failed to get a proper airing included the main one down for the Minister for Justice, C. S. O'Malley: "The Ard-Fheis asks the Government to repeal the Offences Against the State Act". This proposal had the support of three Comhairle Dail-cheantair and eleven other cumann throughout the country. Such an explosion of opposition within Fianna Fail to the O.A.S.A. reflects the bad reaction to the threat of internment before Christmas. Mr. O'Malley must have been delighted to forego any debate on the issue.

Business and property

Conspicuously absent from the motions on legal affairs was any approval either of the Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill or of the Criminal Justice Bill. Which shows that the spate of repressive legislation flowing from the Department of Justice over the past few years does not come from the "grass-roots" but from business and property interests.

Yet another motion eclipsed by the cosmic disorders at the Ard Fheis was one calling for the nationalising of the mining industry proposed by the U.C.C. Cumann and the Shankill (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown) Cumann. A motion under Local Government requesting the barring of the creation of new ground rents was proposed by three Dublin Cumainn. A further motion in the same section urged the Government to repeal Section 30 of the Local Government Act 1946 "which empowers the Minister to dissolve a democratically elected public body".

MA
LIT
W
Ho
Ac
in
Whe
recent
Dunmu
western
pickete
Wolfe
The
to high
policy v
governm
Ireland
ing in t
protest
governm
ment fo
The E
to devel
but the
objected
reasons:
aggravat
of social
employ
(2) The
provide
industry
employ
would a
environ
Anderson
The Cl
ever, tha
policy to
ing of m
contrary
ment beli
15,000 ne
built ann
the gover
However,
G. J.
MONUM
SCULP
Branch Yard
Castle Street
Castlebar.
Phone: Castl
KILLALA
Ph
KEVIN
BARR
KEVIN
COMM
POSTER
ONLY

Statement to the general public

On the 2nd of January, 1971 the question of a United Easter Commemoration Parade in Belfast was raised at a meeting of the leadership of the Official and Provisional movements. To date, no reply has been forthcoming. Therefore the National Commemoration Committee feel that the general public and all interested bodies, should be made aware of the following facts:—

Following the split which occurred within the Republican movement in January, 1970, every effort was made by the Official Republican Movement in Belfast, through the National Commemoration Committee right up to Easter Saturday last, to have one parade to Milltown Cemetery on Easter Sunday. Various neutral or independent organisations and individuals can testify, that the National Commemoration Committee members on behalf of the Official Republican movement, were willing at all times to discuss and work out in conjunction with members of the Provisional movement, an agreed formula which would bring about one United Parade (if only for one hour) to honour Ireland's dead in a dignified and fitting manner.

This was done quietly, as we had no wish to air our differences through the Public Press, for the satisfaction of those who desired to see a deepening of the split among Republicans.

We have no desire, nor do we intend to enter into any controversy over this, but rather to place the facts before the general public and all interested bodies, in order that they may be the judge this Easter.

It is out of concern that we should not have a repetition of two parades again this year, that the National

Commemoration Committee have decided to make public the efforts made last year in the hope that we may enlist the aid of the general public, all Republicans, national and cultural bodies, to bring whatever influence they may have to bear, in order that we all can honour Ireland's dead with the dignity that befits the solemn occasion of Easter.

Recognising that there is now another organisation claiming the title Republican Movement, the National Commemoration Committee on behalf of the Official Republican Movement, put forward the following six points, listed below as a formula to bring about one Parade.

1. That an independent body comprising the Republican Felons Club, Na Fianna Eireann, Old I.R.A., G.A.A. and two delegates from both Republican Groups, would organise the colour party, etc. and take complete charge of the parade.

2. That no speaker from either side give the oration. If any oration is to be given by independent body, that representatives of both movements read it beforehand and anything objectionable be deleted.

3. That no statement from either side be read or handed out at the cemetery.

4. That a simple ceremony consisting of a decade of the Rosary, reading of the Proclamation and the Last Post be held.

5. That all wreaths on behalf of either movement be laid privately. Wreaths from other national bodies can be laid publicly.

6. Each organisation to reserve the right to issue their own statements to the Press for Easter Monday.

The National Commemoration Committee believe that in setting out

the above points, the Provisional Committee or the National Graves Association, if they intend to use this organisation, are not being asked to concede anything with the official Republican Movement. It is not being asked to concede. Therefore we appeal to the following people, organisations and associations in particular, to make their voices heard, that we may avoid a public display of disunity, in the face of the common enemy, this coming Easter:

1. The general public — this is your parade, let your voice be heard now.

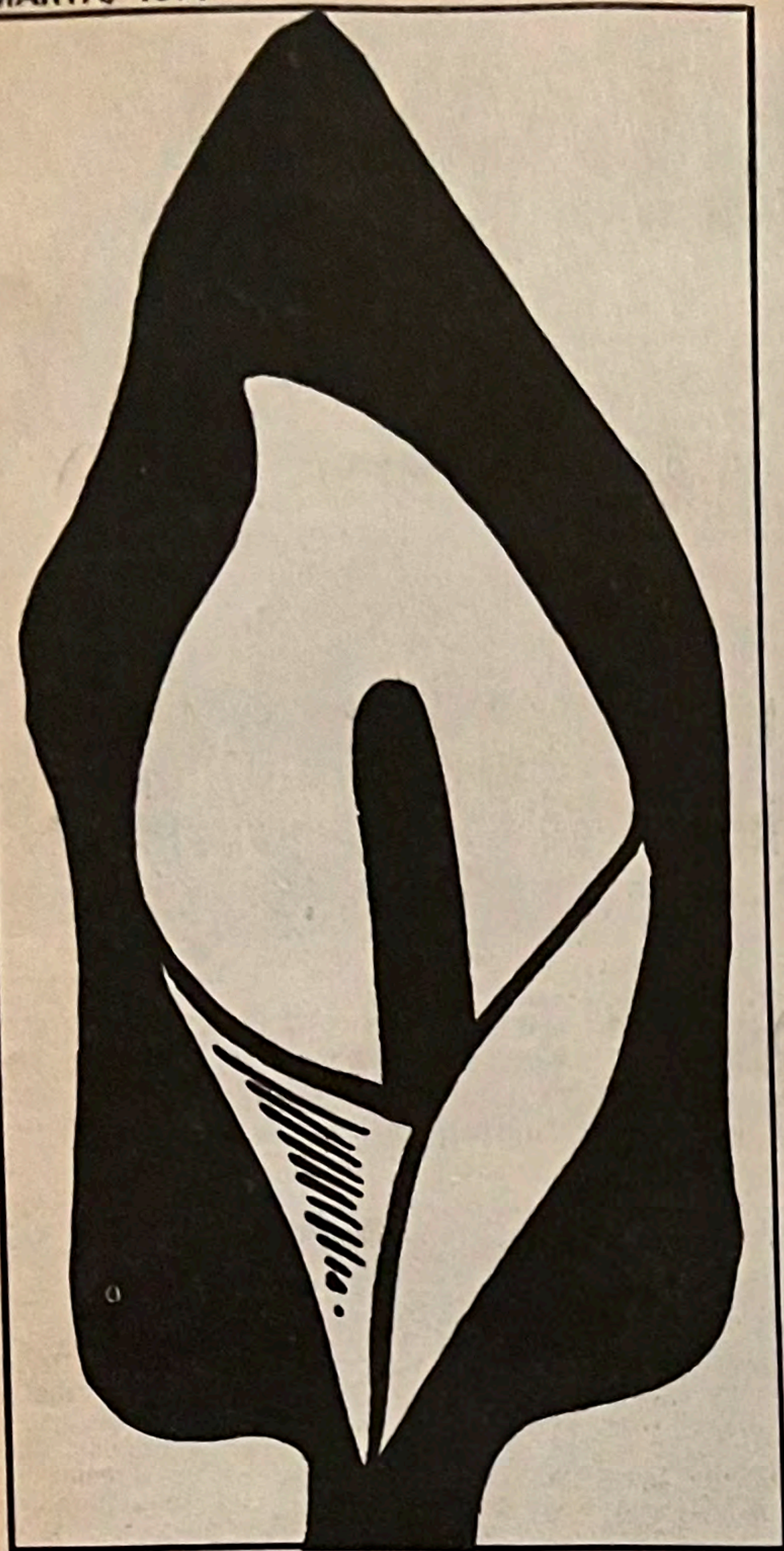
2. The many members of the Provisionals, whom we know to be sincere in their desire for one parade, and co-operation at all levels — to assert themselves in this crucial matter.

3. To the older Republicans who support the Provisionals — make your presence as a body felt now, or Irish Republicanism which is dear to us all, will be condemned to the reality of two parades for many years to come.

4. To all members of the Belfast Bands who usually marched in the Republican Parade at Easter, and to the three in particular who last year adopted a partisan attitude (largely we believe through misrepresentation of the policy of the Official Republican Movement) to signify that they will take part only with those who desire and are working for one united parade.

5. Finally to all National Cultural Bodies — use the strength of your organisation, association, Cumann or club, in this very worthy objective, that we may this year close the ranks at least for one hour together on Easter Sunday to honour Ireland's dead.

Signed:—
JIM SULLIVAN,
MALACHY MCBURNEY.



FIANNA PLAN FOR SUMMER CAMPS



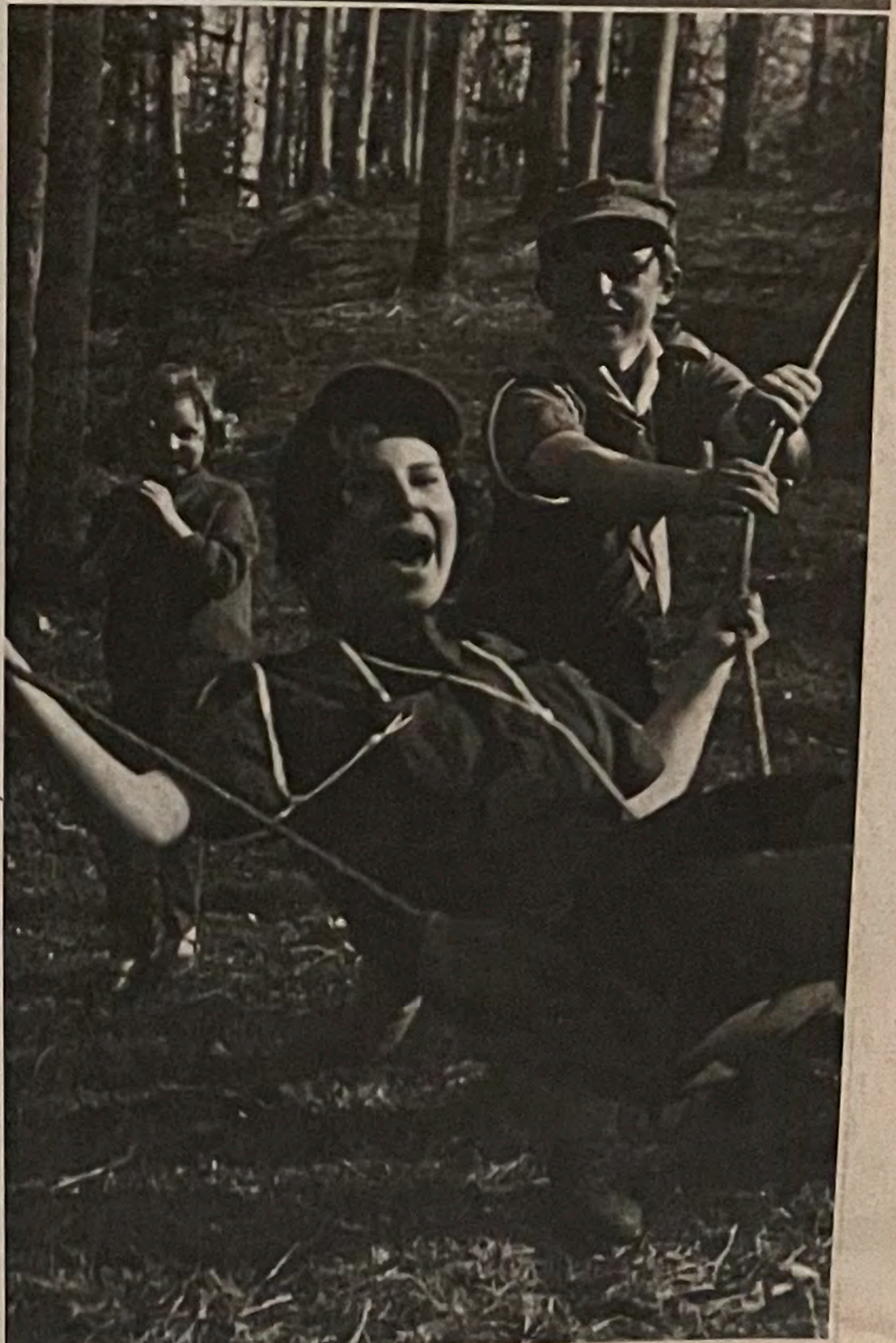
With the winter almost behind us and the weather steadily improving the thoughts of every Fianna boy and girl have no doubt turned to the coming season of hiking, camping and other outdoor pursuits. In the meantime, however, Fiannals are busy at slua meetings preparing for the test examinations which are now held regularly by An Ard Oifig.

It is important to remember that the building of a mere scouting organisation was never and is not the sole objective of Na Fianna. As well as teaching its members basic scouting skills and an appreciation of the outdoor life, Fianna's role includes their education in Socialist-Republican principles and objectives.

It is hoped that when they grow to adulthood and eventually leave the organisation, they will have a firm grasp of the policies of the Republican Movement and that they will be ready always to strike a blow for the common people of Ireland.

At a recent meeting of An Ard-Choliste there was strong condemnation of the Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill, at present before Leinster House.

Those interested in joining Na Fianna should write to: Director of Organisation, Na Fianna Eireann, 2 Sr. Dorsait Iocht, Ath Cliath, 1.



"... HARK! THE MARTIAL TRAMP IS HEARD FROM CORK TO DONEGAL"

(LEGION OF THE REARGUARD)



RELEASE THESE MEN!

The latest step taken by Newry's Oliver Craven Republican Club to draw attention to the plight of Irish political prisoners was an outstanding success. Contingents from Belfast, Fermagh, Dundalk and Longstone joined hundreds of local people to make it the biggest "Release the Prisoners" and anti-internment march yet seen in Ireland.

An advance guard of thirty ex-political prisoners who had served between them a total of nearly 200 years in gaol for their beliefs, preceded the national flag which was carried by Mr. Dominic Loy, an ex-internee. The local Fianna Eireann under ex-felon Sean Fitzpatrick pro-

vided the colour party; they were followed by the Wolfe Tone Band, the St. Joseph's Band and the John Mitchel Band.

The most gratifying aspect of the parade was the sight of so many republicans of several generations united in a single purpose. Veterans of the War of Independence like Gerry Monaghan, Tom Mulligan and Christie Loy campaigned with "Forties" and "Fifties" men and the youthful Fianna Scouts for the release of their comrades in English jails.

At the John Mitchel statue Mr. Tommy Mulligan, a veteran of the 4th Division Old I.R.A., laid a simple wreath of barbed wire and

laurel leaves. The wreath was in memory of — and in solidarity with — all political prisoners from Mitchels time to the present day.

The laurels for the wreath were picked at Drumalane House — the house where John Mitchel had lived in Newry; the barbed wire frame of the wreath was in the shape of a prison cell window.

At the meeting Doreen McGreevey of the Warrenpoint - Restrevor Republican Club said that the laws which had transported John Mitchel to Van Diemen's land were the same type as those which had placed Pat Sullivan, Conor Lynch, Gerry Doherty, Eamonn Smullen

and many more in the living hells that were English top security prisons. Only by smashing the system of British Imperialism North and South could they free the country forever from the threat of internment, imprisonment and coercion. In this aim they need not look for help from the traitors and felon-setters in the 26-county Government. Jack Lynch had sold Eamonn Smullen and Gerry Doherty to the English Special Branch. Now they were attempting to sell the whole country into the Common Market economic prison.

Brian Patterson of the Oliver Craven Club said that the myth that Britain was trying to keep the peace in Ireland by keeping Catholic and Protestant apart was a hoary lie. "The fact that one of the greatest republican patriots of the 19th century, John Mitchel was a Protestant was clear proof of the

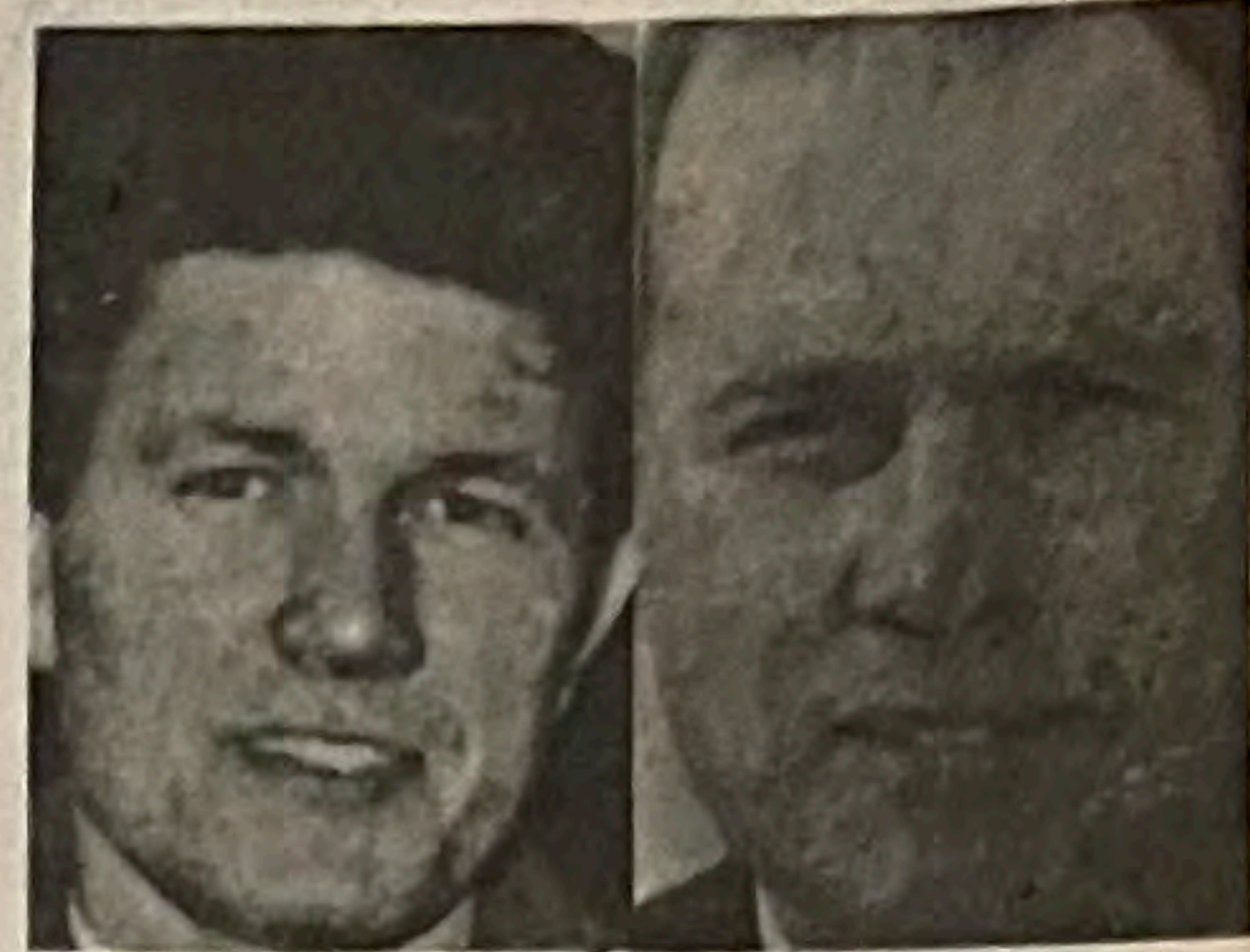
non-sectarian nature of the republican struggle. Only a few yards from them stood a monument to Cochrane and Lowlands, two Protestant patriots who had been murdered in 1798 by the same army who were now murdering people in the streets of Belfast. It was also significant that one of the political prisoners for whose release they were campaigning, Barry Buton, was a Protestant".

Miss Madge Davidson of the Connolly Youth Movement, who is a Belfast Protestant, said that the trouble on the streets of Belfast had been caused by provocation and brutality on the part of the Army. An



● Lynch

● O'Sullivan



● O'Doherty

● Smullen



The National Flag, carried by ex-political prisoner Mr. Dominic Loy, heads Newry's "Release the Prisoners" march, accompanied by the local Fianna Eireann. It was the fourth such demonstration organised in Newry and the biggest to date.

LEGAL AID APPEAL

The following donations were received by the legal aid fund during the past month:

Fr. Michael Sweetman, S.J.	£7
J. F. O'Regan	£1
Priest, U.S.A.	£5
Caroline Mac Cana	£5
Michael O'Aisil	£5
Atha Cilath 9.	£2
Anonymous	£1
Mary McMahon, U.C.G.	£1
M. O'Faolain, U.C.G.	£1
Dublin Comhairle Ceantair	£40
P.P. Jer O'Leary	£5

This money will be added to the sums already collected to help defray the costs of the legal appeals in the cases of Eamonn Smullen, Gerard O'Doherty, Conor Lynch and Pat O'Sullivan.

More money is needed to ensure that these men get the best legal help possible in their fight against the British prison system. Send your contribution to the

LEGAL AID APPEAL FUND,
30 GARDINER PLACE,
DUBLIN 1.

All contributions will be acknowledged.

AINM

SEOLADH

MEID



Mr. Thomas Mulligan, veteran of the Fourth Northern Division, Old I.R.A., lays a wreath at the John Mitchel statue, Newry, in solidarity with Irish political prisoners in English Gaols.

CLANN NA h-EIREANN

The Irish Socialist Republican Organisation in England, Scotland and Wales. Co-ordinates activities of Irish Exiles in support of the Republican Movement in Ireland.

The work of Clann na h-Eireann is vital at a time when the Republican Movement is engaged in fighting the Tory and Unionist Government misrule in Ireland, in fighting the Common Market pro-Imperialist sell-out policies of the Government in the South. Clann is playing an active role in the release campaign for Irish political prisoners. Play your part. Contact any of the following organisers.

BIRMINGHAM AND MIDLANDS
Padraig Yeats,
67 Birchwood Crescent,
Moseley,
Birmingham.

MANCHESTER
M. Gaughan,
41 Gill St.,
Blackley,
Manchester 9.

GLASGOW
Clan na h-Eireann,
3 South Exchange Court,
Queen St.,
Glasgow Cl.

LONDON AREA
Clan na h-Eireann,
6 Albermarle Way,
Clerkenwell,
London.

LEEDS-HUDDESFIELD
Sean Laughran,
51 Bayswater Rd.,
Leeds,
Yorkshire.

SOUTHAMPTON
J. Leahy,
52 Hammonds Green,
Totton,
Southampton,
Hants.

OXFORD-AYLESBURY
Gabriel Drum,
11 Atkinson Close,
Headington,
Barton West,
Oxford.

BRISTOL
P. O'Finagain,
66 Palmyra Rd.,
Bedminster,
Bristol 3.

LIVERPOOL
Michael McNulty,
26 Anderson Avenue,
Bootle.

JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.
We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.
We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.
We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.
We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

UNITE TO FIGHT

I wish to join the Republican Movement

NAME

ADDRESS

Contact or write to the following:

LEINSTER

ARD OFIG,
30 Gardiner Place,
Dublin 1.

ULSTER

M. McGURRAN
56 Brownlow Terrace,
Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

LIAM O COMAIN,
36 Rathbeg Crescent,
Limavady, Co. Derry.

CONNACHT

P. KILCULLEN
Kilmore, Ballina,
Co. Mayo.

IGNATIUS CRAVEN
Mannin, Craughwell,
Co. Galway.

MUNSTER

JACK LYNCH,
Carberry,
Earlwood Estate,
Togher Road,
Cork.

B. MADDEN
c/o Halla Tomas Aghas,
Fr. Matthew Quay,
Cork City.

SEAN O'CBALLAIGH,
113 An Cé,
Portlairge.

The United Irishman

12 months for £1

U.S. \$6 annual subscription.
Cheques or postal orders should be made payable to:
THE UNITED IRISHMAN, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

NAME

ADDRESS

HISTORY AS IT HAPPENED

The twelve issues of the United Irishman: August 1969 — August 1970, a complete and accurate account of the historic events in Ireland.

THE 12 ISSUES 50p
POST INCLUDED

Limited Numbers Only—
Order Immediately

PORTLAIRGE SINN FEIN CITIZENS' ADVICE BUREAU

113 An Ce
EVERY SUNDAY 11 a.m. — 1 p.m.

CASTLE HOTEL

Mr. and Mrs. Donal O'Connor (Props.)

FIRST CLASS CATERING
CENTRAL SITUATION
TERMS MODERATE

Personal Supervision

GARDINER ROW,
DUBLIN

Hot and cold water in all bedrooms.

Phone 46949 and 42554.
Free garage accommodation.

Suit Yourself

at

E. Leslie

Drapers,

28 Peter St.

Drogheda.



Specialists in Ladies' Gents' and Children's Wear.

Tel: Drogheda 6173.

D. Mac Giolla Phadraig

BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER

12 Cathedral Street
Dublin

BODENSTOWN

The annual all-Ireland Wolfe Tone Commemoration will be held at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare, on Sunday, June 20. Full details will be announced later.

Title: The United Irishman, Iml. 25, Uimh. 3

Organisation: Sinn Féin [Official]

Date: 1971

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit www.leftarchive.ie

The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to us, in addition to the original creators. For republication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to The Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.