

S.O.S. FROM THE NORTH

Defence Committees Appeal for Help

TWELVE representatives of Defence Committees in the Six Counties travelled to Dublin on May 12 and held a press conference in Wynn's Hotel.

They issued a statement "expressing the alarm of those who are involved in the Defence Committees with Mr. Jack Lynch's recent statements:

That he will not use the 26-County Army under any circumstances to protect our people.

That he will not allow defensive equipment to be sent into the North. (In August last, even gas masks were refused to the people of Derry's Bogside.)"

They called for urgent help from Irishmen everywhere.

Seán Keenan of Derry was Chairman of the meeting and he and his group answered questions from press, radio and television representatives for almost two hours. They stressed that the danger of further attacks on Nationalist areas was very great and that they needed help now.

They said that they had met Messrs. Lynch, Hillery, Haughey, Boland and Gibbons in February last and advised them of the plight of Nationalist people in the North.

DIRECT APPEAL

Seán O Ceallaigh of Belfast said:

"Despite all that has happened, no consideration has been given to the people in the Six Counties. Our plight now is considerably worse than it ever was. There is no strategy, apparently, for dealing with the situation. We can turn no longer to Lynch and we can't turn to Britain or to Stormont. We have been left completely to our own resources. We are not asking Mr. Lynch to solve Partition by violence, but to protect us."

It was apparent from what the Northern speakers said that they were completely disgusted with the attitude of the Dublin Government; that recent statements by Mr. Lynch would encourage the Orange extremists and that it was now necessary to by-pass the Leinster House set-up and appeal directly to the Irish people for help.

Seán Keenan said:

"National unity last August was greater than at any time since 1918. I believe that Irish people all over will come to our aid. There are not enough soldiers in the whole of the British Army to protect adequately the people of the Six Counties even if they wanted to. We have information that the following areas are scheduled for attack by the U.V.F.: Pomeroy, Dungannon, Maghera and Dungiven."

Liam Slevin, Fermanagh, added: "Harry West has started up an ex-B Special force in Co. Fermanagh

which is spreading throughout the Six Counties. Many guns issued to B Specials have not been handed in. This new B force will be out soon again, fighting alongside the British Army."

Hugh McAteer, Belfast, asked:

"What should we do if attacked? Allow ourselves to be slaughtered or fight back? With what? Stones and bottles and petrol bombs against automatic weapons? If Lynch has a plan, let him send observers into a few areas in the Six Counties, into Belfast, Derry and Dungannon, so that the plan may be divulged when the trouble starts and that leadership will fall naturally to those observers."

The Defence Committees' representatives said in their statement:

We want to know:

"What will Mr. Lynch's policy be in the event of further outbreaks of trouble, on a greater scale perhaps, than last year?"

"Will Mr. Lynch and his Government stand idly by and see people slaughtered and their homes destroyed?"

"What alternative to defensive measures does Mr. Lynch have to offer?"

"Will Mr. Lynch now tell us that he will accept full responsibility for any loss of life or damage to property?"

"Will Mr. Lynch tell the Irish people, plainly and clearly, that he is abandoning the people of the North to the violence of sectarian bigots and the berserk attacks of Crown Forces?"

SOLELY DEFENSIVE

"We are not advocating violence. But we wish all the Irish people to know that among our people in the North there is a very real fear of attack on them and their homes. In August last, nine people lost their lives and 500 homes were destroyed. The bona fides of the British Army as peace-keepers is suspect among the nationally-minded people. Furthermore, it is well known and accepted that for the British Army, even if it



Seán Keenan (Derry) presides at the Press Conference. Seated, from left, A. McAlinden (Armagh), S. O. Ceallaigh (Belfast), P. O'Hagan (Down), L. Slevin (Fermanagh), and K. McNicholl (Tyrone).

'Seriosfadh an Comhargadh Naisiun agus Teanga'

SCRIOSFAIDH an Comhargadh an náisiún seo, a náisiúntacht agus a teanga dúchais," dúirt Maol-sheuchlainn O Caollai, Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge, ina Aitheasc don Ard-Fheis i nDún Garbhán ar Bhealtaine 23.

Chait sé an chuid be mhó dá ráiteas ag tagairt don Chómhargadh.

did wish to protect lives, it is a physical impossibility to protect all the people all the time. The trouble at Easter in one area of Belfast (Ballymurphy) strained the resources of the British Army in the city to the full.

"We emphasise that we are concerned solely with defensive measures.

"We repeat our dismay and alarm at Mr. Lynch's indifference towards the plight of our people.

"We remind the people of the 26 Counties that the people of the North have always played their part in the national struggle. We did our bit in the period between 1916 and 1921, and helped in the achievement of whatever measure of freedom that has been enjoyed in the 26 Counties since 1921.

"Are we to be abandoned now?"

Other representatives present were: J. B. O'Hagan, A. McAlinden, Armagh; S. Collins, Derry; P. O'Hagan, B. Murray, Down; P. Sullivan, Antrim; B. Burns, Fermanagh; K. McNicholl, Tyrone.

The following day's Irish News (Belfast) reported the press conference under a six-column front page heading: "What Policy if Trouble Breaks Out Again? Anxious Northerners put five questions to Lynch."

Dúirt sé go gceallfimis ár bhféinúil-acht san eagrais sin. Bheadh cúrsaí na tíre á stiúradh ag Státseirbhíshigh Brussels agus bheadh an tír faoi rialacha eacnamaíochta laistear fairsce, an fhealsúnacht a thug dúinn an Ghorta Mhór agus meath na Gaeilge. Luaigh an tUachtarán sampla na Briotáine agus d'iarr sé ar phobal na hÉireann cur i gcoinne ballraíochta an Chómhargaidh mar gurbh ionann i agus Acht na hAontachta, 1800. Foilsíodimid téacs an Aithrise an mhí seo chugainn.

CORK MEETING

More than forty members of Sinn Féin attended a meeting in Cork City on May 2 at which Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh presided.

U. O. Loinsigh spoke on organisation and gave details of activities and progress made since January last, stating that the principal task of the movement was to organise itself to rid the country of British occupation. It must be fully understood that Mr. Wilson's Labour Government had more British troops in the Six Counties than at any time since 1921 and they were there to ensure that "Ulster remains British."

Tony Ruane detailed plans for fund raising and appealed to all present to play their part in putting the movement on a sound financial footing.

Concluding the meeting, Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh said that Red elements would never again manage to get a grip in this movement as we would be fully alert in the future.

Sinn Féin in London

At a meeting of over forty Republicans held in Victoria, London, on April 26; it was decided to establish a London Regional Executive to control all Sinn Féin activities in the London area.

The following officers were elected:

President of the Regional Executive: **Terry Dunne.**

Chairman: **Peter Andrews.**

Vice-Chairmen: **Seán Carson** and **Tomás Ennis.**

Secretary: **Pól O Croidheáin.**

Assistant Secretary: **Liam Mac Domhnaill.**

Treasurers: **Seán McGovern** and **Seán Curran.**

Various aspects of organising Sinn Féin in London were discussed. The postal address of the Regional Executive is 107 Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, London W.12.

ENNIS CUMANN

Mr. Kevin J. Browne was unanimously re-elected Chairman of the Ennis Peadar Clancy Sinn Féin Cumann. There was a big attendance at the annual general meeting. Other officers elected were: Mr. Flann Liddy, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Noreen Slattery, Treasurer; and Mr. Daithí Buíteach, Secretary.

CRISIS: Army Council Denies Involvement with Politicians

The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau released this statement on May 10:

"The current crisis in the 26-County Cabinet again highlights the most crucial issue facing the Irish people, namely, the defence of the people of the Six Counties. As is well known, this issue arose from the barbaric attacks on the people in the North last August when nine people were killed and over 500 homes destroyed. At the time, Republicans in all parts of Ireland answered the call of the people of the Six Counties for aid and involved themselves in preparing adequate defensive measures.

"Dissatisfaction with the then leadership of the Republican Movement arose in Belfast, the North-West and other parts of the country due to the lack of preparation prior to the crisis and the reluctance to pursue a vigorous realistic defensive policy in the post-August period. The situation within the movement was further aggravated by the then leadership introducing irrelevant issues such as recognising the Parliaments of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.

"These issues were resolved last December when a special Army

convention elected a Provisional Army Council whose chief priority was the providing of realistic defensive measures for the people of the North. Irish people at home and abroad have helped in this work. Many people who were heartened by Mr. Lynch's statement of last August that he would not stand idly by and see people in the North massacred were sadly disillusioned by subsequent statements that smacked of political hypocrisy rather than a real concern for the people of the North.

"It is now apparent that some of Mr. Lynch's colleagues did not agree with his policy. It is alleged that an effort was made to import arms. If this is true and the arms were intended for the defence of the people of the North, then we can understand the actions of the men concerned, but we wish to make it quite clear that the Provisional Army Council had no connection with the people mentioned, nor are we aware of their motives, whether long-term or short-term.

"Press allegations have been made that the Provisional Army Council has been helped by Mr. Blaney in the form of finance, arms and training facilities. These

allegations are completely untrue and are hereby repudiated. The Provisional Army Council has relied solely on the support of the loyal Republicans and Irish people generally, both at home and abroad. Furthermore the false statement that units of the I.R.A. under the Provisional Army Council were promoting sectarian rioting in Ballymurphy, Belfast, was again repeated in the press when, in fact, the contrary was the case.

"It should be further noted that (1) The Provisional Army Council has no connection with 'The Voice of the North'; (2) It has not been clarified how the report of alleged arms importation reached Dublin and what part British Government services played in this; (3) An internal Cabinet crisis in Dublin which is entirely unconnected with the Republican Movement may well be utilised to lend justification to the internment, with or without trial, of Republicans, north and south of the Border. We ask the Irish people to be on guard against any such developments."

The statement was signed by P. O'Neill, Rúnaí.

BELFAST PRESS CENTRE SETS RECORD STRAIGHT

A NORTHERN REPUBLICAN comment on recent events in Fianna Fáil and Leinster House was provided by this statement from the Belfast Republican Press Centre:

It is not our intention to indulge in the felon-setting which was so apparent during the "crisis" at Leinster House, a crisis which should have had one basic reality, viz., the defence of our fellow Irishmen in the North, but which was deliberately substituted by the lie that ghost columns of Republican gun-runners were organising to invade and attack the Border from within and without. All political parties seemed eager to outdo each other in this pernicious propaganda and felon-setting. On top of this came the collaborating statement issued under the name of Sinn Féin (Intercontinental), "In consultation with Six-County Republicans."

SPONTANEOUS BREAK

We claim the right, therefore, by factual statements to make our position clear. The break with the Republican leadership in Dublin was spontaneous within the movement. It took place in both the political and military wings. It arose out of the growing mistrust of the leadership and the growing fear of rank and file members that the traditional Republican Movement was to be phased out and replaced by a left wing so-called National Liberation Front, including Communist Party members, which is still very much in evidence in parts of the country.

In actual fact this part of the process had been decided upon by the top brass some years before the troubles broke out in Derry and Belfast in August, 1969. Efforts were being made to indoctrinate Republicans and the Irish people generally with the doctrines of Marx, Mao and Castro through the medium of the

columns of the *United Irishman* and at Republican graveside commemorations. The name of James Connolly was seized upon to provide a safe Irish platform from which to launch international socialist teachings. It was this betrayal of legitimate Irish Republicanism which caused the first crisis in Republican ranks.

NO DEFENCE

Then came the August troubles. The weapons of defence upon which the men of the ghettos of Bogside and Belfast sought to lay hands were not available. In fact they did not exist, apart from totally inadequate quantities, not capable of protecting our Northern people. This was the deciding factor in the split especially in the North.

Because of this failure, efforts were made in various quarters throughout the country and abroad to secure the means of defending our people. As responsible Republicans, we cannot and will not act as felon setters; nor will we allow ourselves to be provoked into betraying those who gave help and succour to our stricken people. Therefore, we shall be content to let the Irish people at home and abroad judge for themselves the truth of the allegations which have been made against us.

NO F.F. LINK

We deny categorically:

- (1) That the Provisional forces as such had any negotiations with the Fianna Fáil Government or with any of the political parties.
- (2) That money or arms came to us from any of these sources.
- (3) That we have any control or association whatsoever with the "Voice of the North" newspaper.
- (4) That we have at any time agreed to foster or spread the policies of the Fianna Fáil Party in the North.

We do assert:—

- (1) That the split which took place in the movement first took place immediately following the August troubles and was confined to Belfast.
- (2) That the second and present cleavage took place in January of this year and became nationwide, culminating in the setting up of the Provisional Army Council and the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.
- (3) That those responsible for the unfortunate position into which the Republican Movement has been forced are those who by discarding traditional Irish Republicanism and Irish Socialism and by adopting the foreign socialism of Marx and Mao in preference to Connolly, Lócláir, Tone and Mellowes and who, by lies, half-truths and innuendoes, are sabotaging the Republican cause.

We call upon the Irish people everywhere to give us their support in re-establishing the Republicanism of Tone, and the fulfilment of our National Ideal, a Free, Democratic, Socialist Republic acceptable to the Irish people.

The statement was signed by Joseph Brown, Secretary of the Belfast Republican Press Centre.

DROGHEDA

A meeting to re-organise the Capt. T. Flanagan Cumann in Drogheda was held in the Foresters' Hall, Drogheda, on Monday night, May 4. Mr. L. Grogan presided and also present were: P. McDonnell, M. Collins, T. Collins, Mrs. M. McCormack, E. Smith, C. Smith, P. Shiels, T. Lynch and Mrs. K. Everitt.

The Chairman pointed out that it would be advisable to form a new Officer Board and Committee, and this election resulted as follows: Chairman: Martin Collins; Hon. Sec.: Larry Grogan; Hon. Treasurer: Paddy McDonnell; Committee: P. Shiels, T. Collins, E. Smith, J. Coombes, C. Smith, Mrs. M. McCormack and Mrs. K. Everitt.

The question of the sale of *An Phoblacht* was discussed and it was decided that as in the past commission on sales would be credited to the funds of the Cumann.

A discussion then took place as to the best method to transport members and their friends to the Annual Pilgrimage to Bodenstown which takes place this year on June 14, and it was decided to hire a bus for the purpose, supplemented if necessary with mini-buses.

A special effort will be made to make this year's pilgrimage an outstanding success, and all the members of the Cumann were pleased to know

EXECUTIVE CLARIFIES POSITION

The Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin fully endorses the statement issued by the Secretary of the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau on behalf of the Provisional Army Council, in which it was clearly stated that the Republican Movement has had no connection whatever with Fianna Fáil or any member of Fianna Fáil.

We should like to say again that no member of Fianna Fáil had anything to do with the split in the Republican Movement. We repeat, for the record, the five reasons for the split, as set out in our statement of January 17 last:

1. Recognition of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.
2. Extreme Socialism leading to dictatorship.
3. Internal methods being used in the Movement.
4. Failure to give maximum possible defence in Belfast and

that all the Free State Parties will be parading on the same day, June 21, and that Republicans will have their own special day.

The Cumann pledged its allegiance and full support to the Provisional Army Council and the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.

Monthly meetings were fixed for the first Monday of each month at 9.00 p.m.

other Northern centres last August.

5. Campaigning to retain Stormont instead of seeking its abolition. The body fraudulently styling itself Sinn Féin has now allied itself with the Connolly Association, Connolly Youth Movement, the Irish Communist Party and other extreme Socialist elements in forming a National Liberation Front, and would be more correctly labelled the N.L.F.

As the I.R.P.B. Statement remarked, they have no right to call themselves Sinn Féin. They have pledged allegiance to a leadership which recognises Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House, and in so doing are in flagrant breach of the Sinn Féin Constitution and rules and have suspended themselves from membership. The Sinn Féin Constitution, as approved by the Ard-Fheis, is upheld by the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin which was appointed by the Ard-Fheis last January and to which the vast majority of the members and Cumann give recognition and support. Our Cumann are organised throughout Ireland, North and South, and the fact that they currently sell 28,000 copies of *AN PHOBLACHT*, the official Republican monthly paper, is adequate proof that we are the true Sinn Féin organisation with a truly national base.

Ceili Mor i Muineachan

Monaghan Sinn Féin Cumann will hold a Céili Mór in St. Macartan's Hall, Monaghan, on Friday, July 3, and together with the Monaghan people, they expect a large attendance from all parts of the country, north and south.

A special guest at this function will be Joe Clarke, Dublin, a veteran of 1916, and a man who has remained sincere and true to the ideals and principles of Republicanism throughout the years. The guest speaker for the occasion will be Ruairi O Brádaigh, Longford, who is Chairman of the Caretaker Executive.

The céili dancers will have no cause to complain because the music chosen for them is the ever-popular Felix Kearney Céili Band from Omagh, who confine their music to traditional Irish tunes.

Dancing will be from 9-1 a.m. Cead isteach, 7/- . Supper will be available at the hall.

Beidh fáilte roimh achan duine atá ag súil go mbeidh Eire Saor and Gaelach amach anseo.

Irish Book Bureau Seosamh O Cleirigh (Joe Clarke)

33 O'DONOVAN ROAD, SOUTH CIRCULAR RD., DUBLIN, Phone 753723

I DIE IN A GOOD CAUSE. A Study of Thomas Ashe, Idealist and Revolutionary. By Seán O Lúing	10/6	1/-
THE CIVIL WAR. By Eoin Neeson	15/-	1/6
THE INDIVISIBLE ISLAND. By Frank Gallagher	21/-	1/6
PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM. By Terence Mac Swiney: Board Cover	15/-	1/2
Paper Back	9/6	1/-
GLIMPSES OF AN IRISH FELON'S PRISON LIFE. By Tom Clarke	5/-	8d.
ROBERT EMMET'S SPEECH FROM THE DOCK, with Portrait of the Patriot on Cover	1/-	4d.
STORY OF KEVIN BARRY. By Seán Cronin	3/6	6d.

WRITE FOR BOOK LIST

An Ciste Poiblíochta

Gabhadmí buíochas leis na daoine flaitiúla seo a chuir sábháid chugainn:

C. Uí Mhuinnheacháin, Iarmhi	4	14	0
Jim Wall	10	0	0
M. Heslin, New York	6	5	0
P. Maguire, Cavan	1	0	0

How to Form Co-operatives

CO-OPERATION has been described by a leading Japanese co-operator as "Christianity in Action." It could also be defined as "economic democracy" or "mutual self-help."

Robert Owen in the early 19th century christened this "Co-operation" when he wrote:
"Competition must be replaced by co-operation."

TYPES OF CO-OPERATIVE

Co-operatives are many and varied, but the main types may be classified under four headings, namely:

Producer Co-operatives: Industrial and agricultural, in which the workers are owners. These include co-operative buying and selling organisations for purchasing and selling in bulk.

Consumer Co-operatives: Both wholesale and retail, in which the customers are the shareholders and directors.

Financial Co-operatives: Including credit co-operatives, banks and insurance societies, owned and run co-operatively.

Co-operative Services: Ranging from local and community development schemes to public health services, house-building and school books.

AIMS

Aims common to all types of co-operative effort are:—
Self-help combined with mutual aid.

Voluntary association on democratic lines for economic ends.

Direct contact between producers and consumers, thereby eliminating the middleman.

Establishment of standards of quality.

Economic and spiritual improvement by education in co-operative principles.

PRODUCER

A producer co-operative may be defined as a society in which the worker has three rights:

- (a) A share in ownership.
 - (b) A share in the profit above his wages.
 - (c) A voice in the direction or policy of the company.
- These give him:
- (i) Dignity and security.
 - (ii) The fullest possible reward for his labour.
 - (iii) Control over his means of livelihood and the opportunity to use his talents.

AGRICULTURAL

The advantages of agricultural co-operatives are, to quote a brochure issued by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (I.A.O.S.), better farming, better business, and better living.

Under the heading of **Better Farming** it states: "Through co-operatives farmers can control their business, produce more efficiently, obtain quality farm supplies and services at competitive prices, market their farm output more efficiently." Under **Better Business** they can "improve their bargaining power, obtain needed capital, stimulate competition, fight monopolies and keep in their local community the product of their industry." In the category of **Better Living** "they can enjoy better living standards, develop self-reliance and mutual trust, develop their local community and become leaders in local and national affairs."

FISHING

The advantages to fishermen of co-operative membership are: (a) Better prices for their catches through co-operative marketing and the elimination of middlemen; (b) Better facilities for marketing their catches in first-class condition by co-operative ownership of their own freezing and processing plant, transport, etc.; (c) Reduction in prices of materials, i.e., ice, oil, etc., necessary for fishing, by purchasing in bulk; (d) Greater credit facilities for the buying of bigger and better boats, etc., and (e) A more effective voice in demanding the improvement of port facilities and conditions in the fishing industry in general.

A benefit common to all co-operative buying and selling is the opportunity of building up a fund for further capital investment.

CONSUMER

Members receive back the profit on their purchases in the form of dividends.

Members are guaranteed good quality food and other products at reasonable prices; this also keeps down the general price level. Since the producer is also the consumer, the volume of production can be regulated to accord with the volume of consumption, thus eliminating over-production—and where co-operation is strong, as in Britain, alleviating slumps.

Indirect gains are a rise in the standard of living and the inner satisfaction of finding effective outlets for joint endeavour.

FINANCIAL

Banking and insurance societies, being somewhat advanced forms of co-operation, are outside the scope of this article. We will deal, therefore, only with the formation of credit co-operatives.

A Credit Union is defined in the "Credit Union Handbook" as "a group of people having some common bond, like people who work together, belong to the same village and/or church, the same firm or trade union and so on. They agree to save money together and to make loans to each other at a low rate of interest."

The articles on Comhar na gComharsan by

SEAMAS O MONGAIN

were very well received by our readers. This month we start a new series by him in which he gives an expert's practical advice on how to start co-operatives. Some readers may wish to keep these notes as a guide to future action.

"Credit Unions make funds available to the many poorer members of the community, who because of some unexpected emergency, which places them in need of money, stand in danger of falling into the hands of greedy money-lenders who take advantage of the misfortunes of the poor to control their lives. They prevent the poorer members of the community from falling into destitution."

"Through the Loans Committee, members of the Credit Union get valuable advice on how and when to spend their money."

"Credit Unions bind people together in a true community. They enable people to raise their standard of living and at the same time to develop into responsible and self-reliant citizens."

Out of the self-reliance and sense of community learnt in the Credit Union, people move into those co-operative methods of production which raise the standard of living of the community.

PRINCIPLES

The following is a brief statement of the chief co-operative principles:

Open Membership: Membership is open to all (subject to certain qualifications) who deal with or work in a co-operative, i.e., all members of a co-operative store, all suppliers of milk to a co-operative creamery, all customers of agricultural co-operatives for feeding-stuffs, artificial manures, machinery and other farm requisites; all fishermen supplying or wishing to supply fish to a fishermen's co-operative; members of a credit co-operative or credit union, and all permanent workers in a co-operative factory or business enterprise.

(Obvious reasons for not granting an applicant membership in a particular society are unsuitability of character, lack of technical qualifications, danger of overcrowding, or interests which conflict with those of the co-operative.)

Each member has only one vote, irrespective of the number of shares he holds. Net profits (after an agreed deduction reserved to capital accumulation, education, and other projects of advantage to the members of the community) are divided among the members in proportion to their turnover, or in the case of producer co-operatives on a system of bonuses based on factors such as hours of work and volume of production. Each member, by reason of his vote, not only selects the management committee but also directs the general policy. He thus holds his destiny in his own hands.

It is the policy of individual co-operatives to join with other societies for the purpose of joint marketing or purchasing, or for processes beyond the compass of individual societies.

Co-operatives do not harm small people—farmers, shopkeepers or factories. In fact, by keeping down prices and providing their members with cash, credit and capital they increase the prosperity of the community in general.

It is also the fixed policy of co-operatives, by federal organisation and vertical integration, to fight monopolies and combines at their own level.

It has always been the aim of co-operatives to produce only goods of the highest quality.

HOW TO START

The preliminary steps in the foundation of any sort of co-operative are much the same.

The first is to gather a group of people who are, or can be, interested in co-operative development. This may be done in either of two ways: by private canvass of a group of friends, or by calling a public meeting. Of the two, it is wiser to start with a group of selected people of known integrity.

The minimum number of people who can legally form a co-operative is seven.

It is always wise in a small town or in a country district to get the support of the local clergy. The presence of a priest or minister, or both, on the platform is always an advantage, and an enthusiastic young clergyman can contribute greatly to the success of the enterprise. The help and advice of the local agricultural instructor should be obtained when forming any sort of agricultural co-operative. Local development societies are helpful also, provided they are active and composed of men with a progressive outlook.

In general it is important to secure the goodwill of the community while avoiding involvement with persons or groups which might hinder or harm the co-operative effort.

Care should be taken not to allow professional politicians on the co-operative committees, especially in their initial stages. On the whole it is wise to gather a number of interested people into a private or semi-private meeting at first. These could arrange to meet regularly to study the

main principles of co-operation. They could also take a number of shares, preferably of £5 each. These need not be paid for immediately, but at a rate of 5/- per month per share until twelve instalments have been paid. Payment of the balance may be withheld until such time as the member receives a call for the balance. Or payment may be made in some other manner convenient to the members.

The price of shares varies in different types of co-operative. In some the shares are £1 of which a quarter is paid on application and the rest on call. However, this question will be dealt with more explicitly when considering the different types co-operatives. One of the functions of the founder members would be to conduct a survey to find out what local activities would be most suitable for a co-operative effort.

The word "survey" may be rather frightening to ordinary people. It means in fact an inquiry to find out what skills are in the neighbourhood; the areas and types of farms; what stocks of cattle, sheep, pigs, etc., are carried; what the farmers buy and sell; the population of men, women and children; transport facilities; in coastal districts, type and potentiality of fisheries; size of boats; all types of gear, landing facilities, marketing, etc.

It is also important to gain information about the nearest functioning co-operatives and to find out how many people in the neighbourhood are either members or customers. The reasons for the latter are: (i) To prevent overlapping—especially in the case of co-operative marts; (ii) It might be better to get people in a district to join an existing creamery than to start a new venture, as creameries all over the country are now in the process of rationalisation; (iii) If people are already customers or members of a creamery, for example, they will be more prepared to establish a general-purpose co-operative if the creamery does not adequately provide for these services.

A General Purposes Co-operative provides for the purchase of manures, animal feed and machinery and other capital requisites, and the packing, grading and marketing of farm produce.

Assistance in the making of a survey may be obtained from:

DR. LABHRAS O NUALLAIN,
Faculty of Commerce,
University College, Galway.

Dr. O Nualláin has recently published a report on the Parish of Killassey which might serve as a model. Of course a survey may not be really necessary as people usually have a good idea of conditions in their own districts, but it is advisable.

The founder or special members are usually on the first committee, and they hold office until the first annual general meeting when a new committee will be elected by all the members. Help and advice on forming co-operatives of any kind may be obtained from either of the following societies:

The Irish Co-operative Development Trust Ltd.,
P.O. Box No. 356,
Fenian Chambers,

Lower Merrion St., Dublin 2.

This society will provide speakers and other assistance, and facilitate the obtaining of technical and financial aid from other societies whose purpose it is to help co-operatives. It also hopes eventually to be in a position to provide capital in the form of grants and long-term loans at nominal interest to help the formation of co-operative enterprises in the depressed areas and among the depressed sections of our people.

The Co-operative Development Society Ltd.,
35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin 1.

This society has been formed to "extend the activities and scope of the co-operative movement" in the 26 Counties. It will assist in the formation of new co-operative enterprises and in the development and expansion of existing ones. It will provide a means of acquiring businesses, property, land, fishing rights, etc., for their utilisation by co-operative organisations in accordance with co-operative principles and ideals. A model copy of co-operative rules may be obtained from the above society.

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society Ltd. exists for the purpose of helping to found, extend and organise agricultural and fishing co-operatives of every kind. Its address is:

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society Ltd.,
Plunkett House, 84 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.

This society will supply all information necessary for the formation of a co-operative society and will send a representative to the inaugural meetings to explain the principles and advantages of co-operation and the method of forming and running the new society.

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society Ltd. (I.A.O.S.) was founded in 1894 by Horace Plunkett and his associates to act as an advisory and organising body for the Agricultural Co-operative Movement in Ireland. It is controlled and directed by a committee of twenty-four, of which eighteen are elected by groups of affiliated societies (grouped on a commodity basis), and six co-opted members. An Executive Secretary directs and controls the work of its various departments which comprise field services, education, businesses advisory services, economics, engineering and architectural facilities, and commodity services.

D. Mac GIOLLA
PHADRAIG
BOOKSELLER AND
STATIONER
12 Cathedral Street,
Dublin 1.

area possible"

set up under the Government of
in 1920. This Act was England's
Irish Republic established in
to be the final settlement of the

House of Commons on February 5,
Aragón, Amagh, Derry, Down, Fer-
managh of the United Kingdom under a
of limited powers. There were
Monaghan and Donegal who did not
government in Dublin.

to become first Prime Minister
as follows:

with 64 members, the Unionist
but in a six-county Parliament,
there would be about ten. We quite
the nine counties. The three excluded
and 260,000 Sinn Féiners and
large block of Sinn Féiners and
to such a level that no sane man
ment with it."

that . . . you would have no chance
in Belfast which was to be responsible
and Monaghan . . . we should like
there is no use in our undertaking
a failure, if we were saddled with
all show at once where the difficulty
all counties would bring in under the
Parliament 820,000 Protestants out of

On the other hand, while you
these three counties, you would bring
in Northern province an additional
be in the far outlying districts of
if there were any resistance to the
consequence in it at all, that it would
ment to carry out its administrative

it exists to-day, is artificial and has
by, ethnically or otherwise. Lloyd
November 14, 1921, said:

one of the Six Counties as defined
frontier based neither upon natural
relations . . .

Unionist majority only in Belfast and
the Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone,
Down, a large part of Co. Derry, the
itself were Republican/Nationalist.

as large an area as possible, but with
was drawn which enclosed 420,000
dominated by 820,000 Unionists.
under the Treaty of 1921 and the

34% majority the Unionists were
back to the Ulster Plantation of
Nationalist era of 1800-1847, most
Catholic were Nationalists or Re-
have larger families (even to-day
Catholic schools) and it was con-
the 34% would have become 51%.

a deliberate policy of discrimination

was abolished.

boundaries were gerrymandered.

lural boundaries were gerrymandered.
discrimination in employment became

discrimination in the allocation of council
part of the scheme to liquidate

ing to Unionist plans of discrimina-
as. (While the unemployment rate
in the Six Counties, but in places
which are predominantly Nationalist, it
is).

revised, mainly by the gerrymander
lural boundaries which ensured that
in Catholic areas (due to discrimi-
housing); Nationalist ghettos were

Unionists; and the Republican/
kept from rising above a safe 35%.

people of the North looked to the
mid-class status by solving the par-
came clear that none of the Leinster
the problem. The anti-Unionist
Rights and Liberties even within

So was born the Civil Rights move-
the North and looks like doing so in

Government of Ireland are the British
created the two states in Ireland;

land in English interests and main-
day with an annual subsidy of

Rights campaign and adverse pub-
the discrimination system in the Six
for maintaining her grip on Ireland.

greatly assures an even greater strangle-
a "federal solution" being canvassed

people to resist any new sell-out.
and Connolly, and nothing less

FERMANAGH 1970

...and how it was maintained

"FERMANAGH FACTS" is the title of a booklet published by the Fermanagh Civil Rights Association. It contains 35 pages of fully documented evidence of a deliberate effort to eradicate the Catholic majority of Co. Fermanagh.

It is emphasised that the facts compiled, analysed and published in the booklet "are as accurate as we could make them; where there was a possibility of error we have tried to err against ourselves. Certainly we have avoided exaggeration."

Mr. Frank Mac Manus, Chairman of Fermanagh Civil Rights Association, and Mr. Colm Gillespie, Secretary, say in the introduction that the document is presented to the conscience of all citizens.

RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS

"We have been forced to refer many times to Catholics and Protestants. The religious emphasis is not of our choosing. It has been forced upon us by the attitude of the Unionist - Orange manipulators of power in Fermanagh to whom a Catholic is an enemy, a Protestant a friend.

"This mentality has given rise to many of the abuses existing in Fermanagh to-day, as, for example, the creation of religious ghettos or deliberately depriving certain areas of employment. Both of these abuses affect Protestants just as much as Catholics and it is our purpose to demand justice for the underprivileged of all religions.

The 1949 Stormont general election was the last clear-cut confrontation in the three constituencies (Enniskillen, Lisnaskea and South Fermanagh) between the Unionist (Protestant) and Nationalist (Catholic) parties.

The Nationalists polled 15,582 votes against the Unionists' 13,895 - but the Unionists returned two M.P.s to Stormont for the Nationalists' one.

"The gerrymander works on a very simple principle," the booklet says. "In the Unionist constituencies the Nationalist minority is made as large as possible, whereas in the Nationalist constituency the Unionist minority is made as small as possible. This ensures a maximum 'waste' of Nationalist votes and a maximum utilisation of Unionist votes. In Enniskillen constituency, for example, 4,729 votes were 'wasted' votes as far as the Nationalists were concerned. In the whole of Fermanagh, there were 8,902 wasted Nationalist votes, but only 2,596 wasted Unionist votes.

"Neither of the present two Unionist M.P.s, Captain John Brooke, for Lisnaskea, and Mr. Harry West, for Enniskillen, can claim to be democratically elected representatives.

"The Stormont constituency boundaries, fixed under the House of Commons (Methods of Voting and Redistribution of Seats Act (N.I.), 1929, ensure that the Catholic majority of Fermanagh returns only one M.P., while the Protestant minority returns two.

"We might summarise the gerrymander system in Fermanagh thus: As large a Nationalist minority as possible in a Unionist area, as small a Unionist minority as possible in a Nationalist area. Make every possible Unionist vote count; make every possible Nationalist vote worthless."

The Stormont electoral boundaries are to be reviewed and Fermanagh

C.R.A. will be "closely scrutinising the review and will be alert to any attempt to impose a new gerrymander. The fairest representation this county could have at the present moment is one Unionist M.P. and one Opposition M.P. A child could draw the boundary to provide for this.

"It is vitally important in view of the proposed changes in both Stormont and Local Government boundaries that every adult in Fermanagh makes sure his name is on the electoral register."

GERRYMANDER

In 1920 under proportional representation the Nationalist Party gained control of five of the county's seven councils. The Nationalists had a total of 63 Council seats, the Unionists 57, and in view of the then population (56 per cent. Catholic) this was fair representation. With the formation of the Six-County State the "Unionist Party went to work on the take-over of Local Government in Fermanagh."

In 1967 there was a re-organisation of Local Government in Fermanagh after the P.E. Consulting Group Ltd. had been engaged to advise on the amalgamation of the four Councils. But, "significantly," the C.R.A. said: "The only aspect of re-organisation in which the P.E. Consulting Group had not been asked to advise was the manner of electing councillors."

The P.E. Consulting Group's recommendations were given only eight days for consideration and so ruthlessly was the business pushed through that because of delays in the Christmas mail some Opposition councillors received neither the report nor summonses to the meetings until after the meetings had been held. The amalgamation was accepted in toto, as the Unionists had decided it should be, on a party vote and all discussion was guillotined by Captain John

Brooke, Chairman of the new Fermanagh County Council.

A new gerrymander was imposed on top of the old. The existing areas were to be grouped in fours and so carefully was the grouping done that it had some peculiar results, for example, the combination of Belleisle, Maguiresbridge, Greenhill and Cross, or of Aghyole Drumshimuck, Crom and Derrystean. The result was that of 50 councillors, 36 were intended to be Unionist and only 16 Opposition. But one Opposition member got a seat he was not intended to get with the result that there are 35 Unionist councillors and 17 Opposition.

The present position in Fermanagh Local Government elections is: Total of Catholic voters, 15,756 (for Westminster 15,617); total of Protestant voters; 15,786 (for Westminster 15,461); number of Catholic votes wasted, 8,018; number of Protestant votes wasted, 2,764. The Catholic representation of 17 councillors compares with Protestant representation of 35 councillors.

"WIPE OUT MAJORITY"

Fermanagh's population is now approximately 52 per cent. Catholic. The County Council is made up of 50 "elected" and two co-opted members. Thirty-five councillors are Protestants, 17 Catholic. Pointing out that this undemocratic balance is reflected on all the committees and in the appointments made by the Council, Fermanagh C.R.A. lists the committees and appointments.

County Officers: 22 Protestants, two Catholics.

Committees:
Education: 11 Protestants; three Catholics.

Establishment and Advisory: Nine Protestants, three Catholics.

Finance and General Purposes: Six Protestants, three Catholics.

Housing: Five Protestants, three Catholics.

Library: Five Protestants, three Catholics.

Planning: Six Protestants, three Catholics.

Public Works: Six Protestants, three Catholics.

Welfare: Six Protestants, three Catholics.

Agriculture: 13 Protestants; five Catholics.

The summary of county council employment prepared by CRA shows that 338 Protestants are employed against 32 Catholics.

In April, 1948, Mr. E. C. Ferguson, Unionist M.P. for Enniskillen, told the annual Unionist convention: "The Nationalist majority in the county, notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,604. I would ask the meeting to authorise their executive to take whatever steps, however drastic, to wipe out this Nationalist majority."

In "Fermanagh Facts" it is pointed out that it was only too plain from the facts that the meeting had adopted Mr. Ferguson's suggestion. The 1961 Fermanagh census showed that during the whole of this century the Catholic population of Fermanagh represented a steady 55-to-56 per cent. Yet in 1961, 13 years after Mr. Ferguson's campaign began, it had dropped to an unprecedented 53.2 per cent., and more recent indications were that it was still dropping.

EMIGRATION

And between 1951 and 1961, despite a continuing pattern of decline in the whole population of the county, the Protestant population actually increased for the first time since 1901. The 1961 census said: "Between 1951 and 1961, the number of

(To Page 7)

GERRYMANDER



ENNISKILLEN	—	UNIONIST 5,706	NATIONALIST 4,729
LISNASKEA	—	UNIONIST 5,593	NATIONALIST 4,173
SOUTH FERMANAGH	—	UNIONIST 2,596	NATIONALIST 6,680
		13,895	15,582

The Unionists, with 1,687 fewer votes than the Nationalists, return two representatives to the Nationalists' one.

A Theology of Violence

VIOLENCE is as American as cherry pie, or so the man said. Maybe it is wrong to seem to make it the American national sin as it is likely that it belongs equally to most other peoples. There was always violence in the world. The Bible alone gives a terrifying picture of ruthless and merciless warfare and massacre, of torture and murder and revenge. Nevertheless one gets the impression to-day of this contagion of violence spreading across the face of the earth and increasing in ferocity.

It could be that the media of communication and the techniques for virtually instant presentation of news are distorting the actuality. Man appears to take some especial sadistic or masochistic pleasure in misfortune, hence the emphasis on news of disaster. The triumph of happiness, good deeds, of good over evil often go unrecorded.

Solve problems by attacking causes

According to the sociologists, violence increases as towns grow into massive cities, as the countryside becomes depopulated, as the economy becomes industrialised. The sociologists speak of alienation. People become uprooted and lose the clear sense of identity they had in rural areas. Psychologists diagnose alienation and resulting protest, often accompanied by violence, as a crisis of identity.

Though to be violent may be a very human failing, it is the duty, clearly, of the Christian in the world to try to solve the problem by attacking the causes — often by public protest against patent injustice — and, in the final analysis, to try to follow the example of the Redeemer whose name he bears by the practice of non-violence.

On most occasions Christ turned the other cheek and asked that we do likewise, while always having the moral courage to denounce wrongs publicly even at the risk of death itself.

We remember the incident in the Gospel towards the end of the life of Christ when St. Peter was

This is the final article in a three-part series by
DEASUN BREATNACH

rebuked for striking off the ear of the High Priest's man. But we remember equally clearly the other incident, when an enraged Christ whipped the moneychangers out of the temple: "... and you have made it a den of thieves."

In recent years, particularly from the clergy and laity of South America, there has been a demand for what has been called a "theology of violence."

In fact, there is a clear theology of violence in the teaching of the Church. The obligation is to seek for peace at all times and to take the line of non-violence, as dictated by the precept of charity (the greatest of the Commandments being to love one's neighbour).

But one may defend oneself; one may kill in self-defence; one may take part in a just war or revolution. How and when and where all go back to one's conscience with the proviso that there is an obligation to inform that conscience.

But even the most justified of all wars and revolutions result in coarsening of sensibilities. War is the ultimate in failure of civilisation; it is the first step in an unavoidable corruption of the spirit and an increasing number of Christians believe that war is such a disaster that the conditions for even a just war must be such as virtually to make such a war impossible. Indeed, the Fifth Commandment is explicit: Thou shalt not kill (ná déan marú).

The lesser of two evils

In such a setting, violence, in a demonstration against injustice, makes no sense to Christians. A people's frustrations, expressed in violence, such as the breaking of windows or even deliberate, provoked physical clashes with the police may be understood; but the duty of Christian leaders is to do all possible so that the path of

is expressed violently, even if only after severe provocation, tends to become discredited in the minds of the masses and loses support.

Nevertheless, from the moral as well as from the tactical viewpoint, there comes a time when the people must stand their ground, even if the result be violence.

In our own history we remember two occasions: one, when O'Connell at Clontarf did not stand and defy the authorities in a just cause, when the people, if attacked, would have been justified in defending themselves and going over to the offensive and overthrowing the regime; and two, recently, in the Bogside, Derry, when, if the people had not stood and fought, in self-defence, the probability is that they would have been liquidated with, very likely, a civil war as a direct result.

End can never justify means

It is true that there is no such thing, so far, as "Christian politics" or the ideal Christian, political system; but it is equally true that Christian ethics and morale must illumine the politics in which practising Christians participate and that the entire life of the practising Christian ideally must be in giving witness to Christ in the world and loving his neighbour in Christ.

Thus, the attempt to justify anything in the name of politics must be rejected. The end, even at its most just, never can justify wrong means.

Protest is a form of politics, often referred to to-day as "street politics" and nothing new. The same rules apply to it as apply to the general conduct of the Christian who, incidentally, is allowed to abdicate his responsibility only in very special circumstances — when, for example, he has withdrawn from the world to devote himself completely to the contemplation and worship of God.

ULTACH INA UACHTARAN AR AN OIREACHTAS

Is é Aodh O Coirbhín, ó Ard Mhic Nascá, Co. an Dúin atá ina Uachtarán ar Oireachtas 1970.

Rugadh i 1899 é Chláirigh sé le Conradh na Gaeilge i 1915. O shin, tá sár-obair á déanamh aige don Ghaeilge. Chaith sé tréimhsí mar Uachtarán, Cisteoir agus Rúnaí ar Chomhaltas Uladh den Chonradh.

I 1924 sheas sé sa tógchán i mBéal Feirste Thuaidh agus i 1942 bhí sé ag coimhlint arís i dtoghchán i mBéal Feirste Thiar mar Phoblachtach Neamhspleách.

SINN FEIN WILL FIGHT EVICTION

The Tony Darcy Cumann of Sinn Féin, Galway City, are giving their wholehearted support to Mrs. Fahy, a widow, of New Quay, Uachtar Ar, who is threatened with eviction.

An absentee landlord from Sussex, England, is making life a misery for her. A statement from Sinn Féin says that they will give her every support.

I gCUIMHNE

PETER MC CARTHY, Dublin, shot by police in Clanbrassil Street, June 15, 1937.

BOB CLANCY, Waterford, died in Curragh Military Hospital, June 12, 1941.

CHARLES O'HARE, Armagh, died in Isle of Man Internment Camp, June 2, 1944.

KEANE & CO.

Wholesale Grocer
and
General Importer
19 LITTLE BRITAIN ST.
DUBLIN
Phone 47384

CASTLE HOTEL

Mr. and Mrs. Donal O'Connor, Proprietors

CENTRAL SITUATION — TERMS MODERATE

FIRST-CLASS CATERING

UNDER PERSONAL SUPERVISION

HOT AND COLD WATER IN ALL BEDROOMS

Telephone Nos. 46949 and 42554

CAR ACCOMMODATION FREE

GARDINER'S ROW, DUBLIN 1

How to Form Co-operatives

Continued from Page 3

Care should be taken that every meeting results in some concrete action. For instance, the initial meetings should concern themselves with the following steps:

1. The drawing up of the "special rules" of the society.

These are based on the general rules governing all co-operatives as required by the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts 1893-1936. A copy of these rules may be obtained from the I.A.O.S. or the Co-operative Development Society Ltd., at the aforementioned addresses, and altered to suit the aims and purposes of any particular co-operative. Thus altered and signed by the special members (i.e., the former-members), they are called the "Special Rules" of the society.

2. The authorisation by a resolution in committee of the opening of a bank account in the name of the society and the nomination of persons entitled to sign cheques on behalf of the society, i.e., the Treasurer, the Secretary and other designated members. Two signatures are required on every cheque.

3. The registration of the society under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts 1893-1936, and its affiliation with the I.A.O.S. or the Co-operative Development Society Ltd.

4. The signing up of new members.

(a) Every co-operative society consists of the Special Members and of all such other persons as the special rules direct or the Committee may admit.

(b) Applicants for membership are required to pay 1/- on application, for which they will receive a copy of the rules.

(c) Application for membership either by an individual or by a society is made on special forms, sample copies of which may be obtained by the new society from the I.A.O.S. or the Co-operative Development Society. Under provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act every member must hold at least one transferable share and each society or company shall hold a number of shares decided by the Committee at a general meeting.

(d) The Special Members in some societies are considered to hold, without any special application, such number of shares as an ordinary member is required to hold.

(e) The prices per share varies from society to society, between £1 and £5 of which the amount to be paid up varies as does also the method of payment. In some societies shares are paid up at the rate of 5/-

per quarter per £1 share. (Occasionally only 10/- per share is paid up, the balance being on call.) In others £5 shares are paid up to the amount of £3 per share, by instalments of 5/- per month, the remaining £2 to be paid on call or at a minimum rate of 10/- per share per annum.

The maximum nominal amount of shares to be held by any individual member is at present fixed by law at £200, but the Knapp report (1964) has made a strong case for increasing it to £1,000, and presumably the Government will act on this in the near future. (Societies, however, can hold shares in excess of £200.)

(f) Shares are transferable and each member is liable for the debts of the Society only up to the nominal amount of the Ordinary shares he holds (plus any money he may owe to the Society).

(g) The Committee decides the minimum amount of shares which each member shall hold.

(h) Interest on shares is low, generally not exceeding 5% per annum for every full £1 paid up (fractions of £1 or a month not being counted).

(To be Continued)

FERMANAGH FACTS

(From Page Five)

persons returned as Roman Catholics under 10 years of age decreased by 6.1 per cent., while that for all others in the same age group increased by 0.5 per cent. in the range 10-21 years, respective increases of 8.3 and 15.9 were recorded."

Comments Fermanagh C.R.A.: This is a phenomenon which can be explained in only one way—emigration of Catholics. Certainly, as the Unionists themselves never tire of pointing out, the Catholic birth-rate cannot explain such a decrease in population.

The 1961 census continued: "At ages over 21, the number of Roman Catholics decreased by 11.9 per cent. compared with a decrease of only 1.2 per cent. for all others."

3 OUT OF 74

In 10 years, the operative years of the liquidation campaign, the number of adult employable Catholic men and women had dropped by nearly 10 times as much as the number of similar people of other denominations. Catholic people, having reached employable age in Co. Fermanagh, are forced to leave in large numbers. "Young married couples, knowing the record of Unionist-controlled housing committees, despair of getting a house in their own county and are forced to look elsewhere," said Fermanagh C.R.A. "Young men and women in search of employment leave the county for similar reasons."

Graphs and detailed sets of figures in "Fermanagh Facts" show that the C.R.A. statements are founded on fact.

Of persons born in the 26 Counties resident in Fermanagh in 1961, 2,072 were Catholics, whereas 2,542 were of other denominations. Not content with driving Catholics out of the county, the Unionist Party had also been encouraging Protestants to go there. Mr. J. M. Andrews, M.P., addressing the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland in 1950, said: "I fear that we could not introduce a measure openly to debar Catholics from Eire and admitting Protestants from Eire to come and reside in Northern Ireland. Clause 6 of the Government of Ireland Act forbade a privilege or preference on account of religion. But a good deal can be done administratively."

"Administratively," the liquidation campaign was carried on by Unionist discrimination against Catholics in employment, housing and industry.

In a survey of employment and industry in the county, Fermanagh C.R.A. recalls the words of Senator Porter-Porter at Lisnaskea on July 12, 1931. He said:

"The Northern Government is a Protestant Government put into power by Protestants, and the welfare and safety of the Protestants should be its first consideration."

Two years later, to the day, Lord Brookeborough (then Sir Basil Brooke) said at Newtownbutler: "I have not one (Catholic) out of my place."

What was said by Senator Porter-Porter and Lord Brookeborough over 30 years ago "has been and still is the attitude of the Unionist Party in Fermanagh," says "Fermanagh Facts." Mr. Ferguson's liquidation campaign was merely an intensification of a

programme already under way."

The booklet quotes many examples of discrimination in employment. Here are just two examples.

Three of the 74 school bus men employed by the Education Committee are Catholics.

Enniskillen Technical College is the only inter-denominational secondary school in the county. The pupils are about 65 per cent. Catholic. The total teaching staff (including part-time) is 66, of whom 20 are Catholics.

"Neither Captain Brooke nor Mr. West seems unduly worried by the fact that of 74 advance factories in Northern Ireland, only one is coming to Fermanagh. What industry does appear is guided to places which suit Unionist planning."

"Fermanagh Facts" lists 18 industries in Fermanagh Unionist areas against one (Belleek Pottery) in the Nationalist South Fermanagh constituency—and it was established more than a century ago.

C.R.A. declare: "The deliberate withholding of employment from South Fermanagh is plain. Protestants of the areas must suffer willy-nilly with their Catholic neighbours. The Unionist defence is that the population does not justify the bringing of industry. Is this any reason why creameries or small firms employing a limited number should be kept out of the area?"

"It has been the tendency in Fermanagh, obviously encouraged by the Unionist Party, for the county to become a cattle ranch for the large farmers and a playground for tourists. The people of the county are the last consideration."

"THE RIGHT PEOPLE"

Mr. George Elliott, Unionist member of Enniskillen Borough Council, said: "We are not going to build houses in the South and cut a rod to beat ourselves later on. We are going to see that the right people are put into these houses and we are not making any apologies for it."

Mr. Harry West, Unionist M.P. for Enniskillen, said: "I readily admit that there is a clear indication that segregation exists in Enniskillen—the facts prove its presence."

C.R.A. has compiled facts and figures to show that what Mr. Elliott and Mr. West were at no pains to conceal—the fact that religious discrimination is exercised in the allocation of Council houses in Fermanagh—can be easily proved. The two-fold accusation is made that in the past the housing authorities discriminated by refusing to house Catholics, and when the new County Council did decide to house Catholics, many of whom had lived in deplorable slum conditions for years, it did so by creating religious ghettos.

Between 1945 and 1967, Catholics got less than a quarter of the number of houses allocated to people of other denominations. Approximately 54 per cent. of the population, containing by far the greatest number of those in need of houses, received only 18 per cent. of the Council houses.

And, finally, in a breakdown of post-war Council housing in Fermanagh, the C.R.A. shows that of a total of 1,589, Catholics got 568 houses and Protestants 1,021.

Life under National Liberation Front

This letter appeared in the *Irish News* (Belfast) on May 5:

Sir,—I read with interest the letter which appeared in Thursday's issue urging the healing of the split in Republican circles, and I would certainly agree that such a split is disastrous.

Speaking for many residents of the Cullinstown Road and Leeson Street areas, I wonder how such unity could be effectively achieved with the Republican element that rules this district.

On the spot evidence exists of the reign of terror, fear and worry in these areas, especially during the past week, when so-called Republicans—I would call them Republican Red Guards—have terrorised decent people who have been born and reared in St. Peter's parish.

The knock on the door which we used to dread from the R.U.C. or "B" Specials comes from a new direction now.

Young men who do not agree with the policy and tactics of these so-called Republican "heroes" have been taken from their homes at gunpoint, questioned, threatened and told to leave the district. Even the womenfolk have been insulted and manhandled by these sometimes drunken bullies, and one expectant mother was not immune from such terror tactics. Homes have also been wrecked.

I do not know much about those on the other side of the split, but if they are of the same type as those who have been the victims of these gun bullies, then I can realise why this split has occurred and how deep and hopeless it is to solve.

I write under a nom-de-plume because the local Gestapo would not take time to knock at my door, they would burst it in to threaten me and my family and probably evict us in a nice way.—Yours etc.,

CULLINSTOWN ROAD
RESIDENT.

Needless to say, the "Republican Red Guards" referred to belong to the National Liberation Front.—Editor, *An Phoblacht*.

IRISH WOLFHOUND PUPS

Reg. I.K.C. Lovely dogs
GILMORE
Ballyhaunis, County Mayo

Belfast NLF Terror Tactics

The following statement was issued by the Belfast Republican Press Centre on April 29 last:

It is not the policy of the Republican Movement to interfere with the sale of the "United Irishman" or of any newspaper. However, recent incidents in Belfast involving "U.I." sellers require clarification by us.

In our view the door to door sale of the "U.I." under its present editorial board is not

LONDON DIARY

By our own Correspondent

THURSDAY APRIL 30

A measure called the Building Sub-Contracting Bill is rushed through Westminster. This Bill puts the squeeze on the many Irishmen in the building trade who have found it worthwhile to register themselves as self-employed and work on a contract basis. (This enables them to claim for tools, clothing, car, telephone, etc. as expenses against tax.) The legislators frankly admit that they want to force the small man out of business. Then, they hope, he will take employment on a full-time basis and his tax will be extracted from his pay packet before it reaches him.

TUESDAY MAY 5

This evening Seán McDermott (Chairman of the London NICRA organisation) gave a lecture on James Connolly to the London members of Sinn Féin. In his lecture Mr. McDermott laid stress on the practical side of Connolly, and in particular his great ability as an organiser. He showed that Connolly's part in the Rising, which left-wing theorists find so hard to explain away, was the inevitable outcome of his relentless grasp of reality. In proposing a vote of thanks after the lecture, Peter Andrews said that Seán McDermott had set a standard that would be very difficult to maintain.

WEDNESDAY MAY 6

News of the dismissals of Haughey and Blaney and the associated resignations arrived to-day. Irish papers vanished from the news stands and many emigrants were reduced to trying to extract a few crumbs of fact from the journalistic garbage of the English daily papers. Fantastic rumours began to circulate among the Irish here, but none of them nearly as fantastic as the stories solemnly printed in the Fleet Street papers.

THURSDAY MAY 7

A clearer picture begins to emerge to-day of the events in Ireland. Seen from the distance of London the whole thing looks to many of us like a put up job by the British Secret Service.

The various ultra-left groups have been caught in their own braces once more. These groups always make the mistake of attacking men rather than misdeeds, so that when the bogyman passes from the scene their case collapses until they can erect another bogyman in his place. Now, within a week they have lost O'Móráin, Haughey, Blaney and Boland. Their whole line of argument has been that these four were solely responsible for all the troubles of Ireland and their removal would lead to instant, well, instant something or other. Would it were so, but, alas, actors may change but the farce goes on.

SUNDAY MAY 10

Sinn Féin to-day held a James Connolly Commemoration in London. The weather turned out bad, with a very overcast sky and occasional bursts of pelting rain. At a meeting held in Hyde Park, Terry Dunne outlined the present social and economic policy of Sinn Féin and gave a brief outline of the events leading up to the walk-out at the recent Ard-Fheis.

Following the meeting a parade was formed up at Marble Arch for a march to Trafalgar Square. The parade was headed by an eight-man colour party escorting the Tricolour and the Starry Plough. Behind the colour party came the familiar figure of piper Larry O'Dowd, clad in full regalia and escorted by the members of a dancing group in traditional costume. About 150 people took part in the march.

At Trafalgar Square the oration was delivered by Seán Keenan (Derry), who was himself resident in London for many years. After the oration, Larry O'Dowd played a lament for James Connolly, while the colour party dipped standards. Tomás McEllistirm, Seán Carson, Brendan Magill, Terry Dunne and Seán McDermott also spoke. All speakers stressed the over-riding importance at the present moment of providing the people in the North with the means of defending themselves. This line of thinking was greeted with enthusiasm by the 250 or so crowd. The meeting finished with the singing of Amhrán na bhFiann.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13

Reports reached Republican circles in London that Republican prisoner Pat O'Sullivan has been moved back to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison. He is also now being allowed to hear Mass on Sunday, something hitherto denied.

The purpose behind these constant moves of prisoners is not clear. It is probably just a means of harassment. The present situations of the prisoners are as follows:

Gerry Doherty, Wakefield Prison, Yorkshire.
Eamonn Smullen, Wandsworth Prison, South London.
Conor Lynch, Wakefield Prison.
Pat O'Sullivan, Wormwood Scrubbs, West London.

THURSDAY, MAY 14

General Wladyslaw Anders, the victor of Monte Cassino, died in London aged 77. In 1944 General Anders and the Polish II Army Corps drove the Germans out of Monte Cassino after British, American, Gurkha and New Zealand troops had failed to do so. And small thanks they got for it. Their reward was to be sold out to the Russians by their Anglo-American "allies."

YOU CRASH 'EM — WE FIX 'EM

RANELAGH MOTORS

11 PRICE'S PLACE, RANELAGH ROAD, DUBLIN 6

Phone 975915

BODY REPAIR SPECIALISTS

ANY MAKE OF CAR SUPPLIED

Suit Yourself



at
E. Leslie
Drapers,
28 Peter St.
Drogheda.
Specialists in Ladies' Gents' and Children's Wear.
Tel: Drogheda 8173.

An Phoblacht

PLEANANNA

SEO i an cúigiú uimhir den pháipéar seo. Bhí stró agus deacrachtaí ag baint len é a chur amach i dtosach báire i mí Feabhra seo caite. Fuair amharcairí cabhair airgid ó dhaoine failluáil sa bhailé agus i gcéin; scríobhadh altanna dúinn; tairgeadh cúnamh de gach cineál. Agus, rud nach bhfuil gan tábhacht, bhí daoine ann len é a scaipeadh agus a dhíol. Toisc gur fhan an chuid is mó agus is fearr de Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta dílis dá bprionsabail agus dá mbunreacht, bhí díoltóirí againn i ngach cuid d'Eirinn, i Sasana agus i Meiriceá. Díoladh 20,000 cóip d'earráin Feabhra, 25,000 i Márta agus Albreán, 28,000 i mí Bealtaine. Ní beag an éacht a rinneadh, agus tá moladh agus buíochas tuille ag gach duine a raibh lámh aige san obair.

Beidh gá le tuilleadh oibre san am atá romhainn. O thaobh na heagarthóir-eachta agus na bainistíochta de tá pleananna againn leis an iris a fheabhsú. Thosnaimid le cló 10 bpoinnte ach de réir a chéile chasamar ar chló ocht bpoinnte: tá níos mó ábhar léitheoireachta ag ár léitheoirí dá bharr. Tá sé i gceist againn an páipéar a mhéadú ó 12 leathanach agus 12 leathanach ar ball. Déanfaimid ár ndícheall caighdeán an ábhair a fheabhsú ar ndóigh agus an éagsúlacht ábhair a leanú.

Chun na cuspóirí seo a bhaint amach beimid ag brath ar a lán daoine. Beidh gá le tuairiscí a fháil go luath agus in am gach mí. Beidh gá le billí a loc go rialta. Beidh gá le obair na Gluaiseachta a bhrú chun cinn go tapaidh. Le cúnamh ó gach duine cinnteoidimid go mbeimid in ár gcomharba fiúntach ar 'Phoblacht' na dtíochaidí.

Yugoslavia Makes Trade Agreement with E.E.C. FINLAND WILL STAY NEUTRAL

In a statement issued in April, the Carrefour Executive of Sinn Féin emphasised its opposition to full membership of the Common Market.

The reasons for this opposition were given and alternatives were suggested. The statement proposed the opening of discussions on associate membership or the making of a bilateral trade agreement with the community.

As an example of this, *European Community* reports that a three-year non-preferential trade agreement between Yugoslavia and the Community came into force on May 1. It was the first trade agreement concluded by the Community since its transition period ended on December 31 last year, and the common commercial policy came into effect.

The agreement has three main features:

1. In principle, Yugoslavia and the E.E.C. grant most-favoured-nation treatment to each other's goods, as regards both tariffs and quota restrictions. Both sides will bring forward by one year tariff reductions on industrial and farm products, due under the Kennedy Round tariff agreement. This covers \$6 m. worth of Yugoslav exports to the Six and \$1.9 m. worth of E.E.C. exports to Yugoslavia.

2. Yugoslavia receives special treatment for its baby-bear exports to the Community—the main market for

this product. Baby beef is a special quality beef which the Yugoslavs exported in large quantities to Italy.

3. The agreement sets up a joint Yugoslav-E.E.C. committee which could pave the way for a widening of the agreement to cover other products—e.g., Yugoslav maize, textiles, wine and tobacco—and for other forms of co-operation. The Commission will represent the Six on the joint committee.

The agreement should help Yugoslavia to reverse its current trade deficit with the E.E.C. which amounted to \$322 million in 1968 and \$349 million in the first 11 months of 1969, roughly half of which is offset by Yugoslav invisible earnings (e.g., tourism) and remittances from Yugoslav workers in the E.E.C.

Finland has informed the Commission that it is interested in establishing a trade arrangement with the E.E.C., but the Finnish ambassador in Brussels, Reino Honkara, told Commission President Jean Rey that this must be done within the scope of the Finnish policy of neutrality.

COMHBHRON

We regret to record the death of Patrick Doody, Ballinaboley, Kilmacow, Co. Kilkenny. He was a life-long and staunch Republican.

In February last he came from hospital in a wheelchair to attend a Sinn Féin meeting in Kilmacow and help uphold the true Republican position.

The death took place in May of Miss Maeve Phelan, Wexford Street, Dublin, who gave a life of service to the Republican cause.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh siad.

BODENSTOWN

CÉILÍ

SUNDAY, JUNE 14
ROUND ROOM
MANSION HOUSE
DUBLIN

8-12

6/-

Banna Céili
Eamonn Ceant
Fear a'ti: Seán
Og O Tuama

Armagh Notes and Comments

By our own Correspondent

Sales of *An Phoblacht* continue to increase in Mid-Armagh and South Tyrone areas and our sellers broke new ground when the April issue was openly on sale at Egligh, Co. Tyrone, for the first time. Our sellers at Egligh were subsequently informed that a well known local Republican (who took the attendance side at an Ard-Fheis) has issued a warning that they are not to bring *An Phoblacht* into his area, and he regretted that he was not present in April or he would have dealt with our sellers. The individual concerned is informed that our sellers will again be in the Egligh district on the second Sunday of each month and they will deny his right or the right of any other person to hinder the spread of Republican policy as stated in the official organ of the Movement.

"Voice of the North"

A smear campaign has been launched against the Armagh Easter Commemoration Committee by certain "attendance" Republicans in the Coalisland area. They accused the Armagh Committee of placing two advertisements in connection with their parade in the new weekly paper, *The Voice of the North*.

As *The Voice of the North* is well known as a Fianna Fáil organ, they insinuate that the Armagh Committee have Fianna Fáil sympathies. The truth is that no member of the Easter Commemoration Committee ever placed any advertisement in this paper, and if they would contact the Editor, Mr. Aidan Corrigan, he will bear this out.

The advertisement was placed in the paper free of charge by Mr. Corrigan and he had no authority whatever from any member of the Committee. Local Republicans say they are grateful for the free space and will avail of any opportunity to receive free publicity, even from the *Protestant Telegraph* if it decides to give free space (unsolicited of course).

Armagh Republicans have no sympathies with Fianna Fáil or any other partitionist party, and wonder how men who were willing to seek entry to Leinster House can be so naive as to suggest such a thing. They are the people who would enter the House that left us our seventy-seven martyrs—not us.

Buses for Bodentown

Special buses will leave Armagh City on Sunday, June 14, for Bodentown, and further particulars can be obtained from any member of the National Graves Committee in the city.

It is expected that the Armagh area will be well represented as over 100 applications to travel have already been received.

Flags and Emblems

The showing of the Tricolour at a demonstration in Lurgan did not contravene the Flags and Emblems (Display) Act, Stormont M.P.s have been told.

Robert Mitchell (Unionist, North Armagh) asked the Minister of Home Affairs if any action was to be taken by the Inspector General, Sir Arthur Young, against those who contravened the Act in Lurgan on March 29.

Mr. John Taylor, Parliamentary Secretary, said that although the incident was undoubtedly a form of

FIANNA EIREANN

Fifteen members of the First Battalion of Fianna Éireann, Dublin, have pledged their allegiance to the Provisional Army Council and the Carrefour Executive of Sinn Féin, recognising them as the true Republican Movement.

"coat trailing the Tricolour," the police officer on duty had decided at the time that the incident did not contravene the Act.

He said that it was up to the police officer in charge on such occasions to take into consideration the time and circumstances of such incidents.

Capt. Mitchell said he thought that the fact that the police had not taken any action would give succour to people who believed the Tricolour to be the flag of this country.

Rev. Ian Paisley (Protestant Unionist, Bannside) said he thought the Inspector General was turning a blind eye to the Act.

Mr. Taylor said: "This was a coat trailing of the Tricolour and is to be deplored considering that it is the flag of a foreign country and what it has represented during the past 50 years."

Does Mr. Taylor, who incidentally was born, bred and reared in County Armagh, call his five thousand fellow country men, who marched behind the flag in Lurgan on Easter Sunday, people from a foreign land? Catch yourself on John.

Armagh's Rural Slums

In a statement, Mr. Brian Valley, leader of the Armagh People's Democracy Group, has attacked the Rural Council for failing to adopt the Points Scheme for the allocation of houses. Mr. Valley says:

"The distinction of being the only Council in the Six Counties to reject openly the Points System is a penetrating indictment of the downright reactionary nature of the Armagh Rural District Council. The arguments put forward by the two leading opponents of reform (Messrs. Dan Magee and Douglas Hutchinson) provide suitable assessments of the mentality of each and every one of their fellow councillors."

Mr. Valley added that: "Magee, Hutchinson and company are in control of hundreds of thousands of pounds annually. The welfare of the people is being continually held to ransom. Some rural slums which are still being inhabited were built prior to the famine. Despite this, Armagh Council only builds about 30 houses per annum."

Mr. Dan Magee is a member of the Nationalist Party, while Dougie Hutchinson is a Protestant Unionist and was jailed with Paisley and Bunting for their take-over of Armagh City on November 30, 1968. Funny bed-fellows when we note that Dan Magee was an officer in de Valera's Free State Army during the Emergency.

Donegal Reunion

Several car loads left Armagh for the recent reunion held in Jacksons Hotel, Buncrana. Some of the merry-makers were still in the County Donegal town around 3.30 the next morning. A very enjoyable time was had by all and we look forward to having a reunion in our own area very soon, when we know the Donegal and Leitrim Republicans will be there to help us sing the night away.

Unionist Candidate

County Armagh Unionist M.P. at Westminster Mr. Jack Maginnis was selected as the Party election candidate by an overwhelming majority at a meeting in Armagh on Saturday, April 25.

Eighty per cent. of the delegates to the County Unionist Association were present and ex-policeman Maginnis, Armagh's M.P. for the past 11 years, was selected on the first count. He had been opposed by two other nominees.

In the British General Election he

is likely to face opposition from a Protestant Unionist and from Labour and Independent candidates.

Figures at the last British General Election were:

Maginnis (Unionist), 34,687.
McGleenan (Abstentionist Republican), 13,467.

The Unionist majority was 21,220, but did not reflect the true picture as the Nationalist people in the North, and especially in the South Armagh area, were very apathetic and did not turn up at the polling stations at all.

Múinteoirí Gaelige

Seán O hAnnáin, who is 80 years of age, is still teaching language classes and helping the Irish language course in many ways in Crossmaglen, South Armagh. Seán will be in the Donegal Gaeltacht this summer as usual. A remarkable man indeed.

Glór na nGael

At the Glór na nGael presentations held in Bray on Sunday, April 26, awards were made to the Lurgan and Crossmaglen representatives, and An tAthair Tomás Ó Fiaich (a native of Crossmaglen himself) made a reference in his stirring address to the wonderful efforts being made for the Irish language in this troubled part of our nation.

Farmers' Income

The Annual Conference of the Six County Unionist Party, which was held in Belfast on April 24 and 25, proved to be one of the liveliest ever for a number of reasons.

However, amidst all the excitement, some important business of the meeting was overlooked by the national media and one item in particular is of special significance to Armagh.

On Friday afternoon Mr. Jim Scott, Chairman of the Young Unionist Group in Armagh, proposed the motion, "That the standard of living of the farmer has reached an all time low."

This was seconded by Miss Daphne Sanderson, Armagh, and replied to by Mr. Phelim O'Neill, Stormont Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. Scott stated that farmers are finding it more and more difficult to make ends meet. He pointed out that the subsidies and grants being handed out by the Government did not appear to be sufficient to enable the farmer to enjoy a standard of living comparable to workers in industry and in other spheres.

The Minister of Agriculture said the farmer to-day was "fairly" well off and he made the point that several schemes had been adopted by Stormont in order to improve the lot of the farmer, and stated that even more would be done in the future in this respect.

No doubt many Northern farmers are missing the nightly 45/- which they got for guarding the roads of "Ulster" against the Papists and Fenians.

"B" MEN DISBAND ON APRIL 30, 1970

Farewell to Them (With apologies to Dana)

Ruffles and C.S. gas
Things of the Night—
Cudgels and broken glass.
Fires burning bright—
Flying stones—fractured bones.
A petrol bomb or two—
All kinds of such like things
Remind me of you.

We sing farewell to the "B" Specials and with the help of all people of Ireland the day will dawn when we will sing farewell to their successors (the U.D.R.) too. God speed the day.