

An Phoblacht

THE REPUBLIC
Official Organ of the
Republican Movement

IML. 2 UIMH. 7. SRAITH NUA

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'IRELAND UNFREE SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE'

THE MONTH of July, 1971, will go down as one of the most eventful in Ireland's history. The long awaited eruption in Derry occurred when resistance, both organized and sporadic, broke out in the Bogside and Creggan Estate. Night after night the young men and women of Doire showed their active hostility towards the occupation troops.

British reaction was to intimidate them into typical, with tear gas, accepting another fifty years of British rule and Unionist discrimination, and eventually the bullet. However, the Croppies will not lie down. Two young Derry men were shot dead, and others injured as part of deliberate British government policy to get tough with the Irish and they meekly accept the

continued presence of British troops in Ireland, when foreign rule that makes second class citizens of them in their own land.

Retribution was sharp and swift in more than a week of rioting in Derry. Over 70 British troops were injured,

several of them had gunshot wounds. In Armagh, a British Army jeep was blown up, several soldiers injured. Active Service Units in Belfast executed two British Army men. In Newry, a British military patrol was fired on and one soldier wounded. A number of other British troops were wounded in different incidents in Belfast. Explosions and fires occurred all over the North as the military wing of the Republican Movement extracted an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life.

No more will British troops murder and maim our people with impunity. They will pay and pay dearly for their continued stay in Ireland.

On the political front too there were also events of the utmost significance. On July 11 the S.D.L.P. announced that it's M.P.'s would leave Stormont unless an enquiry into the deaths of the two Derry men was held within four days. The S.D.L.P. also announced that it would set up an alternative administration if they were forced to leave Stormont.

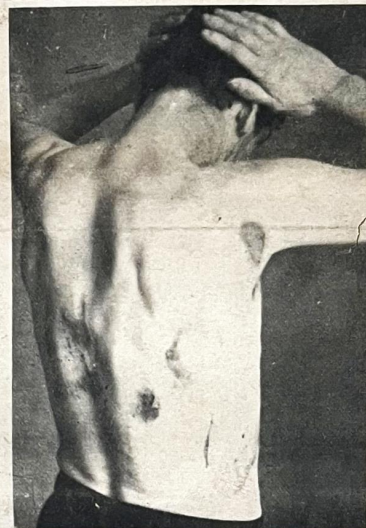
At long last the illusion of democracy of the Stormont puppet parliament has been shattered. The Republican policy of non-recognition and non-participation in the various parliaments that fraudulently claim jurisdiction over any part of Ireland has been completely vindicated by this turn of events. We hope, in fact we demand, that those M.P.s at Stormont who for once have done the right thing will never again dishonour their country and their people by returning to that den of iniquity, house of Unionist power and privilege known as Stormont.

Let there be no talk of an alternative assembly to Stormont. What we must have and we will have is a complete alternative to the present status quo North and South, that is, a National Assembly for the 32 Counties, an Assembly that will as the lawful Dail actively endeavour to enforce the principles of the great 1916 Proclamation (civil and religious liberties; equal opportunities for all).

This is the only alternative to British rule, Unionist rule, Free State rule.

The civil wing of the Republican Movement held a

BRITISH BOOTS DID THIS TO HIM!!!



number of protest meetings throughout the country. In Derry on Sunday, July 11, Mrs. Maire Drumm of Belfast told the people of Derry "At long last you are off your knees. See you stay off your knees." For promoting republicanism Marie Drumm was arrested and is now in Armagh jail. Like Mary McSwiney and many another Irish patriot woman before her Maire Drumm has been deprived of her liberty for being what God made her: a good Irishwoman. Maire demonstrated her contempt for British institutions in Ireland by turning her back on the magistrate the day she was arraigned. As McSwiney said "In matters of principle there can be compromise..."

**"BRITISH TROOPS
MUST GO. IRELAND FOR
THE IRISH."**

In Dublin on July 17 a protest march was held to the British Embassy where a letter was handed in demanding the release of the 1,000 political prisoners held in the North and the 20 held in Britain and of course for a complete British withdrawal from Ireland. The marchers

then proceeded to Mountjoy where they picketed in protest against the imprisonment of two young Derry men in the 'Joy'.

Later that night a well attended meeting was held at Abbey St and addressed by Paddy Kennedy (abstentionist M.P.) Sean MacStiofain, Sean McKenna (Newry) and Liam Cotter (Kerry). Again, the gospel preached was that the war in the North is not merely the concern of Belfast, Derry, Armagh, etc., but is the Vital concern of every Irishman and Irishwoman. "Their fight is our fight."

We are now entering a life and death struggle. We now have the greatest opportunities to achieve the full National objective providing we are courageous enough, determined enough, and dedicated enough to exploit these opportunities to the full. Our choice is made. BEATHA NO BAS. SAOIRSE NO DAOIRSE.

**WE REPEAT: LET
BULLIES BEWARE.
THIS IS NOT
AUGUST 1969.**



FROM THE FIRING LINE



THE CROPPIES WILL NOT LIE DOWN

JOE IS GONE

The death took place on June 26 of Seosamh O Nuallain of Dun Laoghaire, a prominent member of the Republican Movement for many years. He was a native of Killeenule, Co. Tipperary and was engaged in the campaign launched in England in 1939 under Sean Russell. Following an unsuccessful attempt to blow up Hammersmith Bridge he was deported to the 26 Counties where he was interned in the Curragh under the Fianna Fail government.

For many years he was Chairman of the Sean Treacy Cumann of Sinn Féin in Dun Laoghaire and Secretary of the Roger Casement Commemoration Committee. As Chairman of the Cumann he had intended to be on picket duty at the local Labour Exchange at 9.00 a.m. on June 26. Three days earlier he was taken ill to St Michael's Hospital and died while the picket protest was on. The night before he took ill he was busy organising the picket.

Several hundred people attended the removal of his remains to Monkstown Parish Church and the Mass and Funeral the following day. The remains were draped in the Tricolour and flanked by a guard of honour under Eamonn MacThomais. Piaras O Greagain of the Blackrock Pipe Band played a lament as

the cortege passed the O Nuallain home and again at the graveside in Dean's Grange. The prayers were said in Irish and English by Fr Gaughan of Monkstown.

The funeral was a magnificent tribute to a man who had laboured long and selflessly for the cause of Irish freedom right up to the day of his death. Go ndeana Dia trocaire ar a nam uasal.

Speaking at the graveside Sean O Bradaigh of the Sean Treacy Cumann and the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin said:

"Tá brón in ár gcroíthe inniu agus muid ag cur sa ché anseo corp Sheosamh Uí Nualláin. Fear uasal, cráifeach, dúthrachtach a bhí ann agus chaith sé a shaol agus a shaothar ag obair ar son a mhuintir. Ba cheart go mbeadh bród orainn áfach agus áthas orainn freisin, go raibh aithne againn ar a leithéid é fear."

"Seosamh O Nuallain was no ordinary man. While we stand here in sorrow we should be glad to have known him because he was a man of unusual sincerity and moral courage. Above all he was a man of dedication - dedication to his family and to the cause of Ireland. He worked without ceasing right up to his death. He was a man who was more interested in his duties than in his rights. He gave himself to his wife

and family and to Ireland. He did two men's work and often he did three men's work. He served Ireland as a member of the Expeditionary Force in 1939, in the Curragh Concentration Camp, in Sinn Féin and in the Casement Commemoration Committee. No matter whether things went well or badly, through all the ups and downs of the Republican Movement Joe was faithful to the end.

"We brought his remains here today draped with the Tricolour that Joe loved and this funeral is a fitting tribute to him. Yet he realised that the national struggle was not merely for a flag but for a people. He organised one of the first Tenants' Associations here in Dun Laoghaire over twenty years ago and later on a Citizens' Advice Bureau. To him the people were the nation."

"We should be proud and glad that we were privileged to know Seosamh O Nuallain. We tender the sympathy of the Republican Movement to his widow and family. Each time we think of Joe let us breathe a prayer for his soul and a second one for his family. Let us resolve here at his grave to work on until Ireland is free and so that Joe's children and their children may live and work in the free Gaelic and prosperous Ireland to which he devoted himself."

In all things Ireland, his country was first and last - this tribute paid to Roger Casement is a fitting one for the late Joe Nolan -



Guard of Honour at Joe Nolan's Funeral.



Traditional piper and

Fianna Eireann Guard

at

Funeral of Joe Nolan

R.I.P.

Residents Terrorised

The British Army, in particular the Royal Highland Fusiliers, have, terrorised the residents of the New Lodge Rd area of Belfast. The vicious and brutal behaviour of these troops is reminiscent of the savage outrages committed by the RUC against a defenceless people in Derry during 1969.

Sections of the Royal Highland Fusiliers were seen acting in an obviously insane fashion; many of them fought with each other and with their superior officers. They kicked and batoned young girls.

The people of Belfast cannot be expected to endure much more repression.

N.G.A.

A Chara,

The National Graves Association invite your readers to take part in tours of national graves and memorials in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, on Sundays in July and August. The tour will include the graves of such patriots as Ann Devlin, James Clarence Mangan, James Fintan Lalor, the Tallaght Fenians, Austin Slack, Nurse O'Farrell and many others of national interest. The memorials will include the Manchester Martyrs Cenotaph, the Young Irelanders, the Skin and Goat, and Leo of the Nation.

Visitors to Dublin are especially welcome.

Sean Fitzpatrick, Runai.

Irish Freedom Fighters

MANY Irish Freedom Fighters are now languishing in the Queen's jails in Britain and Belfast.

On request from Dublin a branch of An Cumann Cabhrach to raise money for the dependents of Ireland's imprisoned Freedom Fighters is to be formed in Melbourne. All wishing to join and give assistance are asked to contact Mr. J. Murray, 5 Kingston Rd., Cheltenham, Victoria. Phone 93-8734.

Those wishing to form branches in New Zealand and other Australian States are requested to write to: "An Phoblacht," 2A Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.

ANOTHER FRAME UP

THREE brothers were each jailed for six years at Belfast City Commission after a jury found them guilty of possessing a gun and ammunition with intent to endanger life.

They are Owen Wheland (20) labourer; William (21) unemployed driver, and Timothy (18) unemployed, all of Brompton Park.

In addition to the six-year sentences, they were sentenced to five years imprisonment for possessing the gun and ammunition under suspicious circumstances, and to two years for not having firearm certificates, all the sentences to run concurrently.

Detective Inspector Donald Brown, of New Scotland Yard, said that, along with other Scotland Yard and RUC detectives he

searched the brothers' home at 8.10 a.m. on March 10 last. He found the three brothers in bed in an upstairs bedroom. They were searched and taken from the room.

Then, said witness, Detective Sergeant John Quarrie lifted a pile of clothing on top of a chest of drawers and he saw a 22 revolver with 22 rounds of ammunition lying loose around the gun. The gun was unloaded.

Witness said that when the brothers were questioned, Owen shouted out: "Ma, they're planting guns in here," Timothy said: "It's

not mine. It belongs to nobody here." William shouted to a girl standing outside the door: "Remember these faces sis. They're planting a gun on us."

Detective Inspector Brown said that when charged, William said: "You definitely put it there." Timothy said: "They were seen putting it there," and Owen said: "It was definitely planted."

A firearms expert, Victor Beavis, of the Forensic Science Department said the gun was manufactured in Germany and was in very good condition.

The three men made statements from the dock denying all the charges. They said they had never been members of any illegal organisation.

Plight of Leitrim

Dear Sir,

I would like to bring to the notice of your readers the plight of the West of Ireland, particularly that of County Leitrim. This subject is especially relevant in the light of Mr. Lynch's recent statements and the discussions between Stormont and Minister Hoare concerning Fermanagh and Leitrim, the poorest Counties on each side of the border.

We all know of Lovely Leitrim, in the words of the song, of its traditional hospitality notably on the occasion when O'Sullivan Beare and his followers, fleeing from their enemies, came to rest amongst the affable people in that region. We also know it as the "Cinderella" County, poor but Beautiful, and of Sean Mac Diarmada the pious of the 1916 Republican movement, who came from this County. Unfortunately, few people know of its present position. For several years the Irish Government has been buying farms and place of people, planting trees following in the footsteps of the modern day landowners in Alabama in America, who banished the negroes to the ghettos of

Chicago and New York, in the interests of capitalism, in order to plant forests where they had lived. The beauty of

this project under Leinster House is that the ghettos will not be established in Ireland, but in Britain and America when the people are forced to emigrate.

Everyone agrees that the land is very poor farming land, but the case does not rest on this point. In 1969 a small village called Dowra,

across the Shannon on the Leitrim/Cavan border established a redevelopment committee to bring industry into this area. After raising money and trying various contacts in the industrial world, a factory was eventually set up with the aid of an English knitwear company and started operating last January, exporting the finished products.

The Irish Government never gave any help, either in the form of advice, or financially to this project, and at present take the attitude that the factory does not even exist. Surely this is peculiar behaviour from a

WHAT PRICE JUSTICE...?

THREE months ago, Tom Cahill, a thirty-seven year old milkman was shot down as he completed his milk round in the Dermott Hill area. His condition was so serious at the time that as he was being rushed to hospital, a radio news flash reported that he was dead. Since then, despite many set backs, Cahill's fantastic courage and self determination has astounded both friends and doctors as he fought his way slowly back towards normal health.

On Wednesday, 23rd June, ten policemen entered Tom's tiny private ward at Musgrave Hospital and with the assistance of the permanent guard, placed him under arrest.

Then, on Thursday, 24th June, Cahill limped his way into the dock at Belfast Magistrates Court and was charged under the Explosive Substances Act. Refusing the dhair offered to him, he stood during the hearing and pleaded not guilty to the charge. As he left the dock, five men in the body of the court raised their arms in a clenched fist salute, for despite application for bail, Tom Cahill was remanded in custody for a week. He has denied any knowledge of the six rounds of ammunition alleged to have been found in or around his milk van; he is still in need of constant medical attention for his wounds, and he has a wife and seven young children at home.

Why then does Tom Cahill lie at this very minute in the dismal gloom of a prison cell? Justice in Ireland...?

Government initiating talks, with a power it traditionally is not supposed to officially recognise, on the subject of helping these very people.

Like the question of the EEC membership, this is a typical example of the Government's willingness to make money at the expense of the loss of more of Ireland's population through emigration. If this is not personal profit, the end cannot justify the means, for what would be the good of a country owning all the money in the world if it was at the expense of its hereditary soul.

Yours faithfully,
J P Gilhooly.

Maith Thu Rosc

Cúis brón dúinn an téarma príosúnachta a gearradh ar Phroinsias Mac Airt, Sráid Uí Chatháin, Béal Feirste. Creidtear go forleathan i mBéal Feirste gur "Frame Up" ceart a bhí ann mar trial.

Deirtear gur comhartha eile é seo nach bhfuil cithrom na féinne le fáil do náisiúntóirí sa Tuaisceart i láthair na huair.

Díoltóir ROSC Proinsias agus Gaeilgeoir dílis é.

ó Rosc.

GOING OUR WAY

Morale among the I.R.A. in Belfast has never been higher. This follows a series of "successful operations". And there is the unmistakable impression that things are going very much their way.

GUNS FOR SALE

1. In the Six Counties, at present, there are about 102,000 licenced firearms.
2. The disbanded Ulster Special Constabulary could buy .303 rifles at a reduced rate.
3. Among Vice-presidents of the Ulster Rifle Association are Chief Constable Shillington, RUC, and GOC, Northern Ireland, General Tuzo.

POETS AND PATRIOTS

Every Revolutionary Army use poetry and history of the past to inspire the youth of the present day; did not the Fenians establish the climate of thought for the 1916 Rising?

Irish Martyrs

IRISH MARTYRS
(Air : Black & Tan Gun)

I'll tell you a story of Ireland,
And the young men who died for her cause,
These brave and true young Irish martyrs
Who died breaking Tyrannys Laws.

James Connolly, Wolfe Tone and Emmett
Were part of this great gallant band,
But their souls won't find peace 'til we've conquered
And our flag, it flies over Ireland.

Add new names to this great roll of honour
Whose cause, like the rest, was the same:
They died like all of our martyrs
And one was called, Michael Kane.

For the love in his heart was for Ireland
To free her he'll not die in vain,
And the glory that's granted to martyrs
Be granted to Michael Kane.

McIlhorne was another young rebel
Who for Ireland, his life, he lay down
He protected the place where he worshipped
'Til the bullets in his chest, laid him down.

It is men like these will free Ireland,
And will smash these cruel British laws
And the freedom that these young martyrs died for
We will win with the help of the Lord.

Lieutenant William Reid
R.I.P. who died on active
service in Belfast on May
15, 1971.



The poems, "Irish
Martyrs" and "The New
Lodge Road" were
written by Lt. Reid. Go
ndeanaidh Dia trocaire ar
a anam.

To the men of the 1939 Campaign

He moves quickly and
silently the bomb is
placed, the quick
getaway the explosion
"The Hue and Cry", days
on his keeping to keep
out of theirs. The lonely
streets of an English City
on a rain-lashed night,
with no unlocked door to
bid a silent welcome to a
safe retreat . . . May the
Irish clay rest lightly on
the brave and noble souls
of Peter Barnes and Jim
McCormick.

J.J. Kavanagh R.I.P.

(Murdered by Union Quay S.B.
3rd August 1940)

I have squandered the
splendid years
That the Lord God
gave to my youth
Was it folly or grace?
Lord I would
squander them over
again.

P. Pearse

The New Lodge Road

Forty men from the New Lodge Road,
They came out to fight the British foe,
They fought all night to the break of day
'Til the British troops turned and ran away.

We looked around to see the damage done,
By the British troops who had used their guns
One man dead was the terrible toll,
And he lost his life on the New Lodge Road.

We'll not forget how this deed was done,
For they had no cause to use their guns:
No matter where these murderers go,
We'll always hate them on the New Lodge Road.

Now these forces of the crown,
Who like to shoot the Irish down,
And they never will be told
That they can't win on the New Lodge Road.

For we'll be fighting for the cause
No matter how many men we lost:
For Ireland's freedom that is our goal
So we'll keep fighting on the New Lodge Road.

From a Political Prisoner

A little space is all I have to measure every day
They've filed me in this pigeon-hole, out of harm's way
I didn't keep the tracks on which they'd programmed me to roll
Because the Architect who made me, gave me mind and Soul
But independent units jam their push-button control
So they took me out of service to help achieve their goal.

They shackle me and think they've won, how can they be so blind?
The fools, they cage my body, my thoughts they cannot bind
So I remain a free man within this cell confined
And you outside, who think you're free are prisoners of your mind
For freedom isn't measured by the yard or by the pound
You must realise it's missing before it can be found.

What do you think of men like me, or do you spare a thought
For those who have to pay the price of every freedom bought?
Are you content to stay a member of the shameless band
The last to stick your neck out, the first out with your hand?
And do you praise or mock the people who're prepared to fight?
And do you take what they have earned as if it were your right?

You haven't felt your tether yet; they'd rather keep it slack
Though they'll draw it taut as mine if you attempt to jump the track
But you can gain more than you lose if you just raise your eyes
Who put the perfume in the Rose, the Sun up in the Skies?
Why bend the knee to men of straw who designate your place?
The freedom planted in your heart is limitless as space.
John O'Sullivan.

In Jail for Ireland

Ten prisoners serving sentences of 1 to 3 years. Short term prisoners:
Number unknown but believed to be over 850 on various political charges.
Women prisoners: Mrs Mary McGuigan Ard-Cornhairle Sinn Fein; Rose
Smith and others, 6 months to 1 year, Armagh Jail.

Tony O'Kane	Crumlin Rd	15 years
Robert Campbell	Crumlin Rd	11 years
George O'Hara	Crumlin Rd	10 years
Seamus Drain	Crumlin Rd	10 years
John Magee	Crumlin Rd	8 years
Thomas McDonald	Crumlin Rd	8 years
Proinsias McAirt	Crumlin Rd	5 years
William McKee	Crumlin Rd	5 years
Patrick Monaghan	Crumlin Rd	5 years
Malachi Cullen	Crumlin Rd	6 years
Malachy Leonard	Crumlin Rd	5 years
Brian McCann	Crumlin Rd	5 years
Barry Burton	Maidstone	4 years
Brendan Magill	Wandsworth	2 years
Seamus McGonible	Wandsworth	3 years
James Monaghan	Wormwood Scrubs	3 years
James McFadden	Braidstone	2 years
Gerry Doherty	Lancaster	4 years
James George	Wandsworth	3 years
G G McBrinn	Wormwood Scrubs	2 years
Frank Roche	Wormwood Scrubs	18 months
Conor Lynch	Wakefield	7 years
Eamonn Smullen	Gartree	8 years
Alex McLaverty	Maidstone	5 years
Richard McLaverty	Maidstone	5 years

CONCENTRATION CAMP Burned by the IRA

EXTRA
OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE ACT 1939
SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT, established on the 24th day of August 1939
THE PEOPLE, at the suit of the Attorney General
V
PAT SHANNON

TAKE NOTICE that a Sitting of the abovementioned Court to be held at Collins Barracks in the City of Dublin, on Wednesday the 19th day of February 1941, or on the first opportunity thereafter, you will be tried on the following indictable charges:-

CHARGE 1

STATEMENT OF OFFENCE

PARTICULARS OF OFFENCE

Laurence Grogan, Peadar O'Flaherty, Sean O'Brien, Frank Weaver, Rory Brugh, Patrick McNeela, Dominick Adams, William McGuinness, Michael Traynor, Bertie McCormack, Myles Heffernan, John Smith, Edward Moore, M. J. Walsh, Timothy Collins, William Mahony, Daniel Aherne, Thomas Lynch, Daniel Callaghan, Patrick Shannon, James A. Breheny, Denis Ryan, Brian Lowe, Pierce Fennell, John Fitzsimmons, Peadar McAndrews, Richard Mulready, John Reynolds, Fursa Walsh, Edward Whelan, Michael O'Leary, Joseph Nolan, Andrew Redmond, James Doherty, Thomas Gillespie, John Hunt, Charles Byrd, Joseph Crowe, Edward Corrigan, Thomas Wall, Martin Calligan, Timothy Aherne and John Grennan, on the 14th day of December, 1940, in the County of Kildare, conspired together unlawfully and maliciously to set fire to buildings situated at the Curragh, to wit, forming portion of an Internment Camp, and to destroy the said huts and the contents thereof.

CHARGE 2

STATEMENT OF OFFENCE

Arson, contrary to Section 6 of the Malignant Damage Act 1861.

Statement of Sergeant Thomas Dunne: "On the evening of the 13th December, I proceeded to Internment Camp with rations for Internees. On transferring the rations to the hut allotted to the Internees as a store I was asked by one of the Internees if that was all the butter allowed. I then explained to him that the butter ration was reduced by one half-ounce per man per day. He refused to take in the rations until he would see Larry (meaning Larry Grogan). He then proceeded to the Camp Hospital to see Grogan and returned to say that the rations was not going into the store."

"I then reported to Lieutenant Casey and accompanied him to the Camp where he explained to Grogan about the butter ration. I was present during this interview with Lieutenant Casey and Grogan and heard Grogan say that he would not allow false economy to be carried on at the expense of a few hundred Internees. Also present at this interview were Internees T. Doherty, McGuinness, and several others."

"During this time the ration car was in the compound. I was ordered by Lieutenant Casey to reload any of the rations that was unloaded and withdraw the car from the compound. I then had the car driven and placed between two wire gates leading to the compound."

"At about 4.30 I was instructed by Lieutenant Casey to take the rations back to the stores and have them weighed out for the separate cook houses and have the rations delivered to the cook houses."

"At about 5 o'clock I returned with the rations and on putting them in the cook house I was met in the doorway by about 12 Internees and was told by Internees Murphy and McNeela that the rations would not be allowed in and that they would not take

them. I then proceeded to the second cookhouse and was met by the same crowd of Internees who prevented me from putting the rations in the cookhouse. I then reported to Lieutenant Casey who told me to put the rations back in the stores."

Statement of Captain J.H. Power: "About 09.15 hours on the 14/12/40, I entered the Internment Camp Hospital. I spoke to Internee L. Grogan, who was in bed, and reminded him of the serious consequence of any trouble arising out of the Internees refusal of the reduced ration of butter. Grogan replied that De Valera assured the British that he would send them all supplies of food possible, and that they - the Internees - would not stand for it. Just as I was leaving the following Internees came around Grogan's bed apparently for a consultation:-

"Peadar O'Flaherty, Sean O'Brien, H.J. Lynch, Ted Moore, McGuinness, Rory Brugh, Michael Traynor, Bertie McCormack. Cpl. T. Byrne remained in the Ward when I left."

"At about 12.50 hours on the 14/12/40 while in the Duty room, I heard the blowing of whistles, and noise of breaking glass in the compound, I went to the telephone and rang up the Adjutant's Office, and asked for the Fire Brigade and help. I then went into the Compound, and saw smoke issuing from the huts, and the Police forced up to the entrance to the Compound. I took no particular notice of individuals. It was a general scene of men armed with trestles, some sabotaging bedding and property, and the intense smoke of the burning huts which met my view."

"Seeing the situation, I called on the Sentry in No. 1 elevated Post which covers the entrance to the Compound to fire ten rounds over the Internees' heads."

This had the effect of clearing the Internees from the vicinity of the entrance gate and enabled the Police to couple up the hoses. I then went into the hospital hut and told the Internee's "Leader", L. Grogan to stop the destruction. He only replied saying "I accept full responsibility for it". The position at this time was such as to make it suicidal for unarmed Police to move down the Camp, and were it not for the arrival at the time of Capt. Guiney and a party of armed Police, the whole compound would have been burned."

"The breaking of glass and the burning of the huts was only a matter of minutes owing to the organized manner in which it was carried out. As the huts run at right angles to the entrance gate, very few windows were visible at that place, and in addition the Internees were screened by smoke. The only Internee I saw doing damage whom I recognised was - Internee Ryan, Waterford. I saw him throwing and breaking the fire extinguishers between huts No. B.6 and B.7. I knew Ryan by appearance at the time."

Statement of Sergt. William O'Callaghan: "On Saturday the 14/12/40 I reported for Duty accompanied by one Corporal and nine Acting Corporals. After reading my Orders at about 11.50 hours Sergt. Major Blanchfield warned the men about the abnormal atmosphere amongst the Internees and to be extra vigilant. The men were then

posted to the various posts by Cpl. O'Connor. I was in the vicinity of "C" and "D" lines and gave instructions to A/Cpl. Kane and Cpl. O'Connor. At about 12.30 hours I was in the passage between "C" and "B" lines. I was speaking to Cpl. O'Connor who was on Duty at No. 6 post. I patrolled around between "C" and "D" lines. I remained on patrol for approximately one quarter of an hour."

"During the time some of the Internee leaders came back from the direction of "B" lines and appeared to have visited a number of huts. Between 12.45 and 12.50 hours I anticipated that something was going to happen. There was a general movement of Internees towards the huts, so I went towards the main gate via the passage between the hospital and the dining hall. The Internees started to run for their huts. Just as I was arriving between "C" and "B" lines, they had started to fling down the fire extinguishers and release the contents, smashing windows and throwing fire buckets about. I ran to the main gate, and sounded my whistle. I rang the bell, and the policeman came to the gate. At this time I observed that there was a hut on fire about the centre of "C" lines. I ordered the policeman to ring for the fire brigade. Cpl. Carroll was the policeman on the main gate."

"The officers then came into the camp. I explained briefly what had occurred and told them that I had sent for the fire brigade. Cpl. O'Connor and A/Cpl. Kane then came up, and I ordered them to get the fire fighting equipment. We were then reinforced by all the available policemen. During this time the Internees were bundling their beds and personal belongings out, and we started to clear the Internees down to the field. They became very aggressive. They

had improvised weapons such as broom handles, pieces of iron and some of them said "come on we will fight them." The sentry on the No. 1 elevated post discharged shots. They moved quicker down the passage then. Capt. Guiney arrived with a party of police with revolvers. They turned the Internees down towards the direction of the field."

"This would be about five minutes after I had given the signal. I then assisted in the fire fight. The leaders I refer to are Internee Sean O'Brien, Internee Liam O'Flaherty whom I saw moving around from hut to hut in a suspicious manner. I did not take any particular notice of any of the other leaders at the time. I remember observing Internee "Fox" Walsh with a number of the Internees about to attack the police. He was armed with an iron bar. I observed Internees Dan Aherne, Brian Lowe, and Pierce Fennell breaking windows. I also observed Internee Denis Ryan, Waterford, emptying fire extinguishers between huts. I was emptying the fire extinguisher between huts Nos. B.6 and B.7. Internee Ryan was then known to me personally."

"Internee "Fox" Walsh, and approximately fourteen other Internees were congregated between huts B.6 and B.7. I was then inside the gate about twenty yards away. Walsh and his followers who were armed with weapons of various kinds, seemed to be about to attack Comdnt. O'Neill and a party of Police who were endeavouring to clear them down the field. Walsh was shouting - "Come on, we will fight the bastards." Walsh was carrying an iron bar."

"Michael J. Walsh ("Fox") was then known to me personally. The other Internees named who were known to me were breaking windows in "C" lines. Owing to the smoke, I could not see the numbers of

the huts. All the Internees named, with the exception of Dan Aherne, were breaking windows in "C" lines. Dan Aherne was breaking the windows in B.6 Hut."

Statement of A/Cpl. Patrick O'Connor: "I reported for duty at the Internment Camp on the 14/12/40 at 12.00 hours and the Sergeant Major drew attention to the tense atmosphere among the Internees as a result of the butter ration being reduced. I posted my acting Corporals."

"From 12 o'clock to 12.15 I went around to the various posts to ensure that the men were on duty, and understood their orders. During this fifteen minutes, I noticed that the Internee leaders were very active and were moving about, and held very hurried conversations with each other. At 12.15 I joined A/Corporal Kane who was on Duty between "B" and "C" lines. The leaders were still very active. Immediately about 12.15 we entered a number of huts, from C.6 to C.1. At this time there was nothing unusual happening in the huts, and some of the Internees were out in the field. We then visited C.14 and D.1 and continued up to the end of D.6 and C.9. At about 12.45 hours were were up at the Western side near the hospital, when we met Sergt. Callaghan."

"He told us that Internees O'Flaherty and O'Brien were holding a conversation with Hut Leaders from C.6, and C.1 and to keep them under observation. These two Internees were towards C and C.14. It would be about 12.50 hours. On arrival between C.14 and D.1 we observed the Internees in D.1, C.14, and C.7 emptying the fire buckets and fire extinguishers and removing the bedding and personal belongings, and damaging the fire-drants, at

Continued on page 3

CONCENTRATION CAMP

Burned by the IRA

Continued from page 4

the same time breaking windows. I immediately blew my whistle and doubled to the inner Compound to get in the fire appliances and report on what was happening. On the way towards the gate some of the Internees were very hostile. They threw fire buckets, trestles and mattresses. I was struck by some of the buckets.

"The Internees were threatening in their remarks. Between 12.50 and 12.55 hours I reported to the gate, and Sergt. Callaghan had already summoned assistance. Captain Power and other officers were coming into the Camp. I then noticed that the huts in the centre of "C" and "D" lines were on fire, accompanied by A/Corporal Whelan, Corporal Sinnott, and Corporal Keane moved towards the hydrants between "C" and "D" lines, and found that it would be impossible to get the stands erected, and the hose attached owing to the intense heat. Commandant O'Neill had then arrived.

"There was a number of Internees North of the hydrants. The attitude of the Internees was threatening, but they did not make any physical effort to stop us. We returned to the hydrants in the vicinity of the gate between the two dining halls and got the apparatus into action. I remained at fire-fighting until the fire was extinguished. During this period we did not receive any assistance from the Internees.

"The following Internees were most active from 12.00 hours to 12.50 hours: Internees P. Flaherty, W. Adams, S. O'Brien, R. Brugha, J. Smith, McNeela, Fursa Walsh and M. Traynor.

"At 12.50 hours I was between Huts D.1 and C.14, and observed the following Internees doing all kinds of destruction, emptying the fire buckets, and fire extinguishers and removing the beddings and personal belongings and damaging the fire hydrants, at the same time breaking the windows: Internees M. O'Leary, P. Flaherty, Fursa Walsh, J. Fitzsimons."

Statement of A/Corporal T. Shaw:—"I was posted on No. 2 post at No.1 Internment Camp, Curragh, at 12.00 hours on the 14th December 1940. My beat was to patrol the East side of B Lines. I was unarmed except for a baton which I normally carry on duty. I was visited about 12.30 hours by Sergeant Callaghan. Everything was then in order. After that I heard a good deal of shouting and breaking of timber. I went down to the South end of my beat towards the Sports Field to see if I could see the Corporal in charge of the patrol.

"I then went back to the other end of my beat and did not see the Corporal. I walked up. When I got about half way up my beat I noticed a thick volume of smoke and flames coming from one of the huts in C lines. I at once sounded the alarm with my whistle and drew my baton. I then went towards B Block towards the burning huts to get a fire

extinguisher. At this time a crowd of internees rushed out from the huts and seized all the extinguishers and threw them from them on the ground. Seeing their attitude, I went down to the far end of my beat. While I was down there, A/Corporal Moran came towards me from the direction of C Lines.

"He was bleeding profusely from the head and face. He was in a dazed condition and looked pale. I went with him half way up my own beat where I thought he would be safe and returned to the end of my beat again. Shortly afterwards I heard shots being fired and a group of Internees rushed towards me. Just then Sergeant Dunne M.P.S. who was outside the wire shouted to the Internees to stand back. One of the group of Internees shouted "If any of our men fall, this is a dead man."

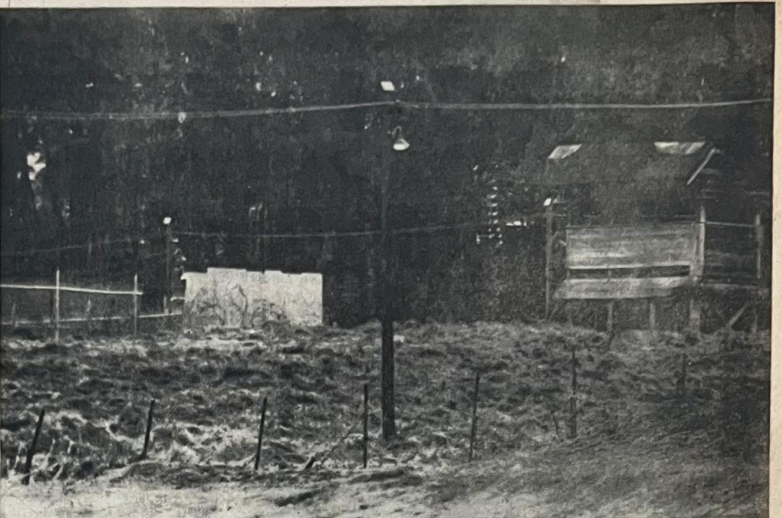
"I felt this remark referred to me as they were pointing towards me and looking in my direction. Sergt. Dunne then ordered his men to cover them with their revolvers and ordered me to get over the "death wire." I got over the wire and the Internees went back towards the centre of the field. When the Internees went back I got permission from Sgt. Dunne to go back into the compound again.

"I saw one of the Internees whom I can identify as John Joe McGirl smashing the windows of hut B.12 with a lavatory brush. McGirl was then known to me."

Statement of Major J.F. Kineen:—"At about 13.00 hours on the 14th inst., I came out from the Hospital, and on the main road was told that the Internment Camp was on fire. I went to the gate and started it. M. N. or Doyle A.M.S., who had followed me out from the hospital got into the car with me. We drove to the Internment Camp as fast as we could and reached there. I would say at about 13.05 hours. I went inside and saw the fire Brigade and the fire engine at work. Huts were on fire in all three lines of the new Camp and were blazing furiously.

"I later got a message that an opening into a tunnel had been found. I went along, and saw that under a burnt floor of D.2 a hole had been made through the concrete slab. A man had gone down to investigate, and reported that the tunnel ran eastwards for about thirteen feet, and then dropped suddenly. A number of us then, particularly Capt. Guiney, and some of the Police started to search the huts for signs of further tunnelling. Capt. Guiney shortly found another one. Six pieces of tunnelling in all were found.

"A plan which I have prepared shows their location. The tunnels were all about two feet in diameter. They were lined with timbers in a skilled manner, in loose and dangerous places. In the tunnels were found a considerable amount of equipment used in their



MURDER IN THE CURRAGH

All the prisoners were rounded up by soldiers carrying machine guns and locked into other huts from Saturday evening to Monday morning without food.

The suspected ringleaders were taken out and beaten with batons and revolvers. All were taken to the glasshouse. Some were beaten again and all kept in solitary confinement for ten weeks.

On Monday morning when the rest of the prisoners were finally released from their huts, the Free State soldiers were waiting outside armed to the teeth. When the men, as was the custom, began to line up for breakfast the soldiers opened fire. Barney Casey fell to the ground shot in the back.

Other I.R.A. men were also hit. Bob Flannagan, Art Moynihan and Walter Mitchell. At the subsequent inquest on Barney Casey the question raised by Mr Sean MacBride "WHY WAS BARNEY CASEY SHOT IN THE BACK". The inquest was adjourned at once.

The Military Court handed out sentences of 10 years, 5 years, 3 years and 18 months to the men in the Glasshouse.



Barney Casey, shot in Flanna Fall concentration camp, December 16, 1940.

construction. It consisted of basins, butchers knives with the edges formed into saws, a claw hammer, a mallet, a pairing chisel, a cold chisel, large numbers of spoons, knives and forks formed into scrapers, a large amount of clothing of various kinds, ropes and tapes, a small wooden barrow (home made) candles made by filling cigarette tins with stones and grease, and fitting bits of fabric for wicks, and most useful implement of all, a small pick formed by breaking off one leg of table trestle. This was I think the main implement of all, and there was a considerable number of them about.

"As soon as the fire was well within control, I made a survey to see how much accommodation had been lost. An early guess I gave it to be eight sleeping huts, but on careful checking when everything was out, I found that six and a half huts had been destroyed, but that a much larger number had been damaged by breaking windows, carrying off the inside sheeting, and attempting to fire them. In the course of my inspection, I found that all the fire hydrants which had been provided were lying about some broken, but all discharged.

The prisoners started to ease down towards the right hand corner of the huts. I then ceased fire."

Statement of Commdt. M.M. Cummins:—"On the afternoon of the 13/12/40 when the Camp Quartermaster was issuing rations for the 14/12/40 to the Internees, he informed them that the butter ration was being reduced by 1/2 an oz. per man per day throughout the Army, and that it was also being reduced in respect of the Internees as from the 14/12/40. Their leader said that they would not accept any ration until the full ration of butter was issued, consequently the Internees had no breakfast on the morning of the 14/12/40. Their leader asked for an interview with me, and I saw him at 10.15 hours.

"I explained the position as regards the reduction of the ration of butter, but he did not seem to accept it, and stated that unless they received a full ration, that they would not accept any ration. He also stated to me that he would not be responsible for the conduct of the Internees after 12 o'clock noon on that day if the full ration was not made. I warned him that any misconduct on the part of the internees would be met with strong disciplinary action.

"At about 13.5 hours on the 14th inst., I entered the Mess, Connolly Barracks, to have lunch. On entering I received a message from the Internment Camp to the effect that the Internees were removing their personal belongings and bedding from the huts. I left immediately for the Internment Camp. On coming out of the Mess, I noticed smoke coming from the direction of the camp. When I got to the camp I noticed that a number of huts were on fire and the camp was enveloped in heavy smoke. On my way in I saw two members of the Military Police on my staff had been badly injured due to an attack made by the Internees. On my arrival I noticed a large force of Military, including Police, some armed with machine guns, small arms, rifles, grenades."

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"They seemed to take no effect, the Officer told me to keep on firing. I fired seven rounds in the direction of the huts on left and right.

AN CUMA LINN?

WHO CARES?

IS THERE ANY END TO PRICE INCREASES?

PRICES

1966

1971

Sirlion Steak	5/8 lb.	9/10 lb.
Cabbage	7d head	1/3 head
Butter	4/8 lb.	5/2 lb.
2 lb Loaf	1/6	2/2
Eggs	3/4 doz.	4/8 doz.
Margarine	1/11 lb.	2/6 lb.

The same price increases apply to all other food stuffs. Milk, sugar, potatoes and other vegetables and sauces have all increased in prices which makes the housewife's task of purchasing a frustrating and worrying one and it is true to say that many women are now nervous wrecks in trying to balance the weekly budget.

Many young married couples would not survive but for the fact that the wife is also a breadwinner but what is to happen when the children are born? The recent announcement of another E.S.B. increase coupled with the already exorbitant charges will have many families going back to paraffin lamps and candles. High speed gas is very suitably named

because of the high speed in which your shilling disappears. A few years ago a couple of bob would cook the week's food but today it will cost anywhere between 14 - 18 shillings per week.

There is no doubt whatever that decimatisation has the public robbed and the Turnover and Wholesale Tax are the two big factors in rising prices and inflation that we hear so much about from the politicians.

With price increases continually on the upward trend, workers have no alternative but to look for higher wages and as soon as the wage increases are granted up again go the cost of commodities, and the worker finds that his increase has not made

the slightest difference in his weekly budget. Clothing, rents and rates and bus fares are other matters which add to the worries of every workingman and his family.

In the EEC (if we go in), prices will be way beyond the normal weekly wage packet and the words of Padraig

Pearse spoken in 1915 will have a very definite meaning for the people of Ireland in 1971 in the years ahead:

"If thou hast consented O God, that there be a new England called Ireland to be ever held in the grip of the foe, then to this isle we must bid farewell."



Going on a holiday?

Seventy-five pounds a week for a cottage in West Cork! And the tourists who come to Ireland - pay out this neat sum. Guess who gets the profit: a lady from that darling country, South Africa.

If you are looking for glorious isolation by the sea, with a little bit of luxury thrown in, just contact Mrs. Craik-White. The previous owners were Col. John Samuelson and Major Craik-White, but the Colonel sold out his share some ago to the Major

The cottages were formerly lighthouse cottages which were converted into

living accommodation, but the wives of the lightkeepers refused to live there.

Now, you may well ask where you would get £75 for one week's holiday on the cliff-top, even though it is an all in price and you can fish from the verandah. You may say it is alright for them rich foreigners - but did you know that there are actually some Irish people who can, and have afforded to, come here.

Maybe you will be able to have a holiday here some time - and it will not cost you £75 a week either.

E.E.C. - AND YOU

(1). Do you realise the full implications of EEC Membership - How it will effect your work, your wages and your family life?

(2). In EEC Ireland will no longer be under the control of Leinster House with regard to Industry and economy but will be dictated to by a Commission in Brussels.

In your opinion would it be of more advantage to Ireland to remain an independent nation while still carrying on trade with EEC Countries? i.e., Associate membership as some countries are doing successfully.

(3). Two sections of our working Community have already been warned that they must accept EEC terms, even though it will have a shattering effect on their livelihood (i.e. Farming and Fisheries). This will mean large scale

loss of work.

Are the Free State Government justified in accepting this without consulting the workers concerned?

(4). As we are not a technologically advanced Nation, industrial workers may have to go to central Europe for training in this field.

Are you willing to seek work in other European Countries, e.g. Germany - with or without your family?

(5). Finally: Who, in your opinion would gain most out of EEC Membership - (1) The Worker, (2) The Employer, or (3) The stronger countries who now control the EEC i.e., France, Germany, Holland etc.

For the Answers read Sinn Fein Policy Programme Eire Nua.

WHO CARES?

AN CUMA LINN?

GREATEST VESTED INTEREST IS THE FREE STATE

But there are others who are a little more careful. Dependents do not suffer — at least, not directly, immediately, for there is always a price to pay in the loss of a good job, in the breakdown in one's health, in premature death.

More pilfering

But these more careful people still find money to drink heavily. How? By various forms of robbery.

The boss is seldom the loser: he passes on the cost to the consumer. In the final analysis, we all pay. The community is the victim.

Moral and physical decay sets in: no longer will we fight, as workers, for a just, basic wage. Instead, we seek more and more overtime or sell those things for which our forefathers gave so much, in productivity agreements.

The employers prefer by far to deal with a working class bemused by excessive drink a ureit of sex than with a sober, class-conscious people, unaware of their heritage, eager to fight fiercely every yard in the class war to the last great struggle of the final defeat of capitalism.

A decadent working class is a sure guarantee that the capitalist's profits will increase, always at the expense of the worker; and this goes a long way to explain why, in the past, in Connolly's day, men were paid in the public house; and why, today, the media of communication, so important a weapon in the capitalist's struggle to remain in power, promote the decadent life, the permissive society in one form or another.

An end to rounds

There is one thing at least that all of us could do immediately to decrease our drink problem, urges Father Leonard. It is to get rid of our habit of standing rounds.

How many of us have found ourselves in the position of dropping in "just for one" (all we wanted, anyway) and meeting inside some of our friends whom we felt honour-bound to treat?

It takes much moral courage in such circumstances to say: "I have come in just for one. I don't want any more. I'm expected home. So please exclude me from your rounds."

Indulge a little and the

Ireland has never lacked physical courage. Our great lack has been moral courage. In order to free Ireland of foreign rulers and native capitalists we will need moral courage in tremendous quantities.

We can start to build those reserves of moral courage by beating our drink problem and by starting with the abolition of the "round" habit.

Powerful vested interests are involved in the two great plagues of Irish society... the abuse of drink and tobacco.

TWO great plagues of contemporary Irish society are the abuse of drink and the use of tobacco. Tremendously powerful vested interests are involved, and, unless pushed very hard by us, none of the authorities — Church or State — is likely to mount the campaign that is needed to bring our people, to their senses before it is too late.

Least of all, the virtually impoverished Dublin Government, through its Health Department, is unlikely to do anything more effective than make sympathetic gestures.

But for drink and tobacco takes that Government would be even more pitiful than at present, as it yields to every British whim and runs, alms cap in hand, to Brussels, for E.E.C. membership is the last chance, as the Lynch administration sees it, of Fianna Fail remaining in power for another little while.

Radio-Teilfís Eireann was persuaded to end cigarette advertising.

Can it be persuaded to end drink advertising? Can it be moved to see the error of glamorising alcohol through those many programmes, not connected directly with advertising, in which drinking is pushed insidiously?

RTE, too, has a considerable financial problem. It is not permitted to increase licence fees. It is loath to increase advertising rates for fear of losing the advertisers to the newspapers from whom it robbed so many.

It is committed to an expensive colour TV programme and, apparently, the Dublin Government is powerless to stop it even though this is contrary to expressed Leinster House policy.

The Dublin Government is deeply divided over the drink question. Some of Mr Lynch's best friends have important drink interests.

Dare any Dublin Minister oppose the financial interests of Seán Lemass, now a multimillionaire? Or the Guinness combine? Of the various British drink interests involved.

Tourist interests

O say of solving a problem is to pretend that it does not exist. Tourist interests want an extension of drinking time. Bórd Fáilte Eireann ex-Director O'Driscoll has said there is NO DRINK PROBLEM in Ireland.

Those concerned to discover the truth will find that Ireland comes second on the list of European countries with a drink problem.

Why? There are many reasons: a continuing crisis of identity; national frustration; emigration; the low marriage rate; late marriages; gross exploitation by vested interests from the communications media.

What can the Republican Movement do?

Republicans should give an example at every level to the people of Ireland if they wish to inspire the confidence that will bring them, eventually, into power in a united Ireland.

As has been made clear on very many occasions by our leaders, Republicanism involves more than fighting the British enemy in the Six Counties, or attending commemoration parades once a year in honour of Ireland's dead, or wearing an Easter Lily.

Men of principle

The Republican should be seen to be a man of honour and principle. Nobody will think less of him if he abstains completely or drinks in moderation. Even if not an abstainer no drink should be taken when involved in some important mission; no Oglach on active duty should take alcohol and the Movement should realise that most intelligence reports received by the enemy are as a result of careless talk when the tongue has been loosened by drink and natural caution undermined.

Fifty years ago Republicans had a reputation for treating drink with respect. Often this was obvious through the wearing of the Pioneer pin which frequently was accompanied by the Fainne.

This became the subject of many a middle-class joke and, because we are so sensitive to such things in Ireland, these symbols of sobriety and dedication to ideas were laughed out of fashion.

Today we can pause, look at our drink record (there is hardly one Irishman or woman today who does not have at least one alcoholic friend, who is not aware of how excessive drinking has wrecked at least one family) and ask ourselves if we have been so

very intelligent and progressive in giving way to the scorn of fools.

And Ireland is still unfree; and, being unfree, cannot be at peace. How much of the blame must go to drink gluttony? We will never be free until we want to be free; but at present our will to be free is weakened by alcoholism.

"Ireland sober is Ireland free": the slogan by Father Matthew was as true today as it was 120 years ago.

Capuchin campaign

The Capuchins of whom Father Mathew was a member have been forced to start another campaign against excessive drinking because of the enormity of the problem of which they are only too well aware, so many people, victims of the vice, come to them for help.

The Capuchin campaign in Dublin is being led by Father Leonard who is finding it exceedingly difficult to get his message across because of the huge vested interests involved.



It was in response to an appeal by him that this article has been written. I was unaware of the size of our drink problem until he opened my eyes to the facts.

The greatest vested interest is the State. When a vat of whiskey is 10 years old, he told me, it is worth £1,000. Of this, the State takes £800.

Knowing the state of the economy and aware of the problem of diminishing tax returns, where is the civil servant who will have the courage to advocate any legislation or campaign which will involve a reduction in drink revenue?

Sapping our strength

Much of that tax revenue is being spent on items connected directly with the price to be paid for excessive drinking: the provision of extra hospital beds, the salaries of more and more nurses, doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, and the other expenses of hospitals and mental institutions.

The demand, rather, is for higher tax revenue, rather than less; it is aiming at £850 or £900 of that £1,000 instead of less.

We may be sure that they will be helped by Church of Ireland priests, Presbyterian Ministers,

Methodists, Baptists, Jews, men of all religions as well as men of none.

Father Leonard makes the point that excessive drinking is sapping the morale of the country.

People in the Republican Movement are only too aware of how few are prepared to give time to some aspect of the national movement — learning Irish, organising fish-ins or housing protests, manning advice bureaux, maintaining the spirit of workers in factories closed by the Anglo-Irish Agreement expanding the co-op's, explaining what is involved in E.E.C. membership — when they have the option of a weekend's heavy drinking in the tinsel glamour of the lounge bar.

But this is only part of the picture. There are those who think nothing of spending £10 on drink over a weekend. On the Monday morning they are incapable of work. Absenteeism on the increase. It is reducing our capacity to pay our way in the world. It is decreasing our viability as a community.

We know of those who cannot afford to spend that £10 on drink: the main victims are the wife and children or other dependents. We know of men who pawn their children's clothing for te price of a drink.



AN MOVEMENT

GLUAISEACHT na POBLACHTA

Stability of employment will have absolute priority. Salaries and wages will be on the basis of equal pay for equal work as between men and women.

The industrial wealth of Ireland is characterised by the domination of its 'commanding heights' by British owned firms, or by firms with substantial interests in Britain. Dominating the Six-County economy are Gallahers, Harland and Wolff, and Shorts, all outright British owned. Of the linen firms, few still remain independent; the industry is in decline and the Linen Thread Co. of Glasgow is buying firms up one by one, while others are closing down. Scotch whisky firms have dominated and crushed the Six-County distillers. The price of survival for the Six-County linen industry has been the flotation of shares on the London market (e.g. 'Old Bleach' Linen Co.) and/or the setting up of subsidiaries in Britain (e.g. Kinnaird Textiles). To find firms with purely native ownership it is necessary to go to less than £100,000 capital. Here about 1,000 small firms exist, 90% of which have independent ownership. These control about a quarter to a third of industrial capital.

Monopolies

So discriminatory is the Unionist structure that the rise of a Catholic property-owning class has been substantially prevented. Scrutiny of the names of the Directors of even the smallest firms (£10,000 to £30,000 capital) suggests perhaps 10 - 15% Catholic ownership, this being confined effectively to building contracting and small-scale retailing. Thus patronage in employment is a powerful weapon for keeping the Protestant working-class 'loyal' to Unionist mythology, even against its 'own' true interests. Similarly, patronage of the small 'independent' firms by the British-owned giants is a factor which prevents the emergence of national mindedness in the smaller Protestant property-owning class. This patronage ultimately results in takeover; independent small property is unable to resist the economic power of the monopolies and is in decline.

Growth

Significantly, recent growth rates indicate the following trends:

- (1) Small, nationally owned firms are in decline and are being taken over.
- (2) The larger firms of the state sector are barely holding their own.
- (3) The British associated or dominated sector is growing rapidly. Guinness, Goudings, Fry-Cadbury, Ranks) as are other foreign owned firms (Shannon Industrial Zone).

Control

Thus, the condition for rapid growth at present is to be increasing specialisation under the control of British firms, a process the end-product of which is a Six-County type economy.

Looking at Irish industry from the angle of products, one can make a broad classification as follows: (a) industry based on local raw materials, (b) industries based mainly on skill and technical ability, (c) building and construction. There is also the classical subdivision into Producers and Consumers goods.

Subsidiaries

The 26-County economy is dominated by a small group of old-established firms: Guinness, Jacobs, Carrolls, Goudings and Sunbeam Wolsley, typify this group. All have subsidiaries or associates in Britain. Their directorships interlock with each other and with the financial structure. The policy of all these firms, having saturated the home market, is expansion by building factories in Britain (and the Empire in the case of Guinness) rather than diversification within the Irish economy. The Sunbeam Wolsley-Unidare-Pye complex is an exception to this; however, this diversification is in association with British monopoly-capital and is of a secondary nature (research and development is done in Cambridge; production in Ireland uses cheap Irish labour and middle management).

Some sectors of the Irish economy are dominated by British subsidiaries (Dunlops, Ranks in the flour milling, Fry-Cadbury, the petroleum distributors).

An appreciable sector is dominated by State owned or sponsored industries; ESB, CIE, and the Sugar Company being among the largest.

The firms names account for about half of the assets of the 26-county public companies; they, therefore, may be regarded as the 'commanding heights' of the economy.

Profits

The outstanding features of the present divided economy are—

(1) Distortion of the Producers Goods Industries (based mainly in the Six-County

area) in the direction of supplying specialised products, for which demand is highly unstable, to the British market. Underdevelopment of the Producers' Goods Industries in the 26-County area by proving that possibilities exist for industrial processing of agricultural raw materials in areas other than the East coast. Another important agriculture based industry is distilling.

It is noteworthy that most of the older-established East-coast food-processing firms are British owned (e.g. Batchelors) and as such are, of course, not interested in Irish social-economics, development of underdeveloped regions, etc. Similarly the mills, which are dominated by the Rank organisation, are operating a centralisation policy which puts their own profits before local social needs; the social capital to be written off does not enter the balance-sheet when a mill closure is decided.

Dairying is largely in the hands of old-established co-operatives which, by and large, have shown little enterprise and few have diversified into the other lines of business open to them, such as cheese manufacture. The reason for this may perhaps be traced to the dead hand of the British Ministry of Agriculture, under whose auspices they were formed, in Sir Horace Plunkett's time. This however requires analysis.

Bacon

Bacon production, once an important export, has fallen on evil days, owing to a highly variable product. This is a result not of scientific control. A variable price has deterred producers. There are signs of improvement here, largely due to the work of the Agricultural Institute. The belated establishment of this body, a generation later than its European equivalents, is an illustration of the lack of attention paid to scientific research in Ireland.

Research

(3) Failure to develop native industrial 'know-how'; neglect of potential 'know-how' (in the form of scientifically trained people) which is produced in abundance for export to our universities. Failure to build up an adequate indigenous research and development framework in which economically important discoveries and inventions might be brought to fruition (Norway, with the same population, spends ten times what we do on applied science). The cult of the 'foreign expert'. Any 'know-how based' industry at present in Ireland, of a foreign subsidiary, invariably depends on the parent company for its scientific research and development. There is, therefore, insufficient basis on which to grow a native applied-scientific tradition. There are not enough people doing scientific research to generate the necessary intellectual atmosphere. It is interesting to speculate how the Ferguson Tractor might have been developed by an Irish-oriented Belfast engineering industry, in order to revolutionise small-farm agriculture.

Blocks

(4) Industries based on extracted mineral wealth are sacrificed to a policy of sale of rights to foreign concerns, whose sole concern is rapid exploitation when world prices are high, followed by neglect if the price drops. The melancholy history of Avoca may yet be repeated at Tynagh.

(5) Relative backwardness of the Building Industry as regards stability and conditions of employment, as well as the use of modern methods. This contributes to the high cost of housing, although in this the interest rate is the dominant factor. A small number of highly mechanised, large-scale building firms exist; these are associated with British interests and are at present making large profits out of the rebuilding of central Dublin in the Imperial image. The same situation exists in Belfast; large office-blocks for industrial offices are replacing older industrial-type buildings.

Control

The Republican Government's programme for industry will have as its central principle that control over the further growth of the economy shall be in the hands of the people.

It will, therefore, be necessary for the Government to obtain a controlling interest in the 'commanding heights' firms or key industries. The policy of the managements of these firms will be to improve the performance of the economy as a whole rather than to maximise the profit of the individual firm, as at present. Likewise, the policy will not be to stamp out competitors, but to enable a rational structure within each industry to be obtained, taking into account local and national needs.

Firms which make reasonable efforts to orient themselves towards the development of the national economy will be left in private hands. By this is meant the pursuit of a policy of low dividends to shareholders, high rates of internal development based on undistributed profits, a substantial portion of which should be spent on scientific research and development co-operatively within the industry (on the lines possibly of the Research Associations in Britain). State incentives would favour co-operative enterprises as the most socially desirable.

Engineering

The investment programme will be planned with the aid of the National Development Authority and financed by means of the undistributed profits of the state-directed commanding heights of the economy, by State-created credit under the control of the National Financial Authority, by means of the external assets as re-organised for the purpose, and by foreign loans if necessary.

The Engineering industry will be modified and re-equipped in such a way as to enable it to manufacture products necessary for the mechanisation and control of most of the agricultural and industrial operations carried out in the 32-County economy.

Ship-building capacity will be retained and used to build and equip a merchant fleet large enough to carry the bulk of our trade; this way can be an expanding and diversified trade with countries outside Britain so that a substantial fleet will be needed. Revaluation of Irish currency could render ship-building for the export market highly competitive. But the main line for expansion of the heavy engineering industry will be in the direction of supplying the needs of the 32-County economy for mining and ore processing equipment, motor vessels for the expanding chemical industry, mechanical handling equipment, heavy commercial vehicles etc. The aircraft industry, as well as developing a work-horse type low-cost high-load plane suitable for internal freight and bus-type passenger transport in underdeveloped countries, would diversify naturally towards manufacturing automatic process control equipment of a relatively simple type directed at the needs of the underdeveloped countries, our own of course in the first place, as well as more sophisticated electronic equipment for the more advanced sectors of our own economy.

Motor

The motor vehicle industry, at present consisting of a diversity of small assemblers, will be integrated in such a way as to produce a small number of basic types adapted to the needs of the people, rather than to the diverse needs of the status-conscious, copied from the imperialist rat-race society. Modular construction devices will be adopted in order to get an adequate variety with a few standard mass-produced elements.

The philosophy behind vehicle design will be durability, safety, reliability and support, rather than speed and built-up obsolescence at present. A suitable public transport vehicle will be developed for the rural areas. Tractor production will be similarly integrated and rationalised. An export trade will be developed of a suitable type of vehicle, adapted to small farm economics, to the underdeveloped economies, whose needs will overlap with ours in many ways.

Standard

Similarly, agricultural and horticultural machinery production is capable of considerable development. The use of electricity and compressed air as motive power for labour-saving equipment adapted for use over small areas (an acre or two) is in its infancy and should be developed rapidly with the aid of scientific research.

The electrical industry, similarly, will be oriented towards the needs of industrialising the nation and compressing its agriculture. Basic units such as electric motors will be standardised, avoiding the situation which exists in Britain where a multiplicity of firms make units that are not interchangeable. Portable power-tools will be developed, for all industries which at present depend on manual crafts, especially the building industry.

Refining

Considerable engineering research effort will be put into the standardisation and modularisation of all industrial equipment, in order to reduce breakdown delays and spare part stock-holding problems.

The extractive industries will be developed beyond the present role of production of ore

for export. Refining will be done on the spot and an associated chemical industry will be built up. The rate of production of non-ferrous metals will be geared to the needs of the economy, with a modest surplus for export if this proves to be advantageous, instead of allowing wild-cat get-rich-quick speculative exploitation as at present. The coal-mining industry will be modernised; techniques and equipment adapted to thin-seam mining will be imported and adapted. The Geological Survey will be expanded and equipped in such a way as to improve rapidly the knowledge of the nation's mineral resources. The present level of knowledge is based largely on old work, before only to surface rocks. Irish geologists and geo-physicists will be invited to return from abroad to contribute to the national effort, which will include development of sea-bed gas resources. There will be no need for foreign experts; our people are the experts in many foreign countries.

Vegetable

Agriculture-based industries will be developed in proportion as agricultural production is diversified away from live cattle; the dead meat trade will be developed, with the northern European and tropical countries (where meat production is a problem). Bones will go towards fertiliser production, reducing our needs for imported phosphates. Offal will form a basis for a pharmaceuticals industry (already successfully initiated at Roscrea). Vegetable processing will be developed along the lines initiated by the Sugar Company, especially in the Western parts of the country.

The distilling industry will be among those to be nationalised and will be fully developed in the National interest.

Steel

The economics of local steel production will assume a different appearance with a 31-County economy supporting a heavy engineering industry. The logical place for this would be Derry with its port, direct rail links with the rest of the country, and relative proximity to Belfast. The economies of Haubowline are already marginally sound. With Irish currency at its natural level the picture would become more favourable.

The planning of industrial development would be such as to avoid centres of population exceeding (say) half a million, to provide a number of well-spaced large industrial centres, providing a steady base-load of heavy freight for the rail network, and a high level of interurban business express passenger traffic.

Building

The building industry would be re-organised in such a way as to give steady employment to its work-people. The level of skill would be raised by means of education and training. Voluntary amalgamation of Trade Unions would be encouraged, the objective being the development of skilled building craftsmen, with wide technical knowledge, adaptable to the use of new methods and new materials. (Otherwise what would plasterers do when plastic panelling becomes universal?). In this process, training will be universal, there would be no redundancy, wages and productivity would increase.

Co-operative builders' groups will be encouraged to develop to supplement the small contractor. The larger contracting firms would come under Government control.

Tourism

Stability of employment will have absolute priority. Salaries and wages will be on the basis of equal pay for equal work as between men and women.

While Tourism can be a very important factor in the economic life of the country, neither the nation as a whole nor any particular locality should be so geared as to be solely dependent on tourism for prosperity. Dependence on outside factors should be kept to a minimum.

Tourism can sap the independence and strength of character of the people and is not a dependable source of income because it can be adversely affected by weather, wars, depressions or transport strikes.

In an expanding, diversified economy, however, tourism can be safely built up as a method of gaining foreign currency. Tourism will be encouraged by cheap Air and Shipping fares. Foreign owned hotels and holiday camps will be nationalised. A standard scale of services and charges will be laid down by the State Tourist Board and suitable promotion undertaken both at home and abroad.

SNN FEN INDUSTRIAL POLICY

LOVER OF THE POOR

The story of Countess Markievicz told by Noirin Ni Liathain

Born Constance Georgina Gore-Booth on the 4th February 1868, at Lissadell, ten miles north of Sligo, she came from a very wealthy family, her father being a landlord. Unlike most, the Gore-Booths cared for their tenants. Her father helped to keep the poor people alive during the Famine, while her mother started home industries to help them. Her brother Josceline, heir to the estate became a leading figure in the co-operative creamery movement. Constance had one sister, Eva, whom she cherished throughout her life. The beauty of these two girls and their fearless horsemanship is still legendary in Sligo.

Like most young ladies of their day, they were governess educated, attended hunt balls where they were debutantes and visited London a lot. Nobody could foresee that some day Eva would become a poetess of great quality and Constance a great soldier and outstanding figure in Irish History. Although they grew up in High Society, they observed the Prosperous Protestant farmers with Scottish names, while hidden away among rocks on the bleak mountain sides in miserable cabins lived the Gaelic race. The sisters did what they could to help the poor people and were always made welcome. It was nothing to Constance to do the washing for some poor mother or stay up all night to nurse the sick.

Eva wrote poems and did woodcarving and Constance took up painting in France. There she met Casimir Markievicz, a Polish widower with one son. As Casimir was a Count, this was the beginning of that famous title, "Countess Markievicz". The Countess came back to Dublin, where she had one daughter whom he named Maudie, after a warrior queen. In Dublin she found much worse evidence of poverty and exploitation than she had ever encountered in the bogs and salt flats of the West. This was the beginning of her real purpose of her life. Inghinidhe na hÉireann were the first to be honoured with the Countess. As she was a society woman, she naturally became under

suspicion, but her sincerity and genuine longing to be of service soon won them over. In 1909 she joined Sinn Féin and not long after suggested that an organisation for boys should be formed. Her plan was opposed but went ahead. She christened her group of boys the Fianna and proved an instant success with the boys. She rented a cottage for two shillings a week in the Dublin mountains in order to train the boys. 1913, when strikes and lock-outs threw some 24,000 out of work, found Constance again helping the poor. She organised a food and milk depot. For six months, she worked day and night collecting funds, scrubbing, cooking and visiting the sick in their homes. At this stage, Constance became a member of the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers. As Constance did not go for the poetic twilight of life but for the hard working and fighting spirit, it is no wonder that Connolly became her hero for life. She was on the receiving end in the Howth gun-runnings and at the out-break of the war in August 1914 when many Irishmen went to fight for England. Constance stood among the true revolutionary Nationalists who were determined that England's difficulty would be Ireland's opportunity.

It was Easter Monday, 1916, when at last, the long awaited moment came. Ireland was to rise again. Constance held the rank of Staff Lieutenant, but it was first intended that she should deliver medical supplies with Dr Kathleen Lynn who was a Captain. On reaching Stephen's Green, Michael Mallin, who was in command there, told her that as he was so short of men, he must keep her as a sniper. This, of course, was what Constance wanted. She was put in charge of the work of digging trenches in the Green and barricading. Two hours later, she was promoted to second in command. The College of Surgeons was chosen as the Headquarters. Constance, on receiving no reply after ringing the bell, blew in the lock with her revolver. Holes were cut in the roof for the snipers to fire through and

one can imagine the delight of Constance, when she discovered a store of rifles and ammunition. As she said herself, "these would no doubt have been used against us, had we not reached the building first". During the week, Constance killed a few of the enemy as well as wounding many more. The Volunteers at this moment believed that the Volunteers outside Dublin had also risen.

When, on the Sunday morning, news of the surrender came, it was like a thunder-bolt. "We could hold out for days here," Constance cried, "let's die at our posts!" As they were obliged to obey the orders of their superiors, they surrendered in the afternoon. Constance marched with Mallin at the head of the column and she was taken with the other leaders to Kilmainham Jail. All week she listened to the executions of her comrades and on May the 4th, she was taken out for her own trial. Constance received her sentence of death with great courage and deemed it a great honour. However, on account of her sex, the sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. She was transferred to Aylesbury Prison in England, as a common convict. There she spent her time sewing mail-bags, scraping potatoes and scrubbing the cold stone floors. She refused to go into the chapel and pray for an Allied victory, so, as punishment she was made carry huge heavy cans of gruel up and down the stairs, and around the cells. She was released in June 1917 and became a Catholic.



✓ Noirin Ni Liathain

On her return to Dublin she was given a terrific welcome and she again threw herself into the job of organizing the Volunteers for a new liberation drive. In early 1918, when Britain started conscription in Ireland, Constance gave dramatic speeches against such an act. In May, the Government arrested the Sinn Féin leaders. With the widows of Major John McBride and Tom Clarke, the Countess was sent to Holloway. To occupy herself, Constance took to her artistic qualities. Besides filling prison notebooks with sketches, she also tried her hand at writing poetry.

On her release in March 1919, she was appointed Secretary for Labour in the First Dail, Éireann. After only two months of freedom, the Countess was once again imprisoned, this time in Cork, as a result of more of her fiery speeches. Here she was allowed to look after the Governor's garden and get some fresh air. She was allowed to keep in touch with the work of Sinn Féin.

When she came out in the Autumn, she found herself in the midst of the Black and Tan war. Like her fellow nationalists, she lived a nerve-racking life on the run. Although she went around in disguise, she was again arrested in September 1920.

She was tried by courtmartial for treasonable practices and sentenced to two years hard labour in Mountjoy Prison. When she came out in Christmas as a convict. The worst of the terrorism was over when she was released in July 1921. Along with the other true-hearted nationalists, Constance took her stand against the signing of the treaty. She would settle for nothing less than a 32-county Ireland under its own Government. She knew that Ireland divided meant Ireland unfree, and while Ireland was unfree, she was prepared to remain a rebel and unconverted and unconvertible. With touching nobility, she declared, "I have seen the stars and I am not prepared to follow a flickering will-o'-the-wisp".

In 1922, she toured the United States, for four months, trying to raise funds

for the true Republic. She was met with great enthusiasm and returned to Ireland at the end of June to take part in the elections. The Pro-Treaty candidates won the election and once again the Countess was forced to take up arms. She used her rifle both day and night and was prepared not to surrender. She was finally admitted to a hospital in a state of mental and physical collapse. When she recovered, she went to Glasgow where she helped to edit Éire, a weekly newspaper. After a year's exile, she returned to Ireland to find that thousands of Republicans still intently staged a mass hunger-strike, and Madame, undaunted, openly supported their action. After another rousing speech, she herself was arrested and went on hunger strike.

On her release she put herself at the disposal of the swarming poor of Dublin's back streets.

Her family had always provided her with an allowance, which she felt obliged to give away, leaving herself the bare minimum to exist on. She carried bags of coal up tenement steps, nursed the sick, or did the cooking for whole families when the mother was ill. She also worked hard as a local councillor. At the same time, she kept in touch with her scouts and often she would take a few of them in an ancient, rattling car to the mountains when she was going to do some sketching. In June 1927, she fell ill and was taken to hospital. She refused to have a private room and lay in a public ward. While a silent crowd waited, in the rain, hour after hour, outside the hospital praying for her recovery, Countess Markievicz died on July the 15th in the presence of her husband and daughter.

She lay in state in the Rotunda Cinema for two days and nights and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery. It is estimated that a hundred thousand people filed before the coffin and the streets were packed as the procession moved towards the Republican Plot. The oration was delivered by de Valera. "Madam," he said, "is gone. Madame the friend of



Countess Markievicz

the toiler, the lover of the poor. Ease and station she put aside and took the hard way of service with the weak and the downtrodden. We knew the kindness, the great woman's heart of her, the great Irish soul of her..."

A great soldier with boundless courage and who knew no limits, was at last laid to rest. Countess Markievicz was set apart, even in death, among those who loved a losing fight and preferred to sleep the long sleep rather than abandon their impossible dreams.

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Open letter to a man from Shankill

Dear Sam,

The last time we met, over that pint in the pub near the barbed wire "wall" that looks so like the things they erected in Berlin we managed to agree on one thing: our attitude to our "liberators," the British soldiers.

You had the blue marks on your arm to show for their affection and their attack on you as you walked home from work and, quite unaware, into a British Army raid. Did you, I wonder, get another taste of their "civilisation in Dungiven?"

I can understand your rage at being called an "Orange bastard" On the Falls, people get just as angry at being called a "Fenian bastard" or a "Catholic bastard" or at being referred to merely as "Paddy" (there's a way to stop that, and very quickly, too: refer to them as "Limeys")

Both of us have friends doing six months (or more). I can match your pal, Bill, with

mine, Sean: the story is alike. He was at home and the troops burst in, said he had just entered after eating stoning them, beat him up for resisting arrest" (he didn't raise a finger against them: he'd have been mad to have tried anything against six armed thugs), carried him out and to the police station and then, him jailed on false testimony next day (too bad Cruise O'Brien wouldn't classify either Bill or Sean as a "political prisoner").

I agree wholeheartedly with you: the magistrates always take the soldier's word against that of the common worker. It's enough for them to know the district he comes from or to listen to his accent to condemn him before listening to a word of evidence. The magistrates think in terms of his class. He's afraid of the working class coming into its own. The working class must be kept down, Papist and Orange. It's the working class

that is the "trouble-making" class, according to the magistrates.

Don't Catholic and Protestant dive happily together on Malone Road, ask the magistrates, and go golfing together, and what-not. If it weren't for the workers... Don't know their place...

Of course, Sam, it's comfortable on the Malone Road. Big houses. Nice gardens, front and rear. Plenty of money coming in every week. No unemployment. Never know the despair of trying, week after week, and never getting a job.

We didn't quite get around to that, Sam, but I believe that, again, we'd be on common ground in cursing that Stormont crowd and its hangers-on for the mess they've made of things for the past 50 years. They've done well out of it, of course. You can see that up in Malone Road. But who has

paid for it? The workers.

True enough, it isn't only the workers in Ireland who are paying the price. Workers in England and Scotland and Wales are also forking out pretty heavily so that the Clarks and the Faulkners and the O'Neills can live like medieval lords in part of the Irish province of Ulster.

What I can't quite understand, Sam, is why the workers, both Protestant and Catholic, particularly those of Belfast, have been content to take so low a bribe for keeping quiet, for not rising up and tearing Malone Road and its occupants to bits and putting in place of that Stormont den of thieves an efficient workers' administration.

The idea of a bribe can make sense of a sort. You are paid so much to keep quiet, to know your place and stay there, and to join the bandwagon and cheer and wave flags when the masters give the signal. It can make

some sort of sense if one is paid highly enough. But the worker over the past 50 years never got more than a pittance.

Sam, the reason we never got more than a pittance is that they were able to sow distrust between Protestant and Catholic, to make one group fear and hate the other, and to try to tear each other apart when the masters (on one side or the other: Sam, I am not trying to pretend that the fault was all on one side) gave the signal.

Well, as I was saying, we have got some common ground at last: our common attitude to those British armed huns. Can we now look a little at ourselves, workers, and see what we have to lose or gain by continuing mistrust and hatred and violence, or trust, co-operation, co-operation.

Would it not be possible to provide a diversion every time a district is being attacked by the British? When a

Protestant district is under pressure could we not have a diversion in a Catholic one? And vice versa? That would make for a good start. Then we might have rather more substantial contacts between defence committees. And is it too much to ask that we have mutual respect for each other's funerals?

Let us be quite clear about one thing: we can be Protestant or Catholic, without any attempt to convert or pervert the other, in mutual respect at first, later in full comradeship and in a united effort to get those bully soldiers out of Ireland.

Think of it, Sam we owe it to our children and our children's children. The hate the masters inspired must not be allowed to continue to destroy Ulster and her people and to hold all Ireland back. We must work for peace — but a peace based on principle.

Very sincerely,
"Ceithearnach"

An t-Oireachtas agus eisteddfod na Breataine Bige

Beidh seastán dá chuid féin ag Oireachtas na Gaeilge ag Eisteddfod na Breataine Bige i mBilana. Bíodh is go bhfuil Teachtaí Bráithreachais á malarú ag an Eisteddfod agus ag an Oireachtas ó thús an chéid is é seo an chéad uair a bheidh pobal Éireannach ar pháirc an Eisteddfod.

Beidh Eisteddfod Náisiúnta na Breataine Bige ar siúl i mBilana ar 2 - 8 Lúnasa i mBangor, i dtuaisceart na tíre. Níl ach cúitíre mhíle is fiche idir Bangor agus Holyhead in Anglesy.

Sé is aidhmle seastán an Oireachtas cairdeas agus tuiscint idir Éirinn agus an Bhreatain Bheag a chothú. Beidh eolas faoin Oireachtas féin chomh maith le hábhar ó eagraíochtaí teanga agus cultúr na hÉireann ar fáil ag an seastán. Ina measc siúd

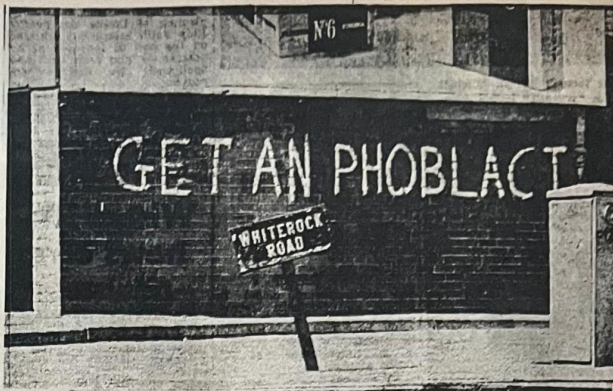
beidh Conradh na Gaeilge, Gael Linn, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann agus roinnt comhlachtaí foilsitheoir-eachta. Tá billeg eolais i mBreatainis faoin Oireachtas á ullmhú i gcomhar le Bord Fáilte agus beidh sé á scaipeadh chomh maith. Bheifear ag súil go dtiocfaidh daoine ón Bhreatain Bheag go dtí an tOireachtas.

Malartaithe Teachtaí Bráithreachais idir an Oireachtas agus an Eisteddfod gach dara bliain agus siad Aodh O Ruairc, Cathaoiríeach an Oireachtais agus Donnchadh O Súilleabháin, Rúnaí na Teachtaí Bráithreachais i mBilana.

Beidh seastán an Oireachtais i measc breis is céad seastán eile ar láthair an Eisteddfod. Bainneann na seastáin le heagraíochtaí sa

Bhreatain Bheag agus le comhlachtaí foilsioireachta agus le lucht díolta ceiríní. Cuirtear iad ar imeall pháirc an Eisteddfod.

I lár na páirce sin tá halla mór an Eisteddfod, ina bhfuil suíocháin do bhreis agus 8,000 duine. Cuirtear ina leith gurb é seo an halla so-íompraithe is mó ar domhan. Sa pháirc leis tá bialann, oifig agus phoist, bancanna agus dhá stúidio teilifíse, ceann de chuid BBC agus an ceann eile ag Harlech. Bíonn córas aistriúcháin chomhuineach agus tráchtairacht i mBéarla le fáil do na dhá dteagann an Bhreathnais. Bíonn an t-aistriúcháin seo le fáil lastigh nó lasmuigh den halla ar ghlacadóirí raidió a bhfuil croit an chleith luaschtha orthu.



WANTED - Wall Space - Apply to Editor for bucket & brush

IRA Veteran dies

Mr William Begnall, a native of Miltownpass, who had many narrow escapes during the Black and Tan and Civil Wars, has died at Cloneygowan.

He served with the 3rd Battalion and Offaly Brigades Staffs, I.R.A. and Flying Column.

With Comdt Paddy Geraghty he made his escape from Ryan's Business premises in Tyrrellspass after it was surrounded by Free State troops. Later at Rigney's Ballyfore, Croghan, Free State troops again surrounded the premises and Bagnall made his escape up a tree. After a sharp exchange of fire between Comdt Geraghty and the troops, both Geraghty and Joe Byrne were arrested and executed.

Again when surrounded on May 12th, 1923, with Comt Sean McGuinness and Jim Brophy in McEnroe's premises in Killeigh, by Free State troops, all three much-wanted I.R.A. men made their escape. There was a brief exchange of fire, a Free State officer was shot and the I.R.A. men got away through the stable roof over McEnroe's dead pony, shot by the troops.

He is survived by his wife and family. He was brother of the late Joseph Begnall, Miltownpass and Tom, who escaped from the Mullingar Military Barracks in 1921 dressed in female attire, smuggled into the Barracks by Mrs Leonard, Pearse St, Mullingar, a leading member of Cumman na mBan.

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And all leagues of the oppressor,
O Lord deliver us.

From Faulkner, Heath and Lynch
The trinity that holds us in subjection,
O Lord deliver us.

From collaboration between "Eire's" special branch
and England's Scotland Yard,
O Lord deliver us.

From the tentacles of British Imperialism
Forced upon us by Irish hirelings,
O Lord deliver us.

From the ill-treatment meted out to political prisoners
By the hired thugs who tear the clothing from women,
O Lord deliver us.

From the bombast, blaw and make-believe of present-day politicians,
O Lord deliver us.

From those who in Thy holy name took a solemn oath
To help to establish an Irish Republic, and later sold themselves
Body and soul, to our imperial masters,
O Lord deliver us.

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MICHAEL COLLINS AND THE INVISIBLE ARMY. By Desmond Ryan	25p	4p
THE SECRET ARMY. By J Bowyer Bell (Story of the I.R.A. 1916 to 1970)	£5	20p

WRITE FOR BOOK LIST

NATION WIDE PROTESTS

Statement issued by Cumann Antoine Ui Dhorchaidhe, Sinn Fein, Galway City

Pickets on the G.P.O., Galway, Dublin and Belfast was part of the nation-wide 12-hour protest by The Republican movement against the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, and the proposed entry to the E.E.C.

The picket was not directed against the staff in the Government Offices selected for picketing.

WARNING: Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, and most Labour spokesmen insist that they have no option but to join the E.E.C. They base their argument on the fact that Britain buys almost two-thirds of our exports. If she joins and we do not the common external tariff of the E.E.C. will be raised against our exports to Britain. Of course, no 26-County government has ever tried to diversify our export trade; they have put all the eggs in

one basket. Our economic relationship with England changed very little after 1921. Apart from a few small efforts in the '20s and '30s, no serious attempt was made to change this. The E.E.C. has not been considered on its merits. The policy is that we follow Britain in whatever she does. Dr Hillyer is not really an independent terms of entry. He is crawling in on England's coat-tails. Talk of "going it alone" in the event of a breakdown in British negotiations is all pretence. They have no policy except to follow England, and this is the logical result of 50 years of a similar policy culminating in the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement of 1965. For the architects of this policy to declare now that an independent policy would be a miracle indeed is to say Under the AIFTAA tariffs

on English made goods are being reduced by 10 per cent each year. Now that the reduction has passed the 50 per cent mark the pinch is being felt. English goods are flooding the Irish market and the factories are closing. Since 1965 thirteen footwear factories have closed in the 26 counties. So what can we expect in the E.E.C.

In short Free Trade in the E.E.C. would mean:-
1. Better prices for some agricultural produce, e.g. cattle and sheep, but 6 out of every 7 farmers must lose their farms.

2. Dearer food will hit the housewife e.g. Butter @ 50p per lb. Steak 90p lb.

3. Industrialisation of Ireland will be impossible because of free trade. It is all very well to say that we will have access to a market of 25,000,000, but 25,000,000

consumers mean 100,000,000 producers. They will have access to us, who are much weaker industrially.

4. Foreigners will be able, without any restrictions, to buy Irish land.

5. Within five years of joining, all other E.E.C. members will have free access to our territorial waters and fishing grounds.

6. The E.E.C. is run on laissez-faire capitalist lines, and capital will go where it will get the greatest return and hell with Connaught and other outlying areas.

7. The Border would remain and be recognised as an international boundary.

8. The Mansholt Plan would make short work of the Gaeltacht areas, and already the Irish language is being demoted and dismissed by many in their new-found enthusiasm for things continental.

9. Membership involves a complete surrender of sovereignty or the claim to it.

10. Neutrality will go and conscription will be introduced for our youth.

11. No subsidies for farmers, or aid to industries allowed.

12. We will not be allowed to trade independently with other countries.

In effect we are being asked to swap English Domination for Brussels Dictatorship. Republicans oppose both.

Alternatives: Article 238 of the Rome Treaty makes provision for Associate Status. This is the course for Ireland to take - negotiate the best possible terms for a trade agreement or Associate membership. We should also be

developing and expanding exports to Eastern Europe and African countries.

The real alternative to the EEC as outlined in the new "SOCIAL and ECONOMIC PROGRAMME" of Sinn Fein, is an Independent Republic. Sinn Fein seeks to make Ireland truly democratic, involving the people in decision-making right down through society with public control of finance and key sectors of industry, and worker-owned co-operatives in agriculture, fishing, distribution and manufacturing industry. The underdemocratic Commission in Brussels is no substitute.

Should Ireland be forced into the E.E.C. on England's heels Republicans will resist and oppose Brussels domination just as the Irish people have resisted British domination for centuries.

Industrialists came to Tuam by Helicopter

A PARTY of continental industrialists flew into Tuam to discuss plans for the establishment of a new industry in the town - as demonstrators staged an "anti-Europe" protest at the town square.

The men, who spoke German, flew from Dublin by helicopter and after landing at a hastily levelled strip in the racecourse were taken to see a closed down £90,000 textile mills.

They were met on arrival by I.D.A. Regional Manager Mr. Denis McCarthy, and Galway County Development Officer Mr. Charles Lynch, and were taken to the closed Weir Mills by waiters in taxis.

Afterwards Mr. Lynch said: "I am sorry we cannot say what nationality they are or where they have come from. They asked to see the factory and we showed them around."

Mr. McCarthy added: "We were told that they were on their way at 6 p.m. and our only function was to show them the Weir Mills, which we did. I cannot say any more than that at the moment."

As they moved through the crowded town square they saw Sinn Fein demonstrators staging an anti-E.E.C. protest and warning that the greater involvement with Europe would wipe out many of the country's small industries.

WE SHALL COLLECT

The President of Sinn Fein, Ruairi O'Bradaigh and two other members of the organisation from Roscommon, Thomas Roscommon, Athleague and Michael J. Hanley, The Square were arrested at their homes on June 24 but were released from Garda custody later in the day.

They were en route to Mountjoy Prison in two squad cars when they were stopped by Garda near Mullingar and told that the fines imposed on them for collecting funds for An Cumann Cabhrach (Prisoners Dependents Fund) had been paid.

In a statement that evening, Mr O'Bradaigh said that the fines had been paid

CORK HEARS E.E.C. ALTERNATIVES

The Editor, An Phoblacht, A cara,

A meeting organised by Cumann Brian O Diolain, the subject of which was: 'How the EEC affects you', was held in Connelly Hall, Cork on the night of Saturday 26th June.

Geardoid MacCarthy presided and introduced the speakers, Ruairi O'Bradaigh, Uachtarán Sinn Fein, and Joe Cahill of Belfast.

Ruairi O'Bradaigh in his address, gave a very clear explanation of just how entry into the EEC would affect the whole Irish Nation. He then continued to explain what Sinn Fein's alternatives to entry were. At the conclusion of his address he received a lengthy applause from the audience.

Joe Cahill then addressed the meeting and having outlined how entry into the EEC would strengthen rather than abolish the unnatural division of our Country which has been in existence for the past 50 years, he continued by giving the meeting some facts about the present fight for Freedom being carried on by our Northern fellow Irishmen and women and also some facts of the price in human suffering and sacrifice they are paying for this freedom.

He concluded by appealing for aid in this fight to the people of Cork and detailed the many types of aid which could be given.

After Joe had concluded

the applause which was loud and prolonged was less noticeable than the silence and attention with which all present listened to what he had to say. During the course of his address no sound whatsoever could be heard in the Hall save the voice of this gallant Belfast soldier of freedom as he proudly related the story of the fight he and his comrades are making for a people of all Ireland.

Following the two speeches a very lively discussion followed. The attendance showed by the questions they put to the speakers that they were taking a keen and sincere interest in all the matters which had been referred to i.e. Ireland's attitude to the EEC and Ireland's fight for Freedom.

After An Cathaoirleach had brought the meeting to a close there was a very good sale of Sinn Fein Social and Economic Programme.

In the afternoon of Sunday 27th a meeting of members of Sinn Fein in Cork was addressed by Ruairi O'Bradaigh, Uachtarán, Maire Ní Bualoil and B O Loinsig, Ruairidhe, A Ruane, Cistoir and Joe Cahill.

All aspects of the organisation in Cork were discussed and plans drawn up to strengthen and expand the Organisation in all parts of County Cork.

Is Mise,

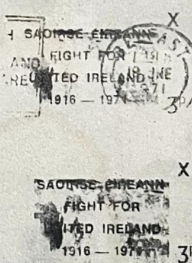
Geardoid MacCarthy, Press Officer.

Fight for United Ireland

On June 16 the British Post Office issued a set of three special stamps depicting landscape paintings by Northern artists. While these stamps were described in the press as commemorating "Ulster 71", they were announced in the July 1970 issue of the "Philatelic Bulletin" (a British Post Office publication) as a special issue marking the 50th anniversary of the Stormont Parliament.

Republicans regard 1971 as the 50th year of discrimination and oppression under the Stormont and Westminster Parliaments. It is also a year in which Republicans all over the Six Counties are resisting this oppression and fighting for a free and united Ireland.

Members of the Republican Movement in the



Examples of the over-printed stamps. The top one is postmarked Belfast.

occupied area have overprinted a quantity of the 3p value stamps with the following: "SAORÍO EIREANN FIGHT FOR UNITED IRELAND 1916-1971". The head of the English Monarch has also been Xed out. These stamps have been used on mail posted in the Six Counties and will carry the message of Ireland's fight for freedom to all parts of the world.

In an effort to raise funds for the Republican Movement the stamps will be sold through the Philatelic Office at 2A Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8 to collectors all over the world. They will be sold both mint (unused) and used on cover. The number of stamps available in this way will be regrettably limited, but it is hoped that as many collectors as possible will be catered for.

Jobbery and Corruption

GALWAY'S Fianna Fail controlled County Council was accused of being worse than the Ulster Unionist Party when it came to handing out "jobs for the boys."

The allegation was made by Sinn Fein county councillor Mr. Frank Glynn (Milltown) in an angry outburst at the council's annual meeting in Galway.

For the party had just voted its men into 29 of the 38 "political seats" on the various sub-committees and associated bodies ranging from the Regional Tourism Organisation to the County Libraries Committee.

And Mr. Glynn jumped to his feet to say: "This is proper cock-toy representation - old Brookeborough at its worst couldn't do a better job in handing out the jobs."

In this day and age surely there should be some semblance of fair play. Even the Minister for Health when he was drawing up the health boards wouldn't tolerate this lopsided type of representation," he declared.

Councillor Tom King (F.F.), Corrandulla, intervened to say that he was taking nominations for the posts and it was up to the members of the council to vote whatever way they wanted - he wasn't handing out the jobs.

JOBBERY CHARGE

But Mr. Glynn retorted: "By your assent you are aiding and abetting this type of conduct. Your party is built on the cornerstone of jobbery and corruption we see here today."

Fellow Milltown councillor Mr. Willie Burke (Ind) "We know well what the outcome is going to be. We are wasting our time. There should be fair representation on these committees but..."

As the election of representatives got under way Mr. Tom Hussey (Glenamaddy), the chief Fianna Fail whip in Co. Galway, read out the lists of people intended for the various committees.

These were at first challenged by the Opposition but after they had been beaten on a vote for a nominee to the General Council of County Councils, the appointments went through as planned by Fianna Fail.

Roscommon

In common with Sinn Fein members throughout the 32 Counties and in Britain, members of Roscommon Comhairle Ceannairí picketed Government Offices in Roscommon town all day on Saturday last.

It is estimated that 2,000 members included 500 officers in their nation-wide protest against the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and proposed full membership of the Common Market. Placards carried by Roscommon members read: "End Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement Before More Factories Close"; "No Full Membership of E.E.C.; Associate Status or a Trade Agreement Instead"; and "Buy Irish Goods in Irish Shops".

The picketers attracted a lot of attention from members of the public who chatted with them and discussed their questions at issue.

Ten dozen copies of "An Phoblacht", official organ of the Republican Movement, were sold as well as several dozen copies of "Eire Nua", the new Sinn Fein Social and Economic Programme. The picketers said that "Eire Nua" is the Republican long-term alternative to E.E.C. membership.

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An Phoblacht

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DEDICATION

To Dedication is owed the survival of the Republican ideal and the gospel of Irish Nationalism. This virtue was part and parcel of the lives of men like the late Joe Nolan and David Fleming. In them we have lost two very sincere friends and loyal comrades, and Republican Ireland two devoted sons. Ar dheid De go raibh a n-ama uasal.

Others with the spirit of Dedication also passed away during the past year. Men like Jimmy Steele, symbol of freedom, Hugh McAteer, a well-tried comrade in arms, Patrick Duddy of Kilmacow, who came from hospital in a wheelchair to attend his last Sinn Féin meeting; Teresa McGlade and Nancy Keenan, valiant women, noble and true.

Then there were Volunteers Charlie Hughes, Tony Henderson, Jim Saunders, Michael Kane, William Reid, all brothers to Tone, sharing in his dreams, still unrealized; strong fearless soldiers whose red blood feeds the Dedication of all, who, heeding the call of Ireland, fight on.

We salute the dedicated men women and children who stand in the firing lines in Belfast and Derry who, at this very moment despite overwhelming odds, are yet determined to assert Ireland's right to national freedom and sovereignty.

We salute all those men, women and juveniles whose names are too, too numerous to mention, who for their Dedication and Loyalty to a cause are serving sentences in English and Irish jails.

We salute the Soldiers of Cumann na MBan, the faithful Ann Devlins and Eleanor Bonds ever dedicated, never found wanting; the members of the Sinn Féin cumainn throughout Ireland's 32 counties who never count the cost, and especially the gallant men of Tullamore and Co Clare whose dedication recently led them to Mountjoy's prison cells; the members of the Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle itself who, dedicated, have turned their backs on many pleasant paths and their faces to many hard roads.

We send our greeting to our dedicated overseas members and friends in England, Scotland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, the U.S.A. and elsewhere, whose messages of support and financial assistance never fail to encourage the beleaguered suffering Motherland.

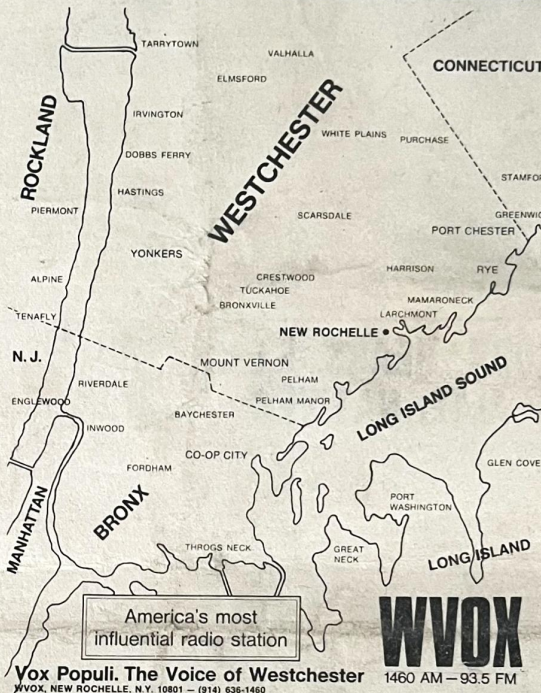
Our blessings on our young supporters, the Clan na nGael girl scouts, Cumann na nGaillín, the boys and girls of Fianna Éireann, all dedicated to patriotism, truth, diligence and kindness. By their high ideals shall Ireland be restored to her former glories.

By the dedication of all will a free Irish Republican Nation of 32 counties be enthroned for all time.

Join the Republican Movement today and dedicate yourself to the worthy cause of a free united prosperous Ireland. We offer no bribes, high privileges or salaries, only a noble task — to complete the work of Tone, Emmet, Pearse and Connolly.

ANOTHER SCOOP FOR IRISH

NORTHERN AID



AMERICAN
FRIENDS
ON
THE
AIR

A one hour Radio Programme sponsored by the Irish Northern Aid is now broadcast every Saturday from 4.30 to 5.30 p.m. New York time.

The station is the influential W.V.O.X., broadcasting on 1460 and 93.5 F.M. Irish people in the Bronx, Manhattan, Long Island, Rockland, Westchester and part of Connecticut can now hear the authentic voice of principled Republicanism and up to date accounts of current events in occupied Ireland.

Once more Irish Northern Aid Central Committee in New York have scored a big success for the Republican Movement and once more we at home in Ireland say gura mile maith againth.

J. NOLAN FUND

A chara,
Following the recent sudden death of a life-long, dedicated Republican, Joe Nolan, a Committee, under the auspices of National Graves Association, has been formed for the purpose of appealing to all his Republican comrades to help alleviate the loss and distress caused to his widow and young family.

Please subscribe generously to the memory of one who gave so much of himself and never counted the cost. Thank you.

Subscriptions may be sent to the following:

Rua: Caitlín De Faoite,
15, Ceide Seinlessa,
Fionn Bhru,
Baile Atha Cliath, 9.

Signed: Sean Fitzpatrick.
Cathaoirleach.

I. gCuimhne

JOHN J. KAVANAGH, Cork, shot by Special Branch Police near Cork Jail, August 3, 1940.

SEAN RUSSELL, Dublin, died at sea, August 14, 1940.

RICHARD GOSS, Louth, executed in Portlaoise Prison, August 9, 1941.

GERRY O'CALLAGHAN, Belfast, killed in action, August 31, 1942.

JAMES CROSSAN, Cavan, murdered by Crown Forces who crossed the Border into Co Cavan, August 24, 1958.

GERALD McAULEY, Fianna Éireann, Belfast, killed by sniper fire while defending a barricade in Belfast, August 15, 1969.

JIMMY STEELE, Belfast, died August 9, 1970.



Members of Irish Northern Aid with relief clothing from occupied Ireland.