

the **United Irishman**

AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTAITE

AIBREAN (APRIL) 1973

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# SLIGHT REVISION

~~POBLAICHT NA H ÉIREANN~~

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE

**IRISH REPUBLIC**

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the ~~dead~~ generations from which she receives her ~~old~~ tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for ~~her~~ freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through ~~her secret~~ revolutionary organisations, ~~the Irish Republican Brotherhood~~ and through her open military organisations, ~~the Irish Volunteers~~ and ~~the Irish Citizen Army~~, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her ~~exiled children~~ in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of ~~Ireland~~ to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The ~~long~~ usurpation of that right by a ~~foreign~~ people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of ~~the Irish people~~. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on ~~that~~ fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a ~~Sovereign Independent~~ State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of ~~its~~ freedom, ~~of its~~ welfare, and of ~~its~~ exaltation among the nations.

The ~~Irish Republic~~ is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The ~~Republic~~ guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the ~~whole nation~~ and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of ~~the nation~~ equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent ~~National~~ Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland, and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the ~~Republic~~ in trust for ~~the people~~.

We place the cause of ~~the Irish Republic~~ under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its ~~valour and discipline~~ and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for ~~the common good~~, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

~~THOMAS J. CLARKE~~ Eamon de Valera  
 William Whiteley SEAN Mac DIARMADA THOMAS MacDONAGH Edward Heath  
 Jack Lynch P. H. PEARSE EAMONN CEANNT Harold Wilson  
 Liam Cosgrave JAMES CONNOLLY JOSEPH PLUNKETT Brian Faulkner

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# THE INTERESTS OF UNITY

The Six-County Executive of Republican Clubs are to be congratulated on their most recent effort (as shown on this page) to stir up the public conscience against the evils of sectarianism.

The Executive are backing up this advertisement by issuing 80,000 leaflets and 10,000 posters on the same theme, hoping that their example will be taken up by other organisations who claim to be keen on fighting this war. The people who could mount the correct campaign, both in terms of their contacts and with access to the most important points of sale are in the Trade Union Movement. In spite of the recent excellent efforts by the I.C.T.U. to promote unity of objectives in the North, they have still to face up to the prime problem facing workers in the Six Counties, division along religious lines sustained in the interests of the Tories.

The Six-County Executive wished to place this advertisement with the Belfast Telegraph and the Belfast Newsletter also. Both of these papers, which have constantly maintained a stream of editorials deploring violence, sectarian murders and calling for the silent majority to make their voices heard, refused to accept the advertisement.

This type of censorship by two of the North's major papers is not only to be absolutely condemned but is an index of the manner in which "respectable" journalists can play the sectarian game while apparently standing out against those who exploit religious differences.

In particular, the Belfast Telegraph, which is read in almost every home in the Six-County area and in the more recent past appeared to be adopting a more progressive attitude to the political problems facing Northerners, now seems to have identified itself with those reactionaries who would deny the right of the voice of authentic Republicanism to be heard.

Next month, Republicans will be contesting the Local Government Elections, explaining to the people how the Macrory Report has taken power from them and placed it in the hands of bureaucrats; they will also be outlining the Republican solution to the National question. Here is an opportunity for the press to present real political alternatives to the strategies presented by Westminster and the Northern sectarian parties. On this occasion it is to be hoped that the courage and integrity which characterises so many individual journalists will spill over into the columns of the Belfast Telegraph and the Newsletter.

It is vital that the Northern working class should understand the real nature of Republicanism as the only alternative to the ghetto politics of the Unionists and Nationalists; the press, if it is to win back the confidence of the people, must be seen to be giving the opportunity to everyone to move away from the bitterness of the past few years. They can only do this by opening their pages to Republicans at this election.

## SECTARIANISM KILLS WORKERS

No one is born hating his fellow citizens. No one is born hating a Protestant, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic or Dissenter. But people learn what society wants them to learn. In Northern Ireland workers have been told, taught, compelled to believe that their fellow workers are enemies.

**WHO DOES THIS BENEFIT? WHO GAINS FROM SECTARIAN DIVISION IN THE WORKING CLASS?**

*Who wants you to hate a Prod?*  
*Who wants you to hate a Teague?*

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

**IT HAS BEEN USED TO DENY BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.**

**WHAT IS TO BE DONE?**  
Republicans have the answer:  
Let us **REJECT** all those who put worker against worker.  
Let us **UNITE** in the interests of the working class.  
Let us **PUT** the interests of Irish workers before everything else.

**REPUBLICANISM IS SECULAR, SOCIALIST AND SEPARIST**

That is the only answer

Issued by the Six County Regional Executive of Republican Clubs.

● Advt. as appeared in Irish News, Friday, March 23.

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# notes AND comments



## 'this state was born as a lie'

A plaque commemorating the execution by the Free State in 1922 of John Creane, Patrick Hogan and James Parle was unveiled by Eamonn Smullen at a ceremony in the execution yard of the old jail in Wexford last month. The unveiling was preceded by a 700 strong parade led by a colour party and bands, the recitation of prayers by Tom Cullinane, wreath laying on behalf of Sinn Fein and the Republican Movement by Matt Murphy and Nicky Boggin and the reading of the 1916 Proclamation by May Hayes.

John Roche who presided told the attendance that Eamonn Smullen had been released from Gartree Prison only ten days previously and introduced him as a man who had "proved himself a dangerous enemy of the capitalist class".

In an oration, Mr. Smullen noted that Wexford blood had been shed for Ireland since Strongbow's coming. He traced the development of Republicanism and the struggle against the British up to 1922. "Then," he said, "it would have seemed reasonable to hope that when men wearing, not redcoats, nor khaki but a Brian Boru harp, appeared in Wexford, that the worst aspects of the suffering and the bloodshed would come to an end. The men we commemorate today were not killed by men wearing a crown, neither were they killed in battle, in some hot and bloody encounter. They were tried for possession of arms and sentenced to death. They walked out at dawn surrounded by men in green uniforms and the volleys that sent them to the grave were fired by Irishmen."

Mr. Smullen continued: "It is fashionable in some quarters today to say 'forget that such things happened' — forget and cease to honour those who gave a full measure of devotion to the cause of Irish Republicanism. And this is being urged on us by people who have prospered in the present Irish society, by men who have never lost a meal or a night's sleep for the Irish people, much less spent a day in prison or an hour in danger."

"Times are different now they tell us, the redcoats and the khaki are no longer to be seen in our land. This is obviously a lie as any person can prove by travelling a few miles to the north of Dundalk. The old tactic of divide and rule is still being practised, bigotry is being used to keep divided two sections of our people who earn their bread by the sweat of their face. Today we can say with as much vigour, clarity and passion as Tone 'we wish that all our animosities were buried with the bones of our ancestors, and that we could unite to claim the rights of man'."

"In the 26 Counties today, as in 1922, Coercion laws are still being introduced — laws to strengthen the barriers erected to prevent our people reaching the gothic of a sovereign, independent Republic. Increasing domination by Britain is being concealed by affiliation to a larger body — our land and our economic life is passing to outside ownership and control. A new breed of absentee landlords is being introduced and as old they will spend the profits of our labour in places far from this land."

"This State was born as a lie — those who brought it into being called the Treaty 'freedom to achieve freedom' but in a matter of months their firing squads were at work and the flower of the resistance to British rule were being shot down in cold blood. On every occasion since when British rule in Ireland was in the slightest difficulty they set up internment camps, special courts and used the firing squads. Over one million Irish born people are now living in Britain, additions are still being made to the long list of coercive laws, trial by jury has been abolished — this is illustrative of the hypocrisy, the dishonesty and the murderous nature of those who rule us north and south."

"John Creane, Patrick Hogan and James Parle were among the first victims of the struggle begun in 1922 against native traitor as well as British oppressor. We salute the memory of those who saw the evil nature of the new Free State and who gave their lives to prevent the conquest being maintained in this new form. We pledge ourselves to continue the struggle for a sovereign, independent Irish republic, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and ensuring that all can live and work in their own lands. No right to ownership of profit shall come before the right of citizens, orange or green, to live in peace and prosperity in this island."



● EAMONN SMULLEN speaking in Wexford . . . see report left.

## bandon fish-in

Over 500 people attended a recent fish-in on the Bandon river in Cork. The demonstration was organised by the local Cumann of Sinn Fein to demand the public ownership of the Bandon River.

Despite the ravages of U.D.N. disease and pollution, the Bandon is one of the finest salmon and trout rivers in Ireland. Despite this, Bandon anglers having paid £6 to their Club and £3 for a Government licence, are still prevented from fishing the better pools as all these are privately owned. At present the average angler is lucky to catch one salmon per season and is thus unable to even cover the cost of his sport. At the same time the wealthy River Lords may catch anything up to £80 worth of salmon in the first few days alone.

Among those who "own" the Bandon River are the Earl of Bandon (who recently was able to turn down an offer of £300,000 for his estate), Pat O'Driscoll, a solicitor, T. V. Jeffers, a supermarketeer, R. Lee, a local shopkeeper and a large farmer called Lambe.

The Back Quay in Bandon, formerly owned by a Colonel Hosford, is now the preserve of a clique of builders, bank managers, doctors, aspiring aristocrats and West Britons. This stretch of river is cleaned and maintained at public expense yet the public are denied the right to fish there. Here also lies the best pool in the Bandon River, just below an old weir, where the salmon congregate in low water awaiting sufficient water to pass upstream. To aid in the massacre of the salmon, a wall has been built illegally in midriver by the local bourgeoisie.

In 1968 the National Waters Restoration League, supported by Sinn Fein, launched a campaign for the public ownership and complete control of the rich rivers and lakes in Ireland. (Over 40 per cent of all salmon sold on the London market is of Irish origin). Since the campaign was launched four County Councils and many other public bodies have given their support to the demand for public ownership.

Now that summer is approaching the fish-in season can begin in earnest and we look forward to receiving reports of activities on this front from all areas.

## pearse club condemns fire

The recent spate of attacks on Protestant owned farms in the Armagh area has been strongly condemned by Malachy Toal press officer for the Pearse Republican Club.

In his statement Mr. Toal appealed to responsible people in the community to seek out the firebugs and give their names to officials of the Pearse Republican Club in Armagh. Describing the burnings as disgraceful and calculated to stir up sectarian strife, Mr. Toal added that no matter what political party or religion those responsible belonged to, they must be sought out and exposed and their dangerous activities stopped.

Mr. Toal visited some of the 13 farms which had been hit by the arsonists and voiced the Republican Movement's condemnation and abhorrence.

## birmingham clann a.g.m.

Satisfaction at progress made in the past year was expressed at the recently held annual general meeting of the Birmingham Clann a.g.m. Bernard Cahill, Chairman, Gerry O'Donoghue, Secretary, Philomena Donnelly, Joint Treasurers, Brona Gilmartin and Eddie Nevin; Press and Education Officer, S. Collins.

The meeting elected the following officer board: President, Joe Farrington; Chairman, Bernard Cahill; Vice-Chairman, Gerry O'Donoghue; Secretary, Philomena Donnelly; Joint Treasurers, Brona Gilmartin and Eddie Nevin; Press and Education Officer, S. Collins.

The chairman, Bernard Cahill, said the immediate tasks would include increasing the sales of Rosc Catha and the United Irishman, the organisation of the Easter Commemoration and the further development of the Irish classes the success of which to date indicated the progress that could be made in the cultural sphere.

## belfast view of general election

The Co. Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs in a comment on the elections in the 26 Counties have expressed disappointment that Sinn Fein did not win any seats, but expressed their belief that the contest was a correct one. "Much has been gained, both by Sinn Fein and by the entire Irish people, as a result of the decision to contest."

The Executive points out to the people of Belfast, that Sinn Fein was contesting the election as a revolutionary organisation and that the Sinn Fein candidates were the only real representatives of the working class. "They took on the big business interests of Fianna Fail and the unholy alliance of the right wingers in Fine Gael and pseudo left in the Labour Party — an alliance divided on such issues as EEC entry and the Offences Against the State Amendment Act."

"Within a period of four weeks, Sinn Fein produced an efficient election machine and succeeded in polling over 15,000 first preference votes. Over 15,000 people, in only 10 constituencies, cast their first preference votes for Revolution and Revolutionary politics."

## the border poll trap

In a statement on the recent "border poll", the President of Sinn Fein, Tomas MacGiolla pointed out that the poll had little significance in the present political situation in the Six Counties. "The question asked," he said, "was no account of the greatly changed attitudes both among Unionists and Republicans. Its effect and probably its purpose, could have been to restore the old, simple, sectarian politics of the past. The result has told us nothing new."

Continuing Mr. MacGiolla said "that, like the sectarian killings, the Poll had been clearly designed to increase sectarian strife, which would facilitate the imposition of British rule. The Protestant people have been trapped into giving a blank cheque to the British Government and have committed themselves to accepting the terms of the White Paper which will not be in the interests of the ordinary working people."

"The most remarkable feature of the poll was that it took place with little incident and no build up of tension," said Mr. MacGiolla. "A number of politicians in the North and some British M.P.s have said that this proves that peaceful elections can be held and that those who said the poll would escalate sectarian tensions, were wrong. In fact, of course, the reason tensions were not raised was that there was no contest. Since last August, the Republican Clubs in the North have been urging that the Border Poll be ignored in view of the developing civil war danger. They have urged that there be no electioneering, no flag waving and no in-

timidation. In a statement last week they emphasised this again and pointed out the danger of even the public burning of ballot papers. Their campaign has been most effective with the result that those who want a united independent Ireland have made their point very clearly without developing any sectarian feelings."

## dun laoire housing action committee

The Dun Laoire Housing Action Committee and the Markievicz Cumann of Sinn Fein have been active again in the last month, in an attempt to highlight the Borough's considerable housing problem.

The two groups co-operated in the staging of a torchlight procession to the Town Hall, where the Council's monthly meeting was in progress. As usual, the representative of the Council's "public" meeting but a letter of protest was handed in, on behalf of the Group. The letter protested at the demolition of sound housing in Georges St. by Borough Estates. The house in question was demolished in order to make way for office development by Canadian multi-millionaire, Galen Weston.

The letter urged that such houses should be used to accommodate some of the Borough's 2,000 homeless and not to make profit for rich speculators.

When another office development was the subject of a public hearing recently in Dun Laoire, Osgur Breathnach of the Markievicz Cumann and Mick Plunkett of the Dun Laoire Housing Action Group both spoke against the granting of permission. When a similar public hearing was held last year in the Frascatti Development, Dan O'Riordan spoke out on behalf of the homeless of Dun Laoire and the speculators admitted defeat and decided not to go ahead with their plans. It remains to be seen, if they can be defeated on this occasion.

## 'beat hatred' campaign urged

A call on the trade union movement to launch a massive anti-sectarianism poster campaign in factories and schools throughout the province has been made by Dunganrough branch of the ATGWU.

The purpose of the campaign says a spokesman, is to educate people on the great danger which sectarianism presents at the present crucial time in Ulster history.

"Now is the time for all the working people to come together and decide how best the country can be run," said the spokesman.

The branch has also called on their executive to implement immediately the policies and principles set out in the document "Political policy in Northern Ireland".

## kerry's future priorities

The election performance of Sinn Fein in the South Kerry constituency was discussed at a meeting in Killarney on March 18. Sean Garland, National Organiser, who presided, heard reports of the local performance from delegates representing Killorglin, Anascaul, Killarney, Lauragh, Glenbegh, Gneeveguilla, Kells, Glencar, An Ghaeltacht and Cahirciveen. It was decided that as a priority the development of the organisation through contacts made during the election should be pursued and that the organisation should continue to fight local issues including the provision of Advice Bureau raised during the campaign. The attendance included the Sinn Fein candidate, Paddy Callaghan, Redmond O'Sullivan, M.C. and John Maddon of the Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle.

# eagarfhocal

## The sense of 1916

The Proclamation of the Irish Republic (1916) is not simply an historical document; it expresses the desire of a people to be free. In modern terms some would describe it as a cry of pain, others as a vision; for Republicans and for many who could not put a political label on their beliefs, it is neither. It is a clear statement of the intention of men who understood the relations which exist in modern industrial society to replace the exploitation of man by man with a secular, egalitarian, separatist Republic.

The idealism contained in the constitution of the new nation was firmly based on the understanding that there could be no freedom unless the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland was declared to be sovereign and inalienable. Their view, their vision was materialistic, dignified and human.

The people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland was declared to be sovereign and inalienable. Their view, their vision was materialistic, dignified and human.

Central to the Proclamation is the warmth of Connolly and the fire of Pearse; the memory of Clarke. Their recollection of the fierce battles fought by a subject people against their oppressors is charged with the knowledge that they were striking for a victory in which all forms of repression would be overturned. The sovereignty which they sought was not the tepid, servile, vacuous claim put forward by the present administrators of the 26 Counties nor did it resemble the sectarian demands of the ex-loyalist Craig. They rejected the differences fostered by an alien government and claimed the wealth of the country for those and only those who created it. This was the measure of their humanity.

At Easter Sunday Commemorations in Belfast, in Sydney, in Birmingham, throughout the world, Irishmen and Irishwomen will join with thousands of our allies in remembering the dead. It is equally important that all should turn their thoughts to the living; to remember those who suffer from the rack-renting landlord, who queue at the "Dole", who seek shelter at the roadside, who sweat for thieving employers, who are denied power over their own lives, who rot in prisons or who always will be denied the right to get up off their knees to shape this world for the benefit of all mankind. For this was the real promise of the Proclamation — that all would have a place in the sun.

Republicans today have never been clearer as to the nature of the struggle, more aware of their revolutionary tradition, more committed to the goal of the sovereign people, the Democratic Socialist Republic. In spite of the total surrender by Leinster House to the international monopoly capitalists and the vicious purposeful repression of the British Government, intent upon enslaving the Irish people in a new Federal bondage, the Republican Movement is gaining strength among the class for whom the Proclamation was written, the Irish working class.

Our strength cannot be broken for we are part of that class which ultimately is assured of victory. Easter Week 1916 and the hope of the reconquest of Ireland will be achieved. The building of the Revolutionary Republican Movement is our task in the years ahead, it will not be easy but as our goal is certain we must go forward as the vanguard of the class to which Tone turned and upon which the signatories of the Proclamation declared the sovereign Republic.

## DEPORTED . . .

Sean O'Clionnaith, publicity director of Sinn Fein, was stopped on arrival at Leeds en route to a Clann na hEireann meeting. He was told that he could not enter Britain, was served with an order signed by a Secretary of State and placed on the next plane back to Dublin.

O'Clionnaith, too, was given the kind of escort, from the airport building to the plane, which, one would have thought, might have been merited by a man with a dangerous international reputation. No reason was given for his expulsion. The assumption must be that because he was an Irish Republican he was, de jure and de facto, manifestly and without consideration, undesirable.

## america

On February 23rd, Irish American Charles Malone, indicted by the Special Federal Grand Jury in San Francisco, is exposing to the supporters of Irish freedom on the West Coast of the United States, was sentenced to two years probation. Under the terms of Mr. Malone's prohibition he is not allowed to attend meetings of any Irish group and is even prohibited from going into Irish pubs.

The motive and prejudice behind this decision is clear — to force Malone to end his support for the just struggle of the Irish people against oppression. The Irish Community Defence Committee of San Francisco in a statement said that "The United States Government is desperately attempting to force its propaganda in the struggle in Ireland as a religious war down the throats of the American people so that it can continue aiding its British allies and continue training British Commandos at Camp Le Jeune in North Carolina and continue backing the shifting of British troops from NATO stations to duty in Ireland".

### New York

The Irish American Defence Committee which was formed in New York recently to encourage various Irish and Irish-American associations in New York City to get together in order to protest the jailing in Fort Worth, Texas, without charge or trial, of five Irish-born men from New York, held a very successful march and rally in New York on March 24th. Groups sponsoring the Committee include Brooklyn Technical High School and Ft. Hamilton High School Students for Irish Freedom; Bartenders and Waitresses Association for Irish Aid; County Limerick Association; Hunter College Celtic Club; Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada; Irish Anti-Internment Coalition, Dallas Defence Fund; Saor Eire Cumann.

The Committee in a statement distributed during the protest said that "Five Irish-Americans have been taken thousands of miles away from their homes and families in New York to jail in Fort Worth, Texas, for refusing to answer Grand Jury questions about groups and individuals who support Irish freedom. They have never been charged with any crimes, yet face staying in jail until they come up with answers that the U.S. Government likes." The imprisoned men are Thomas Laffey, Kenneth Tierney, Matthias Reilly, Pascal Morahan and Daniel Crawford.

In addition to these men, many Irish-Americans in cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco are facing similar with hunt attacks by the U.S. Department of Justice. The Irish-American Defence Committee can be contacted at Room 311, 353 West 57th Street, New York City.

### Madison, Wisconsin.

The Cathal Brugha Irish Republican Club in Madison has sent greetings to Eamonn Smalloy on his recent release from an English prison after spending 3½ years on trumped-up charges in a message from the club it said that "we are



● Irish Republican Clubs in New York parade.

always happy to point out to people in the U.S.A. that prison cannot deter Irish patriots from their Republican duties. We hope that your tour in Ireland will bring home to the Irish people the horrible conditions which political prisoners must endure as a result of standing up for what they believe in.

### St. Patrick's Day Parade, New York

Hundreds of New York Irish marched behind the Irish Republican Clubs banner down 5th Avenue on St. Patrick's Day. The Irish Republican Clubs section of the huge march was led by the Starry Plough and a colour party. Marchers chanting "Release Irish Political Prisoners North and South" passing the reviewing stand which contained Mayor Lindsay and various Twenty-Six County Government representatives.

The Coise Seanta of Irish Republican Clubs delivered the following statement to the St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee: "The Irish Republican Clubs of the U.S.A. and Canada wish to make public our opposition to the presence of any representative of the Twenty-Six County Government at Irish functions, such as this parade, in the United States. The Dublin Government is now one of the most anti-democratic in Europe, having passed the infamous Amendment to the Offences Against the State Act. Under the terms of this Act, a person is considered guilty on the word of a police officer and must prove himself innocent, members of political parties opposed to the policies of the Dublin Government can be arrested and tried in jury-less courts held in secret, and Irish radio and television is under the complete control of the government and personnel has been strictly instructed not to provide "air-time" to political opponents.

The theme of the St. Patrick's Day Parade is "England out of Ireland". Judge therefore our constitution, and the consternation of most Irish-Americans, at the open and shameful collaboration with the British Government by the Free State Government. The new Prime

Minister, Mr. Cosgrave was scarcely ten minutes in office when he was scurrying across the Irish sea to consult with British Prime Minister Heath. The cynicism evident then in the lip-service paid to the theme of today's parade by these bought politicians is not something that can be passed over in silence by the Irish Republican Clubs.

At present, there are 800 British troops learning counter insurgency tactics from the American Army in Camp Le Jeune, North Carolina. Seven thousand British NATO troops are soon to be airlifted to Northern Ireland by the American Air Force.

The Irish Republican Clubs of the U.S.A. and Canada demand the ownership and the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland. We support the creation of an Irish Socialist 32 County Republic; We abhor the collusion between the puppet Government in Dublin, the British Government and the American Government. We will expose tyranny, hypocrisy and expediency on the part of the British and Irish Governments. We will continue to insist upon our right to free speech and the right to free assembly in the United States in order to continue to support the struggle in Ireland.

## clann na gaeil

Clann-na-Gaeil and I.R.A. Veterans Club, District 1, New York will sponsor an Easter Week Commemoration on Easter Sunday, April 22nd at The Jager House, 85th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City.

A message from the leadership of the Republican Movement in Ireland will be read. Breakfast will be served at 12.30 p.m. and the entire proceeds will go to the Irish Republican Prisoners' Aid and Defence Fund. Tickets are 6 dollars each and may be obtained by phoning 933-1139 any evening after 6 p.m.

### Britain

See statement from Clann na hEireann

## clann na h-eireann

318 Lillie Road,  
London, S.W.6.

On Saturday, 17th March, Clann na hEireann held a picket at the Home Office in Whitehall. The picket was organised by the Wolfe Tone Cumann of Clann, which has been in Batham and was supported by other members from the London Region.

In all, ten members took part with placards calling on the British Government to withdraw its troops from Northern Ireland. Leaflets were distributed, the contents of which were as follows:

Clann na hEireann deplores the recent attacks on the working people of London just as it has always condemned such attacks on innocent people in both Britain and Ireland.

This month will see the publication of the British Government's White Paper on the future of Northern Ireland, and it is essential that reaction to the sad events of March 8th is not used to justify the continuation of coercive measures in the North of Ireland. This would simply be exploiting the suffering of ordinary people for political ends — exactly the same tragic philosophy, one imagines, as that of the bom-

bers, but exercised in the opposite political direction.

These explosions, the countless bitter confrontations of recent years and the violent polarisation of Unionist and anti-Unionist opinion in Northern Ireland are not a necessary fact of Irish life. They are not due to any "racial or cultural differences" between the inhabitants of these islands. They are a direct result of life under an artificial and intolerable political system which was imposed by force and has been maintained by force for fifty years.

This system must be ended now. The anti-Unionist population must have their democratic right of opinion free from victimisation and discrimination recognised. Until this is done, politics in the usually-accepted sense of dialogue,

discussion and compromise, will not exist in Northern Ireland. What has existed for fifty years, and still exists, is a virtual dictatorship — initiated, consolidated and administered by one small class: the professional Unionist power-elite.

The validity of the progressive non-sectarian republican ideal was not destroyed by the London bombs — it remains the only just and reasonable long-term solution. The British Army in Northern Ireland is being directed in a campaign against all Catholic — let alone Republican — organisations. It is high time force stopped being the first and only resort. Political action must be taken to remove the root cause of civil unrest, and this is no job for the army. BRITISH TROOPS MUST BE TAKEN OUT OF IRELAND.

## IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE!?

The Banks in the two main groupings made £14 million profit last year; speculators on the Stock Exchange made £200 million in capital gains in 1971/72. Wages as a proportion of G.N.P. have remained constant over the last 10 years although productivity has risen by 27 per cent in the same period.

# FROM PROBY TO VERNON, THE FIGHT GOES ON

A unique line-up of house owners and tenants at Marino Crescent in Dublin threatens to upset the carefully laid plans of a development company. Moves to acquire vacant possession of many of the twenty-four houses at Marino Crescent culminated in a sixty-strong meeting in the last week of March to establish the Marino Crescent Residents' Association.

The aim of the Association is to ascertain exactly what the unknown developers are aiming at: Marino Crescent opens on both ends on to the Clontarf Road and is fronted by an enclosed two-acre pleasure garden to which residents are entitled to access under the terms of their ground rent agreements. However, the former owners of the fee simple to both houses and two-acre plot, the Vernon Estate, has sold its interest to the development company. The first intimation which many householders received of this change was when a man called to state that expired leases would not be renewable and that the new company was claiming full ownership of the houses on the Crescent.

Alarmed by proceedings which are ominously reminiscent of the Proby Estate scandal in Sandycove, the newly-formed Association is to seek a meeting with the Conroy Ground Rent Commission to ascertain their true legal position and to argue for the protection of the

1967 Landlord and Tenant (Ground Rent) Act.

With the two-acre park already a derelict wilderness, opinion locally is that the developers hope to make the neighbourhood uninhabitable and so pressurise both owners and tenants to leave. The twenty-four Georgian-type houses involved were built about 1800 and the use of the old Vernon Estate leases by the new

company to claim full possession will almost certainly lead to a full-scale battle in Clontarf. The use of Ground Rent leases to gain possession is always a controversial proceeding and, with the local Labour Minister pledged to a policy of abolition of ground rent by decision of Annual Conference, a very interesting battle is in the offing.

## CORK MEETING ON INTEREST RATES

At a meeting of Sinn Fein in Cork City the question of the recent increase in the already massive interest rates charged by banks operating in Ireland was discussed.

It was felt that these increases — loaded as they are against the less prosperous sections of the community — placed an intolerable burden on those citizens of Cork who are least able to bear it.

The private borrower or the owner manager of the small family business are now in a position in which many will be unable to pay interest, much less reduce their debt, thus being placed in a position of permanent subservience to their creditors who will be able to bankrupt them at will, and placed

also to a permanent disadvantage in their already well nigh impossible struggle to survive against the increasingly predatory competition of foreign supranational corporations.

This, combined with the recent increase in Building Society interest charges which place most private house "owners" in Cork in a state of permanent subservience to their creditors, led to the passing of a resolution calling on all Cork City T.D.s and Councillors to press for the nationalisation of the Banks, Building Societies and other financial institutions, thus placing the means of credit and exchange under public ownership where they can be used for the benefit rather than the exploitation of the people.

The first meeting in an organisation drive by the Small Farmers' Defence Association throughout Munster was held in the Munster Arms Hotel, Bandon, Co. Cork (Tuesday, 27th March).

The meeting, which was attended by local farmers, was addressed by Liam De Paor, County Cork Organiser for the S.F.D.A., who said:

## SMALL FARMERS CALL TO GOVERNMENT

"It is clear that the I.F.A. leadership does not represent the ordinary Cork farmer. The I.F.A. decision to impose a compulsory levy at farm marts was taken because many of their members disagree with the new-found policies of that association. Have the I.F.A. leadership

no better solution to the problems of Irish agriculture than the construction of luxury office blocks in Brussels and Dublin. The refusal of the E.E.C. Commission to raise farm prices at the request of C.O.P.A. highlights the complete irrelevancy of this body, to which the I.F.A. is affiliated.

"We in the Small Farmers' Defence Association represent the vast majority of farmers — the ordinary dairy and tillage farmer.

"The farmers of County Cork now have the opportunity of joining an organisation which has the interests of the ordinary working farmer as their concern."

### Long Kesh

James Todd, Belfast; Frank Goodman, Belfast; John Madden, Armagh; Pat Maxwell, Belfast; Paddy O'Neill, Belfast; Thomas Power, Belfast; George McNally, Belfast; Peter McFarlane, Dunmurry; Sean Hanna, Belfast; Willie Skilken; Roger Torney; Jim Smith; Paddy Clarke; John J. McAuley, Belfast; Noel Deagan, Crossgar, Co. Down; Paul Hemsworth, Belfast; James Reynolds, Newtownabbey, Co. Antrim; George Lynas, Belfast; Michael Gilmore, Newtownabbey, Co. Antrim; Sam Matthews, Belfast; Tom Kearns, Newry; Seamus Falon, Newry; Martin McKenna, Newry; Tony Kelly, Newry; Michael Donnelly, Belfast; Peter Cosgrove, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone; Mick Mallon, Andersonstown, Belfast; Pat O'Hare, Andersonstown, Belfast; Brendan Macken, Andersonstown, Belfast; Eddie Magee, Andersonstown, Belfast; Pat Moran, Ballymurphy, Belfast; Brian Stewart, Turf Lodge, Belfast; Sean Bunting, Dermot Hill, Belfast; Jim Robb, Lower Falls, Belfast; Sam Smith, Lower Falls, Belfast; Robert McConville, Lower Falls, Belfast; Frank McAlorum, Lower Falls, Belfast; Frank Weir, Lower Falls, Belfast; Jim Goodman, Lower Falls, Belfast; Artie Maguire, Markets, Belfast; Frank Quinn, Markets, Belfast; Gerard Burns, Ardoyne, Belfast; Paul Patterson, Ardoyne, Belfast; Gerry Loughlin, Unity Flats, Belfast; Leo Davis, Unity Flats, Belfast; Frank McGrady, Unity Flats, Belfast; Peter Monaghan, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone; Seamus Carraher, Newry, Co. Down; Pat Morgan, Rostrevor, Co. Down; Peter O'Hagan, Hilltown, Co. Down; Tony Kerr, Coalisland, Co. Tyrone; Charles Kelly, New Barnsley, Belfast; Tony McShane, Belfast.



# CABHAIR AGM REPORT

CABHAIR, the Republican Prisoners' Aid and Defence Committee, held its A.G.M. in Dublin on the 25th March. In addition to representatives from various Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Fein, delegates were also present from the London Prisoners' Aid Committee, the Belfast and Derry P.D.F. Committees, Saoirse-Prisoners' Welfare Committee and the Six-County Executive of Republican Clubs.

In the Secretary's report, the committee's work over the past year was outlined. This was mainly concerned with legal aid for trials and appeals of republican prisoners in England, assistance to dependants of internees and prisoners in Ireland and Britain, and aid to refugees from the Six Counties.

The Prisoners' Welfare Com-

mittee, which is a sub-committee of Cabhair, explained the work that they have been doing to assist prisoners in the Curragh and Mountjoy, who receive a weekly visit and parcel from this committee.

The London Prisoners' Aid Committee, which was formed in August 1972, has now taken over the responsibility of looking after the prisoners in England and their dependants. Their delegate pointed out that in addition to this work, P.A.C. are also campaigning for prisoners release and for improvement in their status and conditions. In view of the savage nature of the 30-year sentence on Noel Jenkinson, they are taking a particular interest in this case.

The Saoirse committee was established by Sinn Fein to campaign for prisoners' rights and

reform of the prison system in Ireland, as well as for the release of political prisoners. They gave a special report on prison conditions in Portlaoise Jail and pointed out that the penal system in Ireland is even worse than that in Britain.

The main discussion at the meeting took place on the treasurer's report. Following Internment, many committees were spontaneously formed, both north and south. During the past year, CABHAIR has endeavoured as far as possible to co-ordinate its work with these committees, to ensure that no prisoner's dependants were left unaided. The treasurer's report revealed that during the past year, expenditure from the Dublin Committee alone was almost £12,000. The treasurer emphasised the outstanding work done by local committees since the introduction of

Internment — some of whom have distributed sums far in excess of this. Due to the "falling-off" in subscriptions many of these committees are now finding it more and more difficult to meet their commitments. The result is that an increasing number of prisoners' dependants are turning to CABHAIR for assistance, and therefore the committee's expenses are increasing weekly.

A special appeal was made to all Republicans and all those interested in the welfare of prisoners and their dependants, to intensify their efforts to raise funds for CABHAIR.

All local committees should from now on forward their funds to the Central Committee of CABHAIR at 30 Gardiner Place. This will ensure the fullest possible co-ordination of effort and an equitable distribution of funds.

### Mountjoy

Oliver McCaul, Newry, Co. Down, 15 months.  
Sean Kiernans, Newry, County Down, 15 months.  
John Clarke, Newry, County Down, 18 months.  
Cathal Goulding, Jr., Dublin, 1 year.  
Hugh McConville, Dublin, 1 year.  
Dan O'Riordan, Dublin, 15 months.  
Roland Giles, Dublin, 6 years.  
Ronnie Deehan, Derry, 4 years.  
Michael Doherty, Derry, 2 years.

### Britain

Noel Jenkinson, 30 years, Leicester prison.  
Pat O'Sullivan, 7 years, Hull prison.  
Conor Lynch, 7 years, Wakefield prison.  
James Moore, 7 years, Wormwood Scrubs.  
Michael Gaughan, 7 years, Albany.  
Alex McLaverty, 5 years, Maidstone.  
Richard McLaverty, 5 years, Maidstone.  
Michael Duignan, 3½ years, Albany.  
Finbar Kissane, 2 years, Wormwood Scrubs.  
Jack McEluff, 3 years, Albany.  
Joe Farrington, 4 years, Stafford.  
Jim Flynn, 2 years, Lincoln.  
Michael Tobin, 2 years, Chelmsford.

SE

Tony O'Reilly, William Martin Murphy's successor in ownership of the Irish Independent, believes in the efficiency and efficacy of multi-national corporations. So well he might: Tony O'Reilly is the most highly paid executive of a multi-national corporation living in Ireland.

But what about the rest of the population? Who else benefits from the multi-national corporations? Where does the ultimate control lie and what does it mean to us in our daily lives?

The answers are that the rest of the population is not seriously considered by Tony O'Reilly, that people outside the top echelons of the international companies don't benefit an iota from their existence, that their control — wherever it lies — is distant from the mass of the working people of Ireland and that it affects our daily lives in every sphere of activity.

Take O'Reilly's own Fitzwilton, the holding company he shares with Frank Lemass, late of CIE, Vincent Ferguson, Nicholas Leonard, one-time financial editor, and an Englishman called William J. Johnston.

Fitzwilton, on paper, is worth twenty-six million pounds. That's right, £26 millions — more than 1,000 well-paid craftsmen would earn in a lifetime.

Fitzwilton controls important segments of almost every Irish industry other than banking. Insurance, industrial investment, fertilisers, building, construction services, pharmaceuticals, plastics, soft drinks, wines and spirits distribution, property development, manufacturing and mining media. Some of the stores they own in the north of England, too. pharmaceuticals to the people of towns in the Fitzwilton wholly or partly.

The published lists of the companies that Fitzwilton wholly or partly control are long, but read them, and if any happens to be in your area, beware.

- Fertilisers: Goulding Chemicals, Sulphac Ltd. and Phosphac Ltd.; Dublin Terminal Co. Ltd.; N.P.K. Ltd.; Shamrock Fertilisers.
- Insurance: New Ireland Assurance Co.
- House builders: McKone Estates.
- Property developers: Goulding Properties.
- Investments: Fitzwilliam Securities.
- Textiles: Crowe, Wilson.
- Construction services: Dublin Plywood and Veneer Co. Ltd.; Goulding Industries Ltd.; Thomas Dockrell; J. S. McCarthy.
- Pharmaceuticals: Chemists Holdings Ltd., Nelson, Lancashire; Hill's Pharmaceuticals, Nelson; Henry Sykes and Son, Huddersfield.

# WHO WILL BUY TONY O

## Biggest Multi-national of them all and 'imported prejudice'

"We need more of them and we should assist them in every way and judge them on their performance here and not on imported prejudice." — Tony O'Reilly of Heinz talking of multi-national companies.

What precisely O'Reilly thinks we need more of and should not judge on "imported prejudice" is illustrated in a report compiled from the *London Times* and the *New York Times* which was published in *The Irish Times* within a week of his speech to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The report leaves no doubt about the intention of the biggest multi-national company of them all, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, to prevent the democratically expressed will of the Chilean people being carried out.

Mr. John McCone, a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency and a director of I.T.T., told a Senate sub-committee that I.T.T. offered to put up \$1m. (about £400,000) to support any United States Government plan that would have deprived Dr. Salvador Allende of the Presidency of Chile.

Mr. McCone, testifying on the second day of the hearings by the Senate sub-committee on multi-national corporations into I.T.T. involvement with Chilean internal affairs said that he informed the U.S. Presidential adviser, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and the then C.I.A. director, Mr. Richard Helms of the offer after Dr. Allende won the popular election of September 4th, 1970, but before Dr. Allende was confirmed in the Presidency by the Chilean Congress.

Mr. McCone said that he was told of I.T.T.'s willingness to spend up to seven figures in the effort to block Dr. Allende at an I.T.T. board meeting four or five days after the Chilean election.

The I.T.T. decision Mr. McCone said, under questioning from the chairman, Senator Frank Church (Democrat) was told to him by the I.T.T. president, Mr. Harold Geneen, Mr. McCone said Mr. Geneen had told him that the plan already had been submitted to Dr. Kissinger.

Mr. McCone testified that he had met Mr. Helms to tell him that the funds were available and that he also met Dr. Kissinger to ask if the United States Government had any plan to block Dr. Allende. Dr. Kissinger told Mr. McCone, the witness testified, that if there were such a plan "I'd hear from him. I didn't hear from him and I assumed there was none."

Before the Chilean election, Mr. McCone testified, he discussed the situation with Mr. Helms at least three times. Mr. McCone said he was, and still is, a consultant to the C.I.A.

"I wanted to reflect to him (Mr. Helms) and through him the views of I.T.T. on the problems of the 1970 election in Chile," Mr. McCone testified. "Our opinion was that

Allende would win and since his campaign was on the basis of expropriating United States properties, including those of I.T.T., I felt our Government should be alerted to the consequences, both for business reasons and the effect on the American taxpayer."

The sub-committee counsellor, Mr. Jerome Levinson, asked Mr. McCone if he discussed with Mr. Helms, prior to the election, the possibility of any United States action against Dr. Allende. "I asked Helms if the United States intended to do anything to encourage support for other candidates," Mr. McCone testified. "Helms told me the matter had been considered by the inter-departmental committee made up of State Department, Defence Department and C.I.A. and that the decision was that nothing should be done. That was in late May or June, 1970, three months before the election."

Mr. Levinson asked Mr. McCone if Mr. Helms suggested that any of the CIA staff make contact with Mr. Geneen. Mr. McCone said that Mr. Helms did make such a suggestion in July. Mr. Church asked if Mr. Helms arranged for Mr. Geneen to meet Mr. William Broe, at that time head of Latin American clandestine activities of the C.I.A., Mr. McCone said that was correct.

Mr. William Merriam, I.T.T.'s chief Washington lobbyist, told the committee that Mr. Geneen instructed him after Mr. Geneen's meeting with Mr. Broe to keep in contact with Mr. Broe and that he subsequently had several lunches and many telephone conversations with Mr. Broe.

In reporting to his head in October 1970, on a conversation with Mr. Broe, Mr. Merriam said: "Practically no progress has been made to get American business to co-operate in some way so as to bring on economic chaos in Chile. General Motors and Ford, for example, say that they have too much inventory on hand in Chile to take any chances."

The idea, on the basis of the memorandum, was to persuade the Chilean Congress to elect Mr. Jorge Allesandri, a Right-wing candidate defeated by Dr. Allende. Mr. Allesandri had committed himself to resign immediately and to call for new elections if this happened. This manoeuvre was intended to open the way for President Frei, the retiring President of Chile, to run again. I.T.T. and the C.I.A. believed that Mr. Frei had an excellent chance of defeating Dr. Allende in a two way contest.

This judgement was shared by the State Department which, on the basis of another internal I.T.T. document written by Mr. Merriam: "feels Allende could be stopped if Frei would stand firm for his country and quit trying to play the part of Hamlet, wishing to go down in history as the great democrat."



● Dr. Allende... funds available to block him.

## UNION STAND

Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick (General Secretary), Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks last month said:

"One of our young tycoons in the Press is calling on us all to assist the development of multi-national enterprises. Allowing for some public misunderstanding and confusion on the precise nature of a 'multi-national' as distinct from a multiple or chain organisation, we, in the Trade Union movement, at least, want no part of them in Ireland.

"From our knowledge and experience multi-national are heartless organisations, directed by faceless men. They have little regard for the disruption and suffering they cause, in their quest for domination on the lives and livelihoods of ordinary people.

"Power is an even greater incentive to them than money, and that power which they seek has become absolute in some areas.

"It is said in reliable quarters that they are now capable of manipulating economies and even influencing National Parliaments.

"Every trade union in Western Europe is alarmed by the activities of multi-nationals in their own countries and are seeking feverishly for safeguards for their members and particularly for guarantees of stability in their employments.

"If these mammoth enterprises are 'flannel to the hearts' of ambitious industrialists they conjure up visions of 'sackcloth and ashes' for the mass of workers and small-holders.

Tony O'Reilly advocates of multi-national. On March 1970, the Chamber of Commerce Irish attitude to the whom have a turn than the annual 19 Counties, should watchful.

The emphasis was more on wealthfulness. "I think over-reaction to the in the U.S. and a very damaging to Ireland, which growth on exports.

"In a nutshell, 'we need more to assist them in every on their performance imported prejudice style reference to is about as convincing constant claim that ideology.

Not to be confused O'Reilly of Heine multi-national monster considerable benefit he said, the Authority was creating an atmosphere.

The environmental derstood, is not

## THE £118,000

Who was surprised when Nicholas Leonard, time editor of "Business and Finance", £118,000 out of Tony O'Reilly's deal with the dependent" Murphys?

Leonard was, apparently, because, he claimed he did not know that Independent Newspapers

AIBREAN, 1973

Hartley's Chemists, Burnley; Hill Smith (Warrington) Ltd.; Cox and Co. (Photographic) Ltd.

Plastics: Goulding Industries, Waterford; Polytex Ltd., Waterford. Soft drinks, wines and spirits: John Daly and Co. Ltd., Cork; Coca-Cola Bottlers (Munster) and (Ulster); Coca-Cola Bottling (Dublin); Killarney Mineral Waters (Manufacturing) Co. Ltd.; John Egan and Sons (Waterford) Ltd.; Victoria Hotel (Cork) Ltd., and Industrial and Catering Services.

Jewellery: Rionore of Kilkenny.

Manufacturers of Copper Tubing: Irish Metal Industries.

Mining exploration: Rio Tinto Zinc; Mines - Tara.

Just as Fitzwillton gained control of or interests in these companies singly or in groups, so it is possible for another multi-national corporation to gain control of Fitzwillton and, overnight, of a big segment of Irish industry and the future of thousands of Irish workers.

It is not in the interests of the Irish people to have control of the wealth, resources or employment potential in the country concentrated in a few hands, whoever they may be. A multi-national corporation based in Ireland is as dangerous to the Irish working-class as a multi-national corporation based elsewhere.

# O'REILLY

that is of such importance to the health, comfort and leisure of Irish workers but the financial environment that allows the money manipulators of big business to carry on their activities without interruption or interference.

Lest anyone be mistaken about what he meant, O'Reilly explained his opposition to legislation at present before the U.S. Congress which includes provision for restricting the double taxation relief enjoyed by American companies operating abroad.

Restriction of this double relief would make the craven tax incentive offered by the Twenty-Six County administration less attractive to potential U.S. investors and would undoubtedly put a damper on overseas investment by American companies.

## WHO IS THE ALIEN HERE?

O'Reilly agreed that the attitude of the French government to unbridled expansion by American companies was legitimate because they were powerful, exceeded themselves at times, could cause dislocation of local employment patterns and tended to consider their own needs first.

These are some of the criticisms which the "United Irishman", Sinn Fein and the Republican Clubs have directed at multi-national companies which, as has been made clear in this paper and elsewhere, demand that affairs in any subject country should be ordered to their advantage regardless of the needs of the people.

The Republican Movement will fight against the involvement of multi-national companies on both sides of the Border because it recognises the danger inherent in their growing influence and identifies the economic imperialism which they represent. Not only that, as the I.T.T. plot against the Chilean leader Allende makes clear, the multi-national companies will not shrink from espionage and sabotage to prevent the will of the people being fulfilled.

Heinz, of which O'Reilly is the chief operating officer, is worth 1.2 billion dollars. It functions in 16 countries and its after-tax income is between 40 and 45 million dollars a year.

## SURPRISE PACKET!

being bought by O'Reilly. Why should he know? — The answer is that Leonard is a fellow-founder and co-director of the Fitzwillton Group.

A case of the left hand not letting the right hand know what was going on?





*'Any person in Northern Ireland, whatever his political beliefs, may advance them peacefully without fear'*

(PARA. 94 WHITE PAPER)

## WHO DOES THE PROTESTANT WORKING CLASS SUPPORT?

The British White Paper apparently has received something of a de facto acceptance in the North. It has provoked neither an anti-people campaign from the Provisionals nor the blind sectarianism of extreme Protestantism.

It is, of course, an undemocratic document, as predicted in last month's United Irishman. It is the solution of a dictator — benign or otherwise.

The White Paper would seem to offer a chance for the people of the North to choose "representatives" and to allow those chosen to discuss at a conference table what politics in Northern Ireland should be about. The fact that no group has been willing to react with violence to the Paper suggests that the majority of the people are accepting it as a way to the conference table level.

Every effort must be made to ensure that the electors are given a chance to make a POLITICAL choice. The real crime of the unionist-orange regime against the people has been to refuse to allow them to see life in political terms. Sectarianism was the only manifesto the Unionist Party ever knew. And it is their legacy that we are all now fighting.

Faulkner is determined to appear in the forthcoming elections as the voice of moderation. This we know he is not. Craig will campaign as the only honest loyalist of the bunch. Honesty is an alien concept to his twisted egotism. And Paisley will no longer show himself as "the darling of the Dublin Press". For his latest somersault is an attempt to win back the support he held in 1966.

But none of them are finding it as easy to lie as they once did. The Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party is not finding it easy to attract the people to its rallies — this despite the alleged support of the UDA and the rest of the United Loyalist Council groups.

And this raises the question: does the UDA support Bill Craig? At this early stage of the existence of his latest pseudo-party, it is difficult to say. But there is evidence that the sabre-rattling of the

Tommy Herron faction is not carrying the day within the Inner Council. The militancy of the UDA seems rather muted these days.

This is, of course, not something to be gloated over. Republicans have recognised for some time that there is, in the UDA, the voice of a disaffected working class. That voice has at times been submerged in blood-curdling speech and action. But still it exists, inarticulate and unforced as it is. The same may possibly also be said of the UVF.

And it is to how the supporters, passive and active, of these groups vote in the elections that we must look. Will the candidates on the Shankill Road, for example, be more truly representative of the working class than they have provided before? Will such people be allowed to

campaign on non-sectarian issues?

Tragically, the Republican Movement cannot at this time influence, in a positive way, the voters of the Protestant ghettos. But we can help by example. By showing our fellow workers that houses, jobs and human rights are the issues that we care about.

This way, they may see the relationship between both sides of the divided community. This way, alliances can be formed that will build for the future.

In the elections — for local government or for the new assembly — Republican candidates must show that the democracy they believe in is a workers' democracy. They must attack the real enemy — the Tory alternatives of whatever creed. They must seek for common ground with every candidate — Catholic or Protestant — who

supports the people's real struggle, the struggle for life.

It is a tragedy of Northern Irish history that the Protestant population has no left-wing organ. Such was the success of Unionism.

Many people in the Six County area will see in the White Paper a possible way out of the present situation; for some it is seen as a victory, for others a defeat. The reality is as we have shown elsewhere that a dictatorship under Mr. Whitelaw has been imposed and the Six Counties transformed into a Crown Colony, where the Chiefs of the Unionist, Nationalist, SDLP and other similar parties will be squabbling to divide the new cake between them while the harassment, raiding and brutality by the British Army continues against the people throughout the Six Counties. The old and new agents of British Imperialism in supporting the White Paper are intent on exploiting all the Irish working class in the interests of big business.

In the long term, Republicans must look at the possibility of a closer association with the progressive groups and individuals in the North and in the South.

In the meantime, we must do what we can to ensure that the voters in the North in the coming months can vote for political issues and not for sectarian ones. If that happens, Willie Whitelaw's White Paper will rebound on him to the immense advantage of the Irish people.

## PEOPLE OF NORTH WILL BE OFFERED A RADICAL ALTERNATIVE

The Republican Clubs will be putting up candidates in almost every area of the Six Counties in the local government elections. For the first time, the people of the Six Counties will be offered a radical alternative to the rigid sectarianism of the old order that has led to the present chaos.

Republican candidates will be standing in Belfast, Armagh, Derry city and county, Tyrone, Newry, south Armagh, south Down and Lurgan — in as many places as the organisation and resources of the clubs will allow. First estimates are that there may be as many as 100 candidates in the field.

Republican candidates, in the Six Counties as in the Twenty-Six Counties, will take their seats. This, they believe, is vital if they are to exercise maximum pressure in the essential achievement of democracy operated for and on behalf of the working-class people of Ireland.

The Republican Movement is convinced

that in pursuing its central aim, the building of a 32-county socialist republic, every means demanded by the working people of Ireland and justified by the exigency of the situation must be used to increase working-class consciousness and influence. At all times, the central aim remains the goal and each move made must be towards the ultimate achievement.

The Republican Clubs recognise the limitations under which they must fight the local government, or any, elections. The clubs have been banned and their members harassed and persecuted by the sectarian police force of the Six Counties, the uniformed

thugs of the British Army and the openly sectarian forces of the right.

They recognise the limits imposed upon the machinery of local government in the Six Counties and the intention underlying that imposition — the preservation of power in the hands of those who will be most amenable to the interests jointly served by them and the British Government.

But they are determined to present to the people of the Six Counties, Catholic and Protestant, the alternative that is essential, that is in fact the only way out of the sectarian conflagration which imperialism is determined to produce if it cannot have its way.

## BECAUSE OF SECTARIAN VIOLENCE . . .

Since January the Wolfe Tone Cumann in Ballymun has been actively involved with the problems of a large Northern family that has been surviving under appalling circumstances since they arrived in Dublin 10 months ago.

Because of sectarian violence the Toland family, consisting of 18 persons in all, were forced to flee from their home and place of work in the Ardoyne area of Belfast. The Tolands arrived in Dublin in search of a home and a new life. As far as a home is concerned, their hopes were dashed by the "stone wall" statutory regulation of the Dublin County Council, that one must be resident in Dublin for a period of four years to become eligible for a house or flat.

The family is living in three small caravans in the Coutry area of the Ballymun Estate. Each caravan is equipped with a small stove for cooking purposes and the bedding provided is not sufficient to allow even one person a decent night's sleep. There is no electricity — candles are used to provide light. There is no running water and the family must travel hundreds of yards across muddy fields to a water pump on the main Ballymun Road. For sanitary facilities they have to travel to the local public house. For this they must pay £5 per week for each caravan.

Recently the Cumann sent letters to the 12 T.D.'s in the three local constituencies, requesting them to interest themselves in the family's circumstances and to attend a meeting with the family and the Cumann. The Cumann received replies from 6 of the T.D.'s — namely Haughey, Timmons, O'Brien, Clinton, Thornley and Keating. A meeting has been arranged for the 14th of April and letters have been sent to the six interested T.D.'s informing them of it.

At the meeting the Wolfe Tone Cumann will make emphasis not only on the Toland family but also on the plight of the hundreds of caravan dwellers who are forced to exist in similar conditions in the Dublin area. The Cumann will request that a complete investigation into the rampant speculation in the building industry.

The Cumann will also request the T.D.'s to call for the declaration of a housing emergency as the only solution to accommodation of the thousands of married couples who have to live with their parents because of present government policy. Whether or not the T.D.'s busy themselves with these demands remains to be seen. Whatever the outcome the Wolfe Tone Cumann pledges to expose social injustices whenever it encounters them and to work consistently for the political and economic emancipation of the Irish workers.

Republican Club candidates stand for a 32-county socialist republic. Because that means the transfer of power — and it is a revolutionary position — from the agents of business and the carrion of bigotry, they stand for the control of their own lives and destinies by the Irish working-class and insist that the radical change of local government machinery to democratic use is vitally important to that struggle.

The Republican Movement has strenuously opposed the imposition on the people of the Six Counties of the Macrow proposals and the dictatorship of Whitelaw.

The Republican Movement demands more, not less, power for the local councils to which its members will be elected. It demands this, not for selfish interests, but because the people of the Six Counties want and need local representation that is responsive to their demands, close to their problems and has a full understanding of their difficulties, in origin and practice.

The programme of the Republican Clubs, on which this election will be fought, is a positive socialist republican programme that insists the people's will should be and must be given priority over all other considerations. The working-class people of the Six Counties must take their future into their own hands. They must say how they should live, where they should work, what social system they need to help them in their difficulties. Because they are the people who pay for the system, theirs are the lives and the livelihoods the system governs. Government should be — and the Republican Movement is determined that it will be — on their behalf.

The Republican Club candidates will stand for the people of Ireland, Catholic, Protestant and dissenter, without favour to any citizen because of creed or sex.

The Republican Movement has, time and again, warned of the divisive, murderous, anti-working-class nature of sectarianism and will never bow to sectarian influences of any kind. The socialist republic cannot be sectarian, it must be secular; it cannot discriminate, it must be fully representative.

We are facing an election designed to produce and promote a middle-class alliance. An alliance that will be in essence anti-working-class and amenable to foreign control. The war-weary people of the Six Counties have been made susceptible to its influence.

Now is the time for republicans to organise the forces of the left to give to the people of the Six Counties the system that will serve their needs.



# KING WILLIE WHITEWASH

The Republican Movement has rejected the British Government's White Paper on the Six Counties for reasons that have been made clear by the president of Sinn Féin, Tomás Mac Giolla, and by the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs.

Republicans, first and fundamentally, reject the idea that a British Government, of whatever persuasion, has any function in Irish affairs except to compensate the people of this country for the human suffering and death, the damage to homes and livelihoods and the disruption and division of the community which it is imposing upon the people of this country and which its predecessors imposed on other generations.

What British Government, of whatever persuasion, we ask, has the moral authority to suggest, let alone seek to impose, a solution to the problems of the Irish people when those problems have been created by these governments, their agents and allies and on their behalf alone?

The White Paper, as Tomás Mac Giolla has said, was intended and is intended to produce in the Six Counties a middle class alliance which is essential to the survival, in profitable conditions, of the system most favourable to the industrial boss, the financial manipulator and the entrepreneur.

Realising that these interests could be served best not by outright bigots but by politicians with democratic faces, the British Government has deliberately and carefully aimed its proposals at

those people who are most amenable to its wishes and the demands of the people it represents — and they are not the working-class people of Britain.

The people the British Government now finds pleasing in the Six Counties are the middle-ground middle-class men of the Alliance Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Northern Ireland Labour Party (so called) and the nominally moderate Unionists, the representatives of the old junta, Brookeborough's men who realised that they could survive only by changing their faces.

The Republican Movement demanded:

That British Armed Forces in uniform be withdrawn from the streets of the Six Counties where they have brought nothing but death and destruction since their introduction there in strength four years ago;

That repressive legislation affecting Catholic and Protestant working-class and in particular the radical political movements operating on behalf of the working-class be scrubbed from the statute books;

(This legislation has been presented to the middle-class people of the Six Counties as an instrument designed to help them towards a more peaceful existence — but far from helping towards peace it has produced and intensified violent reaction every time it was invoked.)

The Republican Movement further

demands as it has demanded an amnesty for all prisoners, internees and detainees, for men held awaiting trial and for those forced on the run by the legislation imposed by the British Government and its Unionist allies and of whom it might be said that their resistance was born of the anti-worker discrimination of the regimes, not the discrimination of their resistance;

Finally, in the immediate future, the Republican Movement has demanded massive social investment in the Six Counties designed to make it possible for all the workers of the Six Counties and their families to continue their lives in security and free from fear of discrimination and unemployment.

What did the White Paper offer in place of these demands? It offered the implementation of the Diplock Commission instead of the Special Powers Act, or, as we believe, in parallel with the Special Powers Act. The kind of tribunal suggested by Diplock, the star chamber trial, is already well known to Republicans both in the Six Counties and in the Twenty-Six Counties where it is called the Special Criminal Court.

The White Paper offers a dictator, Mr. William Whitelaw, to supervise the affairs of the Six Counties, in perpetuity if necessary. It suggests that one man, the representative of the British

Government, should have complete power, not only over the affairs for which Britain claims direct responsibility but for the minimal devolution of power she is prepared to offer to the Irish people.

The assembly proposed by the White Paper would have less power than the late and unlamented Stormont administration. It would, therefore, be subject to an even greater degree to central demands emanating from London and to the tight fist of the resident dictator.

As for the possibility of a 32-County socialist republic, which is the aim of the Republican Movement in which all socialist republicans and all the genuinely progressive forces of the left are united — the White Paper comes nowhere near acknowledging that anything could have been, by whatever chance, wrong with the so-called settlement of 1920 which has caused more death, division and destruction in the country than anything of its kind since the Act of Union.

The White Paper coyly mentions the sham, sectarian "Border poll" which was held earlier this year and which was boycotted by more than 40 per cent of the people of the Six Counties. It makes no mention of the abstentions. As far as is the British Government is concerned, the "Border problem" has been solved, for the time being at any rate. Which is just another reason why it can do with its White Paper what it was forced to do with so many of its ballot papers in the phoney poll — keep them.

## REPUBLICAN DEMANDS FOR ALL - IRELAND

There is only one issue on which practically everyone in Ireland is agreed. We do not want to be ruled by Britain. This fact must, therefore, be made clear and emphatic. All should unite on the demand "Britain get out". Heath's plan must be judged on this yardstick: does it provide for Britain getting out of Irish affairs? If it does not then it will clearly not be acceptable to the mass of the Irish people no matter how it may be welcomed by opportunist politicians.

We believe there should be total concentration of emphasis on common demands to the exclusion of compromise solutions which may be made by any particular party or organisation. Such proposals, while they may be helpful to the British Government, only sow confusion and disunity in Ireland. In any case, Britain will impose whatever solution suits her interests. Let us be clear what is IN OUR INTERESTS.

The only long-term solution which will be in the interests of the Irish working class is the establishment of a Democratic 32 County Socialist Republic. Any interim solution which arises out of the present crisis must guarantee the freedom of the Irish people to move towards this objective. Clearly, as with the British imposed arrangement of 1920, any solution

which advocates the continuation of a Six or Nine County Ulster state, whether it has constitutional links with Britain, or not, must be rejected.

1. That the British Government, having clearly demonstrated that they are in conflict with the demands of all sections of the Irish people, publicly commit themselves to a total withdrawal of its military and political control from the Six County area on an early specified date and that they begin the necessary procedures now to implement their withdrawal from Ireland. Britain must publicly renounce all claims to sovereignty over any part of Irish territory and must pledge itself to make economic compensation so that the standard of living of working class people will not be adversely affected.

2. Having specified the date for her total withdrawal from Ireland, Britain must immediately:

- Withdraw all troops from working class areas;
- Release all internees and all political prisoners;
- Grant a general amnesty for all offences arising from the resistance against British forces, or through involvement in the Civil Disobedience Campaign.

A Bill of Rights must be introduced and im-

plemented immediately to guarantee civil and religious liberty and basic civil rights for all and the immediate repeal of all repressive legislation.

3. During this interim period also, the 26 County Government must publicly accept responsibility for the introduction and implementation of legislation which will guarantee civil and religious liberty for all and for the repeal of all discriminatory laws at present in existence. The 26 County Government must also introduce and implement laws to prevent the exploitation of Irish assets and resources by British or other imperial interests.

4. That a conference of Irish parties be convened by a neutral body such as the Irish Congress of Trade Unions for the purpose of drafting a secular constitution for the 32 Counties that would become operative on completion of the British withdrawal.

5. We call for joint action by the Irish and British Trade Union Movements to halt escalating sectarianism and prevent all out sectarian warfare by giving leadership to workers at street and factory level and by supporting the struggle for democracy at local level, both North and South.



# The Belfast Ring Road

The Ring Road scheme has been a source of bitter resentment to the people of central Belfast ever since it was first put to the City Council by the then City Surveyor, Anderson, in 1961. Shortly after the scheme was first presented a small group of professional planners and architects in Belfast decided to form the Urban Renewal Society in order to fight it. They even succeeded in getting a candidate elected to the City Council to oppose it, but the Unionist Party machine pushed it through.

The scheme is aimed at reducing traffic congestion in central Belfast. The problem is that it is the work of traffic consultants who took no account of the social and community needs of the central Belfast area in drawing it up. The firm concerned, Travers Morgan & Co. Ltd., received the planning contract (on Anderson's recommendation) in 1965. The only proviso for what was to be a major corporation prestige operation, was that the route of the Ring Road run through central Belfast's redevelopment area to avoid the trouble and expense of compulsory purchases.

Instead, whole sections of long established communities were to be uprooted to let it through while the people left behind would have to face the hazards of heavy volume, high speed traffic, and the pollution it would bring in its trail.

When the Travers Morgan plan was published in 1969 it became clear that not only was it completely traffic orientated, but to be more precise it was car programmed to the exclusion of all other factors. It discussed no alternative to Anderson's original grand design of "Spaghetti Junction" type freeways, composed of elevated and separated carriage-ways etc. It admitted that by investing £4 million annually in local public transport the City could derive a net annual benefit of £3 million. It also admitted that by adopting a "park and ride" scheme (whereby to get to the centre) the problem could also be met — and that such a solution would be necessary after 1986 anyway! But along with other schemes, such as a revival of the local rail services, they were also rejected out of hand without reasons for the rejection being given.

With such a pedigree it is hardly surprising that the "plan" has come under persistent and bitter attack from the people who live in the areas threatened by it. The traders of York Street, the residents' organisations in North Queen Street, and Unity flats, the people of the lower Shankill, Sandy Row and the Lower Falls are all agreed on one thing — they don't want the Ring Road. Yet, in the words of the Republican Clubs letter, all objections raised have "met with all the repression which could be mustered by the commercial and speculative interests behind the Ring Road". Demonstrations, the latest of which was which was held on St. Patrick's Day and marched from Sandy Row to the city centre, have been ignored. Attempts to make legal representations to the authorities have also been suppressed. In its circular the Clubs instance three occasions when it attempted to make its views known to the Northern Ireland Housing Trust and City Planning Department.

On the first occasion, when a Republican Club deputation met officers of the former Housing Authority, they were all arrested after they left the meeting. A second attempt to meet the former Housing Trust and City Planning Department officials was ruled out of bounds by the R.U.C. Special Branch.

In the absence of any possible alternative the Clubs then lodged 12 legal planning objections to the Ring Road Scheme in order to avert its worst abuses. All the objections were suppressed by Roy Bradford, the then Minister of Development, under the SPECIAL POWERS ACT.

Another scheme, to inflict high-rise

flats for housing on the people in the Lower Falls and Shankill Road areas of the city, was only stopped by the determined action of the local people themselves in 1969, when the British Army was used in one instance to demolish buildings to make way for the flats. On that occasion the scheme was changed to meet local needs for low rise housing.

The Whitelaw administration has so far shown no more regard for the wishes of the people of central Belfast than its Unionist predecessor. In fact, Whitelaw has promoted the Englishman who is Belfast's City Planner, a Mr. Booth, to the same post at Six County level. Doubtless the British firms who have the Ring Road Scheme contracts can look forward to even bigger opportunities for contracts in future.

It was for these reasons that the Republican Clubs Executive for Co. Antrim decided to contact the companies involved in construction work on the scheme direct. Having outlined the local people's opposition to the Ring Road and the repression with which the authorities had met the Clubs' own objections, the letter concludes by saying: "In providing your firm with this information we are asking you in the interests of Democracy not to become involved in any way with the construction of the Ring Road Scheme. The Republican Movement in resisting repression will oppose the Ring Road in the strongest possible terms."

Firms to whom the letter was sent include: The Cementation Co. Ltd. (London); Lowry-McKinney Ltd. (an Irish subsidiary of McKinney Foundations, Herts.); West's Piling Co. (also a subsidiary of a British parent company); Readymix Ulster (a subsidiary of the British firm Readymix Concrete); and Ulster Foundations Ltd.

Note: Dublin readers will be interested to know that Messrs. Travers Morgan & Co. have now been given the job of drawing up a new traffic scheme for Dublin.

## ULSTER

### BELFAST: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at Beechmount, 2.00 p.m. March to Milltown Cemetery, 3.00 p.m. Chairman: Kevin Smith. Oration by Eamon Smullen.

### DERRY: Easter Sunday—

Oration by Seamus Costello, Bray, Co. Wicklow.

### CO. DERRY: GLENNIUN: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at 11.00 a.m. Oration by Tomas MacGiolla.

### THE LOUP: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at 12.30 p.m. Oration by Tomas MacGiolla.

### DUNGIVEN: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at 3.00 p.m. Oration by Tomas MacGiolla.

### MONAGHAN: Easter Sunday—

Assemble at Rofrag, Carrickmacross, 11.00 a.m. Oration by Brendan Lynch.

### CO. TYRONE: STRABANE: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies Drunkallagh Estate at 2.15 p.m. March to Abercorn Square. Chairman: Ivan Barr. Oration by Tony Heffernan, Dublin.

### ARMAGH: Easter Monday—

Parade assemblies at Moy Road, 2.30 p.m. Chairmans: Seamus Trainor. Oration by Sean O'Cionnaith, Dublin.

### CO. ARMAGH: BALLYMACNAB, Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies Ferlagh Cross Roads, 12 noon. Chairman: Charlie O'Hare. Oration by Sean O'Cionnaith.

### CO. DONEGAL: DRUMBOE: Easter Sunday—

Assemble at Drumboe, 4 p.m. Oration by Tony Heffernan.

### NEWRY: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at The Mall. March to Rowtree. Chairman: Jim Graynevad.

### CONNAUGHT GALWAY: Easter Sunday—

Assemble: Kinvara, 3.00 p.m. Chairman: Paddy Geraghty.

### ROSCOMMON: Easter Sunday—

At County Memorial, Shankill Cross, Elphin, 3.00 p.m. Chairman: Frances Grehan. Oration by E. O'Murchu, Dublin.

### LEINSTER DUBLIN: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies: Customs House, 2.30 p.m. Tony Moriarty. Oration by Des O'Hagan, Belfast.

### DUN LAOIRE: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies: Dun

### LAOIRE Church, 11.00 a.m. Chairman: Neill Lenoch. Dublin.

### CELBURIDGE: Easter Monday—

Parade assemblies: Celbridge Village, 3.00 p.m. Oration by Des O'Hagan, Belfast.

### BRAY: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies: Old Conna Corner, 3.00 p.m. March to Town Hall. Oration by Malachy Toal.

### DUNDALK: Easter Monday—

Parade assemblies at The Square, 11.00 a.m. March to Cemetery. Chairman: Dan Moore. Oration by Sean O'Cionnaith.

### KILKENNY: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies: Kilkenny, 3.00 p.m. Chairman: Liam Quigley. Oration by Sean Walsh.

### LONGFORD TOWN: Easter Sunday—

12.45 p.m. at Republican Memorial. Chairman: Tom Connolly. Oration by E. O'Murchu, Dublin.

### CO. CARLOW: Easter Sunday—

Assemble: Market Square, Bagenalstown, 2.00 p.m. Local.

### MUNSTER CORK CITY: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at Ashe Hall, 2.30 p.m. March to Cemetery at 3.00 p.m. Chairman: John O'Donovan.

### MALLOW: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies, 7.30 p.m. Chairman: C. O'Herlihy.

### CO. KERRY: TRALEE: Easter Sunday—

Oration by Mairin de Burca, Dublin.

### MILLSTREET: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies, 11.30 a.m. Chairman: C. O'Herlihy.

### LIMERICK: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies at Henry Street, 12.45 p.m. March to Republican Plot. Chairman: M. Murphy.

### WATERFORD: Easter Sunday—

Parade assemblies: Clock Tower, The Quay, 2.30 p.m.

### CLARE: Easter Sunday—

Oration by Mick Ryan, Dublin.

### BIRMINGHAM: Easter Sunday—

Assemble: Snow Hill, 3.00 p.m. March to Digbeth Civic Hall, 3.30 p.m. Chairman: Bernard Cahill. Oration by Malachy McGurran, Derry.

### CO. TYRONE: ARDBOE: Easter Sunday—

A memorial to John Pat Mullen and Hugh Herron will be unveiled at Ardboe, 3.00 p.m. Chairman: Des Gurley. Oration by Tomas Mistell, Dublin.

## Easter Commemorations



Ca bhfuil an guth is eifeachtaí sa tír — sa bhfad-tearma? Ag na filí is na h-ealaíontóirí, daoine a aithnítear i bhfad far eis bas na bpolaiteoirí is na ndaoine saibhre. Sin é an guth a thaispeánann leis treo gluaisín an phobail sin. Ta aeroga fiseacha, tuiscint fo-choinsiosach don náisiún acu siúd a chlaíonn leis an chruithaíocht, rud a fhagann forsá ar leith ag an chruithu fein nuair a bhreathnaítear air i gcomhtheacs na polaitíochta.

Duine leithleach an t-ealaíontóir, duine a fheiceann rudai in ar stair agus in ar n-imeachtaí laethiúla nach leir don ghnath-dhuine uaireanta. Duine é a dtágnann taifeach ar an stair agus ar an bpolaíocht chuide go minic gan aon náilís bheith deanta aige, agus fiú gan tuiscint chruinn aige ar ca haif a fhaigheann se an taifeach sin.

Ach is taifeach tabhachtach a dheanann se. Go minic, is cruinne agus is eifeachtaí é na taifeach na n-eolaíthe. Cinnte gur gnath ina rud biogúil, daonna é, le haís an taifigh tur a chuirtear chugainn la i ndiaidh lae ar na meain cumarsaíde. Agus na ceaptar gur rud ar leith é seo a bhaineann le hÉirinn — ta a gcuid saineolaíthe seasta ag an BBC agus

ag RTE freisin, agus ceiltéar an cineal ceanna tuisceana ar leitheoirí "Der Spiegel" nó "La Stampa" is a cheiltéar ar an gcomhleithéid abhfus.

An t-ealaíontóir an te is oscailte ar an chaoi seo: gur ga do siúd an tuiscint a fhaigheann se ar an saol a chur sna rudai a dheanann se, cuma ceol, pictiúr, dealbh, dan, sceal nó drama bheith i gceist. Ní mór do an ionraice seo a thaispeaint, mar gurb é fein an critic is geire ata aige fein, agus gurb é is tuisce a aithneoidh an fhiminteacht ina chuid oibre fein.

Gne eile den ealaíontóir nach mór é tuiscint, a ghóilliúnai ata se. Goilleann gach pian da bhfuilainginn an chine air. Goilleann gach eagoir, gach leatrom air. Agus i measc na rudai eile a shann chun oibre é, ta an gha le daoine a chur ar an eolas faoin leatrom sin.

Ní feidir le duine mar sin, mura ndal lann se ar fad é fein, fanacht i bhfad gan tuairim eigin ina cheann nach amháin gur ga feabhas a chur ar an sceal — ach gur feidir. Go bhfuil struchtúir eile ar bhfeidir iad a bhualadh ar an sobhai seachas an ceann ata anois air, an ceann a bhfuil oiread sin daoine ag fulaingt ann. Is de nádúr an ealaíontóra, da eis sin, gur dtíodfach cuid eigin den

teoiric sin chun cinn ina chuid saothair — ach ca mheid. Sin i an cheist is deacra is feidir a chur ar an ealaíontóir coineacsach, coinsiosach.

Ta, mar shampla, cinealacha airithe peinteireachta a chéachtaítear go minic i dtíortna a bhfuil reabhoidh díreach curtha i gcrích acu. Tagann rudai o ealaíontóirí i dtíortna mar sin a bhfuil trí locht orthu: ta siad "naif" sa mheid go dtugann siad dearcadh roshimpli ar an saol; ta siad rochosúil, go minic, le fograí díolachain an Chaipiteilchais; agus ní ealain iad sa mheid nach bhfuil aon phioc de mheoin an ealaíontóra le sonru orthu.

Faigheann a gcomhchinealacha litríochta freisin — breathnaigh mar shampla ar mhór-chuid fhíliocht bhearla na dtíochaidai. Níl ann ach propáganda den chuid is mó, agus arís is beag de shaint eithe na filíochta ata ag roinnt leis. Tarlaíonn se sin mar go samhlaíonn na filí gur dvalgas orthu é a gcuid creidimh polaitíochta a thacu leis an "bh-fíliocht" seo — cineal deacra da ndia.

Ach ní mar sin is fearr a chuireann an t-ealaíontóir a chuid príonsabail i bhfeidhm. Trí bheith dílis da cheird agus an ailieacht sa bhfirinne a lorg aige a chomhlíonann mórchuid na n-ealaíontóirí a ndualgas soisialta. Cuid eile acu, aithníonn siad go bhfuil feidhm eile ag an ealain seachas an ailieacht, agus gníomhaíonn siad ar an aithne sin. Cúnas agus clis, is iad sin go minic is fearr a fionfaidh don ealaíontóir mas ail leis cabhair cheirde a chur ar fail don athru saoil, don reabhoid a thuigeann se bheith de dhíth chun saol na ndaoine a fheabhsu.

Ní leor duinn ar bhfearg a scaipeadh ar phar nó ar chanbhas nuair a tharlaíonn eochtra ar nos Dhonnach na Fola i nDoire. Gníomh stuama, thairis rud ar bith eile, is ea an cruthu ealaíonta, agus níl de phairt ag na mothúchain ann ach ina spreagadh. Ní mór iad a dhi-lea sara gcuirtear an saothar i dtoll a cheile, mas saothar ealaine ata vai. Agus saothar ealaine an cruthu is fearr do na daoine go bhfuil creideamh ag an ealaíontóir sa reabhoid.

An eol do na daoine an rud is fearr doibh? Ní ga gurb eol: go minic bíonn dearcadh simpli acu ar

an saol, dearcadh nach n-aithníonn a chástacht ata se — na fheabhas a d'fheadfadh se a bheith. Cuid de dhuilgas an ealaíontóra a leithéid sin a chur in iúl doibh is a choinneail os a gcomhair. Act ta dainsear ina dhiaidh sin ann don te a dheanann dia beag de fein gan breathnu ar mheoin an phobail ina thimpeall — rud eile arb é a dhuilgas é leiriu.

Cineal HUBRIS, nó bheith ro-chinnté diot fein, a spreagann grupai beaga go minic ar bhóthar na polaitíochta, gan tacaíocht ar bith on mhór phobal. Ar eigin ma ba ghluaiseacht pobail reabhoid ar bith riann anall cuma ce chomh prean atathar leis an status quo. Ach sin é fath a dteip: gan tacaíocht an phobail, ní eiríonn le coras ar bith rialtais (rud a chruthaigh na hAondachtóirí duinn) na athru ar bith rialtais ach chomh beag.

Gníomh oideachais a eilíonn an reabhoid ar an ealaíontóir, oideachas don phobal, oideachas do lucht na reabhoid. Ta a n-ghaídh sin ar na fadhanna ar minic an morphobal dall nó dalta orthu — ach seans go bhfuil daille ar lucht na reabhoidé fein, i dtaca le gneithe eile den saol. Ní mór do dhuine eigin na laigi a leiriu.

Is iad na healaíontóirí is fearr a chainfidh na cinnirí, an tír, fiú na daoine fein ma ta eidreoir orthu. Is eifeachtaí a gcaineadhann na fíoras da thabhachtach, nó slogadh da, meidh, nó oraid de spreagúil. Ce eile a chainfeadh chomh hoscaite sin gach einne?

Ionraice an ealaíontóra a thugann an seasamh, an stadas seo do. Is leir don saol nach feidir leis gan an fhirinne a nochtaidh — cuma cen dochar a dheanfaidh se do fein — feach Pasternak is Solzhenitsyn; feach Joyce, feach O Cadhain.

Nuair a aithníonn an pobal ceart an sceil, deanfaidh se a bheart fein — agus da fheabhas an t-oideachas is ea is fearr an beart a deanfar. Mar ní leor go n-aithneofai dearmad na staire. Mura dtugann an reabhoid ach foirmle ata leis an stair a chur ina cheart, is lu de reabhoid i. Mura dtugann sí clar don todhchái, is fríth-reabhoid i. Agus ta feidhm ag an ealaíontóir i gcur-le-cheile an chlair sin.

# An iad na h-ealaíontóirí is tabhachtai?

## AN GHAELTACHT

Ce go ndearna baill aonair de Sinn Fein an-obair ag troid ar son cearta mhunithir na Gaeltachta, go minic, ní in ainm na Gluaiseachta a rinne siad é agus chomh maith le sin ní raibh morán ceangal eatarthu fein. Aithníonn siad anois go gcaithfidh siad dlúth-cheangal a dheanamh idir na Gaeltachtaí le go mbeadh siad eifeachtaí ins an troid a chaitheadh siad a chuir ar na forsai ata ag iarraidh iad a bhascadh — sin no ní bheidh aon Gaeltacht ann don chead ghluin eile.

Chuide seoid beith cruinniu an-tabhacht de Phoblachtanaí na Gaeltachta ins an ROYAL HOTEL, ATH LUAIN. De Domhnaigh, 29u Aibreán, ar a 3.00 i.n.

'Se Deasún o hAgin, Oifigeach Oideachais, ata ag eagrau an chruinnithe seo agus beidh Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtarán Sinn Fein, mar chathaoirleach air.

Ta clar leitheadach le ple ag na teachtaí agus i measc na neithe a ndeanfar díospoireacht ortha beidh Udaras Aitiúil, Radio na Gaeltachta, Polasai Tenga na Gluaiseachta, Scolaiocht sa Gaeltacht agus mórán eile de na fadhanna ata ag cur as do na Gaeltachtaí faoi lathair.

Is cuis a thais duinn an borradh ur seo a thabhairt faoi dearna mar ta gear gha ag an Gaeltacht le tacaíocht Gluaiseacht na Poblachta. Go deimhin ta gear gha ag Gluaiseacht na Poblachta le tacaíocht muintir na Gaeltachta.

Beidh na teachtaí ar an chruinniu seo ag deanamh gníomh fíorthabhachtach se sin ag mascadh Gluaiseacht na h-Athbheochana le gluaiseacht na hAth-Ghabhala agus ní thíodfaidh aon rud as sin ach tairbhe do bhítha araon.

DODHEAG

Middle-class solutions are being presented to the Irish people, in the Six Counties and in the Twenty-Six Counties — in the first case by a British Tory Government, in the second by the middle-class alliance of the National Coalition.

In both areas, the left is meeting a new and serious challenge, to which the only response can be united action by progressive forces. The president of Sinn Fein, Tomas MacGiolla, has made this clear in his reaction to the White Paper, when he said:

"The unity of the middle class in a power sharing system must be opposed by creating a unity of the working class which will enable them to take power and share it among themselves. This has always been and will continue to be a primary objective of Republicans.

"There is also vital work to be done in the 26 Counties. If we believe in unity and if we believe that only the Irish people themselves can solve these questions then we must be working to create new structures and new attitudes in the South as well as in the North. Pressure must be exerted now for the necessary constitutional changes to create a secular society with fullest guarantees of civil and religious liberties. We must work to create a coalition of the left to oppose British imperialist and capitalist control of the economy and resources of the country."

In the south, meanwhile, members of left-wing organisations attached to the Labour Party have been disgusted by stories of a secretly agreed pact by their party's leaders, the leaders of Fine Gael and businessmen. They have challenged their leaders to say that they will not renege on their party pledges.

But power is more alluring than party loyalty and the Liaison Committee of the Left is unlikely to get from most of the Parliamentary Labour Party any more than a cursory reply which will say, in brief, "your usefulness is past. Thanks for the help".

It is time for those who are convinced that the way forward is through united and concerted action by the organisations of the working-class to unite in determination to oppose the force of the ruling-class, however liberal they may appear.

Alone, fragmented, without a cohesive policy, the forces of the left are unlikely to achieve more than piecemeal reform. United with the democratic organisations of the working-class, they can and must work towards a revolutionary future.

The challenge from the middle ground may now appear vague to many people. Six months hence it will be far from vague. In a year or less the truth will begin to emerge in the stark reality of betrayal or brutality. The losers, once again, will be the working-class people of Ireland.

The national organiser of Sinn Fein, Sean Garland, has said, at the annual commemoration in Bodenstown last year, that the time to act for those people who believed the left must survive was now, that development of a revolutionary party would be achieved not by emotional appeal but by hard argument and long debate.

The Republican Movement is prepared to play its role in the vanguard of the people's struggle; the place of the revolutionary left is with the people.

Matt Merrigan of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union has put a challenge to the Coalition and the employers in an address to the Irish Association of Industrial Relations which, even in its moderation, is not likely to be met. If they were interested in a social contract, he said, let it be as equals.

"Let the investor eschew his rising rate of profit; offer 50 per cent of the ownership and control of

# TIME FOR UNITY OF THE LEFT

business to the workers. Take the banks and finance corporations into public ownership, including the building societies. Take all development land into public ownership and licence the building of non-utility structures and dwellings for purchase.

"Use all revenue surpluses to expand productive enterprise on the basis of public ownership; expand social welfare pensions and allowances; a comprehensive health service without a means test; free comprehensive education and training facilities to all who would benefit thereby. In short a real social contract on the basis of public ownership and control of the wealth and wealth-creating agencies in our state."

There is an illusion of British justice which, after centuries of domination and generations of emigration, no Irishman can share. British justice, as anyone who has ever answered with an Irish accent a charge in a British court can testify, stops short at the colonial boundaries — and one runs from Rosslare to Larne.

Most British citizens seemed blithely ignorant of the fact that they can be held indefinitely before being charged with certain offences until ten Irish people were picked up after the bombings in London and were kept, in conditions of totally unnecessary hardship, first in a west London police station and later in Brixton prison.

## THE BRITISH WAY OF JUSTICE

Bail was scarcely considered when they came to court, despite the fact that three responsible citizens — an M.P., Bernadette Devlin, a writer, Edna O'Brien and a leading actress, Vanessa Redgrave — not only offered to put up the money but to keep the 'suspects' in their homes until they should be brought to trial.

called Emergency and further is enacted and implemented from Westminster instead of Stormont.

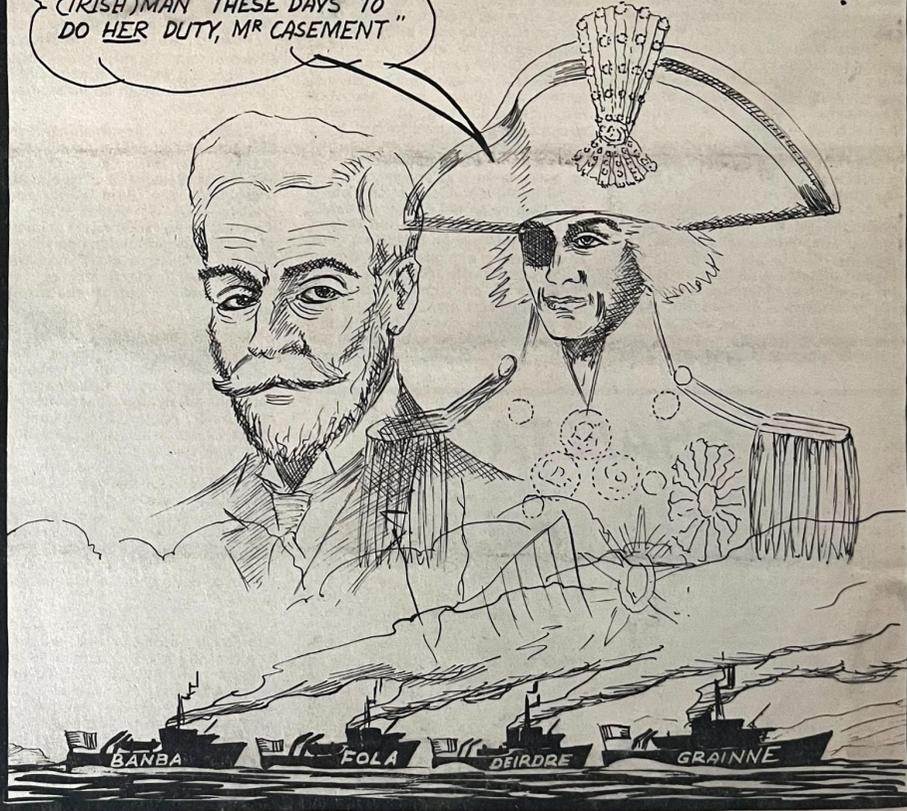
It is, perhaps, typical of the hysteria which infects the British ruling and middle classes whenever Ireland is mentioned that the 'suspects' should be brought to court handcuffed and under a guard more stringent than was applied to any British defendant in living memory. The seat of imperial power was being challenged by the more colonised people of the Six Counties.

The case of Albert Browne, member of the U.D.A. who is to be killed by official means is another case of where our masters feel that one law for the natives and another law for themselves is to operate. Capital punishment has been abolished in Ireland, North and South. The Whitelaws, Faulkners and all those who over the past years have been so vocal in condemning violence and killing, and yet responsible for it, must be made halt this ritual murder. Republicans have no hesitation in stating that they oppose the killing of any member of the working class and will work to lend any support possible to any campaign to prevent such killings.

The repeal of the Special Powers Act followed immediately by its replacement with the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions Bill) demonstrated the type of thinking of those who hold power in England. Irish people are expected to be thankful and to welcome the fact that today the repressive legislation is

There are those in this country who, foolishly, slavishly or knowingly and maliciously presume that Britain's reputation for democratic action is, somehow, justified. British justice, how are ye.

"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY (IRISH)MAN THESE DAYS TO DO HER DUTY, MR CASEMENT"



CLAUDIA