

*the* **United  
Irishman**

ΔΗ Τ-ΕΙΡΕΑΝΝΑC ΔΟΝΤΑΙ*the*

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**IF THEY  
TAKE YOU  
IN THE  
MORNING  
THEY WILL  
BE COMING  
FOR US  
THAT NIGHT**

**OUR ANSWER TO BRITAIN'S WHITE PAPER**

**SEE PAGE 3**

# Children's trip a great success



A joint effort by members of the James Larkin Cumann, Ballyfermot and the Sean Sabhat Republican Club, Belfast, brought 19 children from the Beechmount area of Belfast to Dublin for a weekend before Christmas. The trip was a great success, thanks mainly to the all-round effort of members of the Cumann and the Republican Club. The money was raised by the Larkin Cumann through a 46-hour fast, and a Ballad Session in the Embankment.

Accommodation was also fixed up by the Cumann. The Republican Club looked after the organising of the children and things on their own side. It was a great weekend all round and everyone enjoyed it. We would like to thank in particular, Mlek McCarthy of the Embankment, who threw a great party for the children, Liam Maguire, and also the Broadsiders for their entertainment. Thanks also to everyone who contributed in any way, especially Patsy O'Neill and Sean McAreavey of the Sabhat Republican

Club, who did some great work.

In view of this great success we would recommend to any cumann or club who are thinking of undertaking a similar venture, to do so, and to those who may not be, to give it some consideration. On behalf of the children, James Larkin Cumann, the Sean Sabhat Rep. Club,

Patrick Gorman (Sec.), James Larkin Cumann, Ballyfermot, Dublin.

# QUESTION TIME

- (1) Why did Deputy Commissioner, Garda Síochána, Cornelius P. Donovan resign from his position two years before his normal retiring date? What were his "personal" reasons for doing so?
- (2) Why was the Irish Press of December the 28th so coy in its reporting of a denial by the Special Branch that they had raided a house in Donnybrook?
- (3) When did Mr. Lattimore's brother-in-law become "a state official in the South" and what were the services for which Mr. Lattimore was commended by his British war-office superiors?
- (4) What would remind you of Dublin in Haiphong or Hanoi? Would it be the fact that quite a fair proportion of the American bombs dropped in these cities are manufactured by Honeywell Ltd. whose DUBLIN premises are in South William Street.
- (5) What are the advantages for a member of the bar, aspiring to the High Court Bench, in having a sister employed as Personal Private Secretary to the Taoiseach?
- (6) Who is the odd man out amongst the following four journalists, Conor O'Brien, Paul Ferris, Ivan Rowan and Alan Jones?  
A prize of a book token will be sent to the first three envelopes opened containing the correct Solutions.

# BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

## 1973 STYLE

In December 1970 James Tully, Labour Deputy for Meath, said, following the clearing, deepening and widening of the Boyne, that the fishermen of Mornington, Co. Meath, at the mouth of the Boyne Estuary, were in for a lean time. Now, two years later, having not alone survived the lean time forecast but made notable advance in the production and sale of mussels and larger catches of fishes, the fish and mussel men of Mornington are facing their gravest threat — total extinction as a community.

Plans are underway to develop Drogheda Harbour as a major port and Tara Mines intend to use the port to transport the ore which they will mine at Navan. The development of the port as presently planned will mean the destruction of the mussels bed at Mornington. Over the past year or more the men at Mornington have been attempting to have the relevant authorities make some changes or modifications in the plan which will enable them to continue making their living by fishing. For generations, over thirty families have been able to make a living from fish and mussels. A report compiled by B.I.M. in 1969 found that mussels from the Boyne Estuary were among the best in these Islands. The past five years has, in fact, seen a steady increase in the amount of mussels raised and their commercial value increased.

Tara Mines, whose Secretary is son of Labour Deputy James Tully, will, it is estimated, have completed their operation of exploitation at Navan in ten years. They will leave then, having stripped Navan bare and made tens of millions for their directors and shareholders. But the mussel beds at Mornington will be gone for ever, for the dredging for the port development will make it impossible for anyone to live at Mornington not alone fish.

The musselmen who are not represented on any of the Boards involved, Fishery or Harbour, have been unable to get from any official of Board or Tara, any recognition that their livelihood is threatened. Some individuals, who are connected with some of these groups, in private, tell the musselmen that they have a legitimate grievance and something will be done for them. As yet they have made no effort to do anything and time is running out for the people of Mornington.

The musselmen formed an association some years ago. It must be recognised and negotiations opened with them; it must be stated that the musselmen and their families are all behind the harbour plans and any other means to develop Drogheda and help lower

the unemployment figures. Drogheda should expand, but must be at the expense of Mornington and the area surrounding it? The musselmen ask that some effort be made now to save their means of living without interfering with Drogheda's plans. If, after thorough examination, all parties are agreed that nothing further can be done, then they demand that adequate compensation be paid to them for the loss they will suffer if present plans go ahead.

## Mayo Action Committee

The Erris Action Committee (Coiste Guimh Iorrais), Co. Mayo, decided at its recent A.G.M. in Belmullet to adopt the role of an offensive organisation in the future while preserving its former defensive role in relation to existing employment in Erris. The outgoing treasurer said that the committee's fund-raising campaign launched last May was successful and the committee now had a

fighting fund and was in a position to deal with any contingency. A debate took place on the future development of the area and it was unanimously decided to keep pressure on the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries to commence the erection of a harbour at Ballyglass immediately. Erris is situated in the North West of Mayo, much of which is Gaeltacht area.

### JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

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

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Result of Draw: 1st Prize, £200, A. Mulholland, 14 Fitzroy Avenue, Belfast; 2nd, R. Fanning, c/o G.P.O., Royal Avenue, Belfast; 3rd, Mrs. Reynolds, 6 Lourdes Avenue, Drogheda; 4th, E. Quinn, Gortavilly, Sandhock Rock, Tyrone.

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# ASSASSINATIONS

An increase in the number of sectarian killings in the north is being predicted for the early months of the new year.

This is being accepted with a cold inevitability by people involved in the political struggle and by ordinary people in the ghetto areas.

The reason for these killings is the heightened fears of the Protestant people that a sell-out of all they believe in is just around the corner with the publication of the British White Paper, now expected in February, shortly before the border plebiscite.

The backlash that John Hume said did not exist is clearly well under way. Recent arms finds in Loyalist areas prove that its tempo can easily be stepped up. In a naive way, many Protestants believe that they can frighten Ted Heath into giving them their way by showing him that they are capable of killing Catholics at will. In fact, they almost certainly make the British more determined than ever to be rid of them — only the method may become more subtle.

But the daily assassination sequence is a short term problem. By March it should have stopped because, by then, Britain's plans for the future should be known. There is, of course, a possibility that a civil war might be started, but this does not seem to be the intention of any of the

militarily important groupings in Belfast — with the possible exception of the British Army.

So at the moment, Republicans must play an active role in stopping the escalation of assassination. This is a positive step in the avoidance of a sectarian civil war in which the inevitable losers would be always be the working class — of both religions.

It is impossible to stop all killing immediately. But Republicans must discourage the continuation of a tit-for-tat mentality that has already caused so much trouble in both Catholic

and Protestant areas. In East Belfast, death takes a meaningless pattern of endless retaliation in which the greatest threat is to the small Catholic enclave. The killing of a UDR man in Derry seems to have resulted in the horrific machine-gunning of the clientele of the Top of the Hill Bar. A similar incident in East Belfast could have frightening consequences.

It is, therefore, up to Republicans to protect their areas — not only against incursion by sectarian bigots, but also against the promotion in the areas of a policy of retaliation by sectarian bigots who refuse to see that this is a short cut to civil war. For a stage can still be reached when there is no one big enough to stop this war that no one wants.

And it is at this time that the Republican movement must search around to see if there is anyone across the divide who will accept the hand of genuine class friendship that we have held extended.

As Britain and Ireland enter the EEC, time is short for the ending of the conflict in this island. Already the Free State government have disclosed their naked repression. And the White Paper won't hold any promise for a non-sectarian state in which the working class, has its dignity returned to it.

## Major political resolution from Ard Fheis

We recognise that the main obstacle confronting us in this struggle is the stranglehold of British Imperialism and its various manifestations, therefore any final settlement must be on the basis of a total withdrawal of all British Military, political and economic control from Ireland.

(1) That the British Government who have clearly demonstrated that they are in conflict with the demands of all sections of the Irish people, Protestant and Catholic, publicly renounce all claim to sovereignty over any part of Irish territory; commit themselves to a total withdrawal of their military and political control from the 6 Counties on an early specified date and that they make economic compensation to the Irish people so that the standard of living of working-class people will not be damaged. That Britain begin the necessary procedures now to implement their withdrawal from Ireland.

(2) So long as Britain claims or maintains control over the 6 County area, she must ensure the introduction and implementation of a Bill of Rights at Westminster which would guarantee the following during the interim period:

- a) Civil and religious liberties and basic civil rights for all.
- b) The immediate release of all internees and political prisoners.
- c) A general amnesty arising from the resistance against British forces or through involvement in the civil disobedience campaign.
- d) A write-off of all debts incurred in the civil disobedience campaign.
- e) The immediate repeal of all repressive legislation.
- f) The immediate withdrawal of all troops from working-class areas.
- (3) That at the same time the 26 County government publicly accept responsibility for the introduction of legislation which would guarantee civil and religious liberty for all and for the removal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation at present in existence and implementation of laws to curtail the exploitation of Irish assets and resources by British and other imperial interests.

(4) That a conference of Irish parties be convened, by a neutral body such as the ICTU for the purpose of drafting a secular constitution for the 32 Counties which would become operative on the completion of the British withdrawal.

(5) Joint action by the Irish and British trade union movements to halt the escalating sectarianism and prevent all out sectarian warfare, by giving leadership to workers both at street and factory level. We call upon the trade union movement to support the struggle for democracy at local government level both North and South.

## tit-for-tat mentality

A secret military "Mutual Assistance" Pact agreed upon by the Flanna Fall administration, headed by the Taoiseach and Minister for External Affairs, de Valera, and the British government with Churchill as Prime Minister, during the last war, has now been resurrected and invoked by Ted Heath at the insistence of the British Minister for Defence, Lord Chalfont.

At the time of the hasty, not to say, panic signing, a German invasion of Great Britain, and possibly Ireland as well, seemed imminent. That was either late June or early July, 1940. On the Free State side de Valera did the signing and for the British, the secret document was signed by Malcolm MacDonald, then a prominent member of the British Dominions Office, and a welcome visitor on more than friendly terms with the de Valera family. The secret Military Agreement has never been admitted, and its existence came to light only when a somewhat disgruntled ex-minister revealed that there was, in fact, "an understanding between the two countries".

Apart from the clauses binding "Eire" and Great Britain to mutual military assistance, and the provision of "certain facilities" to be made available to the British forces in the event of an invasion, a number of other clauses bind the 26-Counties "to deal with any group, or groups, or organisations of a 'subversive nature' that might prove to be a danger to the security of the United Kingdom or her allies".

These clauses account for the deaths of Republicans by hunger-strikes and executions by Flanna Fall during the war years, and it is these particular clauses that have now been invoked against the present Lynch/O'Malley set-up in order to pressurise them into even more repressive measures against Republicans and socialists.

The "forgotten pact" was presented to Lynch by the British Ambassador, Peck, during the infamous midnight meeting in Millstreet, Co. Cork, just a few hours before "Operation Motorman" commenced to roll. Lynch had no option but to agree to the re-occupation of the "no-go" areas in Belfast and Derry whatever the cost to the local population of these areas. It also accounts for the co-operation between the Free State Army and the British Forces along the Border. Indeed Lynch was told to "get on with it — or else!"

The Secret Pact, of course, operates on a two-way basis and there can be little doubt in anyone's mind, that the British reciprocated in a manner that was far-reaching indeed. If the two, well timed explosions at Liberty Hall and Sackville Place are any indication. But that Flanna Fall should be bombed into office over the bodies of two innocent C.I.E. workers, not to mention the 160 or so badly injured, is ironic in the extreme. "Mutual assistance" depends on what one means.

The remaining clauses of the Secret Agreement allowed for co-operation between the Free State Army and the British Forces in order to prevent "Eire" becoming a base for forces hostile to His Majesty's government. Once again "forces hostile to His Majesty's government" depends on how the British read them, but there can be no doubt that Britain, if her interests are threatened, would be prepared to re-occupy the 26 Counties as well as the north.

**EIRE:** (Nee Caitlín Ní h-Uallacháin). Ag a teach fein, tareis tineas na gceadta bliain. Briseadh mor da clann, coisimhuinir na h-Eireann agus da beirt deirfiúir, Fodla agus Banba. Cuirfeadh sa mBrúisell. Socraíod ar an t-aonú la Eanáir, 1973. Oraid le Sean Ó Loingsigh. "Mor mo nair, mo Chlann fein do dhíol a mathair".

## Republicans must discourage

"Ireland in Rebellion" by Gerry Foley: Published by Pathfinder Press. Price 25p. Pp. 31. "Problems of the Irish Revolution: Can the I.R.A. Meet the Challenge" by Gerry Foley. Published by Pathfinder Press. Price 25p. Pp. 31.

"If Irish Marxists can develop a strategy effectively linking national and social demands, they can tap enormous latent revolutionary energies. If they fail to do this, on the other hand they will be threatened with isolation and repression."

In these two pamphlets Gerry Foley explains why he believes the Republican Movement has failed to develop an effective strategy along these lines and also attempts to take stock of what they have achieved. The first pamphlet, "Ireland in Rebellion", was written in the summer of 1970.

In it Foley describes what he sees as the basic ingredients of the northern crisis and argues that the Republican Movement was then, and still is, the only force capable of raising the struggle in the Catholic ghettos from one based on Catholic communalism, to one with revolutionary perspectives, capable of appealing to workers in the Protestant ghettos and the 26 counties.

The second pamphlet, based on articles written two years later when "an ebb in the struggle has set in, marked by the pro-government vote in the Common Market referendum in the south and the 'peace offensive' in the Northern Catholic ghettos"; Foley analyses strategy and tactics in the intervening period. Republicans will undoubtedly find this the more interesting of the two pamphlets. It is impossible to mention here all of the points which he raises, but his major contention is, that while the Movement had made a basically correct assessment of the situation, the strategy and tactics adopted were too rigidly attached to the theoretical schemes involved.

This rigidity reflected itself in different ways in the political and military sphere. In the military, it was a continuation of the policy of the I.R.A. acting "on behalf of the people", i.e. as a substitute, and in isolation from the political campaign. On the political front he claims there was a failure to appreciate fully that "partial struggles (such as Civil Rights) cannot be conducted effectively unless the leaders understand that any mass struggle tends to run up against the system, reaching a point where it can only be carried forward by raising socialist demands".

He adds, covering the broader front, that "elaborate schemes for reforming local government, education, etc., are not very useful for revolutionary agitation . . . a few themes are needed . . . transitional demands . . . The main instrument of this process . . . must be the party of the Irish Revolution."

In short, Foley deals with some of the main issues being debated within the Republican Movement at the present time. One criticism — a major one at that — is that Foley provides no appraisal of the Protestant militant organisation and the future role the Protestant working-class community as a whole will play in the future.

## Mandates?

Talking about mandates, why is it that Jack Lynch has not taken the five-to-one majority in favour of changing Article 44 of the "Free State's" constitution as an indication of what the people want?

Remember the referendum on the E.E.C.? — Union Jack claimed his victory in that vote was a mandate to take action against the Republicans, a clear indication that what the

people wanted was repression.

Surely, he can now find in the vote on Article 44 an expression of a desire to see still more repression; a mandate against the trade unions, the farmers, the fishermen and the Irish Housewives' Association? A desire for a secular society, maybe? Or is he waiting until everyone has forgotten what was said above before telling them what it really meant?

## Book Reviews

## WAR PACT INVOKED BY BRITISH

## THE YEAR OF WHITELAW

There have been many suggestions from British apologists about how "the Irish problem" should be solved. Lieut. Col. Colin (Mad Mitch) Mitchell suggested making a list of 100 suspects and shooting them, one by one. Or he'd have a machine gun built into television cameras and the I.R.A. would be invited "to come out and talk". Trials, he said, were a waste of time.

Mr. L. Marsland Gander of the Daily Telegraph suggested a Great Wall of Ulster, a tall, strong wire fence such as used in many safari parks in Britain which would run the length of the Border.

General Sir Walter Walker found it incongruous that the Irish should be treated differently from other people who had been conquered by the British. "I have engaged in campaigns against blacks, yellow and slant-eyes", he said. "Why should we have one rule for whites and one for coloured?"

He favoured cutting off petrol, gas, electricity and food supplies to the Six Counties—"soften them up and go in", give warning so they can get their women and children clear before we go in, but go in".

It may seem that these solutions proposed by the madman of Aden, a former war correspondent and a retired NATO commander are hysterical and crude reactions from the manic colonists and bitter militarists. The truth is that the same thinking lies behind their suggestions as the more subtle approach of Whitelaw, Tuzo and Heath.

If Mitchell thinks trials are a waste of time, so does Diplock—and Diplock is a well-placed, highly-paid judicial hack of the Tory Government, not a madman searching the world for people he can subdue. Diplock is given guidance and comfort by Lynch and O'Malley, who had already given up the idea that trials were necessary.

And the Six Counties have been turned into a kind of safari park, where uniformed and plain-clothes thugs of the British forces allowed the freedom to shoot and kill the occupants (an ironical difference, for in safari parks the animals are protected).

As for Walker's "softening up", where does that differ from permitting a sadist like Kitson to operate with impunity in interrogation centres? "Softening up" is precisely what the British Army has been doing since it arrived in the Six Counties in force, in 1969; in Operation Motorman, it took Walker's point and "went in".

So we are not facing a "solution" in the Six Counties which will differ in any way from those suggested by the lunatic right. The lunatic right is represented by Heath, by Tuzo and by Whitelaw. Behind them, lies the reality of Mad Mitch, of Gander and Walker.

The British White Paper presenting the so-called solution will be dressed up to disguise the reality. But it will be imposed. And it will be imposed with the consent and assistance of Union Jack Lynch and his fascist admiring Minister for Justice O'Malley.

1972 has been a year of increasingly vicious repression. Its force in the Six Counties is naked and blatant, its quasi-legal covering in the Twenty-Six no better than a mask.

It has been a year of defeats for the forces of progress, a year in which the machinery to grind the people into silence has been brought into the open. Lynch sold out to the Common Market and introduced the Offences Against the State Amendment Act. There can be no clearer evidence of his regime's cynicism and determination to stick to the apparatus of power in the interests of their multinational friends.

The farce of parliamentary opposition in the "Free State" has been shown up, both on the EEC issue and in the Offences Against the State Act, for the disgusting sham it really is.

But despite Whitelaw and Tuzo, despite Lynch and O'Malley, the people's struggle for their rights and full national freedom goes on and must go on. The IRA has demonstrated its response to the people's demands by ceasing offensive action, at the request of the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, in an effort to avoid the horror of civil war.

(Continued on page 9)

# Exiles' International Protest



New York Demo against repression.

## America

The Irish Republican Clubs of the U.S.A. and Canada, the support organization for the Republican Movement, picketed Aer Lingus in New York City on December 2nd, in protest against the increasing dangerous acts of repression committed by the Dublin Government against the Irish people.

One hundred and fifty demonstrators carried placards accusing the Fianna Fail Government of collusion with the British and demanded the release of all political prisoners held under the Offences Against the State Act. A spokeswoman for the Irish Republican Clubs condemned the new repressive legislation which totally reverses the judicial process, as a dangerous weapon enabling the Dublin Government to silence and arrest all opposition.

Aer Lingus, the target of the demonstration, was closed for the day in spite of heavy Christmas shopping traffic on New York City's Fifth Avenue. Picketers expressed the opinion that the managers of Aer Lingus, who are ever reassuring American tourists of the peaceful climate in the Twenty-six Counties, could not explain the Dublin bombings the day before, especially to shoppers viewing placards of the demonstrators reading "Lynch Bombs Way to Victory".

The Irish Republican Clubs oppose repression and join the people all over Ireland protesting this week against the repressive and unjust legislation of Fianna Fail.

The Irish Republican Clubs are protesting outside Irish Airlines in total silence because they were denied a police permit for sound at the particular spot. Because we are protesting the growing repression in Ireland and the anti-democratic legislation which has been "rammed

through" (see C. L. Sulzberger's article on Ireland in the N.Y. Times of December 13, 1972) The Irish Parliament, the representatives of the Irish Government in the N.Y. have seen fit to pressure the N.Y. Police Department into denying us a sound permit for this particular spot on Fifth Avenue. We feel that this piece of interference is a direct, impetuous assault on our constitutional right of free speech and of free assembly as American citizens and as tax payers.

## Canada

During November, three new clubs were formed in Eastern Canada, along the St. Lawrence River. They are: the Patricia McKay Club of Toronto (secy., K. Anderson), the John Mullan Hugh Herron Club of Belleville (secy., P. White, Newry) and the James Fintan Lalor Club of Montreal (secy., Dathai Ua Raighaill, Dublin).

During November, the clubs were busy building up contacts in the media and in other groups, and building up U.I. distribution through radical bookstores. December saw them ready for action with the announcements of the increasing repression in the 26 Counties.

On November 30th, 12 members of the Montreal Fintan Lalor Club drove to Ottawa, the Canadian capital; linking up with friends in Ottawa, they forced their way into the free-state embassy which they occupied for almost the entire day. Embassy staff were encouraged to leave, but Ambassador Shields was allowed to remain for a lecture on fascism.

Later that night, Tomas MacGiolla was heard on a C.B.C. coast-to-coast radio show via a telephone link-up arranged by the Toronto club.

On Saturday, December 2nd, a group of Belleville republicans (Mullan Herron) joined the McKay club in a picket on Aer Lingus in Toronto which caused the office to close down for the day. The picket was also supported by radical groups in Toronto, and was followed by a poster parade through the busy downtown section. Many of the newsmen who covered the events were particularly interested in the outrageous treatment accorded to Irish journalists, and to political refugees like Mr. Michael Willis.

## Britain

Clann organised in England and Scotland an extensive campaign to expose the new repressive amendments that Lynch was adding to his Offences Against the State Act during the first week of December. A token picket was placed on the Glasgow office of Aer Lingus and thousands of leaflets were distributed to Irish workers in the central Scottish area explaining the relevance of these new measures and also outlining the significance of

the bombs that helped Fine Gael off the hook.

The Manchester office of Aer Lingus was occupied by members of the organisation in the Lancs area, Eddie Collins who is organiser in this area reported that the office was continually occupied in relays for four hours and by and large the staff sympathised with their aims.

In Birmingham Clann cooperated with other groups in staging a well supported demonstration. Afterwards a meeting held in Digbeth Civic hall was addressed by Seamus Collins, President of Clann. Demonstrations were held in London on Saturday and Sunday, which Clann supported. Pickets were placed on Aer Lingus and Bord Failte offices by Clann members.

Sales of Rose Catha, Clann's own monthly, have increased and a special December edition which was given over completely to spotlighting the fact that there are 30 Irish political prisoners in English and Scottish jails, and that the prisoners aid committee that Clann established some months ago is caring for most of their personal needs and those of their dependents. This committee is also campaigning for better conditions for the long serving prisoners such as Eamonn Smullen, Conor Lynch and Pat Sullivan.

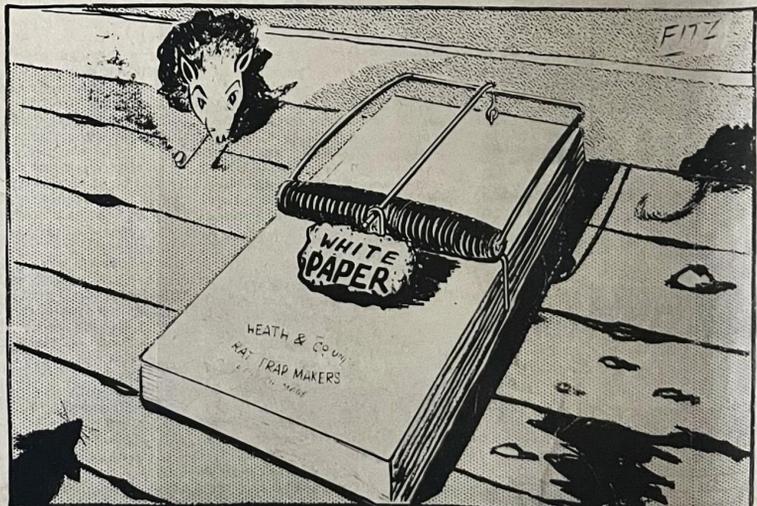
Harassment of Clann members is on the increase. Members of the Special Branch have continually attempted to break up meetings, under the pretext of bomb scares. In Bristol, one member returned home from work to find three of them occupying his room. Despite this, Clann has continued to grow with two new areas organised during the past month; one in Norwich and one in Bradford.

## Clann na nGael

Clann na nGael and Irish Republican Army Veterans' Club in New York held two very successful socials in Queens and the Bronx, New York, during November, in aid of the Irish Republican Prisoners' Fund.

A film, made by Republican Prisoners in Long Kesh Internment Camp, was shown and both functions were presided over by Liam Ashe, senior guardian, Clann na nGael. Others in attendance included Paddy Smith, a native of Cavan, who has been active in the Republican Movement down the years.

During the year, Clann na nGael has been consistent in fund-raising on behalf of the families of Irish Political Prisoners.



THE TEMPTING BAIT

The Patricia McKay Cumann of Sinn Fein, in Clondalkin, Co. Dublin has started a campaign to improve the conditions of those who live in caravans in that area. A recent survey by the Cumann revealed that 139 families live in caravans in six sites in the area. One of the sites is owned by the Dublin County Council and the remaining five are in private hands. Of the five privately owned sites, four have no electricity laid on, two have no toilets or running water provided and three have only one toilet and one tap each. None of the privately owned sites have a solid surface and all six lack any sort of recreational facilities for the many children who live in the caravans.

For the privilege of living under such luxurious conditions, Dublin's unfortunate homeless families are charged £1.50 per week for the use of the site if the family has their own caravan. If not, the figure can be as high as £7 per week. The site owners can make a profit of anything up to £4,000 per year.

The McKay Cumann have urged the tenants on these sites to form site committees to press for immediate improvements in conditions. The Cumann is particularly worried about the fire risks inherent in present conditions. They have also offered legal advice to the tenants through their recently formed Citizens Advice Bureau.

A recent statement from the Cumann on the results of their survey, stated that there are no specific regulations or by-laws governing living conditions on caravan sites. However a site owner must make a planning application, in accordance with the planning act, before opening a site. Following such an application, the County Medical Officer will inspect the site to ensure that sewerage, water and caravan spacing are up to standard. An inspection is also carried out by the County Fire Officer to check against fire hazards. Site owners who do not comply with the Act are liable to prosecution, yet the Dublin County Council blandly admits that the majority of the sites in the county are unauthorised and as

# sinn fein notes

far as can be established, there have been no prosecutions.

The McKay Cumann are to be congratulated on their expose of this appalling scandal. There must be many other Cumann throughout the country that have similar problems on their doorsteps and "The United Irishman" will certainly be interested in publishing the results of surveys of this nature.

## SINN FEIN MEMBERS JAILED

Sixty members of Sinn Fein received jail terms of one month each in Dublin District Court during December. Justice O'Uadhaigh, the "judge" involved, also ordered that the people involved enter into a bond to keep the peace for one year. In default of this, he ruled, the defendants would have to serve an additional six months.

The cases arose from a number of pickets which had been placed on the homes of Flanna Fall T.D.s and Ministers in Dublin, to protest against the introduction of the Amendment to the Offences Against the State Act and against the attempts by Flanna Fall to hand Michael Willis and other Republicans back to the British terror squads in the North. In all seventy members had been arrested during peaceful pickets at the homes of Des O'Malley, Jack Lynch, Sean Moore, Joe Dowling and Eugene Timmons. All were charged under the Conspiracy Against Property Act which was introduced by the British in 1875 and which prohibits "watching and besetting". The case against those charged with picketing O'Malley's house was dismissed on a technicality — the Gardai were unable to prove that O'Malley actually lived there. It is rumoured that the Superintendent in

charge of that particular case is being considered by Mr. O'Malley for a senior position in the Aran Islands.

The fact that Flanna Fall are prepared to drag seventy demonstrators before the courts is an indication of the extent to which civil liberties are suffered in Ireland in certain times. The fact that the court complied by convicting is a true indication of the "independence" of the judiciary in Ireland.

The sixty are now appealing against these sentences and they have been released on bail although some of them have already spent two days in custody.

## NEW CLUB FOR TYRONE

A new Republican Club has been established to serve the Castlefin and Clady areas of Tyrone. The Club will be called after the local patriot, John James Kelly.

The inaugural meeting of the Club passed a motion condemning the continuing collaboration between the Lynch Administration and the British Army. The meeting was told that during a recent cross border encounter in the Clady area, television viewers were able to hear extensive radio communications between the British and Twenty Six County armies.

The J. J. Kelly Club is the third to be formed in North Tyrone during the past twelve months. A premises has now been acquired in Strabane by the Liam Mellows and James Connolly Clubs. When renovations are completed the building will be used for general Club activity and as a Citizens' Advice Bureau.

## Belfast

A number of statements from Republican Clubs in the North indicate the scale of the terror that the British Army have embarked upon in a last effort to crush Republicans and indeed all working people of the North.

The Mellows/McCann Republican Club in the Markets area of Belfast, in a statement have strongly protested at the terrorisation of the people of the Markets and other districts of the city by the British Army. The Club points out that in one recent fortnight over 100 men and youths had been arrested for what the British Army call "screening". The statement adds that this is done to intimidate the people of the area and provoke them into physical force. The statement reminds the people that physical violence alone will not defeat British Imperialism.

Meanwhile in the Dermot Hill area, the victims of the violence and repression have been members of the Sean Tracey Republican Club and the culprits, members of the notorious Parachute Regiment. Recently, two members of the Club were brutally assaulted by troops. Their only crime was that they had been distributing copies of the Club's local bulletin, "The Democrat". The two were savagely beaten on the head, stomach and legs with rifle butts. All of the copies of "The Democrat" were seized.



E.E.C. picket at G.P.O., January 1st.

The passage of the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act proved that force works. But for whom? And on whose behalf was the force applied? Who gained from the bombs that killed two Dublin workers and ended the farce of Fine Gael opposition to the Bill in the Dail?

It was not the working-class people of Ireland who gained from the murders in Sackville Place. It was not the Republican Movement, the trade unionists or the opponents of Lynch's capitulation to Heath.

This was the timetable of repression:

November 24: Heath and Lynch meet and reach new agreement on the solution to the Irish problem.

November 28: Fine Gael begins its preference at opposition; commentators speculate: "Government will have to fight every inch".

November 29: O'Malley introduces the Bill in the Dail. Tomas MacGiolla calls for a civil rights movement in the 26 Counties.

November 30: Popular opposition grows. Trade unionists, students and civil liberties organisations protest at Leinster House.

December 1: Dail debate reveals differences in Fine Gael; Cosgrave reported ready to resign.

7.57 Bomb at Liberty Hall. 8.14 Bomb at Sackville Place. 8.17 Fine Gael changes its tune: opposition to the Bill vanishes. 12.30 Offences Against the State Amendment Bill passes all stages.

Lynch and O'Malley claimed they were not to be intimidated by men of violence. Cosgrave and his colleagues in Fine Gael made the same claim. Two bombs within 20 minutes proved them liars.

Lynch and O'Malley, Cosgrave and Cooney were determined only that Heath should have his way and that opposition to their jointly led march into the E.E.C. should be silenced. They were prepared to do anything to achieve their aim — even if it meant inspiring, planning and permitting the murder of two Dublin workers.

A statement from the Club says that it is obvious that the so-called security forces are determined to stamp out all legitimate political activity in Republican areas. They ask: "How can Mr. Whitelaw have the audacity to ask for co-operation from the minority and yet allow these acts of brutality and intimidation against innocent men and women?"

The Co. Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs has drawn attention to the case of Sean McGulgan which exemplifies the unjust and viciously repressive nature of the Whitelaw administration. Sean McGulgan, who is now detained in Long Kesh Concentration Camp, spent 51 weeks on remand in Crumlin Road prison, awaiting trial on what subsequently proved to be concocted charges. During the period of his incarceration in Crumlin Road, Sean McGulgan was dragged before the courts to face a total of 36 charges including attempted murder, kidnapping and attempted escape. He was acquitted on all charges due to the inability of the Crown to produce any evidence creditable enough to connect him with any of the charges. On the day of his last court appearance the judge ordered his acquittal on the attempted escape charge but, on leaving the dock, was re-arrested by the Special Branch since, as has been stated without further charge in Long Kesh.

## Dun Laoghaire

Members of the Movement in the South have had to face similar repressive measures from the forces of the establishment in the South. In addition to the seventy jailed for peaceful picketing, two members of the Dun Laoire Housing Action Group received jail sentences for insisting on their democratic right to attend "public" meetings of the Housing Corporation. The two, Alden Griffin and Eugene Keogh, who are also members of the Markievicz Cumann of Sinn Fein were sentenced to 14 days imprisonment each by Justice Delap, brother of the Flanna Fall T.D., for organising a protest last year for refusing to give an undertaking to stay away from the local town hall.

The two had earlier been convicted of forcing their way into what the Corporation describe as their monthly meeting. The Housing Group and the Cumann have been agitating against the present system operated by the Corporation whereby only those with installations from councillors are admitted to the public gallery during Council meetings. The judge, in his verdict, stated that the Corporation were entitled to keep the public out of their "public" meetings and not to allow any invitation from the Councillors to attend a statement from the Cumann states that this verdict proves what Sinn Fein and the Housing Group have been saying for years — that the Corporation meetings are really closed to the public and are only a sham among the councillors and their friends. "Sinn Fein calls on the Corporation to open its doors to the public and to give over half an hour at the end of each meeting to questions from the public gallery".

## EEC ENTRY DAY MARKED

January 1st, the day Ireland entered the EEC, was marked by a series of demonstrations by members of Sinn Fein throughout the country.

The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein had declared January 1st a national day of mourning to mark the occasion of the sell-out of the Irish nation to European super-capitalists.

In Dublin 50 members of Sinn Fein picketed the GPO for two hours. Earlier the Parnell Monument in O'Connell Street had been draped in black and a wreath laid at the base of the statue to mark the grave setback to the struggle for Irish sovereignty. The protesters later entered the GPO and draped the 1916 memorial in black and read the Easter proclamation. Another group occupied the Garden of Remembrance and lowered the national flag to half mast. Two members were arrested at the Parnell Monument and later appeared in court charged under the Dublin Police Act, but the cases were dismissed.

Similar protests were held in 15 other centres including Wicklow, Cork, Monaghan, Wexford and New York.

In Dublin, on the eve of entry, Tomas MacGiolla, Uachtarán Sinn Fein, had held a press conference to stress the organisation's continued opposition to the EEC. He said that Sinn Fein was still convinced that EEC entry would have serious effects on Ireland and that the Irish people — unlike the people of Norway — had not had a free vote in deciding whether to join the Common Market.

"The Norwegians had the simple choice of deciding for or against the EEC on its advantages and disadvantages", he said. "The Irish people had no such choice. They simply had to decide whether they could afford to stay out if Britain went in".

"As from January 1st the 1916 Proclamation, the basic charter of the country for over 50 years, will have been utterly destroyed and removed", said Mr. MacGiolla. "I refer particularly to the part of the proclamation which declares the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the ordered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and inalienable".

# WHO BOMBED DUBLIN?



TRANSFORMS playgrounds as a waste of space.

Watching over them, presiding with solemn hypocrisy at the marketing, packaging and selling of the Irish people, squabbling Lynch and his sneering cynical colleagues in what is so inaccurately called the government and cabinet of Ireland. They are no better in fact because of the centuries during which they might have learned the lessons of treachery they are worse than the small weak man who sat in that parliament so scorned by Tone when their masters demanded it, even the cowards of the parliament itself.

Tone, reading their speeches as he waited in Paris for the support of the French Directory, identified them as the enemies of the Irish people; and they are the characteristic predecessors of the Lynches, the Cosgraves, the O'Malleys, the Collinses and the Higginsses — the creatures of international exploitation who want no opposition because it would interfere with their bargain over the wealth and the people of Ireland.

They are the men who say they stand for democracy, for property-owning democracy. They stand for democracy all right. We ask: democracy for whom? Whose property? Not yours, comrades, not ours, not the democracy of full employment and good education and social conditions worthy of the dignity of human beings. They stand for a democracy that is a sham, in which they and they alone may say who is to survive and what is to be done.

Gathering taxes in the name of the people, they pay out meagre benefits as if they were bestowing favours that are theirs to give.



Republican Movement, only one Sinn Fein which stands uncompromisingly with the secularism and non sectarianism of Tone, with the Separatism and Socialism of Pearse and Connolly and they will find it here.

It is significant that no British government or British minister ever conceded any recognition to the Civil Rights Association, much less negotiated with them. We must continue to raise the democratic demands now more than ever. We must force the British Government, as long as they claim or maintain control over the County area, to implement a Bill of Rights which would guarantee civil and religious liberty and basic civil rights for all and the repeal of all repressive legislation. There are also basic minimum demands which must be pressed on Whitelaw and Healey at this time:

- (1) The withdrawal of troops from the streets;
  - (2) Release of internees and political prisoners;
  - (3) General amnesty arising from resistance to British terror and through involvement in the civil disobedience campaign;
  - (4) Healy and Lynch have agreed on their arrangements for the future government of Ireland. Lynch has fought for nothing and asked for nothing. He must, however, be given some sugar coating with which to sell the British idea in the South.
- There is an obvious need for a united and

But the favours that Fianna Fail and Fine Gael and the Orange-Unionist power seekers have to offer are not for the people of Ireland; they are the favour of exploitation, the right to pollute, the freedom to build spreading branches out of small farms — and these are not favours which are granted to the people of Ireland. Thus, comrades, we are together in this country — Catholic, Protestant, Jew, agnostic and atheist — together in a fight that has to be won. We have identified the enemy and the extent to which repression is necessary to his success. We must decide what action we are to take to combat his influence and finally to put an end to his existence.

In the past the working-class movement has suffered from fragmentation, as, for instance, when the labour and republican organisations took separate paths; it has suffered from lack of organisation to meet the repression that followed the civil war, when the fathers of the present Fine Gael imposed intolerable brutality on the people of this country; it has suffered, let us admit it, from lack of leadership when the Republican Movement took to itself the ideal of an elite and concerned itself little with the demands of the mass of the people.

We must learn from these errors as we have learned from the idealism of those who have inspired our tradition. In the names of Tone and Lalor, of Davitt and Connolly, of Mellows and Plant, I say to you now that we must establish in all 32 counties of Ireland a revolutionary party which will respond only to the needs and demands of the working people and because it responds only to the people of this country it will destroy the enemy, gombeen and foreign, using the weapons that are available to the people in their revolutionary struggle.

Because it will aim at the destruction of the social order, in the interests of the working class, the new organisation will be truly and singularly revolutionary. Because its programme will be planned and assiduously delineated and because each and every member will subscribe to this programme it will be a party in the most accurate sense of that word.

It will be a revolutionary party deriving its inspiration from the past and its vision of the future from cold analysis of our present difficulties. It will absorb and expand the activities for which this movement has become known in the last decade: agitation, organisation and education in support of the basic demands and the basic rights of the working class.

As we have worked for the homeless and towards national ownership of mineral resources, as we have worked for the rights of the people over the land of their country and the inland waterways of their country, as we have striven for civil rights and full national freedom, so we shall now combine these activities in a revolutionary party which will aim directly and with all the force at the command of the working-class at the overthrow of foreign domination in all areas of Irish life.

determined movement of workers and small farmers. There is a need for a total fusion of the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for social justice as there was under Tone, as there was under Connolly.

In the past, those who were leading the national struggle, refused to involve themselves in the struggle for social justice and workers' rights, saying that this will be resolved when Ireland is free. The fallacy of this was surely made obvious when the new gombeen class represented by Collins, Griffith and de Valera, took over the national liberation struggle from the hands of Connolly and Pearse and issued the famous dictum "Labour must wait". Fifty years later, Labour is still waiting.

Connolly conceived of the Unions as a mass organisation of the working class which would be the vanguard of the struggle for a Workers' Republic. He saw the Labour party as the political extension of this desire to smash the capitalist structure and establish the workers in control of this country. For a brief time he united the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces in one national liberation movement.

North and South there is a growing awareness of the class nature of the struggle in Ireland. If this awareness leads to unity of workers, as it must, an unconquerable force will be created which would soon overthrow the power of British Imperialism and monopoly capitalism in Ireland.

## cisteoir

The past year has been a record one from the point of view of finance. Our income has more than doubled over the previous year. The National Collection returns have set an all-time record and I would like to express appreciation to all of our members.

Our big task in the coming year will be the raising of £15,300 for the purchase of our headquarters at Gardiner Place. The delegates at the Ard Fheis subscribed and pledged a total of £875 and I would like to see this momentum maintained. I appeal to all cumainn and clubs to organise collections in their areas for the Headquarters fund and to all "United Irishman" readers to forward subscriptions.

The Ard Comhairle plans for the building include a modern walk-around bookshop, new offices for the "United Irishman" and Sinn Fein Secretariat. A Library room open to all members of the Movement, a room for press conferences and Cumainn meetings. An auditorium will be built at the rear and the present printing shop expanded.

As we must raise the money by May 1st, the active participation of all members is required.

## runai

In the South the main political activity of the Movement during the past year was organised opposition to the EEC. In this activity members of the movement from all over the country excelled themselves. Despite the barrage of propaganda poured out against them, despite discrimination by the mass media — the press, the radio and television — despite a severe lack of finance, practically every member of the Movement worked day and night both within Sinn Fein and on Common Market Defence Campaign committees. Such dedication and industry deserved better results than they received.

Affairs in the Six Counties again dominated political life in Ireland during the year just gone. Again actual political activity by Republican Clubs was made difficult by harassment and imprisonment. The Republican Clubs were to a large extent responsible for the lessening of tension in the Six Counties at a time when sectarian civil war seemed imminent. They had talks with the leadership of the IRA and a cessation of offensive activity was agreed upon, with the specific exclusion of action taken in defence of the people.

We must become active once again on all the problems which face the people of our country. We in the Twenty Six Counties, while giving every support to our comrades in the North, must not allow ourselves to be diverted from the very real struggle which must be waged in the part of the country, if we are to justify our claim to be a 32 County Movement, a socialist as well as a republican movement.

## women

Recognising that both men and women are oppressed by the capitalist system, we believe that women are conditioned in a particular way to accept a secondary and submissive role in society and that this conditioning has led them to accept inequality in education, law, wages and opportunity. We believe that the special function of women in child-bearing has been exploited by the capitalist state as a means of oppressing women, in that they are forced to bear the full responsibility for rearing children without adequate and guaranteed support or protection for the vital work that they do.

Recognising also that in a State in which the moral code of a particular Church is enforced by law, women are denied the right to control of their own bodies and ultimate destiny. We believe that if we are to produce generations of free and conscious citizens both parents must share full responsibility in all aspects of their children's life from birth; the community must implement their responsibility for the welfare of all children.

### SINN FEIN DEMANDS:

1. Free family planning advice for all women.
  2. Equal pay, opportunity and an end to specific male or female jobs.
  3. Fully paid maternity and paternity leave and a substantial maternity grant for all women.
  4. Supervised nursery schools in all areas available to all.
  5. That the same criteria be used to assess the eligibility for unemployment benefit of married women as in the case of men.
  6. That the State pay an adequate grant to either men or women who are engaged full-time at home in the care of children.
  7. Equality in law.
  8. Equal educational facilities at all levels and an end to the type of children's books which begin the discrimination process by segregating children into aggressive and passive roles.
  9. The immediate cessation of all advertising, books and periodicals which perpetuate discrimination against women.
  10. That a mother without the financial and emotional support of a husband be granted a living wage to support herself and her children in decent comfort.
  11. That since the lack of decent housing facilities affects to a greater extent, women and children, we demand decent housing for all.
  12. That women wishing to return to work be provided with retraining facilities at all levels.
  13. Trade unionists, who have accepted the right of women to equal pay for nearly a century, should insist on the full implementation of women's rights as workers now, i.e., equal pay; an end to wage increase differentials; an end to the marriage bar; an end to the sex wage differential which still exists in some unions; the establishment of a minimum wage law to prevent the exploitation of women and juveniles who are underpaid labour depresses the wages of the working-class in general.
- Recognising that as a minority organisation and under the present system of imperialist domination which encourages and perpetuates the exploitation of women, we are unable to immediately alter the present status quo; we believe that a start in the direction of the liberation of women can and must be made by individuals who subscribe to and believe in Republican Socialism, at the very roots of society — in their own home. Members of this movement who have accepted the role of leaders of the working-class, cannot substantiate this claim if they condone and participate in the exploitation of one half of the human race.



*here is a random choice of headlines from the national daily press in a period of under two years.*

**FINED FOR OIL SPILLAGE (Cork 29. 1. 1971)**  
**POLLUTION THREAT TO CORK HARBOUR (30. 1. 1971)**  
**POLLUTION THREAT HITS COAST (Donegal: 28. 11. 1971)**  
**POLLUTION THREAT TO SHANNON LAKES (7. 10. 1972)**  
**OIL POLLUTION AFFECTING N. IRELAND BEACHES (6. 7. 1972)**  
**THREAT TO NORTHERN SIDE OF GALWAY BAY (7. 11. 1972)**

Bluntly, as Thor Heyerdahl said in Strasbourg last April, "man has put life in extreme danger, thereby jeopardizing the entire biological system".

Clearly, though this is an Irish problem, it is also a world problem, and it can only be solved for Ireland by action in Ireland as part of a great international effort. Never was it more necessary than today for the Irish people to take counsel at the source of the original Irish Republican movement and remember that Tone and his friends were internationalists as much as they were patriots, and indeed regarded the two attitudes as inseparable. Even in those far-off days it was evident to men of real vision that the Irish struggle was and would always be an inextricable strand in the struggle of the plain people of the whole world for life worth living.

Today, only the blindest, inbred political introvert could believe that Ireland can solve her problems in isolation; just as only the most superficially minded and selfish Brussels-oriented cosmopolitan can think that Ireland has no longer a role to play in the eternal struggle for human betterment.

When one of the country's ablest microbiologists, Peter Smith of U.C.G. (whose recent report gave rise to the above-quoted headline on Galway Bay) can say, as he did at the Humanist-Christian-Marxist Colloquy at Malahide in November, that as things are now proceeding mankind has another 50 years before the death of the oceans causes its final demise. It is apparent that the crisis is already upon us.

**THE SEAS ARE DYING**

Lucien de Coninck, Professor of Biology at the University of Louvain, recently forcefully supported the assertion of the famous French oceanographer, Jacques Cousteau, that "the seas are dying; the vitality of the seas, in terms of fish and plant life, has declined some 50 per cent in the past twenty years". He went on to analyse what has actually happened since the second World War in the North Sea, one of the great fishing grounds of Europe — once! "The size of the spawning stock of herring nowadays



seems to be about 90 per cent less than it was twenty-five years ago."

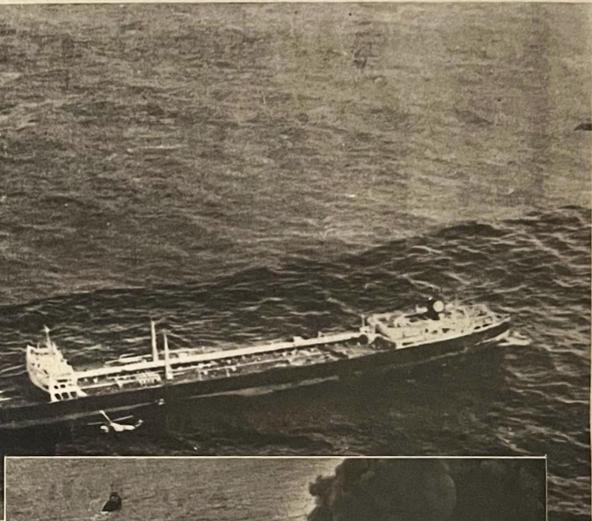
Moreover, so polluted has the Scelde-Meuse-Rhine delta become that today almost the entire stock of flatfish in the North Sea comes from a single area off the Frisian Isles; "if these nurseries, too, were to disappear, by spreading pollution or by an accident in the proposed drilling for oil or gas, it would mean the end of a vitally important part of fishery in the North Sea."

Our fisheries are not threatened this year or next with such total disaster, but they have already been affected. Cork harbour is overgrown with the pollution-induced seaweed that kills other life. Our lakes and rivers teem with the poisons of industry and science, and at an inland-waterways conference already three years ago, expert evidence showed that trout caught in certain of our rivers were poisoned by pollution beyond the level permitted for human consumption in Britain.

At Ballybunon, Listowel, Cahirciveen, Killarney, Killorglin, Tralee, Carrick-on-Shannon, Galway, Castlebar, Westport, Killybegs, Bray, Wicklow and Arklow, there is discharge of untreated sewage into sea, river or lake. Pollution of Dublin Bay by sewage has often been reported. In the majority of the places listed above there are no plans for improving matters. When sewage pollution reaches a certain point in rivers "the existing organisms die off and lifeless dirty waters are carried down to the sea" (Coninck).

**THE APPALLED ANDREWS**

The government is now talking big about fighting pollution (e.g., the

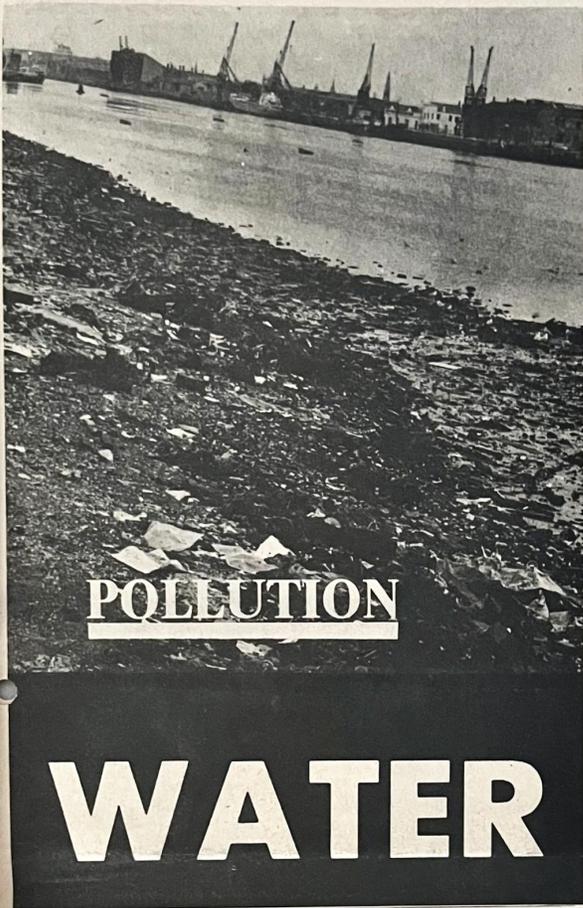


Dail debate on November 8th last, when, incidentally, the parliamentary secretary to the Taoiseach, who surely ought to have known, said "how appalled he was at the condition of Lough Sheelin which he had recently seen"). The state is going to adhere to international agreements to combat pollution.

But let nobody be fooled. The peril is not one that attacks on symptoms and brave words can begin to dispel. Only a totally different way of life from that developed from centuries of unchecked individualism, and culminating in the ruthless race for profit and position at any cost that

characterised the advanced stages of capitalism, can save us.

Industrialisation itself, urgently required still in many areas of the world as the main lever to raise man out of abject poverty, becomes, when unplanned, an ineluctable source of pollution. Recently, it has also become evident that even planned industrialisation, as in Russia, causes widespread pollution; though it must be said that a socialist state can act much more quickly than a capitalist one to check the evil — as the Evening Herald reported on Nov. 25th — in five years, at a cost of 13.2 million dollars, it has been possible to cut



# POLLUTION

# WATER

pollution by a rayon plant at Kalinin on the River Volga, from a murderous two tons per day into the river, to only 22 lbs., a level said to be acceptable. The Kalinin plant is, of course, not making profit for a private company. Experience in Britain, U.S.A. and Germany (where stretches of the Rhine are quite dead) shows who usually wins when the great firm has its profits challenged by demands from the community that it use some of them to restrict pollution.

### WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Basically, our need is a new, non-profit-motivated society; a society also free of bureaucratic planning of industry, where experts will be really the people's servants and the people able, with their advice, to plan what industry and application of scientific products (e.g., the valuable but pollutant D.D.T.) can be afforded and tolerated.

This, then, must be our aim; but to attain it we must help people to

organise to reach partial objectives, and learn from experience that, ultimately, no partial gain will be safe till a whole new way of life has been forged. And no doubt there is a growing awareness of pollution, and in every area it should be possible to mobilise every responsible citizen, every young man and woman with a spark of idealism and imagination, to fight the polluters!

Every new industry established should be compelled to show publicly the extent to which its operations would be pollutant and to implement plans to restrict pollution. The facts of pollution by present industries should be ascertained by present industries, and opinion aroused to get restrictions enforced. The connection between pollution and the race for profits should be clearly shown.

In those many areas where untreated sewage is poured into the sea, river or lake, a consistent fight should be made to compel local authorities to instal treatment plants, which in the long term (as the experience of Birmingham and other centres shows) can be profitable to the community. Responsibility for paying for such instalments must be put squarely on the national government, which could raise the money by taxing super-profits of international firms operating here.

On a wider field, our scientists must be encouraged to form the closest contacts with those of the socialist and "third world" countries (e.g., Algeria, where pollution is being actively combatted) for exchange of ideas, and every effort must be made to get Irish governments always to co-operate internationally rather with those "third world" countries that are taking the lead in raising the question of pollution in all its aspects, than with the great powers behind whose governments stand interests that profit from pollution.

### START THE CAMPAIGN NOW

A campaign is called for to make sure that immediate steps of an efficacious nature (including the newly developed peat treatment) will be taken, in the by-no-means unlikely event of a "Torrey Canyon"-type disaster threatening oil pollution on our shores. Fines for oil spillage by ships in our ports and off our coasts must be steeply increased, and our naval and air services must be put at the disposal, when necessary, of an international body that should be set up to track and intercept ships that discharge oil on the high seas. Moreover, our country should take a lead in combatting the insidious growth of "flag of convenience" fleets—those vast groupings of ships, chiefly tankers, owned and controlled by anonymous capital—as the "Torrey Canyon" was—which are responsible for the majority of cases of illicit discharge of oil waste into the sea and for most sea accidents involving the spillage of large quantities of oil into the sea. (No less than 20 per cent of the world's shipping now flies flags of convenience, chiefly Liberian.)

The battle, then, must be opened on many fronts to combat the mounting horror of water pollution. And it must be clearly seen that the battle is part of a world-wide battle in which we must have the help of activists of goodwill of all lands, from nearby Britain and France to far-off China and New Zealand, or we cannot hope to win. And to win can mean only the creation, as soon as we are mature enough—and the sooner the better—of a new kind of society, one which will not require the constant wastage of the substance of our globe that creates pollution. In this battle, Ireland must play its full part if our people are not to find that even national unity, even a 32-County Republic, will simply be the prelude to obliteration.

### The year of Whitelaw (Continued from page 4)

Sinn Fein, as the Ard-Fheis demonstrated even to the commentators of the capitalist press, is set upon a course of social, economic and political agitation with renewed vigour. The building of a revolutionary party is under way.

As speakers at the Ard-Fheis emphasised, we have identified the enemy—the multi-national corporation, the economic and militaristic imperialist, their agents and gombes—and the time to fight him is now.

The people must be organised, inside their democratic trade union organisations, in the Republican Movement, in the fight for full civil liberty. The work is urgent, the time is short. And no-one can stand aside or fight alone.

A united working-class, organised and politically educated, cannot be defeated. The forces of repression are temporarily on top. They must not, they cannot, be allowed to succeed.

### OBITUARY

The members of the Republican Movement in Newry deeply regret the death of lifelong Republican, Christy Loy, who died on Friday, 1st December, 1972. Christy joined the Republican Movement in 1917 and played an

active role in the struggle for the Socialist Republic. He suffered periods of internment in the '40's on the prison ship "Argenta" and again in the '50's in Crumlin Road jail.

A veteran of the 4th Northern Division I.R.A., Christy continued to play his part in the peoples struggle until indisposed through ill health. A founder member of the reformed, Na Fianna Eireann in Newry during the 50's, Christy was an inspiration to the youth of the area and was foremost in the activities of the Cathal Brugha Republican Club in the '60's. He recognised that the Republican Clubs have an important role to play on behalf of Ireland's working class.

Christy was a source of advice and example to the young people in the local Republican movement. He saw them as proof that the struggle would continue until the establishment of his lifelong ideal—the Democratic Socialist Republic.

We offer our sincere sympathy to his wife and family in their bereavement which is a sad loss to the Republican Movement. Ar dheis De go raibh a anam.



## Their Victory is our Victory

—Ard Fheis resolution.

The struggle of the Irish people to win national and social freedom from imperialism is one being waged by all oppressed people throughout the world. Imperialism is an international enemy of many nations, and our fight in Ireland is part of the global conflict between humanity and imperialism. A victory for any oppressed people against imperialism, the winning of freedom anywhere by any nation, is part of our own victory.

To this extent we herald the victory of the Vietnamese people in their long and heroic fight against the United States imperialists. Fighting first the French, then the Japanese, then the French again and the British, and finally the U.S. imperialists, the Vietnamese people have shown a guiding light to all subject peoples. They have resisted the most abhorrent technological forms of warfare—saturation bombing, defoliation, napalming, the massacres at places like My Lai and have emerged stronger than ever as a people.

Their national culture and language is flourishing, and new heights of human endeavour have been reached while their enemies wallow lower and lower in their abasing denial of humanity. The Vietnamese have proved and are still proving, rights, aware of their history and their future can defeat any enemy no matter how seemingly strong and all-powerful. A united people can humble the most arrogant aggressors, if they have the courage and heroism to endure all to win all.

We in Ireland look gratefully to this people who have shown all the world how to fight, how to suffer and how to win. We congratulate the people of South Vietnam on their heroic struggle under the leadership of the N.L.F. and the guidance of the Workers Party of Vietnam, assuring them of the eternal solidarity of the oppressed people of Ireland with them.

Likewise, in Palestine, the Palestinian people have staunchly maintained their fight against the forces of Zionism, the puppet of U.S. imperialism. Upgraded and condemned by all the establishment forces of the imperialist countries, the Palestinians have nevertheless continued to fight.

As in Ireland, they found that they were stabbed in the back as they attempted to come to grips with the Imperialist settlers. The Jordanian counter-revolutionaries have sold out their struggle and have assisted in all ways possible the attempts of the Zionists to smash the demand of the Palestinian people for the recovery of their national rights in a non-secular, democratic Palestine, where Muslim, Jew and Christian may live together in harmony.

This is the demand of the Palestinian revolutionary organisations is hearkening to us in Ireland who are striving for the eventual reconciliation of the Catholic and Protestant communities in a united and free country. Recognising the sameness of our struggle and the oneness of our mutual enemy we extend our solidarity to the people of Palestine and hope that victory will be theirs as speedily as we trust that it will be ours.

Lastly we repeat our solidarity and brotherhood with all the oppressed of Africa, Asia, America and Europe. The struggle going on in Southern Africa against Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, for National liberation in Zimbabwe and in Azania are as important to us and for our final victory as the growth of our own forces resisting imperialism here in Ireland.

For us all, oppressed and colonised of the world—Basques, Bretons, Angolans, people of Asia, Latin America and Africa, the oppressed and colonised negroes of America, the native American Indians still being shot, as recently in Philadelphia, and hunted in the reservations and big cities of America—our struggle is one.

We fight for the rights of humanity, for the only way to human progress: the right of self-determination for all subject and colonised peoples in a peaceful world. That peace can only be born when we have risen up together and smashed imperialism. For as Fintan Lalor said in another context: the only peace that there can be between a subject Ireland and a ruling England is the peace of death and desolation. The peace of death and desolation is being rejected and resisted throughout the world, and we in Ireland take our rightful stand in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in oppression.

# AON EORAI P

# AON CHULTUR

# AON REICH?

One can draw a number of conclusions about the state of the mind of Richard Milhaus Nixon in the light of his recent exterminating wave of bombing of the North Vietnamese heartland.

Even without clinical evidence, one could diagnose him as a schizophrenic. The carpet bombing by the American B-52 aircraft bear the cachet of an insane act. One could reasonably suggest that only a deranged mind — a mind like Hitler's — could devise such massive blood-letting.

Or one could draw the conclusion that Nixon is a black-minded, deceitful politician, amoral and cruel to an unthinkable extent. Before the Presidential election, he and his acolyte Henry Kissinger had lulled the world into believing that this senseless, horrible war was within 99 per cent of being finished. Not least, Nixon deceived his own American people who gave him a landslide triumph, believing that he would be true to his word on Vietnam.

The dimensions of his election victory changed all and Nixon donned his warlord apparel once again. What followed shocked even a world well inured to war and atrocities. For 12 days — though it must have seemed like eternity to the unfortunate North Vietnamese civilians — wave after frightening wave of U.S. B-52 bombers and tactical aircraft swept non-stop over Hanoi and Halphong raining bombs indiscriminately on civilians in one of the most revolting exercises in barbarity of all time.

Despite mounting horror across the world, Washington kept officially silent on what was happening and what it was intended to achieve. Field commanders fobbed off war correspondents with the explanation that they were carrying out bombing operations against military targets such as railway and power installations and supply depots.

There was no mention of people. The U.S. command did eventually admit some details of its blitz on North Vietnam. It said there had been more than 1,100 bombing raids in one week. It estimated that more than 20,000 tons of bombs had been dropped throughout North Vietnam since November 18th including Hanoi and the main port of Halphong. They probably minimised their logistics. North Vietnam said that 40,000 tons of bombs had fallen on their country and that a high

# THE MAD BOMBER

number of civilian targets were hit. On December 30th, Nixon called off his bombardment announcing at the same time that Kissinger would resume his secret peace talks with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho. So, for the moment, the ordeal of Hanoi and Halphong came to an end.

But Nixon held out the sinister possibility that he would resume the bombing north of the 20th parallel if the talks were getting nowhere.

Nixon has acted like a man who has cudgelled and bloodied an adversary and then said: "Now, let's talk, but if you don't see things my way, I'll club you into insensibility". He is overtly using militaristic blackmail... B-52 diplomacy, much in the manner of the British and their gunboats in the recent past.

### Reliable witness

The Pentagon has denied that civilian targets were hit. But, we have a more reliable witness in a reporter of Agence France Presse (the wire service that has, by far, given the most balanced coverage of the Vietnam war). He debunked the Pentagon lies that the Bach Mai hospital in Hanoi had been damaged. "The fact is", he wrote, "that the 900-bed hospital where 300 were undergoing treatment at the resumption of the air raids against Hanoi, was not only 'damaged'; it was literally razed by several giant bombs".

In fact, Bach Mai hospital was bombed twice — on December 18th and December 22nd — and had already been damaged by a bomb last June in what Washington called an "error". More than that, virtually every major hospital in North Vietnam has been hit by American bombs, many of them more than once. There are unimpeachable witnesses to testify to this — people such as Harrison Salisbury of the "New York Times" and Mary McCarthy, the author.

There is comfort in that some

important people in the world have taken cognizance of the American ferocity. People such as the Swedish Premier, Olof Palme who has described the bombing as "barbaric" and the "language of force", and Australia has finally washed her not unbloodied hands of the war.

The Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. Knud Andersen has said that the Vietnam conflict cannot be resolved by military means "unless one wants to totally exterminate essential parts of Vietnam".

He added that every day the richest and most technically developed country in the world bombs more and more into misery and distress one of the poorest populations in the world".

Roy Jenkins of the British Labour Party, a man not given to making incautious statements has said that the bombing was "brutality on a vast scale".

For the moment we must all be grateful that the bombing has ceased above the 20th parallel; but we must be wary too because Washington has hinted strongly that it will not hesitate to hit out at Hanoi and Halphong again if things do not go well at the conference table. There is a psychopathic streak in Nixon that makes him the most dangerous man in the world, given the power he has at his command. He is clearly capable of taking, on a mere whim, decisions that could lead to total catastrophe, not just for Vietnam, but for the whole world.

Coming closer to home, one must ask a pertinent question. While other responsible world leaders have condemned the madness of the American bombing, what have Mr. Grocer Heath and his pilot-fish Jack Lynch done? Nothing, as might be expected.

From Lynch there were no condemnatory words which would truthfully express the revulsion of most of the people of Ireland at this monstrous massacre. But then, Jack Lynch, behind the baby blue eyes, is not a very humane man and, besides, his Government is in the hands of American capitalism.

Lynch, not at all unlike Nixon, is a man of violence, though the difference be one of degree. Nixon perpetrates inhuman suffering by force; Lynch resorts to violence by legislation, as witness the latest amendment to the Offences Against the State Act.

Jack Lynch and Richard Nixon walk as somnambles down the ugly road of callousness.

Bhaile Atha Cliath, cabhair nár tháinig. Go deimhin, tá sé le rú ndearna an Bhairiain Eilís I níos mó maiteasa don Ghaeilge ná mar a rinne rialtas ar bith Saorstáit nó Poblachta, ós í a chuir Gaeilge á chlóbhualladh go hifigiúil an chéad lá, agus a chuir cló-stíl (an "Cló Gaelach") ar fáil diúinn!

Oráin féin a bheid sé aon dul-chun-cinn a sholáthar don Ghaeilge, don tsaonúlaíocht Ghaeilach, don tbealsúilacht ar leith a cúlraíon as ár n-éagsúlacht. Agus níl áit ar bith a gheobfar cabhair nó cúlraim fiúntach is fear ná na héiteanna eile san Eoraip (an Mhór-Roinn, seachas clúb-na-bhefar-saibhir sin an EEC) ina bhfuil mionlaigh chultúrtha eile ag déanamh a n-íarrachtaí féin chun a gcuid a shlánú. Níor dhéanamar riamh ár ndóthan teagmhála eile an Bhreatain Bheag ná le hAibain, agus is beag duine níor measc a chuir suim in Oileáin Mhanainn. Níl ansin luaithe ach na grúpaí Ceilteacha laistigh de bhíortha nua an Chómhargaidh, ach is léir go bhfuil dóthan cabhrach a dhéanfaid a fháil uathu sin amháin le difir mhór a dhéanamh dar scéal ar fad, gan dul isteach sna grúpaí eile.

### An chath ag tosú

Conas is féidir le dream ar n-ádhainn dul ar aghaidh i gcoinne bhruí trom na n-idaráis is na barbaraigh áirgeada, mura guirimid le chéile? Tá an cheacht sin foghlamtha acu síúd, agus sin é bun-chúis an EEC. Ba chóir go mbeadh sé fada foghlamtha ag lucht an eile chéil, is na mionlaigh chultúrtha — ach de réir dealraimh níl go fóill.

Tá an chath ag tosú anois i ndáiríre. Mhá chailtear an uain an turas seo, tá an Eoraip dírithe ar ré na dorcha, ré a bheidh míle uair níos measa ná na tréimhí dorcha a bhual an Mhór-Roinn seo 'gaineim roimhe seo, agus ré a bheidh níos brúidiúla ná bhí faoi Hitler nó Atilla. Bhí smaointe áirithe acu síúd a bhí daonna mura raibh siad maith, a raibh idéal ar leith ag baint leo. Níl ag lucht an chumhachta anois ach dia amháin — an t-airgead. Mhá ligtear leo, múinifidh siad an creideamh céanna dar glann uile — i ngach teanga dá bhfuil ann. Agus ansin mífchar na teangacha is na cultúir a ghaibh leo, in ainm an tíis is na heacnamaíochta. Agus mífchar leo gach rian den fhéiniúlacht atá ag a dhéan.

An é sin a bhfuil uain?

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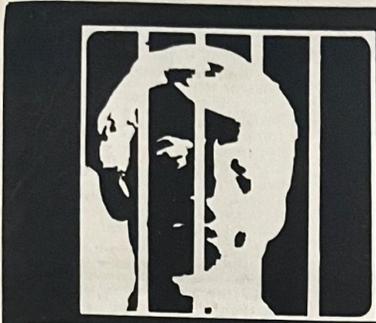
A chomhEorpaigh, ba mhaith liom inniu labhairt libh i dtaobh mion-chultúir — nó cultúir neamh-oifigiúla — na gcomhghachas Eorpaigh. Táimid féin orthu, ó tharla ag caint sa chéad teanga náisiúnta oifigiúil muid. Tá go leor eile, agus iad aitheanta go hidirnáisiúnta, ag UNESCO mar shampla, ach a bhfuil baol a mbáis orthu.

Dúradh linn nuair a bhí an dubh á chur ina gheal orainn maidir le dul isteach sa Chómhargadh go mbeadh buntáiste ann (seachas a mhalairt) don Ghaeilge agus d'fhéin iúlacht na tíre seo. Ach níl rud ar bith tarlaíthe go dtí seo leis an tuairim sin a threisiú — go deimhin, níor brúdh fiú an cás i leith an Ghaeilge bheith ina theanga oifigiúil sa Chómhargadh. Agus ar ndóigh níor tógadh an cheann de na torthaí a bheadh ag polasaí Mansholt don talmaíocht ar an Ghaeilteach go bháiríte. Ná níor breathnaíodh ró-ghrinn ar sheasamh ná ar stádas na mion-chultúir eile atá cheana féin sa Chómhargadh; leithéidí Bascaigh agus Briotáinigh na Fraince, agus Péimeannaigh na Belige.

B'fhíú freisin breathnú ar mhionlaigh eile, ar nós na ndaoine san Eilbhéis a labhratann Schwyzertutzch nó Romansch, Bascaigh agus Cataláinigh na Spáinne, Seirbhígh agus Crótaigh na Iúghsláibhe, Seicigh agus Slóibhéigh na Seicshlóibhéise. Mar is ceist mhór í seo, ceist a bhaineann níos dlúithe leis an Eoraip breac le Mór-Roinn ar bith eile. Tá an Eoraip breac le mion-chultúir, mion-teangacha, mionlaigh. Tá ceithre chinn nua dulfa isteach sa Chómhargadh féin ó thús 1973 — Gaeil, Albainigh, Breatainigh, Manannaigh. Agus conas a chaithefar leo?

Tá saibhreas sa traidisiún Eorpaigh nach suim leis na "Eurocrats" nua, agus nach raibh riamh aga leithéid. Tá sé ar an rud is tábhachtaí atá le tabhairt ar an Eoraip don Dohman i gcoitinne, tharla cúlraí cacnamaíochta bheith anois, de réir deal raimh, faoi smacht idirnáisiúnta ag Stáit Aontaithe Meiriceá. E sin a chaomhnú agus a fhorbairt, aithnítear coitianta mar aidhm é — ach ní is measc lucht an chumhachta.

Ní feidir linn bheith ag súil le cabhair ón Bhruiséil. Ró-fhada a d'fhanamar le cabhair ó



## Saoirse demands

### EDUCATION AND JOB TRAINING

(1) Increase budget. (2) Employ qualified teachers, especially those trained in teaching deprived adults. (3) Allow inmates to attend school full time. (4) Education to be open to all those who wish to avail of it. (5) Allow all recognised correspondence courses. (6) Provide training for skilled jobs. (7) To create and extend outside work privileges. (8) Prisoners should be given encouragement to develop special talents.

### VISITS

(1) Decent facilities to be provided for guests, and complete privacy during visits. (2) Increase time available for visits. (3) No restrictions on who might visit. (4) Unlimited mail to be allowed.

### FOOD AND CANTEEN

(1) More clean food and clean conditions for eating and cooking. (2) Full time dietician to be hired. (3) More than one main course, and tea or milk with meal. (4) All prisoners to be allowed weekly food parcels.

### SPORT

(1) More facilities to be provided. (2) Encourage outside teams to play. (3) Control and administration of sports to be exercised by prisoners.

### DISCIPLINE

(1) No isolation. (2) Right to appeal to outside body if privileges are lost. (3) Access to legal advice should be available at all times.

### WORK

(1) Increase wages to realistic level. (2) Union rights to be allowed. (3) Modern industrial conditions and prisoner training for skilled jobs.

### RELEASE

(1) Independent board to be set up to review cases on a regular basis. (2) Professional advice, such as sociologists, to be available to this board. (3) Prisoners to be given facilities to prepare for this board. (4) Two-thirds remission scheme to be implemented.

### MARRIED PRISONERS

(1) Married prisoners should be allowed conjugal visits, or regular compassionate parole.

### GENERAL

(1) Prisoners to be allowed to wear civilian clothes. (2) Prison staff to be recruited on extremely careful basis to exclude vicious and other unsuitable people. Compassionate parole should be granted on the death of a blood relation.

## "CABHAIR"

Coiste Foilrínt na bPhríosunach Poblachtach

Please give as generously as you can to help the wives and dependents of interned men and of those on the run. These people face great hardships as a result of Britain's policy of repression, and we all have a duty to stand by them. Because of the large numbers who have subscribed so generously already, it is impossible to publish a full list of acknowledgements, but the committees will accept all monies received.

IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS' DEFENCE AND AID FUND, 30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

NAME .....

SEOLADH .....

MEID .....



## REPRISAL

"REPRISAL" is the name of a play which gives Eamonn Smullen something to look forward to when he is released, in the coming months, from prison in England. Anybody present at the reading of the play in the Projects Arts Theatre in Dublin would appreciate its potential. Nor is it Eamonn Smullen's first success as a playwright — other of his works have already been broadcast by the B.B.C.

WHAT reprisal, one wonders, will the playwright have for the years lost in jail as he served a five-year sentence? Maybe something in the realm of his art, if one remembers Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Jail". One thing is certain; no reprisal or satisfaction is possible for the gap left in his life by the years spent under bare lights in a grey-walled prison.

SMULLEN is at the end of his sentence with something to look forward to; the other political prisoners are at the beginning of theirs with nothing to look forward to! So general and indiscriminate has been the British terror campaign that the circumstances of these men, the length of their sentences, their number or even their names are unknown to the many. They are the forgotten casualties, the lost soldiers!

HOW many know of Jerry Loughlin of Unity Flats, who is doing twelve years in Crumlin Road Jail? Or Brendan Macken of Andersonstown, doing the same sentence? Or Frank Weir of the Falls Road, doing ten years? Tyrone people will know of Peter Monaghan, but what of the rest of Ireland?

MANY will have heard of Pat O'Sullivan and Conor Lynch. But is it forgotten that they are still in jail serving out seven years? Is Noel Jenkinson of Co. Meath, who is just beginning a savage thirty-year sentence, in danger of being forgotten? Or Dublinman, Joe Farrington, in Winslow Green Prison? People have heard much of the famous Sean Tracy who died from British bullets, but have they heard of his namesake among the hundreds in Long Kesh?

THE list is endless! There are hundreds of people in jail and internment camps. Nor should we forget our own Gardai and Irish Army doing their bit for the British in Mountjoy, Portlaoise and the Curragh Camp. Their position, of course, only reflects the attitude of the Dublin Government.

WITH the continuing British military malice, the stress of the events and the collaboration of the Dublin Government, prisoners and internees ultimately depend on the efforts of the Republican Movement and general popular sympathy for their release.

THIS is where organisations like SAOIRSE and CABHAIR mobilise public opinion, both to alleviate prison conditions and to win release for Irishmen whose only crime has been that they tried to help their own people. In time to come, when names like O'Malley and Lynch are being execrated for the collaborators they are, how many will have it to say that they did their bit?

(SAOIRSE and CABHAIR may be contacted at the UNITED IRISHMAN office.)



## Prisoners' month

NEXT month, February, has been designated PRISONERS' MONTH by the Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle.

EACH cumann of Sinn Fein and the Republican Clubs is being instructed to organise a protest at the continuing internment and imprisoning of people for asserting their rights as Irish people. Arrangements have been made that the PROTEST MONTH will be observed in the U.S.A. and Canada, by the Republican Clubs there, and also in Australia. Clann na hEireann will organise fund-raising functions and protests in Britain.

NON-ATTACHED groups and individuals in Ireland wishing to participate are invited to contact Sean O'Clionnaigh, Sinn Fein, Ard Oifig, 30 Plas Gardnar, Baile Atha Cliath, 1.

### CRUMLIN ROAD JAIL

Mick Mallon, Andersonstown, Belfast, 7 years.  
Pat O'Hare, Andersonstown, Belfast, 7 years.  
Brendan Macken, Andersonstown, Belfast, 12 years.  
Eddie Magee, Andersonstown, Belfast, 4 years.  
Pat Moran, Ballymurphy, Belfast, 3 years.  
Brian Stewart, Turf Lodge, Belfast, 2½ years.  
Sean Grey, Ballymurphy, Belfast, 2 years.  
Sean Bunting, Dermot Hill, Belfast, 5 years.  
Jim Robb, Lower Falls, Belfast, 4 years.  
Sam Smith, Lower Falls, Belfast, 4 years.  
Robert McConville, Lower Falls, Belfast, 2 years.  
Mick O'Hare, Lower Falls, Belfast, 1 year.  
Frank McAlorum, Lower Falls, Belfast, 2 years.  
Frank Weir, Lower Falls, Belfast, 10 years.  
Jim Goodman, Lower Falls, Belfast, 8 years.  
Artie Maguire, Markets, Belfast, 8 years.  
Frank Quinn, Markets, Belfast, 4 years.  
Gerard Burns, Ardoyne, Belfast, 5 years.  
Paul Patterson, Ardoyne, Belfast, 2 years.  
Gerry Loughlin, Unity Flats, Belfast, 12 years.  
Leo Davis, Unity Flats, Belfast, 2½ years.  
Frank McGrady, Unity Flats, Belfast, 3 years.  
Peter Monaghan, Cookstown, County Tyrone, 6 years.  
Seamus Carragher, Newry, Co. Down, 2 years.  
Pat Morgan, Rostrevor, County Down, 2½ years.  
Peter O'Hagan, Hilltown, County Down, 1½ years.  
Robert Montgomery, Derry, 2 years.  
Tony Kerr, Coalisland, County Tyrone, 1½ years.  
Charles Kelly, New Barnsley, Belfast, 3 years.  
Pat McGuinness, New Lodge, Belfast, 1 year.  
Hugh Tormey, Springfield, Belfast, 2 years.  
Tony McShane, Belfast, 6 months.  
Peter McIlroy, Belfast, 6 months.

### CURRAGH CAMP

Ronnie Dechan, Derry, 4 years.  
William Deery, Derry, 4 years.  
Michael Doherty, Derry, 2 years.  
Roland Giles, Dublin, 6 years.

### MOUNTJOY JAIL

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.

### ENGLISH JAILS

Jim Flynn, Crossmaglen, 2 years.  
Noel Jenkinson, Meath, at least 30 years — Horsfield Prison.  
Eamonn Smullen, Dublin, 5 years in Lincoln Prison.  
Conor Lynch, Cork, 7 years in Wakefield Prison.  
Pat Sullivan, Cork, 7 years in Hull Prison.  
Joe Farrington, Dublin, 4 years in Stafford Prison.  
Alan MacLafferty, Belfast, 5 years in Maidstone Prison.  
Richard MacLafferty, Belfast, 5 years in Maidstone Prison.  
Michael Duignan, 3½ years in Wormwood Scrubs.  
Finbar Kissance, 2 years in Wormwood Scrubs.

### LONG KESH

Frank Parke, Sean Tracy, Mick Chambers, Jackie McBride, Gerard Scott, Larry Carragher, Sean McGuigan.

This is by no means a complete list of prisoners.

## DODHEAG

These are our gallant allies in the E.E.C., the forces of repression stretch across the Continent in an effort to defeat the struggle for full national independence of the Irish people.

In these pictures are shown the training camp, at Westfalen in West Germany, where British Army thugs are prepared for their activities in the streets of the Six Counties.

The representation is realistic enough. German gangers were sent to the Six Counties to ensure that the Falls Road and Ballymurphy, the Bogside and Creggan would be faithfully represented, street by street and house by house.

So-called *gast-arbeiter* or "guest workers" from Portugal were used to build the streets the British soldiers are trained to destroy. And there is the measure of the E.E.C. allies of Union Jack Lynch.

German "guest workers" are more like slaves than like migrants, which is how bourgeois sociologists and economists describe them. They pour into the cities and towns of Germany as the inhabitants of colonies have for generations poured into the metropolitan countries — in search of the work and security of which they have been deprived at home.

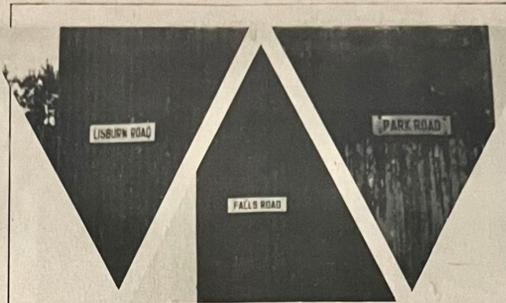
### Virtual prisoners

Now, they come from North Africa, from Portugal, from Spain and Yugoslavia to work up to 80 hours a week in the most menial jobs to live in miserable camps and to suffer the destruction of their community lives which is necessary to the development of multi-national capitalism.

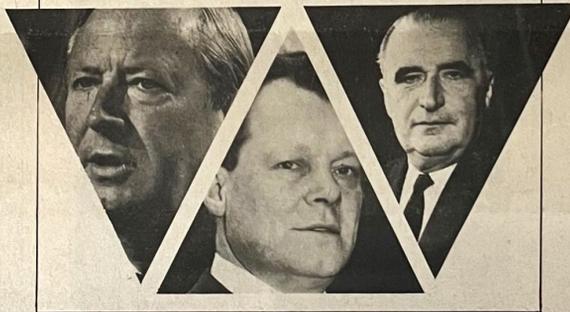
They do not understand the language of the country in which they work. There is little chance for them to make contact with the organised working-class of industrialised cities. They are discouraged from forming organisations of their own.

Occasionally, as when it was discovered that Yugoslavs were being guarded by dogs and armed security men, the liberal conscience of the metropolitan country is touched by the conditions of the workers. But the concern is short-lived, the palliative a mild rebuke to the company responsible and a miserly improvement in conditions.

It is ironic that the most under-privileged workers in Germany should be used again, almost as Jewish slave labour was used by the



# OUR GALLANT ALLIES...



EA NAIR  
Nazis, to work on projects designed for the destruction of their fellow-workers. It is tragic that those who suffer the force of colonial domination should be the instruments of destruction in a neo-colonial struggle.

It is symptomatic of the E.E.C. system that British and German companies should co-operate in a job designed to crush the people of the Six Counties, that international boundaries should be lowered to allow British cement to be imported to Germany for the camps.

During the anti-E.E.C. campaign we reminded the people who it was the proponents of the Common Market wanted us to join. Once again, these are their records:

France, who has dominated Algeria and West Africa; Belgium who has dominated the Congo; Holland, who has dominated the East Indies; Italy and Germany, who sought to dominate the world. The leopards of Brussels have changed only their spots.

### Confessions of Mansholt

Now, Mansholt acknowledges: "The Community's actions", he agreed, "have failed to fire most people's imagination. I do not think I am going too far when I say that what we have done so far has not come up to the European public's expectations".

It is worth remembering — Mansholt doesn't — that the European public's expectations, the demands of the working-class people of the E.E.C. countries, were never taken into account in the establishment of the E.E.C.; they were not consulted.

"The disparities in standards of living between various areas of the community have become more marked rather than less. For the great mass of the population there has been no broad improvement in conditions generally".

Heath has no such reservations about the Common Market. He thinks Britain now has "prizes within her grasp", that in the E.E.C. Englishmen can say they are truly at home. This is rubbish, the kind of rubbish Union Jack has sold successfully in Ireland.

The Irish people have been told lies by the proponents of membership of the Common Market. Now they know it. The people must organise to fight the multi-national monsters and the frozen bureaucrats. The struggle for full freedom will continue.

## 'SINN FEIN WILL FIGHT EVERY DECISION MADE IN BRUSSELS'

— ARD FHEIS '72

Whereas the monopolists and capitalists are attempting to divide the working-class by various devices which amount to new, more refined forms of exploitation; recognising that the forces of imperialism are seeking to perfect their methods of influencing the workers, both ideologically and politically, by means of the policy of "social partnership" which is designed to persuade the working-class to surrender the class struggle in exchange for so-called "profit sharing", a policy that suggests to the workers that they can and do cease to be workers and become small capitalists; recognising, too, that the vote for entry into the European Economic Community, opened the way for further imperialist penetration and control of the Irish economy.

This Ard Fheis declares the determination of the whole Republican Movement to continue its wholehearted opposition to imperialism in Ireland. In particular we call for the immediate nationalisation of the institutions of finance, i.e. Banks, Insurance Companies, Building Societies, Credit and Investment Companies, etc. We demand the right of the working man to secure equality with all other sections of the community when seeking financial aid from the banking system, recognising that such equality does not exist at present since workers are grossly discriminated against by the banks, building societies and credit companies. We call for a state-owned banking system and for the

support of people's credit unions backed and secured by the state and the removal of present restrictions on Credit Unions which favour the Commercial Banks.

We demand that all the mineral and oil wealth of Ireland and its surrounding seas be developed in the interests of the people of Ireland and not be privately owned, foreign corporations. Where such development is controlled by private concerns, we call for immediate nationalisation without compensation, recognising that these companies have already made huge profits at the expense of the working class. By controlling the mineral wealth of Ireland, the people of Ireland will be free to use the surplus value created in their own interests, e.g., to finance other forms of economic activity.

This Ard Fheis further calls for the repealing of the Value Added Tax legislation as a prelude to the complete revision of the whole tax structure. The increased use of indirect as opposed to direct tax which V.A.T. entails will further benefit the wealthy and penalise the poor. The decision regarding V.A.T. was made in Brussels and removes the decision-making on tax structures from the hands of the Irish people. V.A.T. as presently conceived penalises Irish-made goods in preference to foreign products, since Irish factor costs are rising faster than other European costs. Since this means that the value added is greater in Ireland, V.A.T. will

create further redundancies and add to the massive unemployment which exists at present. This is totally unacceptable. We call, instead, for a tax system which will deprive the large monopolies of their vast holdings of wealth and which will re-distribute such wealth among the workers, e.g., tax on Capital gains and Corporation profits.

In this connection we call for a more realistic policy of industrial development by over-hauling the existing organisations used to promote new industry and jobs, i.e., the IDA, Gaeltarra Eireann, etc., and demand that priority be given to industries, which will be labour intensive, not capital intensive. As a first step, a proper industrial infrastructure must be created by the building of modern Transport System throughout the country but particularly in the Western seaboard areas. In addition, ocean-going port facilities should be established in these areas, thus reducing the dependence of Western area on the Eastern and Southern seaboard ports. Such a policy would assist in the long term industrialisation of the depressed areas of the West and would, furthermore, create immediate employment for the worker in the West. This in turn would have a spin-off effect on Western economy. Sinn Fein pledges itself to resist the economic imperialism of the Common Market and to fight every decision made in Brussels that penalises the workers.