

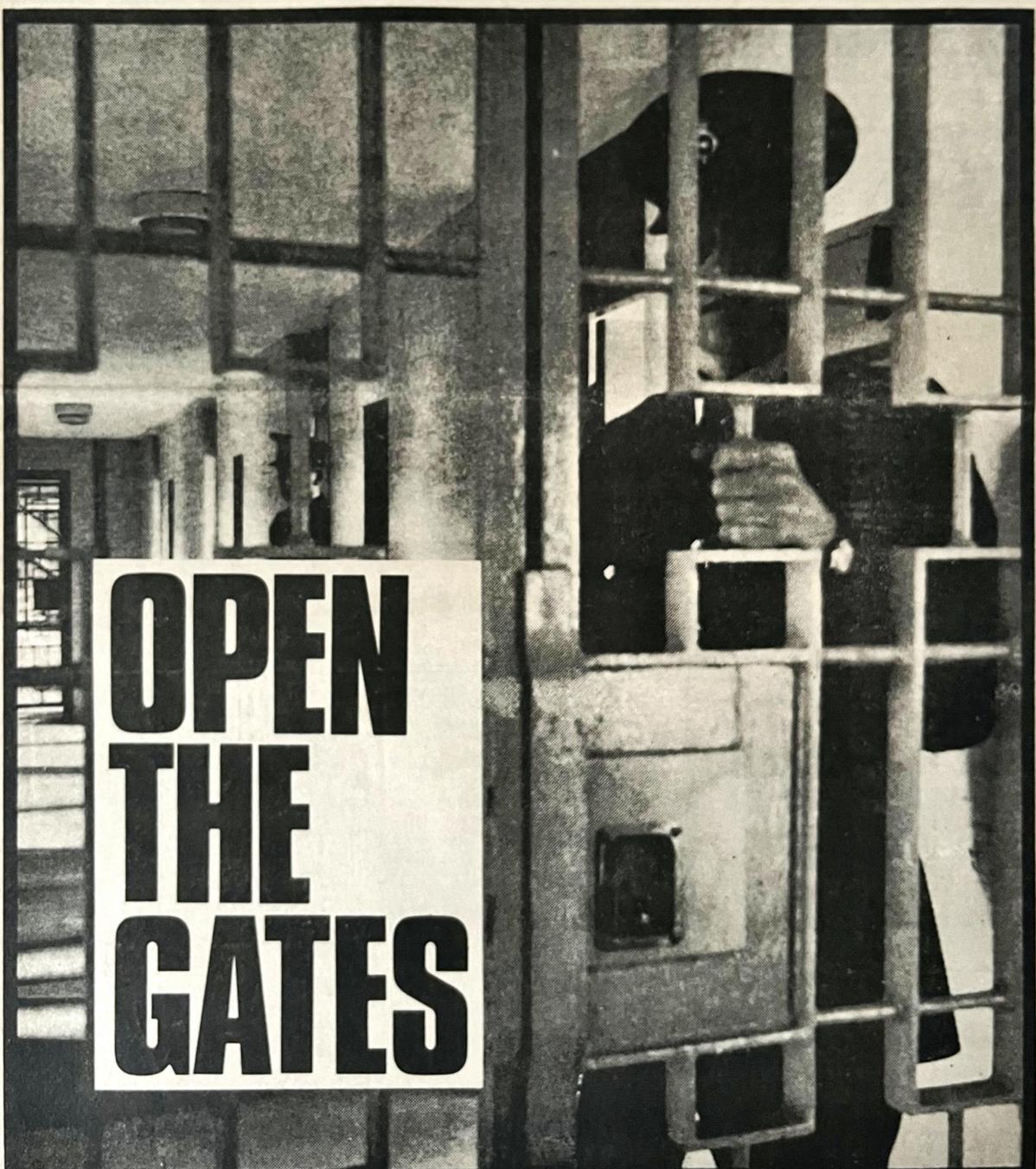
*the* **United  
Irishman**

AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTAICHE

MARTA (MAR.) 1973

Iml. XXV11 3

Luch 5p. (U.S. and Aus. 25c.)



**OPEN  
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# housing

## Fourteen years waiting

Fourteen years waiting to be rehoused, that is the plight of one 78-year-old woman and her daughter. Only now, after a Health Department visit, does some hope exist that action will be taken by the housing bureaucracy. In a letter she received from them last week they admit:

"The medical evidence submitted in support of your application has been fully examined and it is proposed to grant you some priority on housing grounds."

The evidence would include wallpaper peeling from the walls with damp; rain causing bulges in the bedroom ceiling, and a fireplace no longer usable. Toilets are on the ground floor, four flights down, and the Cor-

poration had earlier refused to install a sink in the flat on the grounds that the house was too old.

There is no doubt that if the house were not Corporation property it would be condemned along with most of the other ancient habitations in Clarence Street. Yet, in an effort to smother the growing housing crisis, buildings like these are used to house the old, or the "undesirable", or simply the neglected tenant. The slow strangulation of the public housing programme in this country by the high rates of interest charged by the banks is already being felt every day, to an increasing degree by the most deprived section of Corporation tenants.

## Pearse tenants and Jason

Despite extensive press coverage by the "Independent", "Press", and "Irish Times", despite a strong protest from the Pearse House Tenants Association, Dublin Corporation seem incapable of acting against Jason Holdings, over their flagrant defiance of the 1989 Housing Act. In last month's U.I. was carried the background to the squatting at present going on in Fenian Street. In an effort to drive squatters out of No. 15, a sound and habitable house, the property company who own the house tore off the roof.

In a case of this type prompt action by the Corporation is essential if the Housing Act is to serve its function of PRESERVING all available accommodation from being knocked down for office blocks by speculators such as Jasons'. Undoubtedly the lack of local councillors able to act on behalf of the homeless of Fenian Street and prod the bureaucracy into action is in large part responsible for the soft line taken by the City Managers' administration on this issue.

The less democracy there is in Irish political life the better the speculators like it.

## Houses used as paint stores

I hope, by your printing this letter, to bring to light to the people of Dublin, an injustice caused by red-tape, bureaucrats and in short those who couldn't care less about anyone but themselves. In this case I refer to those responsible for the allocation of Corporation houses.

A member of the James Larkin Cumann, Sinn Fein, was recently approached by a homeless man with a wife and four young children. He wanted a place to stay and a roof over his family.

In the course of seeking somewhere for him to stay temporarily we came across houses in Ballyfermot that had been vacant for some time, we also, believe it or not, found

houses that were being used as PAINT STORES. Could it be that the minds of the authorities there is no waiting list for houses; are they not aware of families, sometimes three and four, who share a house? They can't be — otherwise why the luxury of excessive houses that can be used as paint stores! We feel it immoral and un-Christian to have people walking the streets; families separated because they have nowhere to live; while in Ballyfermot houses lie empty and filled with paint.

We say, — the authorities don't do something — we will". John Doran (P.R.O.), James Larkin Cumann, Ballyfermot.

Ta veain brea mor radio sa charr chlos laobh thiar d'hoirgeamh nua an radio i nDomhnach Broc. Nuair a beartaiodh go raibh a leitheid ag feastail, chuathas ag margain-tíocht le lucht a ndeanta agus glacadh leis go gcosnadh an cineal veain a theastaigh o RTE thair ar £10,000. Bhi go maith is ni raibh go holc. Cuirleadh tus leis an obair. Ansin thosaigh innealltoiri RTE — agus to ncart ann — ag tabhairt cuairt ar ionad na hoibre is ag moladh athraithe airithe, a chuirfead le hfeacht ar staisiun radio so-ghluaisite seo. Bhreac an fear ceannais na moltaí go leir ina leabhran maraon le ainmneacha na ndaoine a mhól ad, agus rinne se rud orthu. B'e' toradh an scell go bhfuair RTE bille ar £23,000.

Sharaigh siad constaic seo an airgid agus d'loch siad as an veain. Is ansin a friteadh amach go raibh an vean ceanna ro-throm do bhóithre na tíre

# An monster sa charr chlos

seo. Diultaiodh cain a chur uirthi. Ta se sa charr chlos o shin, biocanna faoi le nach mbeidh ualach ro-mhor ar na boinn, biocanna stroighin istigh ann ar eagla go n-íompadh se bun os clonn i rith ga. Ta se ann o shin. Is doigh go mbeidh pleán eile ag na hinnealltoiri do ar ball.

## TRI SCOR GO LEITH AGUS OG FOS

Sa bhliain 1903 a ceapadh Pádraig Mac Piarais mar eagarthoir ar an Iris caillú "An Claiomh Solais". Sa bhliain ceannas sin a cuireadh tus le Feis Atha Clath. Bhi baint ag nPiarasach leis an bhFeis na laethanta tosaigh sin. Tionoladh Feis Atha Clath gach bliain o 1903 i leith seachas briseadh beag de bharr an Chogaigh Cathartha. Idir an da linn is mor an

borradh ata tagtha ar imeachtaí na Feise. I mbliana beidh Feis Atha Clath ar siúl uaidh seo go dtéadh Mhí Marta. I rith na déireadh seachtainí le linn an treimhse sin. Comortais is mo ata i gceist agus is do dhaoine oga a bhfuirmhor, seachas an Fhóile Dramalochta do dhaoine fosta sa Damer 26u-31u Marta. Ar na comortais beidh rinca, amhránaíocht,

cool-uirlis, aithriseoireacht, buíonta ccoil, agus scoil-dramalocht. Beidh na comortais ar fad i n-gach rannag ar siul ar déireadh seachtainí faoi leith. Cuirfear crioche le h-imeachtaí na Feise le Coolchoirm na mBuaitheoirí ar an 25u Marta i Halla Scoil Uí Chonaili ag 8.00 p.m. I Halla Parnell agus i Halla Scoil Uí Chonaili a beidh na comortais ar siul.



Generous Tara See story on page 8.

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MARTA

A statement received from J. J. McGarrity, Secretary Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, reviews the struggle of the Irish people over the past years.

Repression and regression accelerated during 1972 at a rate matched only by the growth of political consciousness of the working-class people of Ireland. These are the keys to 1973.

The year 1972 was marked by the decision to enter the so-called Common Market, by the publication of the British Government's Green Paper on the Six Counties, by clever collaboration than ever between the Dublin and London regimes and by a bitter intensification of the campaign to soften up resistance to the British plan for the future of Ireland.

It was marked, too, by the growing threat of sectarian civil war and the intervention, in muff and in uniform, of British forces instructed to aim at hastening the conflagration. More clearly than ever, the determination of Heath and Lynch to have done with "the Irish problem" was exposed to the workers against whom their design must inevitably operate.

For the Republican Movement, there were the setbacks of repression and regression imposed by three enemy administrations; but there were balancing developments, reflecting and designed to enhance the political consciousness of the working-class people of all Ireland.

...

In May, the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs appealed to the Irish Republican Army to cease any action which might, in any way, increase the possibility of civil war and which might lead to the continued exposure of the harassed civilian population of the Six Counties to still greater harassment. The Irish Republican Army, conscious that the only demands that have any validity are those of the working-class people of Ireland, responded by ordering a cessation of all but defensive activity.

Although, the people of the Six Counties widely acknowledged the correctness of the decision taken by the I.R.A., it was not followed by reciprocal action from either the forces of officially blessed violence or the elements of sectarian bigotry who are, willy nilly, the allies of the administrations of London, Belfast and Dublin.

There was, too, an intensification of political action throughout the 32 counties by members of the Republican Movement in 1972. This action, in the areas of housing, local government, industrial issues, land and property ownership, was designed to heighten political consciousness and to mobilise the working-class. We have clearly pointed to the multi-national corporations that have been the source of 75 per cent of investment in all Ireland during the past decade as the enemy, in whose interests the various administrations operate.

...

It is in the interests of these corporations and their investors that there should be a single market, free of sectional strife or national dissent, in all Ireland — that the single market, too small to accommodate the international cultures' interests with maximum profit, should be finally and irrevocably merged with the larger market in Britain.

It was to test the ground on behalf of these corporations that the British administration published its Green Paper, so that the reaction of the working-class, Catholic and Protestant, and the strength of working-class organisations likely to resist the "final solution" could be gauged. There followed an intensification of the softening-up

# Republican struggle envelops all areas of Irish life

process to ensure that the resistance could first be measured and finally dealt with by the instruments of the corporations' agents, the forces of repression on the streets of the Six Counties.

The Whitelaw administration continued internment, though through Diplock it sought to give the process a legal veneer. No-one was fooled. Detention and internment are the same, whether those who impose them make a public show of legal hacks and mercenary informers or not.

...

As sectarian murders in Belfast and elsewhere in the Six Counties increased, during 1972, so did the involvement of British murder agents. With this difference: earlier, the claims of the Republican Movement that the secret forces of the British Army had been involved in atrocities, were derided by spokesmen at Lisburn and in London. Now, they openly acknowledged their part in a campaign aimed at heightening sectarian tension and adding to its victims.

But repression was not confined to the Six Counties, as the collaboration between Heath and Lynch and the mutual interest in satisfying the demands of the multi-national corporations showed.

The Special Criminal Court, the institution which gave the lead to Diplock, was established on the pretext that witnesses and juries in the normal legal processes might be intimidated. Was there evidence of intimidation? There was none. Was evidence needed? Of course not.

The intentions of the Lynch administration were crystal clear. The Curragh had been reopened. The Special Court was capable not only of filling it but adding to the overcrowding in criminally overcrowded jails.

As if the rate of repression was not increasing fast enough, Heath invited Lynch to speed it up by the elimination of still more safeguards for citizens accused of activities inimical to the Fianna Fail Government. And O'Malley was

only too willing to oblige. Backed by bombers who murdered Dublin workers and injured over 100 others, Lynch, O'Malley and Cosgrave hustled through the Dail the vicious Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill, switching the onus of proof from prosecution to defence and opening the way to the seed, breed and generation of informers to send men and women to jail.

If Heath and Whitelaw were to be rid of all opposition to their plans in the Six Counties, Lynch was not to be outdone. During the first months of its operations, the Special Court tried scores of citizens and sentenced them to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to eight years penal servitude. These are the hostages of silence to a final solution, without which the ruling class of this country cannot survive.

...

There is a historical basis for the unity of socialist and republican. From the most progressive leaders in the history of the republican movement has come the most advanced social and political thinking in the history of Ireland. Wolfe Tone and Fintan Lalor, the Fenians and Michael Davitt — these, and men of a still older tradition were the sources of Connolly's inspiration. In turn, Connolly influenced the development of generations of republicans who have fought the betrayal of the socialist republican ideal since the Treaty and the establishment of the Free State.

For republicans since Tone, there can be no advantage in territorial aspirations that do not include, as an integral part of the struggle the full achievement of national liberation in all spheres of Irish life. Moreover, as Tone, Davitt and Connolly demonstrated, the struggle of socialist republicans is linked to the struggles for liberation of the working-class people in every country in the world.

It is clear, therefore, that the republican struggle is one that envelops all areas of Irish life; that without the combination of socialism and republicanism, without the

TRI

engagement of the mass of the working people of Ireland, any effort to achieve full national liberation cannot succeed.

The Irish Republican Movement has a clear and unambiguous objective: the establishment of a 32 County Socialist Republic. We emphasise that the state should be representative of the interests of the working-class people of all Ireland that it should be a secular state, in which freedom of religious expression would be guaranteed but where no church would control or influence any area of life, that is properly the concern of all the working people; that it should be a state in which the ownership and control of property and resources were reserved, exclusively, to the working-class; that it should be a state in which the cherishing of the children of the nation equally would be an immediate and continuing charge upon the administration.

...

The republican demands, in the short term, are for the withdrawal from the Six Counties of all British armed forces; the release of all internees, detainees and political prisoners of whatever political persuasion and an end to the harassment of men and women now on the run; the enactment of a Bill of Rights guaranteeing full equality to all citizens of the Six Counties and imposing penalties on any citizen or foreigner who engages in discrimination of any kind; the repeal in the Six Counties and in the "Free State" of all repressive legislation, including the Offences Against the State Act; the Special Powers Act and the Forcible Entry Act, and the abolition of all special courts and tribunals in which the democratic rules of legal procedure have been abrogated; the establishment of a force drawn from the workers' democratic organisations, the Irish trade union movement, to maintain peace and eliminate sectarianism in the Six Counties; the opening of campaigns in the Six Counties and the "Free State" designed to eliminate the poverty which is causing increasing misery to the most vulnerable members of the Irish working-class.

...

The Republican Movement considers it essential for the forces of progress in the Six Counties and in the "Free State" to unite through the democratic organisations of the working-class to fight repression, sectarianism and the poverty that has been aggravated by the accession to the E.E.C. of Britain and Ireland.

As the forces of imperialism, in military, social, political and cultural areas move through their proposed White Paper towards the imposition of a crippling settlement on the Irish people the Republican Movement must take its place in the vanguard of the workers' struggle for lasting peace and justice.

To achieve this, consistent with its response to the demands of the working-class, the Republican Movement instructs its members to educate and organise the people in all spheres of activity in preparation for the intense struggle in which everyone is now engaged. Half measures will not be enough. An understanding of the urgent need for revolutionary activity must be accompanied by active involvement in campaigns designed to heighten the consciousness and fuel the political fire of the people. The enemy is powerful and has at his command all the military, institutional and commercial strength he needs.

The only effective challenge to the enemy will be through the united working-class, politically educated and engaged.

## White Paper 1

During the election in the Twenty-Six Counties, many candidates described themselves as Republican. Most of them meant nothing more than an emotional attachment to the ideal of a united Ireland and said nothing of the kind of Ireland they hoped to see after unity had been achieved.

Sinn Fein's ten candidates and the party organisations were clear: Sinn Fein demands not only national unity but full national independence — freedom from outside interference, from whatever source, freedom from internal domination, by whatever sect representing only the ruling class.

It was in this context that the Republican Movement called on the people of the Six Counties

to boycott the so-called Border referendum. A phoney poll, devoted to reassuring the Orange Unionists and simplistically formulated to ensure that result, could be of no possible benefit to the working-class people of the area, Catholic or Protestant.

It is in this context that the Republican Movement looks to the publication of the British Government's White Paper on the Six Counties. An imposed solution, guaranteed to satisfy the demands only of the Tory government and their Northern allies, whether it be accepted or rejected by the administration in Dublin, can be guaranteed to alienate the vast majority of workers of all persuasions; and the cynical determination of Whitelaw and Heath to "make it work or else", despite the wishes of the people, is just another example of the self-centred, selfish, to-hell-with-the-Irish attitude of the Tories and their servants in Belfast. It will not do, they know it will not do; but they are prepared to pay the price they believe necessary to its imposition — in the blood and lives of the workers of the Six Counties.

The Republican Movement still demands the withdrawal not only of the British Army from the Six Counties but of the economic wing of British control from all areas of the country; still insists upon the right of the people of Ireland to decide their future, free from repressive legislation and the direct, physical repression of the people by the political police and uniformed thugs of any regime; still urges the implementation, immediately, of a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing freedom and equality to all citizens in the Six Counties.

No half-way house is good enough. The people of the Six Counties have suffered too much to be satisfied with an imposed pattern to fit a Whitehall blueprint. No imposed solution can ever be a final solution; it is a formula for generations of repression, resistance and death.

## White Paper 2

Britain's White Paper on the North — like the border poll — is not to be an exercise in democracy.

The long-awaited document which will appear later this month will do little more than demonstrate once again Britain's lack of understanding, even lack of interest, in Irish affairs.

It will be a sloppy compromise between the guarded retreat that official Unionism is prepared to make and the pious aspirations that the SDLP pronounce in pamphlet and advertisement. It will seek the middle ground of Alliance and NILP. And it will fail to realise that only after protracted discussions between respected leaders of working class opinion can a solution be even contemplated.

But this is the recourse that Heath and Whitelaw will refuse to allow. For to them, the only voices to be considered are those of the puppets of colonialism or free statism.

There will, of course, be an attempt to buy off all opposition. Just as the border poll with its unrealistic questions and its overall — as opposed to constituency by constituency — result was held to pacify Protestant mythology, so the White Paper will contain a Bill of Rights in answer to NICRA demands. But will the small print provide a basis to solve anyone's problems?

The Council of Ireland — whether representative of governments or of parliaments — will be legally limited in such a way as to serve only as a co-ordinator of EEC Regulations.

And the power sharing provisions in the establishment of a new northern assembly will do nothing to remove sectarian division from political debate.

Heath and Whitelaw must know these things. But still they are unable to produce anything better. For anything else is beyond their political ken.

And they are prepared to accept a substantial level of consequential deaths in the north, sure in the misconception that a tired people will come to heel eventually.

# CONSCIENCES SLEEP ON

It is not right for Irish people who know very well the crimes committed in their names to remain silent; to refuse to breathe a word about them to anyone else, to their own conscience even, for fear of having to stand in justice on themselves. Many Irish people, it is true, even now do not realise what is happening; many, who have the Gibbons-like vestigial knowledge doubt if it be true. But an increasing number of people do know and hold their tongues as if under the spell of ancient custom. Not that it was ever ancient custom to condone collaboration or to see it State-supported and fail to recognise that fact.

For four, for five years there has been collaboration and there has been silence. Those who spoke out were not believed. Consciences slept on amid the doubts and the official lies. Now one of the victims has returned — and not just any victim. Eamonn Smullen is a communicator, a raconteur, a person to listen to. He could talk engagingly about the mysteries of the Stock Exchange but he was not a Stock Broker. He was a political prisoner and a particular victim of the Fianna Fail-Berry era of collaboration. Files sent over from Dublin Castle and read out at Leeds Assizes pertaining to a sentence passed on him under the war time Military tribunals got him 8 years to Gerry Doherty's four in the same case. People who believed Michael O'Morain's denial of collaboration in the Dail should make it a point to hear Eamonn Smullen during his tour of Ireland. He has the gift of communicating just what it means to be a political prisoner in England.



● Tomas MacGiolla and Eamonn Smullen in Dublin.

He explains how official collaboration was followed by three and a half years of Irish Embassy neglect — how a diplomatic service representing us, the Irish people, treat Irish political prisoners as if they are lepers; how, in three and a half years, insistent pressure from one man could only make them take enough time off their diplomatic know-towing to send a single vague acknowledgement note to a lone Irishman in solitary in an English prison.

Smullen's presence among us is an

invaluable reminder that behind the names in prison there are men of flesh and blood, men who can think and talk, and, in Smullen's case, write brilliantly. His tour should be made a rallying point in the struggle to identify the collaborators for what they are and to end the shame and degradation brought on the Irish people by agencies acting in their name. . . . In our name, Smullen represents the link between the living and the living dead. Neither they nor us could have a better representative.

## POSTMEN — NO! JUDGES — YES!!

The General Election has once again brought to mind the unjust exclusion of all civil servants and State employees from political activities.

Under the terms of their employment all civil servants and State employees are prohibited from joining, or indeed working on behalf of any political party. All employees of the Post Office received a circular, just before the election, reminding them of the regulation and instructing them not to canvass for any party. Many of the Trade Unions and particularly the Irish Post Office Engineering Union have

been active in their attempts to have this archaic regulation lifted, but the outgoing Fianna Fail Government showed no inclination to grant full political and civil rights to civil servants.

No such bars of course are placed in the way of the political careers of Fianna Fail's legal friends. One of the Fianna Fail candidates in Dublin South Central was none other than Mr. Gerard Buchanan, S.C., who has been the principal prosecutor in the Special Courts during the past year and who was the State counsel responsible for the notorious MacStiofhan trial. Buchanan was

also the prosecutor in the case, last December, in which 60 members of Sinn Fein were convicted and sentenced to jail terms for the peaceful picketing of the homes of Fianna Fail T.D.s in Dublin. One of those sentenced was the Sinn Fein candidate for Dublin South Central, Peigin Doyle.

What a ridiculous situation it is when a postman is prohibited from even working for a candidate in an election and at the same time the Government's chief prosecutor in political trials can be a candidate for the Government Party!!

## SELECTIVE JUSTICE

At the end of February, after a trial held mostly in camera, two men who were found guilty of offences under the Official Secrets Act of the Twenty-Six County State were sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the Special Criminal Court.

The men were Patrick Crinnion, a member of the inner circle of the political police force, C3, stationed at Garda headquarters in the Phoenix Park, and John Wyman, an Englishman, with various addresses in London and outside it, a one-time private detective and now acting on behalf of the British Government.

Put simply, the two were found guilty of spying for Britain. The language of the charges demonstrated the seriousness of the offence. They were accused of obtaining and possessing documents which could be injurious to the safety and security of the State. That

was why the case was held in secret. That was why the documents they were accused of possessing were not produced by the prosecution.

What was the fate of Crinnion and Wyman? Sentenced to six months over five months after they had been arrested and placed in custody, they were taken from Mountjoy prison under Special Branch escort on the night the trial ended and put aboard planes for Britain.

Crinnion and Wyman, who had spied for Britain, were set free.

Less than a fortnight later, another member of the Garda Síochána, Patrick Hynes, was found guilty before the same Special Criminal Court of inciting another member of the force to aid and abet the larceny of explosives from a store.

Hynes, according to Special Branch Inspector Patrick Doocy,

was a man who had acted out of sincere and strong feelings about events in the Six Counties. It was these feelings which had led him to commit the offence; money was not involved.

During his time in the police force, Hynes had been given three monetary awards for good police work. He had never come under the notice of the authorities, although he had been in the force for 14 years. He was married and had three children.

The chairman of the Special Criminal Court, Judge Conroy, said the offence of which Hynes had been convicted was a very serious one. There was no limit on the sentence.

Hynes is to be dismissed from the Garda Síochána; he was given two years' imprisonment.

That is the record. Two cases. Two decisions. Two sentences. Two kinds of treatment. They speak for themselves.

It is just this level of deaths that Republicans must not accept. The extremists within the Protestant population are capable of attempting to escalate the number of assassinations. A faction of the Provisionals is equally capable of replying in kind. The result? The final creation of two armed and warring communities.

The alternative to this is to realise that the cause of republican socialism is not served and cannot be served by the death of any working man. That is the cause of the majority class in Ireland is the cause of the past, the present and the future, not just of today.

Just as the leadership of the UDA has, in recent issues of the UDA News, been counselling restraint on members and supporters, so too must the Republican movement guard against emotive words or ready rifles in the Catholic areas.

It is with the publication of this White Paper that the political struggle of the working people will move to its next phase. Britain will refuse to recognise the aspirations of the people of the Falls and of the Shankill must be used to forge real links, not to cause a sectarian holocaust.

## SINN FEIN HEADQUARTERS FUND

The Ard Comhairle has decided to buy our present premises at 30 Gardiner Place.

Ard Comhairle plans for the building include a modern walk-around bookshop, new offices for United Irishman and Sinn Fein Secretariat, a library room open to all members of the Movement, a room for press conferences and curialem meetings.

In the rear of 30 Gardiner Place, an auditorium will be built and the present printing shop expanded.

£700 raised during February

Still need £12,700

Send your subscription to:  
Treasurer,  
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

# notes AND comments

## armagh march

Several thousand people marched through Armagh on February 25th in a demonstration organised by the Pearse Republican Club to demand an end to sectarian killings, total withdrawal of the British Army and the release of all political prisoners.

A large force of RUC and British Army, backed up by heavy armoured vehicles, was used to prevent the march entering the city centre area. The organisers of the march had been served with notice, on Saturday night, re-routing the march. When the marchers reached the security forces barricade at the Shambles junction, Mr. Malachy Toal, PRO of the Pearse Republican Club approached the barrier and over a loud-hailer told senior police officers: "We are a disciplined body and we demand the right to march through our city".

Mr. Toal said that he could guarantee that the march would remain peaceful if they were allowed through, but otherwise he could give no assurances. He said that on occasions in the past, barriers had been opened to allow Unionist marchers through. A senior Police Officer informed him that entry to the city centre had been banned and no one would be allowed through the barricades.

Several people were injured when the British Army used rubber bullets to disperse crowds after the march. Fourteen year old Peter McGleeson, son of the President of the Pearse Republican Club, was taken to hospital with face and eye injuries after he had been struck in the face with a rubber bullet. Mr. Malachy Toal said Peter McGleeson was hit by the rubber bullet, while attempting to cool the situation and end stone throwing in Navan St.

Mr. Toal protested at the indiscriminate firing of rubber bullets by troops and added that the activities of the stone throwing youths was proof that the order re-routing the march had only helped to provoke violence and place the ordinary citizens of Armagh in danger.

Tomas MacGiolla, Sean O'Connalt, Seamus Trainor and Bernadette Devlin spoke on the issues that confront the Irish people today.

## caravan dwellers act

Caravan dwellers from Clondalkin, Co. Dublin have come together to form the Clondalkin Caravan Dwellers Association. This action follows the publication in the United Irishman and other newspapers of the results of a survey by the Pat McKay Cumann of Sinn Fein. The survey revealed that many of the caravan dwellers were living in very bad conditions and that they were paying exorbitant rents for sites that provided little or no facilities.

The inaugural meeting of the Association decided that each site should seek representation on the Clondalkin Community Council. The Association is also to consider, as a matter of priority, the possibility of affiliating to the National Association of Tenant Organisations.

## ifa levy condemned

The Annual General Meeting of the Sean Mistel Cumann of Sinn Fein in Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan condemned the Irish Farmers' Association for its attempt to collect funds by means of a levy on livestock sold through markets. The motion pointed out that this was a most unfair way to collect funds to finance an I.F.A. Office and staff in Brussels. The Cumann called on the farmers of Co. Monaghan to refuse to co-operate in this system of collecting the levy. It was pointed out that the Irish Farmers' Association did not represent the small or medium sized farmers. The IFA consistently ignored the demands and needs of these small farmers and was only interested in the needs and greed of the rancher type farmers.

The sheep are ready for shearing.



● Tomas MacGiolla

## death sentence criminal

The New University of Ulster Republican Club has joined with many other groups and organisations in the North in condemning the death sentence passed on the U.D.A. man Albert Browne. Browne was convicted recently in Belfast of killing an R.U.C. man. A statement from the Club says that the passing of the sentence further demonstrates the deliberate attempts by the authorities to escalate sectarian strife in a province that is already on the verge of civil war. "In the event of such a catastrophe, those in power will be in a position to impose a political solution on the working people of the Six Counties, regardless of their real interests. In the light of the current situation, this sentence can only be considered as criminally irresponsible. How just is a legal system that is prepared to condemn the taking of life in one situation and immediately order the taking of life in another?"

## sinn fein support acra

Sinn Fein supports A.C.R.A. for a repayment strike until a full investigation into the activities of Building Societies takes place. Sinn Fein is aware that this increase was intended to apply before the General Election (as noted in our pre-election statement) but was held back in order not to make it an election issue.

Not only should there be an investigation into the present structure and activities of Building Societies, in particular their massive advertising expenditure, but the incoming Government should be encouraged to make a radical re-appraisal of the whole field of housing finance.

Sinn Fein hold that it is a crime that any year and more of his working life paying for the roof over the heads of his family. Housing is a vital social necessity and should be taken out of the realm of speculation. To have any institution in the State, public or private, urging one section of the Irish public to invest at six per cent in the misery of another section forced to borrow at the Shylcock rate of ten per cent is a failure to govern in the interests of the people.

The reaction of the incoming Government to this scandal and the widespread sufferings and deprivations caused by it will provide a large section of the public with a true measure of the difference between a Coalition and a Fianna Fail government.

We would remind A.C.R.A. members of the request made recently by the Fine Gael Parliamentary Party to Local Authorities not to prosecute in the Differential Rent disputes. Differential rent tenants led by N.A.T.O. would appear to have won a victory. A.C.R.A. may do likewise. Sinn Fein offers full support.

## coiste seasta election review

The Coiste Seasta of Sinn Fein reviewed the election results at their meeting on Monday night with reports from the ten constituencies contested. The following statement was issued:

"Sinn Fein entered this election as a new party with new policies. It was the first occasion on which we put up candidates for election to Leinster House. We are very pleased and encouraged by the support and vote which our candidates received, an average of five per cent of the poll. We have made a major breakthrough in extending a knowledge of our policies and in clarifying our stand on social, economic and national issues. We have expounded the Republican policies of Tone and Connolly and explained how they are based in socialism. In both urban and rural areas we found wide acceptance for our ideas.

"All constituencies have reported increased membership and expanded organisation as a result of the election campaign and many organisational lessons have been learnt.

"Due to the expansion of our organisation, the increasing acceptance of the realistic policies for change which we put forward and our greater efficiency as a result of the experience gained, there is a great confidence that a much higher vote can be achieved in the next election which may not be too far distant".

## newry killing statement

Statement issued by the South Down/South Armagh Comhairle Ceannairde: — We wish to state the strongest possible terms the brutal murder of young Kevin Heatley in Newry, by the British Army on Tuesday night (28th). Since then we have been subjected to the fiercest of the British propagandist machine's stories about gunmen, gun-flashes, gunshots, and proper action by disciplined troops! The people of Newry, and in particular the people of the Derrybeg Estate where Kevin lived, know better. Any eye witness to the killing gave the following account to the chairman of the Comhairle Ceannairde: —

"The British Army came into the estate about midnight. The whistles were blown by the vigilantes. I went to my top window and looked out. A "duck-squad" of six was moving towards my house from the direction of the shops. Two of them sat on a wall outside my home (in 3rd Ave.) and the others moved into the gardens. About six more got out of a Saecan at the shops and moved to the same area. They were not wearing any headgear or identification. They were clearly drunk. A number were still drinking from bottles. They were shouting, cursing and threatening anyone in sight.

I heard the soldier on the radio say: "The crowd is hostile — we are going to retreat!". All of them gathered into a circle in the middle of the road and were briefed by one of their number. He then gave the order — "Charge, get the Fenian bastards!". They then charged into 2nd Ave. Some of the people from the area followed them. Young Kevin Heatley was sitting on a garden wall on the 3rd Ave./2nd Ave. corner. A small number of other people were standing further up 3rd Ave. I heard a lot of shouting and a woman's scream from the 2nd Ave. area. I heard a shot and saw Kevin fall off the wall. This was definitely the only shot I heard during the whole time. I know that if there had been any other shooting I would have heard it. I was able to hear people shouting streets away.

When I realised what had happened, I rushed down to where the young lad fell. There was complete confusion. Soldiers rushed from everywhere and continued their abuse of the people. I fainted and when I came round again I found that the soldiers were searching my home. I saw Kevin fall and it was a clear case of cold-blooded, callous murder".

No further comment is necessary. We merely wish to relate what we have been saying since 1989, that the British Army is NOT, and can never be, a peace-keeping force. It is in the Six Counties serving the interests of big business and high finance, and it could not care less how many Irish 'pawns' are killed in furtherance of those interests. It surely must be obvious to all now that the British Army has no answer to the problems

of the north — nor has its paymasters in London. We are repeating, therefore, our demand for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from working class areas, pending their total withdrawal from the state at the same time as we support the demand for a public, independent enquiry into the killing of this young Newry boy.

On behalf of the Republican Movement we extend our deepest sympathy to his sorrowing family and relatives.

## the murdered postmen

Despite calls from a broad spectrum of Religious Leaders, Trade Unionists and Northern Politicians, the 'sectarian murders' continue.

In our editorial "Who stands to gain?" (February's United Irishman) we enumerated the reasons why we believe the British Army is involved in these killings and pointed out that the British Press Officers most of them are the labels on the bodies. In fact, British Politicians are the only people to gain anything from these 'senseless' deaths as they can use them to intimidate the working class people in the north into accepting whatever the White Paper contains.

We now propose to look at two of the latest killings and examine what appears to be evidence of Army collusion in the incident. On Sunday, 18th February, two Postal Workers were shot dead as they walked home along Divis Street. They were Mr. Michael Coleman (30) of Colligan Street and Mr. Peter McAleese (38) of Ballymurephy Parade. The killer stepped from a hijacked car and sprayed both men with a 12-15 round burst of fire from a sub-machine gun. This happened in full view of witnesses and within 25 yards of an Army observation post.

Only a madman, or someone who knew there was no danger to him from that quarter, would commit such an act in full view of a post occupied by heavily armed soldiers. Later that day British Army Press Officers issued a brief statement on the incident. It said: "The observation post on the junction of Divis Street and Northumberland Street was unoccupied at the time of the shooting." This statement neglected to mention that the road block on Northumberland Street, a major traffic route, was also conveniently "unoccupied".

Incredulous residents from the Lower Falls say the observation post has a commanding view of the Divis St. Albert Street area. On Sundays it is used to observe men entering and leaving nearby St. Peter's church and it seems incredible it was not so used at the time of the murders, as they happened while worshippers were leaving church after attending a 12 o'clock Service.

Commenting on the un-manned road block, one said: "This street is one of the few carrying traffic between the Falls and Shankill areas. Since the pogrom of August 1969, it has always been regarded as a potential trouble spot by the Army. I don't remember a time when there wasn't a car check here."

THE WEIGHT OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE IS DAMNING. NO SECTARIAN MURDERER WOULD RISK PASSING ALONG A ROAD WHERE A PERMANENT ROAD BLOCK IS SITUATED. NO SECTARIAN MURDERER WOULD OPERATE IN FULL VIEW OF AN OBSERVATION POST THAT IS MANNED NIGHT AND DAY. THE ARMY'S MURDER SQUAD HAVE BEEN CAUGHT OUT BY THEIR OWN Duplicity. IF THE POLICE REALLY WANT TO CATCH THE MURDERERS OF PETER McALEESE AND MICHAEL COLEMAN THEY SHOULD CENTRE THEIR ENQUIRIES ON THE MILITARY CAMPS AT LISBURN AND HOLLYWOOD.

## funds urgently needed

As a result of its efforts in the election, Sinn Fein is now in serious financial difficulties. The cost of the printing of literature alone will amount to over £4,000 and overall our debts will amount to over £6,000. This is a pittance compared to the vast amounts of money which have been spent by the other parties on the election. FUNDS ARE NOW URGENTLY NEEDED TO ENABLE US TO CONTINUE OUR NORMAL POLITICAL WORK AND TO PREPARE FOR THE LOCAL ELECTIONS. ALL DONATIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO "CENTRAL ELECTION FUND", 30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

# WICKLOW

Sinn Fein put forward a radical programme in the General Election and its 10 candidates rec in a contest that was essentially about a change of government.

Sinn Fein was, for the first time, contesting an election in the Twenty-Six County state and

For the first time in the ten constituencies in which the party fought, the people of this co undeniably republican and, because it was both of these things, firmly rooted in the problems

That 15,000 people should have chosen this programme in such an election implies the pa fight.

Sinn Fein has gained substantially from the election because of the exposure of its policies ha R.T.E. and the bias of bourgeois commentators, because in ten constituencies at least its org to benefit the party in other elections.

The policy on which Sinn Fein fought was: the ownership, control and development of the Ireland; the establishment of a secular state with equal rights and equal opportunities for all legislation and the achievement of full development, by and on behalf of the people, of their

Welded to these national aims and aspirations, which will ultimately be won only with the Fein, each of whom qualified by work already done on behalf of the workers of his or her

In each case, the votes polled in favour of Sinn Fein reflected the extent of local involvement and supporters and the need, felt by the people, to win representation that speaks, genuinely



Seamus Costello.

### WICKLOW—a Northerner's view

Elections in the twenty six counties are fought on three fronts: house to house canvass, poster displays and public meetings.

The house to house canvass was the most interesting and stimulating because here one could talk to the people at the level of their own doorstep. And ordinary people can be very profilig standing at their own front door, airing their genuine grievances at the inability of the political party to do anything for them.

Costello was fighting the election on working class policies. His platform was the bread and butter issues, the things that affect the ordinary working people of Wicklow: jobs, houses, schools, hospitals, and also of course his never ending exposure of fraud and dishonesty in the Wicklow Co. Council. The betrayal by the 26 counties Government of the people of the Six Counties.

Sinn Fein, in their involvement in this election have in my opinion, carried out a very well worthwhile exercise. It was not expected to have any member packing his bags for Leinster House, but in contesting these ten seats, Sinn Fein were settling the seeds of a very definite alternative for the Irish working class in the not too distant future.



Seamus Rodgers.

### DONEGAL—the achievement

Politics in Donegal is not only about the stuff of public questions, housing, jobs, emigration, but it also has a very high personal content. Seamus Rodgers was fighting both the Fianna Fail Mafia, the old boy network with its corrupt record of patronage and the fact that Donegal people are very much concerned with the prestigious local man, no matter what his politics.

The Sinn Fein vote was in part a rejection of the Godfather politics of Jack Lynch as well as being a vote for Seamus Rodgers — an active member of the County Council. It would certainly have been higher had we the party machine to handle what is the most awkward constituency in the country.

What we needed was fifty cars, and a helicopter would have been invaluable to drop our men on Tory and Arranmore Islands. In fact, a half dozen of us huddled, freezing, on Burtonport Quay one morning in the hope of "thumbing" a boat lift to Arranmore. Fortunately enough the Fianna Fail Sicilians had gotten to the boatman and we were refused. In the afternoon a storm blew up and marooned the Gombeen backers on the island for two days.

God works in mysterious and wonderful ways sometimes!



MAIRIN DE BURCA — "Housing was and is a major concern of Sinn Fein. We will continue to work, with still greater energy, for the crash programme that is needed to relieve the plight of tens of thousands of homeless and badly housed people. The housing action committees must redouble their efforts. Now".

## WHER

The General Election in the Twenty-Six Counties has produced a change of government, but no radical change which would affect the lives of the working-class people of Ireland. The return to the people of Ireland of control over these sources of Ireland and the establishment of a socialist system of distribution are as unlikely under the Coalition as they were under Fianna Fail.

But Sinn Fein, which fought on the most radical programme ever put before the Irish people in a parliamentary election, does not feel pessimistic as it contemplates the future. The party has gained valuable experience in the contest, has put its policies before the people and has met with a substantial degree of acceptance. That in itself, is valuable.

Sinn Fein regards the change of government as important in one respect: Fine Gael and the Labour Party, which have promised much in the way of social reform, now have a chance to put their promises into practice to benefit only marginally, the working-class people of this country. The Coalition's 14-point programme, the first bid in the general election that would not delay election, should be implemented without delay.

There is, as Sinn Fein has emphasized again and again during the past 18 years and with greater emphasis than ever during the election campaign, a serious and immediate need for the provision of more and cheaper houses not only in the city of Dublin but in cities, towns and villages throughout the country. The Coalition has promised measures to help supply that need — they should be taken immediately.

The Coalition has said it will remove V.A.T. from food, an imposition by an arrogant Fianna Fail regime that was careless of the needs of most deprived sections of the working class — the unemployed, the under-employed and the people who are trying to survive on meagre wages — the benefits. Sinn Fein has demanded not only the removal of V.A.T. from food but the implementation of a cheap food policy which would ensure that Irish working-class families would at least, benefit from the natural richness of a food-producing nation.

MARTA

candidates received over 15,000 first preference votes — a significant achievement in a free state and taking its seats. The reaction of the voters was encouraging. This country had before them a programme that was unambiguously socialist, addressing the problems and potential of the working-class people of Ireland. It requires the party to greater effort and assures the candidates of success in another election. Its policies have had, because of its acceptance by the people despite the bans of the past, at least its organisation has been given the tonic of action — a practical test certain of the resources of Ireland by and on behalf of the working-class people of the country for all, irrespective of sex, religion or conviction; the elimination of repressive laws, of their cultural inheritance. Only with the establishment of a 32-county socialist republic, the candidates of Sinn Féin in his or her area, there were important local issues. The active involvement of the candidates, the determination and loyalty of party workers, and the people, genuinely and responsibly for the Irish working-class.



**PEIGIN DOYLE** — "For many thousands of young people living in flats is inevitable. Sinn Féin is determined that it must not mean paying high rents for bad accommodation with little security. The fight for flat dwellers goes on."



**JOE SHERLOCK** — "We promised before the election that whatever the outcome Sinn Féin candidates would continue to work in their areas, to expose local problems, demand solutions acceptable to local people. You can rest assured that work will continue on hospitals, schools, local government, fisheries and land control. Sinn Féin is on the march."



**DONNCHA Mac RAGHNAILL** — "Again and again, we've been asked to define republicanism. To us, in Sinn Féin, republicanism is not empty, emotional cry. It is the establishment of a society in all Ireland in which every citizen will have equal rights and opportunities. That's what we've been fighting for. That's what we'll go on fighting for."

## WHERE SINN FEIN STANDS

Six Counties government but no... of the return to the resources of... of the system... of the system...

most radical... people in a... as... has gained... has put its... with a sub-... in itself, is...

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gain and... with greater... campaign, a... provision of... of the city... throughout... measures... be taken...

A.T. from... Fianna Fail... of most... — the... the people... the welfare... it only the... the im-... which would... would, at... a food-

Sinn Féin has also called for an immediate campaign to end poverty. As the party's election programme established, some 700,000 people in the Twenty-Six Counties are dependent, directly or indirectly, on welfare benefits; the very poor, the homeless, the chronically ill and the long-time unemployed have fallen through the so-called welfare net and are beyond assistance unless it be directed specifically and speedily at them. The new government now has the chance to tackle this problem, funding the campaign — at least in part — from the money saved on agricultural subsidies since entry to the Common Market.

Not surprisingly, Sinn Féin differs radically from the new Coalition on economic issues and on the so-called "law and order" question. The economic policies of Sinn Féin, endorsed by successive Ard-Fhaiseanna and put forward in the "United Irishman" and in other Reppol publications, would place the wealth and resources of this country under the control of the people of this country, to be developed for their benefit alone.

Sinn Féin has called for the nationalisation of all sources of credit and such foreign-controlled assets as Ireland's considerable mineral resources. The Coalition government is, of its nature, unlikely to wish to acknowledge the right of Irish workers to control, fully and permanently, the wealth that lies in and beneath Irish soil and the seas that surround our coast. The Coalition may be slightly less amenable to the encroachment of multi-national corporations; as long as it hangs on to the doctrines and obeys the dictates of capitalism, it will be powerless to do anything about them and control will slip further and further from the hands of the Irish people.

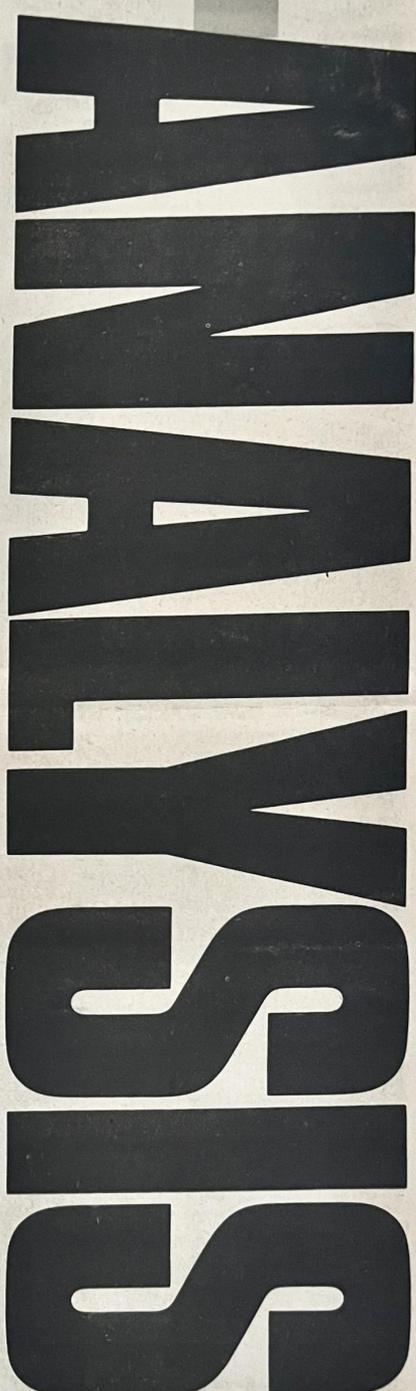
On "law and order", as the commentators of the capitalist press noted during the election campaign, there is little difference between the Fianna Fail regime and the Coalition. Cosgrave and Fine Gael, with the support of some at least of the Parliamentary Labour Party, have been just as reactionary as Fianna Fail in their attitude to the Republican Movement, just as keen to do Heath's bidding by harassing men and women engaged in the struggle against the British Army in the Six Counties.

Spokesmen for the Coalition found it politic to boast their bad record during the campaign, as if it were something to commend them to the people of a country which has suffered enough harassment and betrayal in its history to demonstrate both its viciousness and unacceptability. Sinn Féin demands the release of all political prisoners, in the Curragh, Mountjoy, Portlaoise and Limerick, of whatever persuasion. The party continues to demand the repeal of all repressive legislation and the revocation of such out-dated and intimidatory orders as the Watching and Besetting order.

It is clear that many rank-and-file members of the Labour Party, along with some members of the parliamentary party and some members of Fine Gael, have no desire to see the continued harassment of Irish working-class people by a so-called Irish regime acting on instructions from London and in concert with the remnants of the Orange Unionist administration in Belfast. It is time for them to make their voices heard, so that the government which claims their support may carry out their democratic wishes.

On the national question, there can be no doubt about the differences between Sinn Féin and the main element of the Coalition: Sinn Féin sees the achievement of a 32-county socialist republic as its ultimate objective; to the majority of the members of the Coalition, this is unacceptable because it is a deeply anti-capitalist aspiration. The Labour Party, in words if not in deeds, still claims the inheritance of Conolly and the building of a socialist republic as a normal aim. Now is the time for those who seriously believe themselves part of the tradition of Conolly to press their claims.

Sinn Féin, because its republicanism is integrally socialist and would be meaningless without it, cannot welcome the Coalition government as a radical departure; it must and will give critical appraisal to its policies, especially on such questions as housing and welfare. Meanwhile, the party itself must develop and grow with its socialist revolutionary policy, confident in the knowledge that only the Republican Movement can achieve the change which the working-class people of Ireland need and demand.



france

Following our report in the January issue of the assistance that 'Socialist' Willi Brandt of Germany is giving Britain to train her terrorists for service in the 6 Counties, we have received reports from France and the United States giving some details of how these two countries are playing their part to help Britain maintain control in Ireland.

The military camp of Larzac was established in 1902. Michael Debre, the then Minister for Defence in 1970, extended the camp from 3000 hectares to 17,000 hectares.

The extension of the camp meant that many of the local people who lived and worked on the land lost their means of livelihood. The troops now train over an area of 100,000 hectares and the camp, despite the protests of the people, continues to grow. Over the past years the peasants have made many attempts to organise resistance to the military occupation of their land. In July of last year the peasants decided to go to Paris if no decision was made to close the camp.

Instead of closure the French authorities decided between Christmas and the New Year to extend the camp further. A march to Paris was organised on January 7th and it is intended to continue and escalate the present campaign.

### Attacks on troops

Over the past few years the most notorious visitors to Camp Larzac have been units of the British Army. A report published in a New York paper says that these units have been subjected to attack by local people. Petrol bombs were thrown at two British Army vehicles as they drove through the town of Milhau. After a number of incidents British troops were restricted to camp. Walls are covered with slogans like "English Army Out" and crude drawings of British helicopters attacking sheep.

Another slogan proclaims: "In Larzac preparations are made for the assassination of the people of Northern Ireland". The peasants have joined the fight to retain their land with the struggle in the Six Counties. At one of their demonstrations a speaker declared: "What we are defending and what you are defending with us, is life, dignity, respect of man, peace. I have seen in my village of La Blaquiere, English soldiers hiding behind walls, store-house, and even on the roof of the house, with weapons in their hands, and one hour later, I was seeing again the same pictures, on television, but this time in Ireland!"

# The United League of Repression

French sign of protest.



● Club demo in Madison.

america

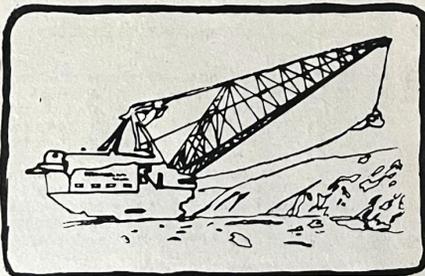
The five Irish Republican Clubs in New York City organised a sit-in demonstration at the B.O.A.C. offices on Fifth Avenue on February 17th in support of Irish political prisoners. Members draped signs over B.O.A.C. window displays calling for the release of all prisoners and Civil Rights for the people of Ireland. During the occupation of the offices a large number of members and supporters picketed the building bringing business to a halt.

The Coiste Seasta of the Clubs in a statement distributed during the protest called for (1) The immediate release of all political prisoners in Ireland and Britain; (2) Freedom to dissent from the repressive policies of the British and Dublin governments; (3) Immediate cessation of all British interference in the affairs of the Irish people.

The protest was also directed against American Government policies of aid to Britain. A recent report that 800 British commandos had just completed training in North Carolina confirmed what many people suspected for a long time. The report stated that after instruction in counter-insurgency from the U.S. Army the commandos will be going for a tour of duty in the Six Counties. It is only a short step from training British troops in America to sending American advisers to the Six Counties to assist more actively British administration and troops in their terrorist tactics.

The Cathal Brugha Club in Madison, Wisconsin, which was organised some twelve months ago is aware and has been very active in highlighting what the real issues are for the American and Irish people. During the re-inauguration of Nixon on January 20th last the club took part in a demonstration through the streets of Madison to protest against American aggression in South East Asia and calling for support for these countries in their fight against imperialism. A banner carried by club members called for U.S. troops out of S.E. Asia and British out of Ireland.

Readers of the United Irishman in Madison wishing to help the Irish Republican movement should contact the Cathal Brugha Club at 306 N. Brooks Street, Madison, Wisconsin, 53715.



## GENEREROUS TARA!

When the Resources Study Group published their Navan pamphlet last March, Tara Mines repudiated their figures on the value of the ore deposits as ludicrously high. Events since, indicate it is Tara's figures that are deceptively low.

In its 1971 Annual Report, Tara estimates the total potential of Navan at 51.9 million tons of ore. In their application for planning permission to develop the deposits this February, the figure had crept up to 77m. tons. The figure does not include reserves controlled by the Bula Company at nearby Nevinstown.

Even accepting Tara's official figures, however, the amount of

profit derivable from Navan is enormous. There is approximately 6.4 million tons of pure zinc and 1.3 million tons of pure lead in these deposits. At current prices these reserves are worth a total of £1,294.6 million. The long-term prospects for both metals are good due to a world scarcity. (The price of lead has increased by 25.4 per cent in the last two years, the price of zinc by 47 per cent).

Tara says that they will produce 240,000 tonnes of lead/zinc per year. This means a life of 32 years for the mine. They say also that construction work on the mine will provide 1,000 jobs at a wage of £35 per week. But the work will be completed in two years. Thus the

local pay-off will be £3.5 million in this initial period. Assuming the mine then continues to employ 600 miners at £35 per week for the remainder of its life, the total income for the Navan/Drogheda area from the mines will end up at around £50 million. A mere drop in the ocean compared with the £1,294.6 million worth of ore the mine will produce.

In the first year of operation alone, the company will recoup £40.4m. With a long-term profit of over £1,000 million in the offing, it is no wonder that Tara shares have risen in price from 5.90 dollars in March, 1971 to a current 16.75 dollars.

Not only will wealth be exorted from Ireland in this way, but the

jobs it could generate in the smelting and metal processing industries will be lost — jobs estimated at as many as 200,000.

As Murrrough O'Brien said in Trinity College last March, "base metal mines can provide a basis for the initial economic 'take-off' of an underdeveloped country". Mr. O'Brien should know — he is general manager of Tara.

One ingredient to the 'take-off' he didn't mention was that such a country needs a government prepared to fight the international companies for the profits needed to accomplish it. A socialist government that puts people's rights before company profits.

## MARTA

The first article in this series drew attention to the state of the oceans. In recent years, the seas have been the subject of many investigations, one reason being their potential as a source of food. At the same time, they continue to be used as a dumping-ground for certain highly dangerous wastes. The accumulation of these poisons in the tissues of animals on which man depends, has resulted on a ban on fish as a food in the vicinity of some industrial areas of the world.

However, not all of the contaminants in the seas which could be harmful, have been deliberately thrown overboard by man. Many gases and even some liquids like oil, are drawn from the atmosphere (oil can of course get to the seas in a number of ways), and others run off the land where they were originally dumped. Probably the majority of pollutants are to some extent capable of being dissolved in water and for these the seas are the final repository. A small number of pollutants which cannot be dissolved by water are carried in suspension in the rivers to the seas. One of these is D.D.T., which is very persistent and builds up in the fat tissues of living animals and thus make its way to the ocean basins where in time it deteriorates. According to estimates, approximately 25 per cent of D.D.T. and compounds of that type that have been produced so far have reached the seas and already, on a world-wide scale, there has been a marked reduction in the reproduction of certain marine fish which some experts associate with a build-up of this type of pest-killer.

### Visual pollution

The city about which our culture revolves, produces a wide range of contaminants but the most harmful are not always the most obvious. In Britain, for example, the Clean Air Act was effective in lessening smoky waste from dwelling houses and factories. Since it was brought in in 1956, sulphur dioxide, a gas which is produced largely by oil-fired central heating, has increased by as much as 25 per cent in places. Sulphur dioxide which has been described as unsafe in any form, is colourless and in small quantities fairly odourless and so does not receive the same attention as smoke.

Visual pollution and noise are environmental contaminants of which most city dwellers are aware. The forest of television aerials which breaks the skyline in parts of Dublin could be replaced by a single mast. While we have good reason to be angry about nuisance which we can see, smell and hear, it seems absurd that these issues do not always deserve so much priority. The noise of traffic, however intolerable, is less harmful than carbon monoxide fumes from burning petrol. It has now been discovered that lack of concentration by some drivers from this source may result in traffic accidents.

### Effect on water

Domestic waste and rubbish is an example of several pollutants in one. Some of them unpleasant, but in biological terms safe, and others 'disposable' but dangerous. Broken bottles, for example, are harmful to bare feet but glass is not chemically active and so is not a chemical hazard. Plastics on the other hand are. When burned, and this is the usual way of getting rid of them, chemicals known as P.C.B.s are released and these are similar in structure to D.D.T. Although P.C.B.s are a significantly sea water pollutant, they have only recently been found to have a destructive effect on living matter and these are not yet fully understood. Paper, which forms approximately a third



# The Garbage of Capitalism

**MAN in the affluent western world represents 20% of human numbers and consumes 80% of the worlds products. Being a city-dweller he lives in high densities and the compact society he has developed requires great efficiency to function and the maximum use of space. These two factors are the root cause of pollution.**

of all household waste is another type of polluting material and most papers can be broken down by bacteria. Such substances as paper are known as biodegradable and are not harmful in small quantities, but unfortunately western man produces them in vast amounts.

The breakdown of natural biodegradable substances generally takes place in water. The process requires oxygen and this gas is taken from the immediate surroundings. Water which has lost

its oxygen is unable to support animal life and the fish are the first casualties. Intensive livestock units, sewers, creameries and some industrial processes, all discharge waste which needs oxygen, into the environment.

The impact of organic biodegradable waste on the sea is similar to, but less spectacular than, their effects in fresh water, because the water body receiving them is larger, although many of our estuaries clearly show symptoms of

pollution. Freshwater lakes accumulate nitrates (acids) and phosphates (salts of phosphoric acid) which are made up of body-waste, as well as of detergents and inorganic fertilizers. The tiny cells of seaweed and other water plants which occur in relatively small numbers in lakes, are thus provided with nourishment and "bloom" in summer. As the cells break down, oxygen is taken from surrounding waters. The decay of each generation of tiny cells releases nitrates and phosphates back to the lake where they remain. This process of enrichment is known as eutrophication, which in fact, means that a lake which is over-rich in nutrients becomes over-grown with plant life, as a result of these cells being nourished.

### U.S. and U.S.S.R.

The accumulated effects of eutrophication cause a situation whereby it is virtually impossible to change the lakes back to their original state. Even the American Great Lakes have been altered as a result of enrichment.

But the disease is not confined to western society and Lake Baikal in the Soviet Union, representing one-fifth of the world's supply of fresh water, is a case in point, having been seriously affected by a SINGLE industrial plant.

Eutrophication is especially tragic in Ireland, which is justly world famous for its salmon and trout fisheries. One of the long-term sub-critical effects here could be the replacement of these valuable animals with coarse fish whose oxygen requirements are less severe.

The preoccupation of western society with cleanliness, has made itself clear in some peculiar ways and chemical companies have been quick to take advantage. There are now a large number of aerosols and other flykillers available to a public obsessed with hygiene. Whether the flies or the killing agents are the more harmful to man is very much a matter of debate but at least one product which can be hung in the kitchen is the subject of much controversy in scientific circles. It is up to everyone to become informed of the dangers of products they are spreading around the house — the advertisers will not tell you.

### International co-operation

When discussing modern methods of food packaging, preparation, medication, indeed almost any aspect of life which requires chemicals at some point, it is impossible to say with certainty what the consequences will be. Pollution is judged by its effects and these are not always immediately obvious. Pesticides and disinfectants, preservatives, liquid and gaseous wastes may all have long-term effects which will show themselves at some future time. Mercury poisoning may continue for several years before its symptoms appear. Or the effects could express themselves in a statistical way. In America, for example, the length of life expectancy has begun to fall back, possibly as a result of pollution.

The normal reaction of many people to the dangers of our current way of life is one of despair. The problems seem too big to tackle. It has been established that sulphur dioxide originating in the industrial midlands of England is a serious pollutant in the rain of Scandinavia and many other examples emphasise that in the context of pollution no country is an island.

A general improvement will involve international co-operation and possibly fundamental changes in society also.

**Long Kesh**

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

**Curragh Camp**

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

**Mountjoy**

Oliver McCaul, Newry, Co. Down, 15 months.  
Sean Kiernans, Newry, County Down, 15 months.  
John Clarke, Newry, County Down, 18 months.  
Cathal Goulding, Jnr., Dublin, 1 year.  
Hugh McConville, Dublin, 1 year.  
Dan O'Riordan, Dublin, 15 months.

**Britain**

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

**NA DAILL SA DAIL**

BhNollaig, an chéad lá den mhí  
Bhí na dail sa Dail in a sui,  
F.F. agus F.G.  
Lig Caitlín Ní hUallacháin B—  
Ag Halla na Saoi—  
Phóg F.F. agus F.G. tóin Sheáin Bhui.  
Shrocaidfar triúr díli, a tháglas Éire ar an-  
chaoi,

Agus chuir Éamonn D—a ainm faoi.  
Fuair Mac Stiofáin se mhí  
Faoin rud a rinne Éamonn D—  
O 1916 go '23. Tá se beo fós agus caint  
faoi.

Tá Mac Stiofáin ar stailc bídh agus dí.  
Níl tuairisc faoi ar RTE.  
Buailfear cois air ar chaoi.  
Buailfear fóid air roimh mhí.  
Ní bhfaighfear bua air choicé.

Seán O Coisdealbha.  
(Mí na Nollaig '72)

**SAOIRSE STATEMENT  
ON PRISON CONDITIONS**



Prisoners in Portlaoise Jail have formed a union and over three quarters of the men have joined. The President is Noel Lynch, there are two secs., Hugo Meehan and Simon O'Donnell and the shop stewards are Patrick Magill, James Grant, Tom Burke and Seamus Flanagan. Collectively they have all gone to see the Governor about the deplorable conditions in all aspects of the prison. The prison

authorities have already reacted to the unity of the prisoners by refusing recreation to any prisoner who remains in it. Hugo Meehan has lost one month's recreation and he has been forbidden to speak to more than one prisoner at a time. The Union is now reported to have organised a hunger strike throughout the jail. Brendan Walshe, speaking at a public meeting organised by Saoirse in Dublin, said that conditions were so bad that men about to be moved from Mountjoy to Portlaoise deliberately injured themselves to delay the transfer. He said that the men rebelled against the strict discipline in the jail and the brutality of some of the warders.

**Demand public inquiry**

"Saoirse, the Committee established by Sinn Fein to work for the release of Irish political prisoners and for better conditions in prisons in Ireland support the call of Portlaoise prisoners for a public enquiry into conditions in that prison. The Committee consider that the allegations made by the Portlaoise Prisoners' Committee are so serious

that we would be failing in our duty as human beings if we stood aside and registered no protest at the violation of the dignity of man. We have had these allegations borne out by political prisoners recently removed to the Curragh Camp and by the many ex-prisoners from Portlaoise prison. These men are human beings before they are "criminals" — as the establishment would like to classify them.

Our Committee on being urged by prisoners in the Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast, has brought out a programme of prison reform. We consider the demands of the Portlaoise Prisoners' Committee as being just, basic and unanswerable and we reiterate our full support for them.

In calling for a public enquiry into the conditions of Portlaoise Prison we ask the Justice Department's permission to allow an Executive member of the Saoirse Committee and a reporter from "The United Irishman" newspaper to visit the prison and discuss further the demands of the Prisoners' Committee.

**WILLIS EXTRADITION CASE**

Michael Willis, a young Belfast Republican, was arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment in April, 1971.

Before being sentenced he had received the, by now, usual treatment from British troops and police that all prisoners receive in the Six Counties, beatings, abuse and threats. Transferred to Crumlin Road prison he was there a few days when along with his comrades inside an escape was organised. At 9.15 a.m. on May the 5th Michael escaped. It was evening before the prison authorities discovered that they were one prisoner less. A few days later Michael was, as he thought, safe in Dublin.

In November of 1972 Michael Willis was arrested by the Special Branch in Dublin. He was charged with (1) A bank robbery in Limerick although he had never been in Limerick; (2) A shop robbery in Dublin. A total amount of £15,000 in both cases. These charges it turned out after a few hours were designed to enable the Special Branch to hold him whilst they sought instructions regarding his extradition. Some hours after his arrest the phoney charges were dropped and he was told he could go. He went as far as the Bridewell Prison gate where he was re-arrested and this time charged with

escaping from Crumlin Road prison. Brought before a court the next morning an extradition order was granted and he was allowed 15 days to appeal. An appeal was lodged and it is expected that the case will be heard in the High Court soon.

Michael Willis is only one of a number of men from the Six Counties against whom extradition orders have been granted. The principle of political asylum has long been recognised and upheld internationally and here in Ireland. All people who are concerned with freedom and the rights of the individual must feel alarmed at this latest attempt by the governments in Ireland and Britain to further erode the right of political asylum. The case of Michael Willis will be fought through all the courts of this State and if necessary will be brought to the European Court of Human Rights. This is an issue on which there can be no compromise. It affects the lives and liberties of many men and women and cuts across all political loyalties. A special fund has been opened to help cover the expected large legal expenses involved in fighting to defeat extradition.

Send your subscription now to Extradition Fund. Cabhair. 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

**AID COMMITTEE DEMANDS**

The Prisoners' Aid Committee organised by Clann na h-Eireann and supported by other organisations in Britain have made the following demands on behalf of all prisoners in English jails.

1. That all Republicans in English jails be recognised as Political Prisoners, as no Republican can be given a fair trial in this country before class-biased and prejudiced courts and juries.

2. That they be held in the same prison and be allowed to wear civilian clothes.

3. That all sympathetic individuals and organisations support our demand for an amnesty in view of the blatant

discrimination exercised against them in the British judicial and prison system and in recognition of the fact that they are inside because of their committed political views which they refuse to abandon despite harassment and intimidation.

4. That a call be made for an independent public enquiry into the truly appalling conditions which now exist in Irish jails. The committee issues a regular bulletin and maintains contact with all the prisoners. Information on the committee and its work can be had from P.A.C., 318 Lillie Road, Fulham, London S.W.6.

**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 receipt all monies received.

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

# INDUSTRIAL FRONT

Over the last two years an acute unemployment problem has been developing in Waterford City (pop. 30,000). Today there are 1,600 on the unemployed files at the local Labour Exchange.

In this period such old established firms, which were part of Waterford's history, as Hearnes, Croaners and Dennys, have closed. Between them they employed some 500/600 workers. Waterford has also experienced the I.D.A. backed firms such as Waterford Gear Co., Tronjaeger and Robert Wilson, which never seemed to have really functioned even though backed by hundreds of thousands of the people's money. Married to all this Waterford has had redundancies in the Meat Industry, and its allied processing plants such as tanners, hide-curing, cosmetics and glue manufacturers.

In most cases these setbacks were feebly taken by the Trade Unions, except in the case of Dunlops, where the workers showed a true understanding of what the employer was trying to do, and answered with a solidarity that was later defeated and smashed by the I.C.T.U. These redundancies and sackings are done under the guise of a word called "rationalisation".

While the electorate in the 26 Counties over the past couple of weeks were being fed on a diet of promises and a £30 million surplus from the E.E.C. farm subsidies, the Clover Meats management had schemed behind the workers back and applied for rationalisation and redundancy grants to sack 200 workers.

In view of the election, Clover were advised to stall for a few weeks although all documentation had been prepared and 70 per cent processed it was felt unwise to sack 200 people in the midst of such rosy promises.

First to receive this tragic news was Sinn Fein late on the Monday before the elections, who immediately classified it and issued press statements which both the "Evening Press" and the "Evening Herald" seemed reluctant to carry. The un-

welcome news was channelled to the Clover workers via 1,000 leaflets exposing the hypocrisy of the situation.

Barely two months ago, Michael Collins, General Manager of Clover, cleverly engineered the workers to take to the streets in protest over the export of cattle on the hoof. Clearly he was trying to establish himself as "the man who tried his best" but at this juncture it appears the workers have seen through his scheme.

Since February 27th unity and solidarity among Clover workers in Waterford is the keynote and it appears that the arrogance displayed in Limerick will not be lightly accepted in Waterford. A workers' committee is being set up, enlarging on the internal Trade Union structure. This trend of a workers' committee embracing all trades, skills and functions at shop floor level, shows itself as a shining light and could initiate other such committees in other factories with an over-all co-ordinating committee.

One may feel that this is somewhat of a duplication of Trades Councils but the experience in Waterford has been that when the Waterford Council of Trade Unions went about setting up a "Committee on Redundancies" every employer class organisation was included which ended up top heavy employer-wise with only about 30 per cent Trade Union representation.

Together with these workers' committees, Clover workers should demand:

1. An immediate stop to the export of cattle on the hoof.
2. A breakdown of shareholding and directors and management.
3. A representative public enquiry into the meat trade in general.
4. A written guarantee that these proposed sackings will not take place (the General Manager has already denied that the proposals exist).
5. Worker participation in management.

# "The man who tried his best"

## The Duke's half hour story

On Sunday, February 4th salmon fishermen from Youghal, Ardmore, Hevlenn, Passage East, Cleenpoint and Dunmore East, together with members of the National Waters Restoration League from Waterford and Kilkenny, assembled under the walls of Lismore Castle to publicly and clearly state that salmon fishermen were being discriminated against in the distribution of salmon licences while:

(a) Absentee landlords, such as the Duke of Devonshire, claim ownership to fishing rights on vast stretches of river and portions of the open sea.  
 (b) The landed class, the big ranchers and the big business men from the city can hold three or four licences in the one season.  
 At the Duke's request a deputation of fishermen met him and listened for over half an hour to a story of false concern and sympathy pouring out of him. His real objective was to consolidate his castle and the 16,000 acres in the thinking of the ordinary people. However, from a public meeting on Lismore Bridge, held afterwards, the fishermen answered him in no uncertain terms, spelled out their demands, and rebuffed the Duke's double-standards.

Conservation of salmon stocks, we are told, is the prime motivation factor behind the reduction in the number of salmon licences.

On the surface things just seem as if some of the fishermen are just unfortunate, but on closer examination it's found that:

a) Boards of conservators decide who shall get licences.  
 b) Boards of conservators are made up of two types of members; those who are annually elected, and those who, by virtue of the rateable valuation of "their" river stretch, are entitled to a place and a number of votes. By and large the second category carries the balance.

As can be seen from the above it is the wealthy and the landed class that control these boards and, make no mistake about it, they DO NOT operate in the interests of the ordinary fishermen.

Genuine fishermen, some of whom have invested hundreds of pounds, some thousands, in boats, gear and homes have been denied the right to fish. In the interests of the fishermen the "United Irishman" calls for:

1. The immediate publication of the report of the commission on inland fisheries.
2. A completely new structure for Boards of Conservators which could truly represent the ordinary fishermen.
3. Nationalisation of fisheries, rivers and lakes as in accordance with N.W.R.L. policy.

## ...and still more

Fears of further redundancies in Waterford, where the unemployment figure has now reached 1,600, were expressed by the Waterford No. 2 Branch of the I.T.G.W.U.

Mr. Patrick Reidy, assistant branch secretary of the Union, said that the management of Goodbody's Jute Factory at Tycor, Waterford, had informed the workers that due to changes in the market for carpet yarn, production over the next 12 months would receive a severe setback, consequent on the change from carpet yarn to polypropylene by Youghal Carpets Ltd.

This, he explained, would initially mean a reduction in the manufacture of yarn by at least 35 per cent, but this could increase over the next year.

The management explained to the workers that they were engaged in talks with the I.D.A., but that nothing definite had yet emerged. The consultations were centred on diversification which, though welcome, would mean a vast reduction in the number of jobs at the Tycor works.

### JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.  
 We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.  
 We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.

We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.

We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

### UNITE TO FIGHT

I wish to join the Republican Movement

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

**LEINSTER:**  
 ARD OIFIG,  
 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.  
 TOM CONNOLLY,  
 1 Templemichael Terrace,  
 Longford.  
 Louth:  
 DONNCHA MACRAGHNAILL,  
 6 Lourda Square, Drogheda.  
**MUNSTER:**  
 JACK LYNCH,  
 Carberry, Eariswood Estate,  
 Tigher Road, Cork.  
 SEAN O'CALLAIGH,  
 113 An Co, Forlirige.  
 5 New Docks, Galway.  
 BARRY DOYLE,  
 43 St. Ita's Street,  
 St. Mary's Park, Limerick.  
 TOM FOLEY,  
 28 St. John Park,  
 Tralee, Co. Kerry.  
**CONNAUGHT:**  
 P. KILCULLEN,  
 Kilmorr, Ballina, Co. Mayo.  
 KEVIN CUNNINGHAM,  
 5 New Docks, Galway.  
 MAUREEN MAC LOUGHLIN,  
 Drumrane, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.  
 SEAMUS REID,  
 Rinn, Collooney,  
 Co. Sligo.  
 FRANCES GREHAN,  
 The Crescent, Boyle,  
 Co. Roscommon.  
 JEAN MANNION,  
 Conolly Pl., Tubbercurry,  
 Co. Sligo.

**ULSTER:**  
 KITTY O'KANE,  
 14 Ton Street, Belfast.  
 SEAMUS MAC RUABRI,  
 Anagairy, Co. Downgal.  
 The Secretary,  
 31 Ogle St., Armagh.

### BRITAIN; CLANN NA BEBHANN

London:  
 Secretary, 318 Little Road,  
 Fulham, London S.W.6.

### Middlesex

SEAMUS COLLINS,  
 48 Haughton Road,  
 Handsworth, Birmingham.

### Wales

J. G. CORSCADDEN,  
 16 Oak Road, Newton Park,  
 Leeds, 7, S.U.

### Scotland

BRIAN WILKINSON,  
 48 Gear Park Avenue,  
 Newport, Mon., NPT 3NH, Wales.

### England

3 South Exchange Court,  
 77 Queen Street, Glasgow, G1 3DA.

### NORTH AMERICA:

IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS,  
 37/78 64th St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377  
 (LID) 621-3344.

**DO DHEAG**

The annual general meeting of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was held in Belfast on 17th and 18th February. The conference was attended by delegates from all over the North who gathered to formulate NICRA policy for the coming year. The conference passed resolutions reaffirming the Association's intention to continue the non-violent and non-party political struggle to attain civil rights for all in Northern Ireland. It also mandated the incoming executive to strengthen the Association organisationally to ensure the maximum input in this work.

The continuing importance and relevance of NICRA stems from its emphasis on the fight for democracy as the key to the Northern Ireland situation.

The importance of the Civil Rights issue was further emphasised on the 3rd March when the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions held a major conference in Belfast on the theme, "The Right to Live — The Right to Work". In the important policy statement produced for the conference the Irish Congress states that: The fundamentals in the North today are a rejection of violence both from the British Army and from sectarian terrorists, and an acceptance of the principles of non-discrimination and political freedom to peacefully advocate social and constitutional change. The only weakness in the policy document, and the one to which NICRA speakers at the conference constantly drew attention, was the absence of any clear programme of action to implement the policy. This was clear in the section on violence which understated the primary responsibility of the British Army for most of the violence in the North.

**Roots of violence**

The ending of violence was thus to be achieved by what can only be described as extensive social work to devise ways and means whereby in the event of all known political organisations giving their co-operation, unorganised hooliganism, personal violence and the criminal activities, which may have been cloaked by physical force political action may be contained! The root causes of the violence in Northern Ireland go much deeper. The mindless bombing and killing by the Provos and other sectarian organisations spring from the conflicts of the Unionist system, aggravated by the terrorist role of the British Army. The social engineering suggested in the text quoted will not go very far in eliminating those tensions and conflicts. What is required is a planned withdrawal of the British Army from the situation and an immediate dismantling of the system which produces the conflict.

In other parts of the document, the ICTU point out the bones of such a programme, particularly in the security and liberty section which calls for the immediate end of the Special Powers Act and in the human rights section which calls for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland which would effectively end the repression, introduce democracy, and fackle sectarianism.

Despite the weakness of the ICTU



**MARTA** ticularly through educating public opinion in the 26 Counties to the demands of the vast majority of progressive and moderate opinion in the North.

The NICRA annual conference provided the Civil Rights Movement with just such a programme of action. It affirmed that the coming period is crucial in the struggle to end repression, introduce democracy, and uproot sectarianism in Northern Ireland. It mandated the incoming Executive to launch a campaign of education, organisation and agitation around the Civil Rights demands which would include an imaginative internal and external education programme capable of mobilising the people against repression and sectarianism. Such a programme, if it were fully implemented, is a much more certain method of achieving justice and democracy than through the political manoeuvring which is portrayed as leadership by the journalist hacks of the Irish ruling class. The ludicrous gyrations of Messrs. Hume and Cooper of the SDLP in approaches to militant loyalist organisations is no substitute for hard political graft to build up genuine reconciliation on the basis of justice and democracy.

**British tactics**

If the 'safe' leaders of the Northern trade union movement can be prevented from turning the honest revulsion of the majority of workers against the activities of sectarian terrorists into a 'Back William Whitelaw' campaign, then the trade union movement can be moved into a concerted campaign for the immediate implementation of the programme contained in the political policy document. Already the Whitelaw Administration has made attempts to castrate the trade unionists efforts by buttering them up as 'responsible citizens' while doing absolutely nothing to grant their just demands. The tactics of the British Government in the next few months are patently clear. They will continue their efforts to create new political consensus around Mr. Faulkner and including all the 'old favourites' such as Gerry Fitt, Vivian Simpson and Robert Cooper of the Alliance Party. Perhaps the SDLP will achieve the power-sharing they long for. But based, as the settlement must inevitably be, on the old ice age divisions, this new one cannot, nor will it attempt to allow new politics to emerge in the North let alone allow one more iota of sovereignty to the Irish people. On the contrary, because it is based on the old divisions, it will help in the further whittling away of Irish sovereignty. Shortly after the new settlement a 'grateful' Dublin Government can be expected to initiate proceedings to drop Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution. This will allow Britain a totally free hand to complete a 'final solution' in the North of Ireland in line with her own needs and no others.

The simple democratic demands of the trade union and civil rights movements are the only key weapons which the Irish people can throw in Britain's imperial works. All support should be given to both movements in the crucial months ahead.

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document, it provides the basis for the creation of a programme for the 530,000 trade union members north and south of the border. Progressive trade unionists in the North can now more effectively deal with the reactionary elements which are seeking to destroy the trade union movement. Rank and file committees should be formed to fight (at all levels of the movement) for the programme which the policy document outlines. They should ask

the assistance of trade unionists in Britain who, through the British Trade Union Congress, have already endorsed the demand for a Bill of Rights first made by NICRA in 1969. Compared to the combined weight of the British and Irish Congresses of Trade Unions, the likes of Billy Hull and that unlikely representative of the Protestant section of the working class, Mr. Craig, cuts no ice. Trade unionists in the South should also give help when required, par-

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