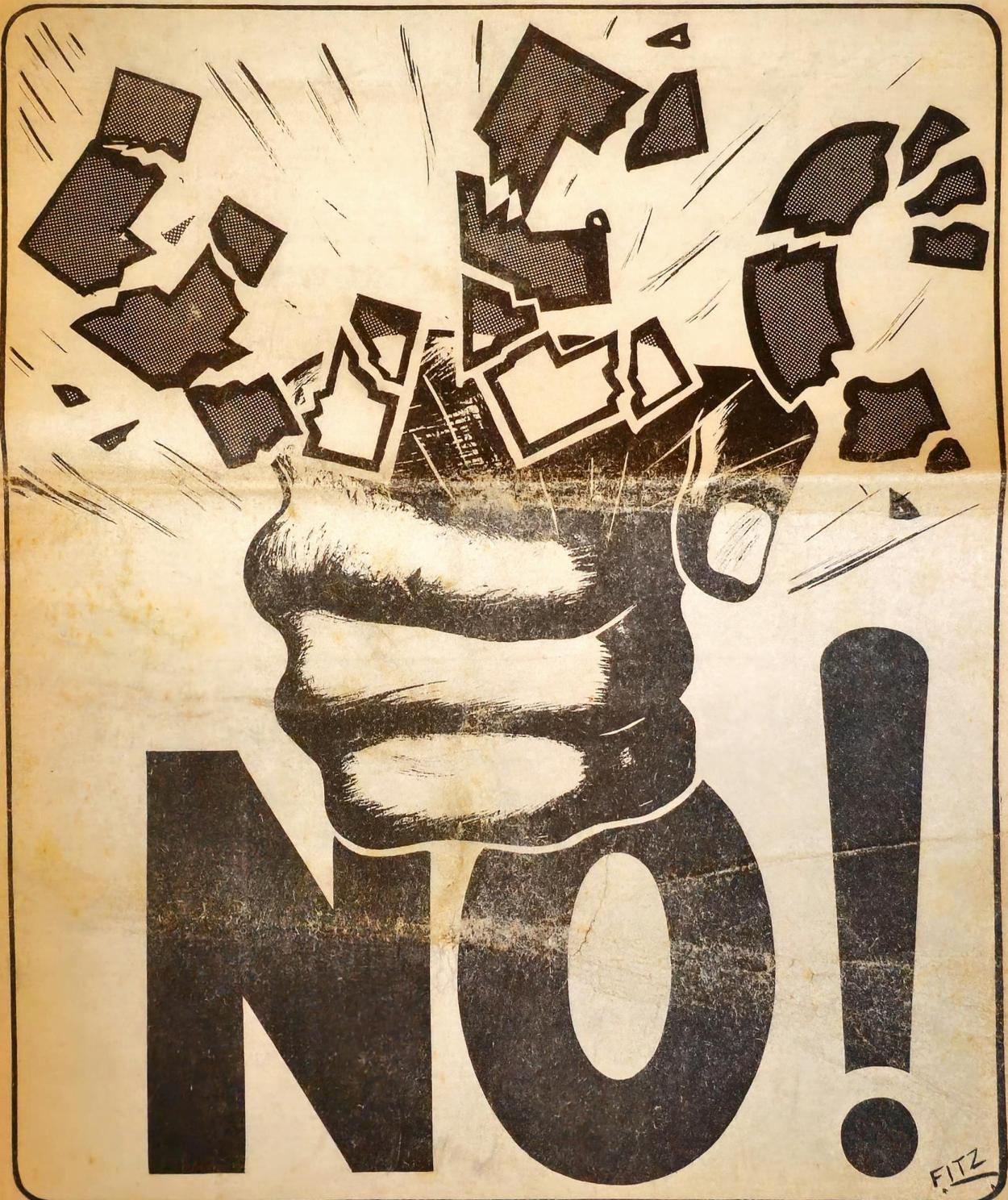


THE

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Bealtaine (May) 1972, Imh. XXVI. Uimhir 5. Luach 5p (U.S., Canada and Australia 25c.)

UNITED IRISHMAN



FITZ

litreachta

A Chara,
 In last month's edition of the "United Irishman" you carried a letter from a correspondent from Manchester who expressed surprise at the attitude of the IRA to the killings of members of the Ulster Defence Regiment. The correspondent asserts that the IRA apologised for killing Senator Barnhill, "a member of the capitalist oppressor class", but had been reticent when working class Protestants misled into giving their allegiance to British imperialism were killed.

Your correspondent is wrong on two counts. Firstly the IRA never apologised for the death of Senator Barnhill but merely explained that he had died as a result of his own actions and that there was no general IRA policy of killing civilians however reactionary and oppressive. Secondly the IRA has made it clear on several occasions (although the establishment press has rarely seen fit to publish these statements) that we totally condemn terror attacks on ordinary people, anti-civilian actions and the killings of soft targets like RUC men and UDR men as have been done by the Provisionals.

The policy of the IRA is that UDR and RUC personnel are only legitimate targets for attack when they can be clearly identified with some aggressive action or with some atrocity; thus, if a UDR man was guilty of murders like that of Joe McCann or had been involved in the torture of prisoners he would then be considered a legitimate target by the IRA. Action may be taken against both UDR and RUC men when they are engaged in military actions against areas or persons.

The IRA agrees with your correspondent when he stigmatises the killings of "all" such men unassociated with terror, murder or torture as sectarian. The IRA's opposition to sectarianism is real and we have repeatedly taken our stand against "all" such manifestations, which far from helping to achieve the freedom of Ireland or the Irish people can only assist the imperialist division of the Irish people at this time.

Your correspondent states that he feels that nothing constructive can be achieved either militarily or politically by the continuing of Protestant workers misled into joining the UDR or the RUC. The IRA agrees. We wish to win these people to support the fight for national liberation and the social emancipation of the Irish working class — both Catholic and Protestant.

Le meas brathartha,
 J. J. McGarrity.

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FIGHT AGAINST EEC GROWING

The Waterford Branch of the National Waters Restoration League staged a very successful Fish-In at Lismore, Co. Waterford on Sunday, April 16th. About 300 people participated in the demonstration which was directed against the Duke of Devonshire's ownership of the fishing rights on the River Blackwater. The Duke of Devonshire is one of the worst examples of absentee

ANOTHER FISH-IN AT LISMORE

landlordism in Ireland to-day. In addition to owning some of the best fishing rights in Ireland on the Blackwater, the Duke also owns Lismore Castle which is situated on an estate of 16,000 acres. The grazing rights on the Knockmaldon Mountains are also owned by the Duke who is one of the biggest ground rent landlords in the country, owning as he does most of the ground rent rights for Waterford and East Cork.

Speaking to a meeting in Lismore village, before the fish-in began, Tony Heffernan, Joint General Secretary of Sinn Féin, said that the campaign for the nationalisation of the inland waterways was a small but important part of the campaign for the restoration of the wealth of Ireland to the people of Ireland. "Sinn Féin supports the demands of the National Waters Restoration League for the nationalisation of the fishing rights on all rivers and lakes of Ireland," he said. "We reject the

right of people like the Duke of Devonshire to claim ownership of what belongs to the Irish people. We support the principles of Pearse and Connolly as expressed in the 1916 proclamation which proclaimed the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unrestricted control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible.

"Despite the massive weight of public opinion in favour of nationalisation of the inland waterways, Fianna Fáil has not had the courage to take any action against the Robber Barons, such as

Maeldún

DIARMAID Ó SUILLEABHÁIN

SAN úrscéal seo leagann an t-Idirbhor gear anuas ar Bhailéathana, idir hurligurriers agus achamas-rachmassairí agus ar ainmíocht shláintiúil a geuid déagóirí. Os a gcoinne sin tá spioradáltaocht iontach an mhairnélaigh ar mhúir na sior-aochta dó, a ghaidhí ar an trá thall. Ar an trá abhús tá a *vogeur* bocht, Shúil, casta ina chuid naignis dó. Ar phlána eile tá samhaíl tíre i *Maeldún* gona galair, gona Boic Mhóra, gona Whizzkids, gona sodar...

Tá iarracht chruaithe déanta anuas ag an údar breith ar an tsamhail bhunaidh agus bri na beatha a scrúdaí. Beith, dar liom, tréithe ar an leabhar seo fós—
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Far & Near

The Republican Movement extends its condolences to the family of Mrs. M. Greevy of Stamullen, Co. Dublin who died recently. Mrs. McGreevy was a life-long member of the Republican Movement and a gave faithful service throughout. A colour party was provided by Republicans from County Louth. Her death is a sad loss for Irish Republicans.

The IRA has been in action a great deal over the last month. Two incidents which particularly deserve reporting are the shooting of Special Branch Detective Kelly by an IRA unit in Newry and the attack on the supermarket of Woods in Armagh. Kelly was clearly identified on many occasions as being responsible for the torture of prisoners. Woods was a man who had been engaged on blacking on the cement workers during their strike and whose lorries had been blown up by the IRA for his scabbing. He hadn't learned his lesson, however, and was found to be scabbing on the workers of Freshford, Co. Kilkenny. Since he had recovered the IRA had been scabbing explosion the IRA carried out two actions: one against his shop and lorries and the other a personal shooting in the leg. Perhaps he will learn now before it is too late.

It is reliably reported that Michael Killen and some of his colleagues asked the Minister for Industry and Commerce for a visit recently. The Minister is reported to have rejected the claim of the IRA bosses on the grounds that he did not consider their 'productivity' during the last year merited any increase at all.

Irish farmers inside the EEC would have to pay tax which they have been exempted from paying up till now. As Fianna Fáil tries desperately to convince the farmer that he will be somehow better off if Ireland joined the EEC the news that taxes would have to be paid is seen by informed commentators as a grave blow to the government's hopes of misleading the farming community into supporting their referendum. Many farmers are now expected to vote decisively against EEC entry, as payment of taxes would totally wipe out whatever fringe benefits might be expected in the near future. This factor combined with the factor of rates increasing by 78 per cent is causing grave concern to farmers throughout Ireland.

Provisionals in the County Meath area near Athboy are licking their wounds after a recent fund raising concert. To encourage large donations the Provisionals invited Fr. Denis Faul to speak. He came and delivered such a stirring oration that the men on the door gave the money to the priest instead of the Provos. Sean Mac Stórain was so enraged that he moved from his home in An Uaimh on the spurious pretext of "bomb scares" and removed himself to Athboy. A local reporter who reported this change of address and the Provos chief's new abode was severely criticised as well as his wife. Free speech is not looked upon with favour by the gallant Sean Mac Stórain.

Anyone surprised at the findings of the Widgery report obviously has a lot to learn about the man and the way he operates. Desmond Rushe writing in the Irish Independent of April 25 brings to light the fact that the same Widgery was responsible for the savage sentences given to members of the Free Wales Army during the middle 1960s.

At the trial, Widgery expressed himself very clearly on the matter of "sabotage" and "bombers". One of the men sentenced got 14 years. And this is the same man appointed by the Heath Government to 'impartially' consider the murders of January 30. Had they appointed a partial judge, then do doubt he would have given the 13 dead men all committed suicide, such is the way of 'British justice'.

JUST PUBLISHED

IRELAND UPON THE DISSECTING TABLE

Connolly on Ulster and
 Partition

Sent 20/5 to the
 CORK WORKERS CLUB
 9 St. Nicholas Church Place,
 Cork.

Correction ?

DEAR SIR, — In your April edition, "NOYEK FIRE — ENQUIRE CALL" you state: "... 8 Irish workers died in a fire at the premises owned by a British firm — as indeed every Marxist must — to reconcile this statement with socialism. Indeed it is more akin to the type of patriotism of which Dr. Johnson wrote ("Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel"). It would have been much more in keeping with the kind of system which I hope — as indeed, must all Marxists — you advocate, had you written: "... 8 WORKERS had you written: "... 8 WORKERS died in a fire at a premises owned by a CAPITALIST firm".

Workers are important irrespective of where they are from. It is unimportant where Capitalists are from — whether they are Irish or British.

Frank Columb,
 Lough Gowna,
 Co. Cavan,
 22nd April, 1972.

Crumlin Rd.

Crumlin Road Prison,
 Belfast,
 11 April, 1972.

A Chara,
 We, the Michael Mallin Republican Club, A Wing, Belfast Prison, congratulate you and the staff on the improved standard of the April issue of the UI, including the EEC supplement. The UI is the only paper in Ireland which publishes enough educational facts and figures to expose properly the present corrupt system of our country. It is also a valuable guide line for our club members. We believe that only

a socialist system can offer a viable future for the people of Ireland and is the only alternative to the present shambles.

Our congratulations are extended to the people who support and are involved in the present struggle for democracy North and South. We also wish to express our sympathy with those in the North who have suffered grievously as a result of this struggle.

The people of the South must too be warned. Jack Lynch's machine gun armed Special Branch squads and arsenals of the criminal CS gas along with other repressive exercises are as equal a threat to democracy as were Brian Faulkner's Unionist policies. They are actually the same policies defending the same rotteness.

Therefore, we earnestly ask the people of the South to reject an aspect of these policies — the EEC sell-out for should entry happen, the struggle in the North will have been in vain and the glimmer of hope in the South for a better Ireland may be extinguished. We, who are suffering in Crumlin Road Prison for our involvement in the fight for a just society, believe that the people of the South will keep faith with us.

- Yours fraternally,
 Peter J. Monaghan (8 years)
 John Bunting (8 years)
 M. Maguire (8 years)
 Francis Weir (10 years)
 J. Goodman (8 years)
 Mick Mallin (7 years)
 G. McLoughlin (12 years)
 Pat O'Hara (7 years)
 Brendan Mackin (12 years)
 Patrick Moran (7 years)
 Charles Kelly (3 years)

N.B. — Two Republican clubs have been formed in Belfast Prison, the Michael Mallin and the Gerry Doherty. A third is to be formed.

EEC Budget:

Tax on Farmers?

On a day that Widgery was attempting to cloud over the realities at one end of the country, Coghery — sorry Colley — tried the same thing at the other end.

Everyone knew that a referendum would be tender to put the people in a mood to vote 'Yes' to the EEC. So Coghery — sorry, Colley — duly obliged and tried out the something for everybody ploy — and failed.

The trouble is just as you cannot fool all the people all of the time, neither can you please them all, particularly when your ploy is half-cooked anyway. For the same amount of money, all turnover taxes on food could have been removed. It would have been an effective relief to poorer families who not paying income tax, can't qualify for the miserly 47p married man's rebate.

It would have relieved the pressure for wage increases. It would have been dramatic. The pension could also have been increased and by more. No further taxes would have been changed.

Instead, the Anglo Irish Tax Treaty, which will have to be changed in or out of the EEC, could have been revised now. In addition, by juggling company tax rates, money could be diverted from the British exchequer to the Irish Revenue. (The British themselves made similar moves in their budget, so can hardly complain).



Militants marching in support of the Irish Republican Army shout anti-British slogans. NEWS photo by Jim Garrett

IRISH DEMONSTRATIONS IN AMERICA

For the first time in the history of the New York St. Patrick's Day Parade, the Irish Republican Movement was represented among the marchers this year. Approximately 1,200 people led by Liam McMillan, Belfast, walked behind the blue and white Irish Republican Clubs U.S.A. and Canada banner in a position of honour near the front of the parade, to ringing cheers and applause from onlookers along the entire parade route, from 44th Street and Fifth Avenue to 86th Street and Third Avenue.

The tremendous response which the Irish Republican Clubs received, both from the press and from the people at the St. Patrick's Day parade demonstrates the immense popular support which the Movement enjoys in North America.

Local Irish Republican Clubs marched in parades in cities such as Washington D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland, receiving the same popular response as in New York. In Boston, the Irish Republican Club held a demonstration march just in front of the "legal" parade, which was unrepresentative of the Irish people. Again, popular support was great.

AUSTRALIAN DEMONSTRATION OF SUPPORT

At 6.00 p.m. on the 31st March delegates from the Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon Society converged on Canberra, the Australian capital where they held a 24 hour protest vigil outside the British High Commission. This vigil was to coincide with a national conference arranged for the following evening.

Delegates attending represented branches from four states, Victoria, N.S.W., Queensland, South Australia and from the recently formed Irish Socialist Republican Movement in Adelaide. Apologies were received from branches in Perth and Darwin. Just prior to the end of the vigil a deputation from the conference made a call on the Aboriginal Embassy to express solidarity with the Aboriginal people in their struggle for civil rights. This Embassy set up by the Aboriginals themselves (in an effort to publicise their plight and gain support) is made up of a cluster of tents situated directly in front of Parliament house. We were received by John Newfong an official of the Embassy, to whom we presented a hand-drawn sketch from Long Kesh. Concentration came in turn were presented with a Dideridoo (Musical instrument).

We spent some time discussing the problems facing the Aboriginal and Irish peoples and we were amazed at the knowledge they had of the Irish situation. Several parallels were drawn between the two struggles, the foremost being: Both suffered under colonialisation and exploitation. Discrimination (Racial discrimination as opposed to religious discrimination) was expounded by the exploiters to impede natural integration and the steady decline in language and culture.

We ended the visit with a feeling of International Brotherhood and the privilege of having been in the company of a very hospitable and friendly people.

After the conference the following motions were passed:

- (1) That we reaffirm our support in the Sinn Fein policies and the position taken by the Official I.R.A.
- (2) That we appeal to the Irish people to look at the evil facing them in the proposed sell-out in the E.E.C. and to use their votes in the forthcoming referendum to keep our country out. Votes which we exiles haven't got, so we leave the destiny of our homeland in the hands of the workers and small farmers.
- (3) That our admiration be conveyed to the Civil Rights and Civil Disobedience Campaign.
- (4) That we shall continue protesting and agitating for the release of all internees.

ANOTHER SELL OUT IN NAVAN

Navan has again been threatened with redundancy and unemployment. Despite being one of the largest furniture centres in the country, the "Crannac" factory, which produces some of the finest furniture on sale in Ireland, has announced its intention to close, thereby causing redundancy for 50 people.

In a state of increasing unemployment, it will be next to impossible for these people to be accommodated with alternative employment.

"Crannac", which was owned by Gael Linn, came to the attention of Mr. E. McIlroy, a large industrialist and speculator from Castleblayney who himself owns numerous industries, some of which manufacture furniture. By putting forward a false intention of wanting to expand his own furniture producing industry, he was able to acquire "Crannac" at a minimal cost, one condition of the purchase being a guarantee that no employee of the Navan factory would be laid off for a period of 12 months.

Less than one month after this period had expired he announced his intention to close the factory in Navan. With the purchase of "Crannac", no doubt, went the rights of production of the type of furniture they produced, so the next phase of Mr. McIlroy's operation will be the transfer of the production of the Navan produced furniture to his factory in Castleblayney.

This is a clear case of selling out the interests of the workers in Navan and must be opposed. The workers of "Crannac" have already announced their willingness to continue to work the factory even if McIlroy withdraws his capital. An operation similar to this was carried out successfully in a shoe factory in Dundalk, avoiding the closure of the plant and saving the jobs of the workers.

Assistance must be given to the workers in Navan by Trade Unionists everywhere and especially by the workers in McIlroy Bros. in Castleblayney. They should refuse to start production of the furniture now being produced in Navan. By doing this they could be saving the livelihoods of 50 families in Navan. The Navan workers should be given the opportunity to prove that the factory is as workable as it was before McIlroy purchased.

CLANN BRANCH NAMED AFTER JOE McCANN

A new cumann of Clann na hEireann has been formed in Kiburn, North London. The cumann has been named after Joe McCann who was shot dead in Belfast by the Paras on April 15. The cumann is planning a series of events over the coming weeks and will be working closely with other branches of Clann in the London area.

In Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, the newly formed cumann of Sinn Fein in the area has also been named after Joe McCann. At a meeting in the town on April 19, delegates and club members agreed that the most fitting tribute they could make to Joe McCann was to dedicate the cumann to his memory.

Another club to be dedicated to Joe McCann is the Republican Club in Castlewellan, Co. Down, which formally adopted the name on April 18.

DIRECT RULE CRITICISED IN COBH

The Cobh Cumann of Sinn Fein held a dinner/cell in the Commodore Hotel, Cobh, on Friday, April 14th. Although the Cumann has been in existence for less than 12 months, the attendance of almost 150 is an indication of the progress that has been made in the area.

Tony Heffernan, Ard Rúnai, Sinn Fein, who was the guest speaker, said that nobody should be fooled by direct rule. "It is worth noting", he said, "that the same politicians who in 1969 urged the people of the North to welcome the British Army are now encouraging us all to accept rule. In 1969 the Republican Movement warned what could be expected from the British Army and the events of the past two years have justified our attitude. Today, we warn the people of the North — do not be fooled by direct rule."

"Direct rule simply means that the power to murder, the power to intern, the power to oversee discrimination, instead of being shared between Belfast and London, rests now solely in the hands of London. What is needed in Ireland is less British interference and more democracy. Direct rule means more British interference and less democracy. Mr. Whitlaw has been appointed not in the interests of the Irish people, either Catholic or Protestant, but in the interests of preserving British control over Ireland, North and South of the border."

"Those who really believe that direct rule is a step forward should study the writings of Pearse, who, writing in 1913 at a time when all Ireland had experienced over 100 years of direct rule, said: 'Any six

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Irishmen would be a better Government of Ireland than the English have been. Any six lunatics, any six criminals, any six Orangemen. The Irish would at least try to govern Ireland in the interests of the lunatics, criminals or Orangemen, as the case may be. The English will only govern Ireland in the interests of England."

SOUTH DOWN REPUBLICAN STATEMENT

A joint meeting of the various Republican Clubs in the South Down area took place in Warrenpoint on Wednesday, April 19. Clubs represented were — James Connolly, Warrenpoint; Thomas Clarke, Leitrim; Wolfe Tone, Rostrevor; James Connolly, Hilltown. Also represented were delegates from the recently formed club at Castlewellan, named after Staff Officer Joseph McCann who was murdered by the British Army in Belfast on April 15.

The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss the nature of future activities by the clubs in the area and to ensure the co-ordination of all such activities.

It was pointed out that by membership alone, the Official Republican Movement was clearly the strongest political force in the area and while organisation had been somewhat disrupted by recent repressive measures, it had refused to be driven underground.

It was stressed that the differences between the Official and Provisional movements should be

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emphasised but that this could best be done through political action rather than by purely negative criticism.

Clubs were urged to redouble their efforts in the cause for which their fellow revolutionary, Joe McCann, had given his life — a 32-County Workers' Republic.

WEXFORD RATES PROTEST

Members of the two Sinn Fein cummains in Wexford town staged a protest picket outside the Municipal Buildings on Monday, April 10. The protest was against the rating system as a whole and not merely the striking of a higher rate.

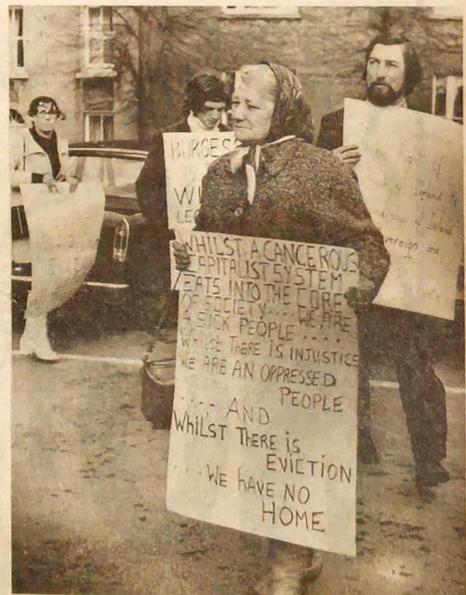
Although other groups in the town had said they would also picket, only Sinn Fein seemed able to muster any enthusiasm. When questioned about this seeming lack of support, a spokesman said that there was a lot of apathy in Wexford and, unfortunately, a lot of people did not even know that there was a rates meeting going on.

Over the last year Sinn Fein has conducted a vigorous campaign against the unfair rating system in Wexford. They organised a petition of townspeople which was signed by several hundred people. Local councillors were lobbied and asked to reject the higher rate being proposed by the County Manager.

For a while it looked as if the councillors would reject the rate and cause the Wexford Corporation to be suspended. Sinn Fein felt that this sacrifice would highlight the unjust rates system. However, when it came to the crunch, the Corporation accepted the new rate.

Initially, the Fianna Fail members of the Corporation were against striking the higher rate, while Fine Gael and Labour councillors were in favour. After being given an extra week by the Department of Local Government to strike the rate, the Fianna Fail councillors changed their minds and voted for the rate.

The rates issue in Wexford has clearly shown that Sinn Fein is the party of the people and the only body in the area prepared to stand up for the rights of the ordinary man.



Mrs. Fahey, the Galway woman threatened with eviction by a retired British Army Colonel, seen her picketing the Court. The same Army that murders people on the streets of the North evicts them from cottages in the West. What freedom?

eagarfhocal

This month the fate of the Irish people hangs on the outcome of the referendum against the EEC.

For generations the Irish people have struggled against the might of Britain's empire to win national and social freedom here in Ireland. For generations our enemies have resisted our just claims by force of arms, and have forced us to endure poverty and violence in order that the rich might grow richer.

The Common Market is the final step on the path of surrender to Britain and other imperial interests which native governments have been engaged in since the very setting up of the first Free State in 1921. It is the alliance of the rich against the poor, for in the Common Market all power lies with those who own and control the big businesses, the cartels and monopolies, and the bankers. Bankers and gombenmen nowhere have ever been worried about the fate of ordinary working people, and despite the honeyed promises of Fianna Fail won't change their nature for our sakes. What we are being asked to do is to surrender our national freedom, limited as it has been made by successive seoinn governments, in order to enjoy the privilege of being ruled by faceless bureaucrats in Brussels, in partnership with a reactionary Tory regime in Britain which has brought a reign of terror and murder to bear against our fellow-countrymen in the North.

Are those who were slaughtered in Derry by the butchers of the British Army to be forgotten while Jack Lynch sips tea with Heath? Are the people of the 26 counties to shake the hands of those who only a few weeks ago foully murdered Joe McCann on the streets of Belfast? Is all that has been endured in the North in the fight for democracy to be thrown away because that traitor Lynch smiles at us. There is an old Irish proverb that there are three smiles worse than death: the smile of a leaping wolf, the smile of a friend that has betrayed you and the smile of the sun upon melting snow. But there is none so bad, so sickening as the smile of Jack Lynch as he knived the people of the North and as he sells out his country to foreign imperialism.

Nor has Lynch been content with this amount of dirty work. While hypocritically declaring an 'interest' in an eventual reunification of Ireland (although nowhere does he ever speak about independence for Ireland) Lynch denies the people of the North, whom he claims as Irish citizens when votes are at stake, the right to participate in this referendum which will determine their future, the future of this country. This means that the people of the 26 counties have an even greater burden of duty when voting against the EEC. Not merely must they vote against it in their own interest but also in the interest of their Northern fellow countrymen who are united in opposition, irrespective of religion or constitutional loyalty.

The Common Market itself is only a development of Britain's takeover of Ireland. Already we have had the free trade agreement, universally deplored by workers, trade unions and businessmen alike, we have had a continuing link with the British financial orbit through sterling and foreign control of all our money investment companies like banks and building societies, and we have seen the wealth of Ireland handed over to foreigners while emigration and poverty soar. The Common Market is an aggravation of all that is wrong with present day Irish society. For the EEC would mean more free trade and therefore more competition for Irish industrial goods and therefore more danger for Irish industrial workers.

What is the alternative to this monstrosity of little Europe? The obvious alternative to going in is to stay out. Since staying out would give us the freedom to build the kind of Ireland the masses of working people want and the freedom to take measures in defence of Irish economic and social interests.

If the EEC means freedom of movement of capital (in other words the right of foreigners to take profits out of Ireland and the right of capitalists to invest money produced by Irish workers abroad), freedom of movement of labour (i.e.

emigration) and freedom of movement of goods (i.e. intensified competition against Irish produce) then the alternative is simple: no movement of goods, labour or capital. Not only is the alternative simple, it is vitally necessary. If we control the movement of goods by setting up state import-export boards and only buying what we can't economically produce, paying for that with our tremendous mineral wealth and other resources we can successfully protect existing Irish industries while developing new ones to replace workers displaced from other industries, like agriculture. Under free trade conditions no country has ever achieved the industrialisation that we need, and no miracles can be expected in our case.

If we prevent foreign capital penetration we can prevent the exploitation of our resources by groups like Northgate and the other big mining companies. We can instead use these resources for the benefit of the Irish people, building up a viable economic infrastructure and diversifying our markets with Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. We can also by nationalising our banking system and all building societies, investment trusts, insurance companies and other financial institutions recall the £1,000 million of Irish money invested abroad and use it at home. The ending of emigration would be the consequence of the Irish people taking such measures.

But in the immediate, the issue is not what the alternative is. Many different social classes oppose the EEC because it is damaging their interests. The issue is indeed that. EEC entry would seriously and dangerously damage the hopes of prosperity and progress of the Irish people. It would permanently seal the partition of our country and foreign control over all our affairs North and South. It would result in closing of factories, abandoning of farms, loss of fisheries. The only ones to benefit will be the select few who are in the know, businessmen like O'Reilly and the corrupt politicians of the Fianna Fail and Unionist parties, the gombenmen and place seekers.



THE VOTELESS VOICE



● Sean Kenny

● Bernadette Devlin

ANTI-EEC SPEAKING TOUR LAUNCHED AFTER SINN FEIN PRESS CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN

At a press conference in Dublin on April 14, the last phase of the Sinn Fein anti EEC campaign was announced by Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein. He outlined the reasons for the intensification of the campaign and said that findings indicated that there would be a massive vote "No" on referendum day.

Seamus Costello, Ard Comhairle, gave details of the meetings arranged throughout the country. Sinn Fein, he said, would hold over 3,000 meetings at fairs, churches and public places. He also announced that a mobile team of speakers, including Bernadette Devlin, would be touring the country.

The mobile team began their tour in Cork on April 20 when a press conference was held. Frank O'Hare, Armagh anti EEC organiser, said that Northern citizens had as much right to participate in the Referendum as they had to hold Irish passports.

Miss Devlin said that in her opinion, only Sinn Fein were mounting a comprehensive anti Common Market campaign. The Labour Party had set up a committee on the subject but this body had not yet produced a plan of action.

Sean O Ciannáin said that between 4,000 and 5,000 sympathisers have been organised to carry out door to door canvassing and to distribute leaflets.

At the first meeting in Cork, over 4,000 people attended and enthusiastically applauded speakers. The first meeting held in April by the mobile team was in Middleton, Castlemore, Kilkenny, Waterford, Loughrea, Tuam, Athenry, Ballinacree and Mullingar.

Following May meetings are scheduled for Kilarney, Limerick, Shannon, Ennis, An Uaimh, Drogheda, Trim, Dundalk, Bailieboro and Crum, as well as in Dublin city and county.

ANTI-MARKET MEETING IN WEXFORD

A large crowd gathered at the Bullring in Wexford on April 15, to hear Sean O Ciannáin and Traolach O Murchu speak on behalf of Sinn Fein at the Anti EEC meeting organised by the local cumann of Sinn Fein.

Traolach O Murchu said that the people should look carefully at the motives of those advocating membership. There is a salary of £17,500 per year for the prospective Irish commissioner to the EEC and already we see the fighting in the government for the job. The price the people of Ireland would pay for giving Dr. Hillery, Mr. Childers or Mr. Colley that job would be their own jobs.

The government, he said, claimed that EEC membership would help to remove the border, by removing tariffs. Before 1932 there were no tariff barriers but partition was just as much a fact then as it is now. The government had no interest in the people of the North and if the words of Jack Lynch were any guide, they were prepared to see Irish troops fighting side by side with the British Paras who murdered 13 Irishmen in Derry.

Sean O Ciannáin said that partition would remain if we entered the EEC. The government had done nothing to protect the people of the Six Counties and in fact, were refusing to give a vote to these Irish citizens. Were all the people allowed to vote on May 10, there would be a landslide against the government. This was why 30 per cent of the

E.E.C. leaflets have been handed out in Navan alone. This, along with the all-time local record of 800 copies weekly of the "United Irishman", shows the growing support and sympathy for the ideals of the movement in the area.

Over the Easter week-end a twenty-four hour stand was held by members in the town square to present the case against entry into E.E.C. All members took an active part in this highly successful exercise, meeting people and explaining the party's stand on the matter, and handing out literature. This week-end a further campaign, to be carried out in all the main centres in the county, is planned. While continuing to actively put forward the Sinn Fein stand on the E.E.C. and other national issues, the Navan Cumann hopes to increase its activity to include local matters as well. High on the list of priorities is a campaign against the current mining situation, and other issues such as housing and employment will also be looked at.

ICTU ISSUES PAMPHLET AGAINST EEC

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions has issued an eight page document outlining their opposition to the Common Market. Entitled "Economic Freedom", it deals with the effects of entry on agriculture, fisheries and industry, and also the alternatives which we have.

On page 3, John Bristow, Lecturer in Economics, T.C.D., has an article on the agricultural case for EEC entry. He writes, "He writes, such benefits, with one major exception, either do not exist at all, or, if they do exist, cannot be imputed to EEC membership."

In relation to the meat industry in Ireland, Economic Freedom quotes the late President of the ICTU, Mr. James Cox, who said that within the EEC it had at best a misty future, at worst a very dark one indeed.

Economic Freedom clearly shows that our industrial exports are not endangered by the laying out of the Common Market. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that certain of our industries are going to be adversely affected. British industry has already gained an increasing share of our domestic market and there is every indication that this will continue.

On page 5, tables of employment in the manufacturing industries are given and it is estimated by the authors that between 30,000 and 35,000 jobs are likely to be lost if we enter the EEC. Moreover, they point out that the balance of advantages for attracting new industries and new jobs in export industries lies outside the EEC. It is to the country outside the EEC that our export trade over the last decade has grown most rapidly.

During the course of the next few weeks, Sinn Fein alone will be distributing 30,000 copies of Economic Freedom and the Labour Party, the Common Market Defence Campaign and the trade unions themselves will also be circulating the document. If you do not receive a copy, please write either to Sinn Fein, 30 Gardiner Place or direct to the ICTU, Congress House, 19 Raglan Road, Dublin 14.

IRA URGES "POLITICAL" ACTION

Following the murder of Joe McCann and the renewal of aggressive action by the British Army, the Belfast Command of the Irish Republican Army issued a statement urging the British of escalating violence at a time when I.R.A. units had decided to suspend operations in certain areas of the city.

It had been decided after consulting the people in these areas that no action would be taken by units in areas where there was relative calm. The statement went on: "We wished through our actions to provide a period of calm in which the working people could work out and decide how the mass campaign of civil disobedience should now proceed in the light of the initiatives."

The British, however, under the direction of Whiteley, seem to show they hope the people had of a period of calm. Raids continued in Ballymurphy and New Lodge Road areas, homes were raided, houses smashed and people were arrested and beaten.

"Retaliatory action against the British Army was carried out in these areas and the local units defended them against further incursions by the British Army. The Army further escalated their campaign of violence at the weekend and this culminated in the shooting of Staff Officer Joseph McCann in what could only be described as bloody murder."

"Our retaliatory actions have resulted in the surrendering of eight soldiers, one seriously. These actions were clearly provoked by the British authorities and their menacing army."

We in the Official I.R.A. now call upon the people of Belfast to see Whiteley and what he represents in its true light. Nothing has changed with the imposition of direct rule. No real political change can take place within the Six Counties until the demands of the Civil Rights Movement are met.

We can best honour the memory of Joe McCann by continuing the campaign of militant non violent disobedience until these demands for the ending of the Special Powers Act and the establishment of democracy are met. Aggressive military action, though understandable, only plays into the hands of the authorities and provides the British Army with the opportunity to continue their campaign of murdering unarmed civilians as happened on Monday at Divis Flats.

"Retaliatory for these deaths will be carried out by the Army of the People. The people's struggle will continue at all levels until we achieve the goal that Joe McCann was attempting to win, the establishment of a 32 County Socialist Republic."

JOURNALISTS DEPLORE CENSORSHIP

Members of the National Union of Journalists meeting at Tenby in South Wales have vigorously condemned attempts at censorship of news by government agencies. Particular criticism is launched against the Dublin government because of its blatant efforts to muzzle RTE and to stifle all free political comment and debate on the television and radio services. A well-

known example of this was the refusal of the RTE management, at the instigation of government Ministers, to allow a pamphlet outlining the alternatives to EEC membership to be advertised on the television, and of course the notorious sackings and demotions of radical and suspected radical journalists and producers in RTE. Amongst those who have suffered the government attack are Rodney Rice (to be removed from 7 Days and transferred to the 'newsroom') and Eoghan Harris, the former producer of FEACH, who is still looking for alternative production work in RTE.

OIDHEADH CHAINNE DHOIRE

Guth seimh banda ar an radío ag casadh cheo — mar bheadh dallán ar thuineog nó deoch suain, deoch an dearmaid, Letha. Mór sruth na habhann sin arb é ár ndíth anois; mór sruth an chaoinne; mór ár bhfearg.

Crónan guth gan aghaidh, ceadal riarachán, comhsheimh. Greaddh bhú bhrú geallt. A lucht na bpleian gan éifeacht. Tá brachadh an ghraín ag síleadh le créacht oscailte na staire, agus sibhse tite ann; muckhar bhú mbíadar, slogar bhur n-uabhar libh.

Eist bhur mbéal. Tá búreacht slua ós bhur ngeataí amach: Á Á ar aib, tabair dúinn ár mbeo, tabhair dignit dúinn, bhur mbáithre. Eireomna is tógam nua-réim — imbracacht an chirt, saoréast an tsaoirse, pobhlacht an phobail. Dúitfóir reacht, of ann anois d'bhur n-údarás dall gan shrá. Dulstear an míol mór. An eol doibh cén suantraí a chuirfeadh codladh feasta air?

Tá an mhuintir le tine. Mícheál O'Uanacháin.

An Ghaeltacht ag Votail Nil?

Ta riteas eisthe ag Breandan Mac Gearailt agus Labhras O'Siara, bhur ceann Cumann Chearta Naisiunta Chorca Duibhne i dtaobh an chomharghaidh. Seo thíos an riteas iomlán.

Ag tagairt don reitireann faoi bhaillochta sa Chomhphobal Eacnamaíochta Eorpach (CEE) níor mhíste na pointí seo lennas a choinneáil in intinn.

Talamh: Dhlíonn Conradh na Róimhe go mbeidh de chead ag saoránach na Ball-staít talamh cheannach i nBall-Staít eile. Mar sin bheadh lan-chaed ag eachtréannaigh talamh na Gaeltachta a cheannach. Seo an t-odhad do reitgáin bhochta mar ata sna ceantacha Gaeltachta: "... cu airtoireacht, paiseanna nadurtha, tuiscaimír, uisce- sanatóirí, goidpéil, agus n-áirínte chun cinn". (Comunitary Topic 33 — "Regional policy in an Integrated Europe").

Iasach: Seo an tionscailt is seans forbatha na Ghaeltachta. Is feidir go mbeid iasachí eachtránacha ag iasach suas go gladaigh na Gaeltachta tar eis 10 bliana, agus iad clairithe (registered) mar chinn gaeilacha róimhe.

Deontais: Na feid deontais ar leimh na Gaeltachta a ioc laistigh den Chomharghaidh. Ní gheibtear fadhbanna spisiálta na Gaeltachta (na a tabhacht) sa mBriúisell. Ní chéadoinn Conradh na Róimhe do na Ball-Staít comhluachtaí stait a bheadh ag iasach earraí a bhunú nó a chosaint. Gaeltarra Eireann? Arramara Teo?

Gaeilge: Tá fhios againn in Eirinn go n-eascairíonn ionannas cultúir as aontas polaitiúil, chun díobhála an chultúir laig. Tá sampla na Briúití agus na tionscailt eile sa EEC romhainn. Bheadh stadais ilithe in ann don Ghaeilge de bharr meadu i stadais teangeacha iasachta san oideachas agus gan seirbhís phoiblí. Bhruafáin an

Ghaeltúinn agus an Ghaeltacht amach. Antaon argoint i dtaobh na Gaeilge a usaidtear trí bhreis toagmhaí le cultúir eile. Ach san n-ohios taighde ar bonn oideachta a deindeadh ar seo, níor thangthas ar son bhaint triú treimhí bhéith cáite thíos leag ag daoine agus ba no an t-íofacht ata acu sa Ghaeilge.

EIRE SHAOIR:

Aontas polaitiúil chomh maith le nontas eacnamaíochta atá gceist sa Chomharghaidh, go fadtearmach. Bhí aontas polaitiúil agus eacnamaíúil airt an tír seo agus tar eile ar feadh 120 bliain tar eis Acht na hAondachta. Ní chun maítheas ná hEireann a chuirgead ar ais é sin. Sa chead chuig bhliain de bhaillochta Chomharghaidh bhí laghdú de mhíliúin ar líon na bpobstanna san Iodail.

CEN ROGHA?

Sí Eire an custaiméir is fearr ata ag Eirinn. Dúitfóir 75 per cent de dheantús na hEireann ansao. Ceannaíonn Eireann níos mó o Shasana agus o thiortha an Chomharghaidh ná mar a cheannacháirí n-áirínte chun cinn. (Comunitary Topic 33 — "Regional policy in an Integrated Europe").

ROGHA:

Is feidir chomhaontú trádala no comhaontú trádala le comh-bhaillochta a thail gan ceangal polaitiúil no eacnamaíúil nach n-éireann do stait na hEireann bhartha mar Eire. Bhí san a tharrac dúinn i 1967.

Tá saibhreas mór inar 'aibhne agus locha ach ta furbhor an airgid ag dul go dtí absente landlords. Na súisíofar na huaisce seo. Cimid breis agus 1,000 míliúin Infeistithe againne thar lear. Tá se in am na Baice a naisiúnaí agus mar bharr ta breis agus 1531 míliúin punt le callúnt cur mianághaí toisc an seacht am a dteacht ar a n-áirínte. Votail "NIL" sura m'beir gan vota na guth.

Joe McCann died on the streets of Belfast on April 15. He was gunned down by the Paras, the same troops that committed the atrocities in Derry in January. Just as the Derry Thirteen were unarmed, so too was Joe McCann.

It had been known for months that the British Army had no intention of ever arresting Joe. Repeatedly his family were told that the troops would shoot him on sight. That this was so was the greatest tribute they could pay, for it showed the fear they had of Joe.

That fear was well grounded. During the internment swoops last August, Joe McCann, with a small group of volunteers, took up positions in Inglis's bakery in Eliza Street, in Belfast's Markets area. For six hours they held off the assault being mounted by the Green Howards and inflicted many casualties on the invaders.

It was estimated at the time that the British had some 600 soldiers in the area and yet, McCann's small corp of volunteers was able to keep them out of the area. This action enabled the people to erect barricades and gave wanted men in the area the chance to elude the swoops.

It was during the Battle of Belfast that the now world famous picture of Joe McCann, crouching below the Starry Plough with an M1 carbine in his hand, was taken. This picture, far more than words, epitomised the courage of the man.

Volunteers who fought with Joe McCann all agreed that he never asked them to do anything that he would not do himself. He was a born leader and a fine example to all who knew him.

Yet to think of Joe merely as a soldier would be wrong. As Cathal Goulding said in his graveside oration, Joe McCann knew that the answer to Ireland's problems lay in the implementation of socialist



JOE McCANN

Retaliation was swift and sharp

Following the murder of Joe McCann by the Paras, the IRA retaliated throughout the North. Three British soldiers, two in Derry and one in Belfast, were killed as units responded to the tragic news of the murder. In Belfast, barricades were erected in Andersonstown, Ballymurphy, the Falls and Turf Lodge.

Attacks were carried out against British army posts at the Henry Taggart Memorial Hall in Ballymurphy and the Falls bus depot where British troops are billeted. Marksmen in the Divis Flats killed a British soldier following a day of attacks on the Hastings Street R.U.C./Army station.

In Turf Lodge, units of the IRA took over a land rover and manned a mobile patrol of the area. In some areas, British troops attempted to remove the barricades but had only temporary success as people immediately rebuilt them.

The shooting of two British soldiers in Derry came within hours of the news of Joe McCann's death. Two soldiers, Corporal Gerald Bristow of the Worcestershire Fusiliers and Pte. Martin Robinson of the Worcestershire and Sherwood Foresters, were shot dead by units of the IRA. Two other soldiers were seriously wounded.

Responsibility for these actions was accepted by the Official IRA in a statement which said that they had been carried out as a reprisal for the murder in Belfast.

In Belfast itself the atmosphere was tense as IRA units went into action to avenge the death of their comrade in arms. Army posts and patrols were fired on all over the city. Actions took place at Oldpark, at the Henry Taggart Memorial Hall, Ballymurphy, Stockman's Lane, Glen Road, Crumlin Road, Flax Street, Hastings Street and Andersonstown.

Heavy fighting broke out in the Divis Flats area and during this battle, 2nd Lieut. Nicholas Hull of the Anglian Regiment was shot dead. Another officer was removed to hospital after being hit in the stomach. His condition is reported to be critical. The intensity of the firing around the flats was so great that British troops were pinned down for several hours.

At least two other soldiers were wounded in incidents around Belfast, one in the Springfield Road area and one at North Howard Street.

IRA units were also active in Newry and Strabane. In Newry two soldiers were hit when the IRA attacked a mobile patrol, while in Strabane enemy troops came under fire.

On the day of Joe McCann's funeral, the British Army mounted a big security check around the Andersonstown/Falls area. All roads into the area were blocked and cars entering were searched and their occupants questioned. However, troops kept well away from the Turf Lodge area, apart from a helicopter hovering several hundred feet above the area.

At the Andersonstown army post opposite Milltown cemetery, observation posts were packed with troops. Their purpose was to photograph people entering the cemetery but this was hindered by women shielding the mourners with umbrellas and coats.

Despite the security checks, many leading Republicans were able to freely enter the area. The most notable of these was Cathal Goulding, who had come from Dublin to give the funeral oration.

McCANN FILE FOR PROSECUTOR

Following the murder of Joe McCann there were many calls for the soldiers responsible to

ideals. He knew that action in the streets, the factories and the homes of the working class people was the best educator of the people.

As a member of his local Republican Club, Joe McCann was foremost in pressing for political action. He followed the example of James Connolly, whose writings he had read widely, and made the social problems of the people of Belfast his problems.

Joe McCann was a quiet man, who loved his home and the people of the Turf Lodge area where he lived. Whenever he was in Dublin, it was obvious that Joe was longing to get back to the people he knew best and the city he loved, Belfast. It was there that his work was to be done.

Joe McCann was murdered while he was doing that work. He was unarmed and on his way to meet political activists in the Markets. Several times during the last few weeks, Joe McCann had come within a hair's breadth of being caught by the troops. He knew that were he to be captured, he would never see the inside of a barracks. The British had made that clear. He knew that his best chance was to avoid capture.

It was while he was attempting to escape from an ambush that he was murdered. Eye witnesses said that the Paras first shot him in the leg and after he fell fired as many as ten rounds of live ammunition at him. One account given claimed that a Para fired four shots into his stomach.

They had no intention of taking him alive.

Joe McCann was laid to rest in Milltown cemetery alongside his two comrades Rose Curry and Gerald O'Hare on April 18. The funeral cortege was one of the most impressive seen in Belfast. Over 2,000 volunteers marched behind the hearse and the route was lined with a crowd numbering over 20,000. Over 200 women carrying wreaths from all over the 32 Counties also walked in the procession.

be prosecuted. On April 26, it was reported that the file concerning the shooting had been sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions, Mr. Barry Shaw, by the Chief Constable of the R.U.C., Mr. Graham Shillington.

Under the Yellow Card Instructions issued to soldiers, it is evident that these instructions were ignored by the troops involved, the Paras, just as they ignored them in Derry on Bloody Sunday. If a prosecution is brought, it will be the first since November 1970 when a soldier was charged after three people were injured on the Crumlin Road.

However, the move is seen in Dublin as an attempt to shift responsibility away from the real culprits, the authorities who have sanctioned the indiscriminate shooting of unarmed civilians. It is known that the R.U.C. Special Branch, in particular, were anxious that Joe McCann should be shot on sight, whether or not he was armed. They had full backing from the 'civil authorities'.

McCann Family Fund

Donations may be sent c/o 30 Plas Gardner, Dublin 1. Commemorative poster will soon be provided. Proceeds to fund.

The following oration at the graveside of Volunteer Joe McCann was delivered by Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the I.R.A., at Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

We come here today to pay tribute to a soldier of the Irish Republican Army who was murdered by the forces of the Crown. To a man who was shot like a dog by the agents of imperialism, by the agents of the Orange junta, with the murderous assistance of the political police force of imperialism and Orangeism, by the forces of repression and sectarianism, by the forces of evil. It is, in itself, a tribute to an officer of the Irish Republican Army that his death should have been caused by this combination of corruption and might. That it should have been thought necessary to shoot down, unarmed, in the streets of the city he loved and which honoured him as a man, a volunteer of the I.R.A. who might have been branded a terrorist but who was feared because he had in him the

GRAVESIDE ORATION

BY CATHAL GOULDING

essence of revolutionary spirit and determination.

We come to pay tribute to Joe McCann, to the man, the soldier, the political activist, the revolutionary, to the Irish Republican Socialist who personified the struggle of the people for full political and civil rights in the occupied six counties of our land. We are here because we loved him, because we honoured his idealism, because we shared his vision of a country of a people, free from the vicious shackles of Orange capitalism, free from the corrosive influence of imperialism, free from the repression that has been aimed and ever will be aimed at the working-class people of this country, North and South, Catholic and Protestant — at the working people whose defence was Joe McCann's duty and his pride.

But in remembering him, let there be NO doubt that in days to come the courage, the determination and the political vision of Joe McCann will be remembered by generations of Irishmen with gratitude and pride and let us keep in our minds the tradition that he so proudly bore. Let us recognise that it was human and humane, let us recognise that it was revolutionary and sympathetic, let us recognise that it was integrally a part of the people's struggle without pause for consideration of religious difference or political sectarianism.

Joe McCann, lying on the blood-stained ground of this embattled city, made a sacrifice for the people. Let no-one be mistaken that this sacrifice was in vain. Let no-one be mistaken about the reasons why it was made. Let none who come here and none who listen with the ears of Glengall Street or Westminster or Dublin Castle be in any doubt about the existence of a force which is aimed at their masters' destruction, by force of the people's arms, by will of the people's conviction, by the overwhelming need of the people to be free of all and every source of domination and of all and every agent of the imperial demand. Let no-one doubt that the ultimate retribution for the death of Joe McCann will be achieved.

People of Belfast, who have lost a son, a brother, a defender, let me remind you of the tribute his comrades have paid to Joe McCann. Let it be your guide and conscience and your motivation. For it was the tribute paid to Volunteer McCann by the people of the place he defended in August, 1971, the tribute of emulation. The County Antrim executive of the Republican Clubs said of him: "Conscious of the fact that the true liberation of the working classes could only be achieved in the establishment of a socialist republic, Joe had worked constantly to build the revolutionary socialist movement. Much of his time was spent in studying the problems of his area, in educating the members of the movement in his area to the ideals of true republicanism and in working at ground level to change the system which oppresses the ordinary people. He drew his political philosophy from the writings of James Connolly, a man on whose

master, that action on the streets and in the factories and in the homes of the working people is the best education that a people can have. The lesson of the barricades, the lesson of Inglis's Bakery, the lesson of a community thrown upon its own resources, this is the lesson of revolution.

Remember now, as you stand around his grave, that Joe McCann was not once but doubly, and trebly murdered by the forces of the Crown. Once, by the act of shooting him down. Once, by the act of making him and his working people potential slaves to domination. And once by the strange, impersonal demands that are the military corollary of their territorial imperative. Pearse quoted a French writer saying of the English that they never commit a useless crime. When they hire a man to assassinate an Irish patriot, when they blow a sepooy from the mouth of a cannon, when they produce a famine in one of their own dependencies, they have always had an ulterior motive. They don't do it for entertainment.

By shooting Joe McCann, their Whitelaws and their Heaths and their Tuzos have shown the colour of their so-called peace initiatives. They have re-declared war on the people. They have spelt out again the rules under which that war will be fought. Our answer to them is to fight them on our terms, not on theirs. We will retaliate against the formulators of that policy. We have given notice, by action that no words can now efface, that those who are responsible for the terrorism that is Britain's age-old reaction to Irish demands will be the victims of that terrorism, paying richly in their own red blood for their crimes and the crimes of their imperial masters.

Joe McCann goes to his grave, not in defeat but in triumph. Not defeated, but at the moment of victory. A man of courage, of integrity and of vision. Essentially, an Irish Republican and a Socialist. A man. At his graveside, we say to those who murdered him: you have the weapons and the strength, but with men like Joe McCann to carry on the struggle of the Irish people, the Irish Republican Army, in the words of Fintan Lalor, will task that strength and break the heart of empire.

Signed: J. J. McGarrity.

BIG JOE

(Air: "Joe Hill")

Words by D. Fitzgerald.
c 1972, B.R. Music.

I dreamed I saw Big Joe last night,
Alive as you and me.
Says I, "But, Joe, you're long since dead",
"I've never died", says he.

They shot you in the Markets, Joe,
The Branch they took a hand;
The dirty cowards gave you no chance,
Says Joe, "But I'm not dead",
Says Joe, "But I'm not dead".

The Turf bosses killed you, Joe,
They shot you like a dog,
"Takes more than just a kill a man",
Says Joe, "I didn't die",
Says Joe, "I didn't die".

And standing there as big as life,
And smiling his own smile,
Joe says, "What they forgot to kill",
Goes on to organise,
Goes on to organise".

"McCann's not dead", he says to me,
"McCann's still on the go,
Where Irishmen claim what's their own,
Big Joe is at their side,
Big Joe is at their side".

From Creggan Heights to Lower Falls,
From Turf Lodge to Ardoyne,
Where workers fight and organise,
Says he, "You'll find McCann",
Says he, "You'll find McCann".

'Til Britain's Empire's dead and gone,
And workers own this land,
We'll fight for Irish liberty,
Big Joe will lend a hand,
Big Joe will lend a hand.

I dreamed I saw Big Joe last night,
Alive as you and me,
Says I, "But, Joe, you're long since dead",
"I'm still alive", says he,
"I'm still alive", says he.

DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY

He came from a town called Belfast,
And he was a working man,
He fought for the common people,
And his name was Joe McCann.

A city lies in mourning,
For a brave son it has lost,
Murdered by a shameless gang,
But they will pay the cost.

They couldn't break his spirit,
So unarmed they shot him down,
But although he has gone from us,
His defiant voice still sounds.

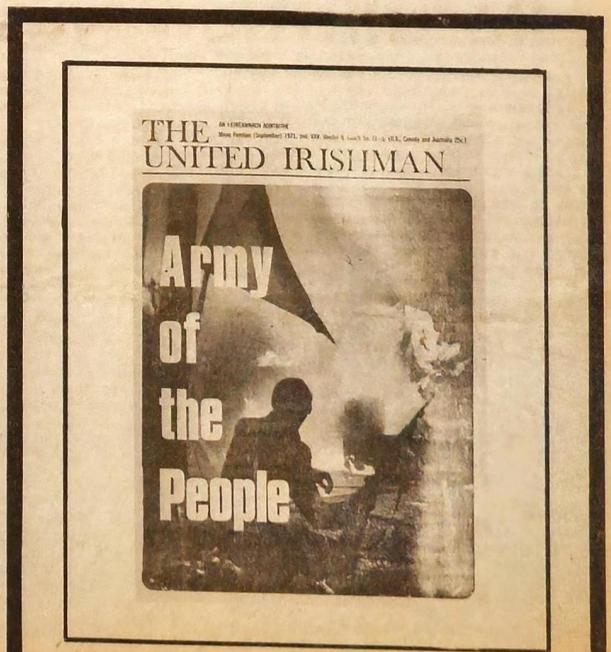
"Better to die on your feet than live on your knees".

I often heard him say,
And his words will long be with us,
Though he lies beneath the clay.

Determined and undaunted,
He worked both night and day,
To break the chains that bind us,
And lead us on the way.

A disciple of James Connolly,
A comrade true and grand,
A defender of the working-class,
Remember Joe McCann.

A BELFAST REPUBLICAN.





WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO IRELAND

This month sees the Referendum and the decision of the people of the 26 Counties on the Government's proposals for entry. The pros and cons of the case for and against entry into the Common Market have been widely publicised for many months, though the anti-market side have not been given the same coverage on radio and television as the pro marketeers.

The issues in the Referendum are clear. On one hand, the government is asking the people to give up independence and sovereignty and allow the Commission in Brussels to decide our future. On the other hand, the anti marketeers are asking the people to retain control over decision making, to take control of the means of distribution and production and to broaden our trading horizons beyond Britain and Western Europe.

The decision is between freedom and slavery, justice and injustice. Sinn Fein, which has spearheaded the campaign against entry into the Common Market, has given good reasons why the people should reject the EEC.

These reasons are simple. Basically there are five good reasons for voting No to the government.

No to low wages: The Common Market bosses will level down wages. French transport workers, for example, get £16.50 for a 40 hour week. Irish transport workers get £19.40.

No to higher prices: Food prices will add £3.50 to every housewife's bill each week.

No to redundancy: Free trade means no protection for traditional Irish industries. Most, like the textile, footwear and food processing trades, will go to the wall. So will the workers and their families.

No to emigration: Unemployed workers will have to migrate, as will the mass of other workers when their factories close. Britain has a million unemployed and will have no jobs for our emigrants. Irish men and women will be driven to provide cheap labour on the continent and live in the shanty towns of Europe.

These then are the basic objections to voting for entry into the Common Market. Even some pro EEC speakers admit that Irish industry has no future in the EEC. This was stated on the recent Late Late Show tribunal.

How will the EEC affect your area?

Munster.

Already Cork city has one of the highest unemployment rates in the 26 Counties. The EEC will increase the number of jobless. Shipbuilding, a key employer of labour in the Cork area, will be severely hit and Dutch owners of Verolme dockyards are likely to invest their money back in Holland rather than keeping it in Cork.

Shannon has been feeling the effects of free trade during the last few months, with many

factories closing. Limerick, Clare and North Tipperary depend upon Shannon for employment. Inside the EEC, the grants and subsidies given to employers will disappear. This will mean the closure of the Shannon Estate and mass migration from these areas.

The lush farmlands of Tipperary will be subject to land speculation by foreign meat companies, anxious to take the profits promised to Irish cattle men. Once the small farmers are cleared from the land, take overs will be made easier and nothing T. J. Maher or Allan Dukes can say will prevent Germans and Frenchmen becoming the owners of Tipperary farms.

The fishermen along the Waterford coast will be put out of business again by foreign take over of the industry. The right of free establishment will enable them to do this. Waterford's coastal waters will be stripped of its valuable shoals and unemployment will grow accordingly. Nothing Dr. Hillery has said will stop this.

Kerry will also suffer from the effects of foreign interference in our economy. The show factory in Killarney will disappear, the new factories around Tralee will remain empty and the people will be forced to migrate.

Connaught.

Emigration from Connaught has always been high due to underdevelopment by the Dublin government. The people of the west cannot expect to fare any better from the foreigners in Brussels. The small farmers of the west are a top priority for eviction from the land. Mansholt says only two per cent of Irish holdings are viable. This means that 98 per cent are not. Over 80 per cent of western small farmers will be cleared from the land.

The fishing industry along the west coast will be seriously affected by EEC membership. The shell fish industry, which could contribute at least £5m per year to the country, will be decimated by foreign fleets and those inshore fishermen along the Galway and Mayo coasts will be obliged to leave the industry. Since there will be no alternative employment, they will have to emigrate. There has been too much emigration from the West without adding to it.

Leinster.

Being more industrialised than any other province, Leinster will be seriously affected by foreign competition. Just as free trade with Britain wiped out the jobs of 18,000 Irish workers, so free trade with Europe will wipe out the jobs of many thousands more. Towns like Dundalk, Carrickmacross and Monaghan where the footwear industry is based, will become ghost towns.

Wexford town in the south will see the Unigate factory closing off sections of its production and

the gradual phasing out of the plant altogether. Already there are 1,000 unemployed in Wexford town. Free trade will add many more.

The rich farm areas of Kilkenny, Meath and Louth will be affected by the huge increase in rates. According to the IFA's own figures, rates will increase by 78 per cent. Fertiliser costs will go up by 34 per cent and thus, the 50 per cent rise in beef prices will be more than cancelled out.

Dublin will see many of the foreign owned factories closing down. The car assembly industry will not survive and 14,000 workers will lose their jobs.

Ulster.

Most of Ulster is disenfranchised, i.e., they will not get a vote in the Referendum. The remaining three counties, already depressed areas, will be further depressed. Donegal fishermen will find their coastal waters crammed with foreign boats and even before 1982, the beds will be empty of commercially viable shoals.

Monaghan farmers are already feeling the pinch as a result of the closure of the Newbliss Farm Preserves operation.

Sinn Fein proposes five good alternatives to the Common Market. We can:

Stay out along with Finland, Iceland, Austria and Sweden. These countries won't disappear. Neither will we.

Take back the wealth of Ireland and use it to build up our own industry. Why should 5 per cent own 71 per cent of the wealth we create by our daily work? The mining industry is worth £850 million to us if we control and own it. This money can be put to work for us and not for the foreigners. If we join the EEC, we will not be able to nationalise the mines.

Reach out to all the other countries and peoples of the world. East Germany, Russia, Poland, Roumania, Japan, China, the United States, and many more will trade with us. Even the EEC will give us a trade agreement. They offered us such an agreement in 1967.

Build up the economy through protecting existing industry and promoting new ones through public works. New schools, new houses, new hospitals, new factories will create thousands of jobs along with the mines and manufacturing wealth now in the hands of a few. This will secure employment and safeguard the future.

Take over our own country. Take over Ireland from the centre to the sea and make it a place where people are placed before profit. We will not be able to do this inside the Common Market for we will not have the power to do so.

Our future as a nation lies outside the Common Market. All decisions affecting our lives should be made by Irishmen and not by foreigners.

BEALTAINE 1972

Since the Treaty of Rome which established the Common Market was signed fifteen years ago, European statesmen (some of whom describe themselves as socialists) have always proclaimed that institution as a chance for the citizens of the European states to allow the tensions which had been the cause of the two imperialist wars of the 20th century to be peacefully reduced.

The new capitalism of Europe of the Fifties wanted it to appear that the spectre of war had been banished, in order to begin its new strategy. For such was the very objective of the Common Market: let the European trusts reach the size of worldwide monopolies.

Improving techniques of production and the constant search for higher productivity (that is, higher rates of profit) result in overproduction by industrial and agricultural enterprises and consequently the need to develop new markets. The capacity of a national market is limited, however, and it was, therefore, a necessary reflex of the European financial oligarchies, wounded by two world wars to rely on the capitalist states of Western Europe and seek to erect customs barriers in order to build up an economic state sufficiently strong to combat on equal terms those groups (particularly American) which dominate the world today.

The fundamental rule of this game forced by the new European capitalism is free competition or *laissez faire* (capitalism's starting point), the result of which is clearly to accelerate the concentration of industrial and agricultural production in the hands of a few, to eliminate small producers (such as small farmers and shopkeepers) and to bring about continual emigration from areas on the fringe of the great centres of production as a means of keeping wages low in those centres.

The consequence was the development of areas already rich and the death of the poorer regions on the periphery. In effect the EEC was a Europe where industrialisation was and is concentrated on the Rhine-Rhone axis which fulfils the political needs of the big European monopolies.

Brittany, a peripheral region colonised even beforehand in the setting of the French state, was poorly prepared to resist the attacks of European imperialism, which found in countries like that a reserve of manpower which it needed. All important decisions concerning Brittany are taken at Paris and Brussels by the bureaucrats of a capitalist state by people who are strangers to Brittany and her problems.

Firstly, Breton agriculture suffered the disastrous effects of the Mansholt Plan, an example which should be borne in mind by all Irish farmers. The Common Market has for a long time been an illusion held by the public authorities: but the Breton farmers realise more and more that it is a market of fools which goes against their fundamental interests as more and more are forced off the land and into emigration to Paris, Lorraine and the Ruhr.

The capitalist Common Market means essentially profit for a few, a minority of big ranchers, while the others get economic extinction accompanied by social measures to appease the blow. Mansholt is now planning to wipe out even these few crumbs from the rich man's table. The common agricultural policy is essentially for the producers of wheat and



sugar beet in the Paris basin. The table of prices set up by the decrees of Brussels shows this clearly: high prices for some, but lack of organisation of markets and stagnant prices for others. This is the reason why Irish sugar beet producers had to accept a reduced quota after Hillery's 'negotiations'. The grants in aid which have been voted for the maintenance of markets are also evidence of this same deep injustice, of which the small producers are the victims.

Thus, in an average year grants in aid for cereals and sugar beet represented 30 or 33 per cent of the value of those products, but less than 1 per cent of their value for meat products which are the mainstay of Breton farmers. The Irish government itself has accepted in its own 'White Paper' that there is no future for Irish farmers in cereal or sugar beet production. The reason is the one the Bretons have discovered: the markets are geared for the big centres of production like the Paris basin and the Ruhr valley.

The super profits made by the large ranchers and farming businesses allowed them to get an increasing monopoly over essential agricultural production in France, for example, and at the same time to eliminate the old agricultural regions like Brittany.

The Common Market system of agriculture offers two diametrically opposed choices:

—for some, it offers sub-

stantial profits and the chance to form highly capitalised agriculture in the richest and best placed areas.

—for others, the vast majority, it imposes on them a policy for the liquidation and elimination of marginal producers (like Irish or Breton small farmers) who are judged 'non-viable' and unable to produce efficiently according to Mansholt's definitions: it is a policy of increasing liquidation, a slow agony, accompanied by social gestures designed to prevent revolts and about which there is much argument while they are insufficient for the poor, regions.

Of course, the stripping of Brittany has already begun in the industrial as well as the agricultural sphere. Several examples illustrate this sad fact. Five years ago the Forges d'Hennebont, Brittany's only smelting factory and employing more than 2,000 workers, was closed under pressure from the steel trusts and with the complicity of the French government. Others like the Lu-Brun company at Nantes were closed after being bought out by a Dutch firm.

More striking still is the case of the fish and vegetable processing plants: from 1954 to 1962 50 factories have been closed. From 1963 to 1970 another 41 have disappeared. And this process is continuing.

As for fishing, the lot of Breton

fishermen is no better. The opening of frontiers has already caused several crises: an important part of the fishing fleet is no longer seaworthy and will certainly not be replaced. Even funny-fishing, a Breton speciality in the Common Market, is threatened by imports from Japan and Arabia at prices of 50 per cent of those practical for Breton fishermen.

Brittany is a land of emigration: that is the immediate consequence of what we have just described, but it is often difficult to translate into statistics because it is usually the young who arrive on the employment market and find no work. On this basis it has been calculated that 80,000 new industrial jobs must be created in Brittany by 1985. Exactly what the IDA has said about Ireland. No colonial power, strangled with rules like those of the Common Market, will ever make sufficient effort to create that number — in Brittany or Ireland. Emigration which has already cost Brittany 1,200,000 people, has established a rhythm of 20,000 a year and has taken on the appearance of a mass deportation: a veritable diaspora.

Landless farmers, emigrant workers, fishermen without boats, all take the road of exile. If not to the Paris region or Canada, then Germany opens up its arms to them (1) and all that is left for them is to seek work in the Ruhr, for even now the German trusts are recruiting manpower in Brittany.

What is left for this Brittany condemned by the Common Market? The answer of the French capitalist state is simple: —militarisation which has slowly transformed Brittany into a vast military camp and an automatic reserve for the French nuclear strategic force.

—tourism, particularly luxury tourism, which is making Brittany a sort of 'indian reserve' where costumed Bretons will beg for their living with the approval of the Breton national bourgeoisie, the hoteliers, accomplices of the colonial power. — what are called pirate factories which have been set up in Brittany because they can find there a cheaper and more docile workforce.

The colonial power has already answered those who wish to resist with repression: the licensing of trade unionists, lock-outs, police repression, imprisonment of farmer activists have completed and furthered the dismantlement of Brittany.

The French colonial state has assisted European imperialism which finds in countries like Brittany and Ireland an answer to the defeats they have suffered throughout the world in their old colonies.

Amidst all the fine talk which has emanated from those who are proposing that Ireland should also sacrifice its identity and sovereignty inside the Common Market, the fate of Brittany is a good warning of what would happen to us. The nature of our exploitation — the Bretons by French imperialism, the Irish by British imperialism, — is the same and the problems of our small producers, farmers, fishermen and small businesses are similar. Far indeed from the EEC solving any of our problems of poverty or emigration, unemployment or foreign control of our resources, entry into this robber association would make things far, far worse and greatly increase the difficulties of breaking free from the stranglehold of dependence.

NAOI

DEICH

Ireland is not unique in its need for socialism and socialism is the only means of solving Ireland's difficulties. But Ireland is unique, as almost every other country is unique, in its history, its development and its potential. Ireland, at the periphery of Europe, is also on the periphery of one of Europe's major economic centres, the south-east of England. It is also ensnared in the aftermath of colonialism, a neo-colonial country with the appearance — but only the appearance — of independence.

To say that we are at the periphery of a major economic centre is to imply certain things. In times of relative prosperity, for that centre, we are on the surface fairly well off. We enjoy a spurious prosperity which gives us expectations beyond our real economic value.

When the English south-east is in a period of boom, we can build bigger houses, buy better cars, use the consumer durable products that are the signals of prosperity. We are encouraged to buy these luxuries to ourselves, because the financial manipulators gain from our enjoyment.

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But when world trade, which means the demands — the mandatory demands — of the manipulators, determines that there should be a contraction of capital, a reduction of spending, a cut-back in investment, we are the first to suffer. We suffer first simply because of our position at the periphery of the economic area to which we belong and because there is little that we can do, through democratic instruments such as Parliament, trade unions and other pressure groups, to take action against the manipulators.

So, our expectations have been encouraged, indeed developed, but our ability to pay has diminished or disappeared. Because contraction is necessary, the first thing to suffer is labour. Put people out of work and the capitalist saves money, up to a point. It is a regulator, economically speaking, which must be used as a check to avoid international bankruptcy; but it is directed at labour and at the weaker sections of the employer class and it takes no cognizance of human needs. Money and property are more important than children.

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The cushioning of Irish industry against the worst excesses of international capitalism was once achieved by de Valera's populist philosophies, at least to a limited degree. Populism, which is what de Valera propagated rather than populism, is a philosophy that required the existence of demonic leadership and the development of small rather than large units of production. de Valera's notion of the parish ideal is a very clear example of this. Populism means protectionism, the mechanics of which were developed by Lemass while he was de Valera's Minister for Industry and Commerce.

When Lemass became Taoiseach, however, he and his advisers realised the limitations of populism, the need for international capital to increase the capacity of Irish capital and the vulnerability of this country to outside influences. Lemass's solution was illogical but pragmatic and pragmatic because he needed immediate results. Hence the tax holidays, expensive rebate schemes, the creation and subsidising of jobs that were economically insecure (Shannon industrial area).

Lemass's solution was decided upon at a time of high unemployment, severe social deprivation and consequent political unrest. The 50s campaign had been going on for three years, the movement

of the unemployed was gaining strength, trade union militancy was intensifying at a rate which had not affected Ireland since the 30s. (Note the parallels between this period and the present, when Lynch may be expected to try an equally unrealistic and backward move.)

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What Lemass may have foreseen, and ignored, or may not have foreseen at all, was the cumulative effect of capital's demands once it had been given full rights in a free-for-all. What he almost certainly saw was the destruction of Fianna Fail, the populist party, as a result of the conversion, which was essential, from the populist/republican movement it was to the modern conservative party necessary in the context of modern capitalism. Lemass knew the difficulties that would face Lynch, or whoever succeeded him, but Lemass apparently did not care, or had no alternative.

The explosion within FF was, therefore, inevitable; it was the direct and immediate result of accommodating international capitalism. Contradictions in all Irish parties — they all follow the populist model — were bound to lead to the same kind of explosion. (The Republican Movement was the first to recognise this possibility, with its reevaluation of the early 1960s.)

Now, Lynch and his colleagues have to face the fact that it is not governments which control or order capitalism but capitalism which controls and orders governments. The turmoil in the six counties has been an agent rather than a cause of the social illness that has economic roots. It owed its influence to the second fact noted at the beginning — Ireland is a neo-colonial country, in which it is only too easy for people to mistake the enemy. The northern struggle stimulated the divisions south of the border, it did not cause them. Their existence is attributable only to the inherent contradictions in the political parties and in the society itself.

This means that concentration on changing Ireland from a neo-colonial country to a politically independent one is a diversion, a waste of effort, unless the change is accompanied by radical social and economic changes. The so-called independence movement has simply enabled the Free State Governments to change the symbols of political domination. Some of those who took part in the movement did aim at social and economic change, but they were submerged or defeated in the Civil War and its aftermath. de Valera's insistence that Labour must wait — and Labour's craven acceptance of that — is the best example of the submersion and defeat which were to lead to a highly artificial division in Irish politics, on the issue of 'the Treaty'. The real division, labour versus capital, was set aside and its consignment to the background was further aided by de Valera's populism. (Populism always seeks to minimise tension between labour and capital because its proponents are afraid of the consequence of this tension — the development of a socialist movement and the eventual triumph of socialism.)

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We have said that partition was important to the development of capitalism, North and South of the Border, up to a point. That point was reached when capitalism — not the governments in Dublin, Belfast and London — demanded the existence of bigger economic units, and stable communities in which they could function unimpeded. The manifestation of this turning-point was the meeting, in 1965, of Sean Lemass and Terence O'Neill. Both men had reacted more favourably to capital than to the demands of their supporters. Lemass and O'Neill

shared the view that injections of foreign capital were needed to keep their economies going, both were anxious to create the conditions in which investment would be encouraged and allowed to recoup maximum profit, because this was the only way to achieve their economic ambitions.

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But changes of the kind upon which Lemass and O'Neill embarked could not be limited to economic effect. Inevitably, there were social and political repercussions. Inevitably, during a period of change and with a growing reliance on industry rather than on agriculture, the class consciousness of the workers was raised. The Republican Movement, again, was the first political organisation to react to the changes. In ten years, the political outlook of the movement has undergone a careful, cogent and historic process of development. There have been those who misunderstood or wilfully misinterpreted the process, who have put it down to external or alien influences. The development of the movement has, on the contrary, been a clear, accurate and controlled response to the political needs of the time based on full consciousness of the socialist republican tradition of Tone, Connelly and Mellows.

At Bodenstown on June 23rd, 1968, this response was made explicit. The Republican Army, North and South, must become the Army of the People, in fact as well as in name. It must be the vanguard of all militant and radical revolutionary groups in this country and as this vanguard be ready to move in defence of those struggling for their rights.

"It must be ready to defend a revolution in the making, to defend the people who are agitating for their rights in housing to defend meetings of our own and our allies from being attacked by the thugs of the parties of vested interest. It must... let the establish-

ment and their proteges know that the day is past when the homeless, the worker or the landless struggling for their rights will be left unprotected.

No longer will the Army of the Irish Revolution stand idly by while the vultures pick clean the flesh of the Cois Muintir."

The vultures can be identified. They are the capitalists, welcomed by Lemass and O'Neill, protected by Lynch and Faulkner, served by gobsmen and grabbers, all acting in the interests of a few who are more accurately represented by Heath and Nixon, Rank and E.I., the Irish Permanent Building and the Green Property Company. As the landlords had their agents in Ireland during the centuries of direct domination and ownership, so the international capitalists now have their agents — Lynch and Faulkner and the hirelings who pretend to nationality but belong to greed.

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Socialism alone can meet the demands of the people for ownership, democracy and opportunity. Five per cent of the people own over 70 per cent of the property in the Twenty-six Counties. The division of wealth is little more equitable in the Six Counties. (These are the figures of a highly conservative statistician.) Capitalism claims that ownership is its essence. It is not. Ownership by a few of the great bulk of property is the essence of capitalism. And capitalism is both self-perpetuating and increasingly demanding. It enters every area of life: housing, consumer goods, so-called luxuries. If it cannot get cash, it offers easy payments systems, thus ensnaring the consumer while ensuring a still higher profit by providing the 'loans' for purchases and creating new demands for additional goods. The vultures

BEALTAINÉ 1972

are the unscrupulous manufacturing profiteers, the loan sharks in the finance companies, the banks who manage the money for both. They destroy any possibility of the workers ever achieving the ownership which those who proclaim capitalism say it offers.

The Republican Movement, consistent with Socialist Republican ideals, demands the extension of ownership to the people of Ireland. This is to be achieved by workers' control of industry, by State control of finance and credit, by community ownership of housing, by eliminating the vultures.

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Democracy is directly linked to ownership. It is not sufficient to have the appearance of representation in institutions which are no longer capable of reflecting the wishes of the mass of the people with any accuracy, efficiency or effect. If a parliament is unable or unwilling to control the vultures, the vultures will control and consume it. A parliament can only resist the vultures if it has the confidence and support of the people. And confidence and support depend on the people's knowing what is being done in their names and knowing that they can influence it with as little interference as possible. Neither Leinster House nor Stormont is capable of reflecting the views of the masses, because of its structures, remoteness and composition.

The Republican Movement demands the establishment of democracy by the development of workers' councils at local level, based in the community and not imposed upon it with an upward force guiding the decisions of a people's assembly which will truly represent and reflect the interests and the views of the masses. Councils and assemblies will be secular and free from the influence of any religious group — which can only lead to a distortion of reality.

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Opportunity is linked to democracy and ownership. It embraces education, health and social services, cultural development and freedom of expression. Capitalism boasts opportunity is in its essence. Opportunity for whom? For those who exploit the many, for the vultures to lick the bones of the Cois Muintir. Opportunity means the capacity of religious pressure groups to enforce their will on the education of the children of the country, for those with backward class interests to divide them on a class and cash basis. Opportunity means the capacity to exclude from medical and social services people who have not gone through the debasing process of claiming abject poverty, the overcrowding and extinction of services provided for the workers and the operation of an inadequate system of social aid. It means the curtailment of free expression through the ownership of the press and the control of the national radio and television services. It means the propagation of an Anglo-American culture which is itself debased by commercial influence. All of this because control of free expression and suppression of free cultural development are the parallels, intellectually, politically and economic bondage.

The Republican Movement demands the liberation of opportunity and its extension to all people of Ireland. It demands free and freely organised education at all levels, a full State medical service equipped to meet the needs of the masses, the freedom of expression and cultural development essential to the personal liberty of the people of Ireland.



KING CAPITALISM



REPUBLICAN CLUBS CHALLENGE WHITELAW

VIETNAMESE VICTORY?

The long drawn out war of aggression which successive imperialist powers have waged against the heroic people of Vietnam seems to be reaching its final stages — in the complete victory of the forces of national liberation and the total defeat of the American imperialists and their puppet Saigon regime.

A massive offensive launched by the Vietnamese is carrying all before it on three major fronts in the North, in the Central Highlands and most dangerously for the Americans in the Southern areas. A tremendous effort by the puppet regime to recover and save the important town of An Loc has ended in catastrophe.

American response to the success of the Vietnamese was to order a massive bombing of the North. The towns of Hanoi and Haiphong were indiscriminately bombed, but it seems that the Vietnamese were well prepared. Not merely were civilian casualties reduced to an absolute minimum despite the Americans' murderous intent, but extremely accurate anti-aircraft fire knocked out many of the aggressors' planes.

The lessons of this war are of great importance for all subject and oppressed peoples throughout the world, particularly the Irish people. For the Vietnamese have decisively proved that no matter how strong the imperialists appear to be that the forces of revolutionary liberation can always win. The secret of success does not lie in any magic formula of foreign aid or of military strength. It lies instead in the political strength of the people. If, as the Vietnamese liberation forces have done, the people can be totally rallied in opposition to imperialism behind a political struggle for national freedom; and if the fight for national freedom is linked completely with the need for social emancipation of exploited workers and small farmers then victory is assured.

The Vietnamese have shown the world the way to defeat imperialism. The Irish revolutionary movement salutes them, and trusts that as the Vietnamese have been an example to us all that in the years to come the Irish people will set a similar example to the world.

Over 300 delegates from all over the 6 Counties attended the Convention of Republican Clubs in Belfast on April 23. The purpose of the Convention was to test the right of Republicans to operate openly as a political organisation.

The meeting was a challenge to William Whitelaw either to recognise the right of Republicans in this respect or to apply the Special Powers Act against them. The Chairman of the 6 Counties Executive, Mr. Ivan Barr, told the delegates: "Today, we start by declaring Republican Clubs as being active, active in the public eye. We are coming back into the open and we intend to stay there. We are exercising our democratic right and we now wish to see if Mr. Whitelaw is prepared to use the Special Powers Act."

Mr Barr said that the bombing campaign by the Provisionals was "providing the British Army with the opportunity to escalate their terror tactics to the stage where innocent civilians were and are being murdered in the streets."

The present struggle, he went on, was one of an oppressed people against their oppressor. The republican Movement demanded the total withdrawal of the British troops and administration from Ireland and there would be no compromise on that.

He said that as the Unionist leadership became more confused and divided on policy, it may see sectarian conflict as a "good substitute for their lack of cohesive policies or even to be their last chance or survival."

Thomas MacGiolla, President of Sinn Fein, said that the Provisionals' bombing campaign was succeeding in widening the gulf between Protestant and Catholic workers and creating

bitterness between them. Their strategy had almost succeeded in changing the struggle from one of a mass involvement of the people to one of a militarist struggle in which the people were spectators.

He declared: "We are a political organisation dedicated to the task of organising the mass of the Irish people, North and South, against British capitalism in Ireland and imperialism in Ireland."

Addressing himself to the Protestant population, Mr. MacGiolla said: "In our programme you will find the only real unity of workers based on democracy, independence and socialism."

Turning to the question of the Common Market, he said Britain was attempting to bring Ireland into the EEC under her wing and he called for a massive rejection of our joining. Unless the referendum was extended to the North, it would not be "national".

A resolution from the Jamie Hope Republican Club, Andersonstown, calling on the people in the South to vote "No" in the referendum was adopted.

Miss Bernadette Devlin, M.P. for Mid Ulster, attending as a fraternal delegate, said that she spoke neither as an Official nor as a Provisional, but as a Republican. The Officials, she said, were not blameless when it came to bombing and their "biggest mistake was the explosion at Aldershot".

"Unless you attempt to explain to the Provisionals where they are wrong in class politics, it is wrong for you to condemn them." To understand the bombing, she went on, people had to identify the class interests involved in such actions.

Throughout the Convention, which was held in the Ard Scoll in Divis Street, a few hundred yards from the Hastings Street police and army posts, there was a large concentration of military in the area but no attempt was made to interfere with the proceedings.

The Convention demonstrated that Republicans will not be driven underground and that for the moment at least, the British administration of William Whitelaw will not take action directly against the Republican Clubs. However, arrests of Republicans still go on, a situation which casts doubts on the validity of the claims that with Whitelaw things have changed.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

International solidarity with the Irish struggle continues to grow. Recently Eoin O Murchu, editor of the 'Unified Irishman' visited Brittany where he spoke at a conference organised by the Unvaniez, Democratel Brezhoneg / Union Democratique Bretonne. This organisation is engaged upon building in Brittany a movement of national liberation extremely similar to that being undertaken in Ireland by radical forces here.

The conference of the UDB was held in the South of Brittany and was attended by observers from the Basque liberation movement, ETA, from the UPG of Galicia as well as by representatives of the Irish revolutionary movement. Extreme interest was shown in events that are taking place in Ireland and money was given to the Prisoners' Fund. This forging of deep-rooted international contacts is seen as very important by the republican Movement because they recognise that the fight for national liberation against imperialism is a worldwide one. Victory for Ireland means victory for all subject peoples, just like victory for the Vietnamese is a victory for us.

RSG PAMPHLET EXPOSES THE MINES

The Resources Study Group's latest publication, "Navan and Irish Mining", is causing quite a stir in the board offices of Tara and Mogul. Pat Hughes of Mogul is reported to have ordered his public relations men to produce arguments against the Group's findings and Tara have taken the unprecedented step of opening an information centre in An Uaimh.

Reading the RSG's report, there are a multitude of questions that need to be answered by Tara and the other mining companies. One of these surrounds the shareholders of the company.

Yet, it is evident that the bulk of Tara shares are held by Canadians and Americans. There are also rumours that the company will be taken over by groups such as Rio Tinto Zinc, who are reported to have found copper in Donegal, and Cominco, both of which have huge capital reserves.

Since the net profit from Tara alone is reckoned by the RSG to be in the region of £486 million, a take-over bid by foreign companies is very much on the cards.

"CABHAIR"

Coiste Foirneá na bPhrionsanach Poblachtach

Please give as generously as you can to help the wives and dependants 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.

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A Social is held on the last Saturday of every month in the Kevin Barry Hall, 44 Parnell Sq., to raise funds for the Prisoners' Defence and Aid Fund. — Cead Isteach 20p.

DODHEAG

THE NORTH

The more things change the more, it seems, that they stay the same. When Whitelaw replaced Faulkner the Republican Movement warned that direct rule would be no victory at all for the Irish people or for the struggle to win democracy in the North. Now over a month later as we count the rising toll of dead, after Joe McCann was savagely gunned down unarmed in the streets of his native Belfast, as the internees continue to languish in the concentration camps and while military terrorism abounds, we know nothing has yet been won.

Indeed the murder of Joe McCann and the inevitable publication of the infamous Widgery whitewash show once again that British imperialism hasn't changed its attitude to Ireland. The Tories still believe that they can beat the Paddies down. It is not, however, Tory stupidity which is the sole guiding force of these actions of the imperialists. For British imperialism, that system of exploitation, corruption, cruelty and misery which is slowly but surely being defeated throughout the world, is still a tricky enemy and one of the cleverest and most able that any oppressed people has to face.

Civil Rights

During the last two years the anti-unionist section of the population of the North has endured great sufferings and tremendous hardships because of Britain's persistent refusal to grant the democratic demands of the civil rights movement. This refusal seemed to go against Britain's own objective economic needs. For after the signing of the Free Trade agreement in the South by Lynch's quisling government, the British realised that if Lynch were to be able to sell his idea to the Irish people that we no longer needed to be in conflict with imperialism, then there would have to be such changes in the sectarian state in the North as to allow real participation in the local power structure to representatives of the Roman Catholic middle class. These representatives have emerged to be the John Hume wing of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP).

Britain's problem arose very simply because the Protestant people could not be persuaded that their rights could be safeguarded if changes were made, and more importantly because the local Unionist party bosses (like Craig) realised that their personal power which was derived from their patronage (i.e. their ability to give jobs and houses to those who supported them) would either disappear or be seriously weakened if the full civil rights demanded by the exploited and oppressed Catholics were to be given.

The reactionary Unionists correctly realised that in such circumstances the Protestant oppressed, workers and farmers, would turn away from the fascist leadership of the Unionist party and towards agitation for their social rights. To stave off this development we began to hear talk of a class split in the Unionist Party, first when Morgan the minister of Health left, and more frequently from Paisley. These gestures to class politics, while they played an important part in splitting the monolith of the Unionist Party, have only led to Populism, the system by which a mass movement is led into



support for personalities. The so-called democratic unionism has therefore a populist base but is not supporting the demand for democracy.

Britain's other problem was the impact the civil rights struggle had on the traditionally anti-unionist section of the community who were mainly Catholic. The hopes and expectations of people for a better deal, and indeed for a new way of life, were raised by the campaign which with its mass basis provided the first really coherent challenge to the unionist system since the sectarian state was first established by the British in 1920. The situation that existed, particularly after the pogroms of August 1969 in which the Unionist government of Chichester Clarke was clearly implicated (just like the Major was implicated in the Burntollet ambush), forced Britain more and more into confrontation with her traditional allies: the Protestant people. This development was a good one, although it was of course a long way from meaning a united struggle of the Irish people against British imperialism. It did mean, however, that progress to democracy was being made under pressures outside Britain's control and in such a way that was weakening the whole imperialist position and her plans for Ireland as a whole. These plans centred around the reintegration of Ireland into a federal arrangement with Britain and the Common Market.

Britain was indeed on the hook. The only way she could think of getting away from her difficulties was to find an excuse to modify her approach to the anti-unionists and to appease the strident appeals from the Unionist Party, which was under serious and increasing attack from the extreme right wing, especially the Paisleyites. And it was here that the Provisionals played right into Britain's hands.

Militarism

The Provisionals pursued the path of a military campaign, declaring their aim to be to sweep the British into the sea. In doing this they made it more difficult to pursue the correct political position of struggle on a mass basis by the participation of large numbers of people in the fight for democracy. Worse they allowed the development of sectarianism to a new and frightening pitch by their blatant attacks on

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Protestant civilians in working class areas like the Shankill and Belfast. The fragile unity created by the Republican Movement in the West Belfast Democratic Alliance between Protestant and Catholic workers was blasted asunder by Provisional bombs. The indiscriminate bombing also increased the pressure on Faulkner from his right wing, and in a last effort to keep him in power while refusing to grant civil rights the British established internment and the present regime of murder and terror.

Back to the Streets

But the issue which destroyed Britain's hopes of a quick military victory was the fact that the Republican Movement and the other radical forces refused to be diverted one iota from the path of revolutionary struggle. The return of the civil rights movement to the streets squarely rejoined Faulkner and the British plot. It placed in jeopardy all Fianna Fail's hopes of winning the EEC referendum and has led to the position where Britain is still as firmly on the hook as she was back after August '69. Because civil rights proved itself the only organisation and the only issue which could mobilise mass action amongst the people.

The IRA all along has differentiated itself from the Provisionals. We have never been involved in an aggressive military campaign, but have instead pursued a policy of defence and retaliation against British aggression and atrocities. Volunteer Joe McCann, an officer of the IRA in Belfast, was one of those who most clearly recognised this role of the IRA as defence force of the Irish people in their revolutionary struggles. He also rejected the idea of an elitist military force and campaigned for the democratic struggle and politically in defence of the people of the markets area of Belfast where he lived and worked.

The question of what is to be done now in the North is a simple one to answer. We must continue and intensify our efforts to maintain the mass unity of the civil rights struggle until we have achieved complete victory on that phase of the revolutionary fight in Ireland and must not falter or flinch from facing whatever terror or violence the enemy offers us. If we hold firm to our position we can exploit the growing difficulties of the British in their own rising unemployment.

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