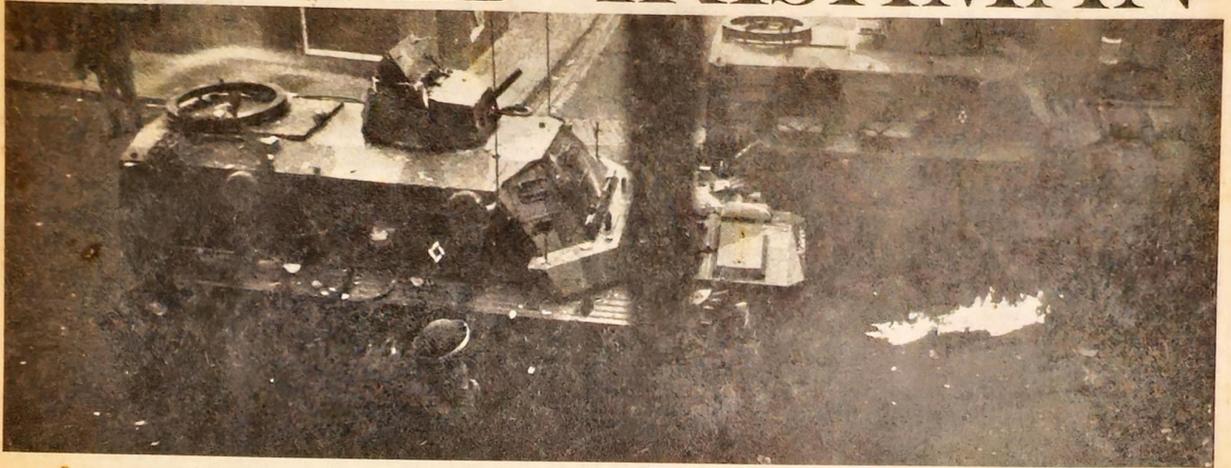


# THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Aibrean (April) 1971, Iml. XXV. Uimhir 4. Luach 5p (1/-), (U.S., Canada and Australia 25c)



The linen mill fox has replaced the lapsed farmer on top of the Unionist dung-hill in the North and Republicans are deciding on the next step. Brian Faulkner heads a Government heavily influenced by the extreme right-wing of the Unionist Party which is totally opposed to the reforms forced on a reluctant Government by the Civil Rights Movement.

It will be a two-faced Government with a two-faced Prime Minister, introducing reforms while implementing repression.

A right-wing Government is the only kind of Government that the Unionist Party is capable of producing and is no more and no less right-wing than Lord Brookeborough's Government or that of any of his predecessors. All Unionist Governments have led the Protestant people of the North into a cul-de-sac which they must continually defend with shouts of "no surrender". By their nature they are repressive because without resort to repressive measures their position is untenable.

The demands of Civil Rights is the biggest blister on the faces of both the Unionist and the British administrations. Despite the fact that they have imprisoned Frank Gogarty, Vice-Chairman of N.I.C.R.A., civil rights is still the main threat to their political hegemony in the north. Last month the British troops engaged in a provocation policy against Republicans in Belfast in an attempt to force a confrontation and so eclipse civil rights and relieve the pressure of right wing Unionism against the Chichester Clarke Government. They failed and ended up reverting to a policy of "containment" and refusing Clarke's demands for a seek-out and kill operation.

Faulkner will not venture where the Mad Major failed but will bide his time and try to

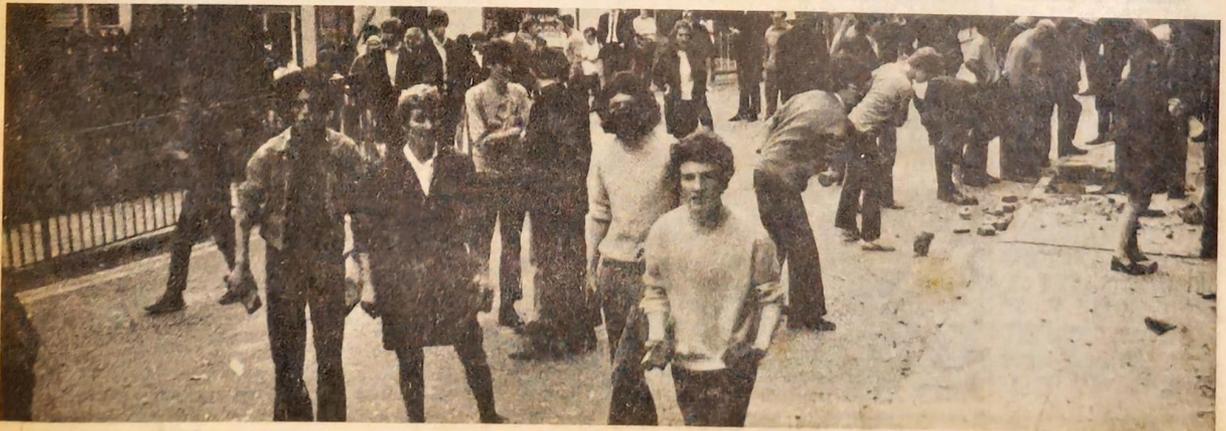
manoeuvre the British Army onto a collision course with Republicans during the Easter time commemorations. If he cannot be sure that rival Republican parades at Easter will cause more friction he will then possibly use a ban on parades to achieve his end.

Only a strong, united and broad based Civil Rights Movement will now be able successfully to resist the new tactics of the more wily Faulkner to re-impose the old order.

Now is the time to encourage the Protestant people of the North to opt for a united stand against British designs for Ireland. Now that they are being betrayed by an alliance of Lynch and Heath let them assist in taking the Irish nation out of the hands of Fianna Fail and Westminster. See pages 8, 9 inside.

Now is the time to demand full civil rights; to demand more democracy and not less in the North. An end to the Special Powers Act and full freedom of association and speech are the vital pre-requisite to normal political life in the North. If Stormont is unwilling to pass the relevant legislation then Westminster can and must.

# THE WAY FORWARD



# litreachó

H.M. Prinson,  
Coventry,  
Market Harborough,  
Leicestershire.

Dear Friend,

I did not write to you before now because I thought that others would give you all the news about me from the letters which I sent to them. It seems that this does not happen so I better tell you myself.

I had lots and lots of cards at Christmas, and they were a great encouragement. I'd like to thank everyone but I'm sure they understand that my letters are rationed, and are in fact in short supply. Many sent short messages with the card and these were very welcome they gave bits and pieces of information as well as cheer. Without exaggeration I can say that the cards came from the four corners of the World and from all sorts of people — nuns, priests, republicans, old friends in the Trade Union movement and from progressives of all sorts. Especially welcome was the card from those on the Dublin-Cork walk. I know what a sacrifice that was at that time of the year and can only promise to do as much for them should the need arise.

To be a prisoner has its difficulties, no doubt, but I suppose it can be described as an occupational hazard — if you question their right to rule and rob, sooner or later they will lock you up.

The trial was very interesting. I have not had the opportunity to sit down and compare notes with Gerry. During the trial we had to concern ourselves with the mechanics of the thing. I looked a lot at the man in the wig and red robes. At first I saw him in an historical sense — the same sort of dress for at least two hundred years and so many of our people before him. I speculated on his background and wondered who paid for his education and the fees a contribution from workers in a Victorian Mill and all that means; or were they a part of an Indian's or a Negro's birthright? Who knows, maybe the Irish renail with all that means.

Sometimes I felt that I was in a museum, especially when I heard the ideas. It was clear that ideas were frozen at the point they'd reached just before 1789 — in Britain, of course. I became very interested when I realised that I was looking at the last of a long line; at a species, soon, in a rapidly changing world, to become extinct. I noticed that he looked at me sometimes and I wondered what he was thinking. When he said eight years, I suddenly realised that he knew that I was a part of the new ideas that are putting an end to his world, his way of life — that he and his ancestors believed to be right. I felt the power of the forces for change in the world, and that it was small, weak and very old. I would have liked to have said to him "After you, the deluge," because he understood all right.

I get the United Irishman every month and admire it more and more all the time. In step with the age we live in, and very much alive to its needs, yet with a proper respect for our traditions. I read recently that one million Irish-born people are now living in Britain. Who, knowing that, can say with truth that economic questions are not an important aspect of the struggle for Freedom. If one has not very clear views on economic questions, then a slide from absolute treachery is easy. That is the reason why so many betrayed the promise of youth — why the hero so often became the traitor.

I was happy with what I read about the Ard Fheis. To occupy another platform, another piece of the struggle cannot be wrong. It is so right to stress the "New Departure" because that was probably the one occasion when the two forms of struggle successfully went hand in hand. I liked the ideas to control those sent to occupy that particular ground and this is very necessary in view of what has happened in the past.

It is distressing to hear of energy wasted in disputes between people who should be in the same camp. Surely the past has taught that no one but our enemies can gain from this. Our history teaches that great opportunities were missed time and time again when Clan warred with Clan and the

policy of divide and conquer was already very old when it was used by Lord Mountjoy. It is almost impossible to believe that it can be at work today yet it is so.

A few words about the appeal; the position as I write is that our solicitor hopes, very soon — perhaps this week — to engage a Q.C. He wishes to find a man sufficiently liberal to take a real interest in the case, and in Britain this is no easy task. As soon as the Q.C. is secured the appeal should be heard without great delay.

I'd like to thank everyone who contributed to the appeal fund. I'm sure I can speak for Gerry when I say that we will make greater efforts, when we are free again, to help bring peace and a socialist republic to all Ireland.

Give my regards to any of my old friends you see and best wishes to all.

Eamonn Smullen.

## Forcible entry protest at Tralee

A recent picket by members of the James Connolly Republican Club, Tra Li, on the local Fianna Fáil dinner in the Bandon Hotel was attacked by Gardai and Special Branch who arrested a member of the picket, Mick Walshe, pictured below. Brian Lenihan, a member of the Fianna Fáil hierarchy, attended the dinner as guest of honour.

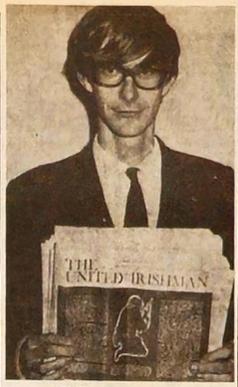
The picket was later switched to the local Garda station after Mick Walshe had been arrested. He was kicked and punched by his assailants during his arrest and to answer for his crime of picketing a Fianna Fáil function he will appear in Tra Li district court on 16th April.

The picket was in protest against the Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill and the threat of internment, both of which are Fianna Fáil-inspired attempts at legalising the suppression of legitimate protest.

The legal authorities in Tra Li obviously favour a more direct approach when dealing with those who dare to protest.

## Bashful RUC return seized papers in Newry

"This illustrates the comic-opera set-up by the authorities in the Six Counties. Nobody seems to know whether the "United Irishman" is banned or not, but the members of the Oliver Craven Republican Club will continue to sell it anyway," Frank Patterson, secretary of the club said this recently when referring to the seizure of 68 copies of the paper at a British Army roadblock. The papers were seized outside Newry before the start of the



● Frank Patterson.

Civil Rights March there last month. They were taken from a car in which four local members of the Republican Movement were travelling from Warrenpoint to attend the march. The four men were taken from the car, put up against a wall and searched.

The seizure of the "United Irishman" is hardly something new to Northern Republicans. Last October members of the Ulster Defence Regiment seized 6,000 copies of the paper on the Newry-Armagh road, but this latest seizure was unique because two days later the papers were returned intact by the local R.U.C. They contacted Frank Patterson and said that they would like to return the papers.

Frank told them to bring the papers to the school in which he teaches and this they agreed to do. Two members of the Special Branch arrived at the school at the appointed time but they hastily left when they saw that a number of press representatives were present. They were presumably embarrassed at the thought of their delivering copies of a supposedly banned publication to a member of an illegal organisation — the local Republican Club — in full view of the Northern press.

The R.U.C. eventually returned the papers when Sergeant Bratton, using the element of surprise, arrived secretly at the school and washed his hands of the subversive documents by hurriedly handing them over, this time in full view of nothing more potentially harmful than a handful of curious schoolchildren.

The R.U.C. said that the seizure was a mistake. Was it?

## Ireland's fishermen oppose EEC entry

The anti-Common Market campaign in this country gained strong support recently with the news that the fishermen of Ireland are completely opposed to the proposed entry into the Common Market. "As far as Irish fishermen are concerned the present E.E.C. policy offers nothing and we reject it absolutely,"

says a statement issued by the Federation of Irish Fishing Co-operatives, which represents fishermen from the major ports around the coast.

The statement points out that at present the fishermen are being urged to conserve stocks of herring but they question the reasoning behind this, in view of the fact that "with the type of boats and equipment owned by these foreign fleets our herring stocks could be ruined in one year" in the Common Market. "International experts agree that it would take approximately 200 years to recover from such a decimation of fishing grounds."

The statement continues: "Another adverse effect which would result from the fishing activities of big foreign boats is that shellfish, lobster, crawfish, queens, scallops and urchins, upon which many part-time fishermen depend for a considerable amount of their income, would also be wiped out by the incursions of big fishing boats. Our oyster beds would similarly be affected."

During his visit to the World Fishing Exhibition at the R.D.S., Dublin, the Minister for External Affairs, Dr. Hillery, was twice confronted by people worried about Ireland's proposed entry into the E.E.C. Soon after he entered the hall, western fishermen who are also members of Sinn Féin approached the Minister and demanded that he would show what benefits the Irish fishing industry had to gain by joining the Common Market. The Minister agreed that there are disadvantages for Ireland within the Common Market, especially for the fishing industry.

When he visited the Federation of Irish Fishing Co-ops he was again confronted — this time by members of the Co-ops who pointed out the disadvantages of E.E.C. entry. The significance of the opposition to the Common Market by the Fishing Co-operatives can be gauged by the fact that they represent fishermen from the following areas: Burtisport, Castlemaine, Achill, Carna, Castletown, Galway Bay, Dun Laoghaire, Killybegs, Daingean, Greenacree, Dromahaire, Glenties, Portlath, Coolbally, Tralee, Killala and Bleggen.

Support for the fishermen's campaign came recently from Sinn Féin Cumainn throughout Dublin city and county when they held a total of ten anti-Common Market vigils during Saturday, March 27. The vigils took the form of public sales of anti-E.E.C. literature, distribution of leaflets, collections and short public meetings.

Vigils were held at O'Connell Street, Ballyfermot, Ranelagh, Ballymun, Northside Shopping Centre, Finglas, Ringsend, Thomas Street, Dun Laoghaire and Walkinstown. At the O'Connell Street vigil Anthony Heffernan, Chairman of the Dublin Comhairle, said that if Dr. Hillery was helping Irish fishermen as he claimed he was, then he should logically oppose Irish membership of the Common Market.

Mr. Heffernan continued: "The Treaty of Rome, which we must sign if we join the E.E.C., lays down clearly that no member state can discriminate in favour of its own citizens. This will mean the abolition of grants and subsidies at present received by Irish fishermen, farmers and business men. The E.E.C. will also mean the invasion of our sea fisheries by the huge factory-boats of the E.E.C. countries and with them the end of a livelihood for our 5,000 fishermen. However it is obvious that this invasion could result in one of the bloodiest wars being fought around our coasts."

## Death of Judith Moloney in United States

The death of Judith Moloney took place in San Francisco on March 2nd. She died as a result of injuries received in a road accident in which she was involved when returning from San Francisco Airport where she had been collecting the "United Irishman" for sale on the West Coast.

Miss Moloney was a niece of Kevin Barry and she was very active in Republican circles in the United States. Her remains were flown to Ireland for burial where her former comrades formed a guard of honour for the funeral procession.

Cathal Goulding in an oration at the graveside described Miss Moloney as a Republican by background and conviction: "Ba phoblaichtóir í ó thabha a full, ó thabha a creideamh". He pointed out that she was not concerned exclusively with the affairs of Irish Republican circles in the United States. She was concerned not only with the achievement of civil rights for Irishmen but for all people — for those who are discriminated against anywhere.

Her untimely death registered a deep sense of shock in Republican circles throughout Ireland and in the United States and several Republican groups expressed their sympathy to her father, Mr. James Moloney, Rathgar, Dublin. Ar dhis De go raibh a hanam nasal.

## Galway endorse Mac Giolla call

A meeting of the Galway Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin was held in Galway on March 27th to endorse the call from the Galway Cumainn.

A vote of sympathy was passed to Breasal Ó'Caolla on his recent bereavement.

A novel if not revolutionary "Public Session" was held at this meeting and members of the general public together with members of the break-away group put their questions to the chairman Mr. P. Geraghty, Kinvara. A lengthy discussion took place on the activity of the movement and the social problems facing the Irish people both North and South of the border. Mr. Geraghty thanked all members of the public for their attendance and endorsed Tomas Mac Giolla's statements regarding peace with those members who broke away from Sinn Féin in 1969.

The T.C.D. and U.C.D. Republican Clubs are holding a **JOINT CONNOLLY WEEK** from April 12th-17th. Profits from the events during the week will go towards the anti-EEC campaign. The following are the week's events:

Tuesday, 13th: Film-Cuba. T.C.D. New Library, No. 1, 8 p.m. Adm. 25p.

Wednesday, 14th: Traditional Music and Ballad Concert. T.C.D. Examination Hall, p.m. Adm. 25p.

Thursday, 15th: All-day Seminar on livehood for our 5,000 fishermen. T.C.D. G.M.B., 10 a.m. start.

Saturday, 17th: Ceili. T.C.D. Dixon Hall, 9 p.m. Adm. 25p.

**APRIL ISSUE OF "RESISTANCE" TO BE SOLD DURING THE WEEK**



● Left to right: Seamus Coffey, Mick Walshe, Tommy Foley and Donal Grady, James Connolly Republican Club, Tra Li.

COISTE CUMHNEACHAIN NAISIUNTA

**EASTER COMMEMORATION CONCERT**

DUBLIN

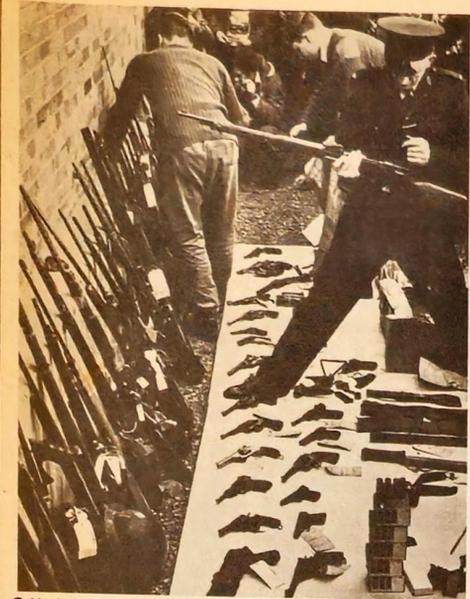
EASTER SUNDAY

8.00 p.m. Aberdeen Hall, Gresham Hotel.

MALLOW

CEILI, 8.00 p.m. CENTRAL HOTEL.

Donal Ring's Ceili Band.



● Mr. Brian Faulkner's firearms amnesty opens up interesting vistas. Would Mr. Faulkner arrange for the return of the arms pictured above, taken by British troops following the July 3 battle last year with the I.R.A. in the Lower Falls area? The Scarman Tribunal has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the civilian population of the Falls and surrounding areas need arms of their own to protect their lives against the R.U.C. and U.V.F. The British Army itself recognises that arms are a part of the Six County birth-right and now pursues a "policy of containment" where Unionist right-wingers demand a seek-out and destroy policy. With Mr. West in the Cabinet these arms will be needed again.

### Anti-E.E.C. progress in North

The anti-Common Market campaign in the Six Counties is making good progress both in the rural and urban areas. The Thomas Clarke Republican Club, Cushendall, is organising the campaign in the Glens of Antrim and this month they will be holding a series of meetings on the Common Market in their area. On April 17th they hope to form an anti-Common Market Committee in Ballycastle after a public meeting there, and in Cushendall on the same night there will also be a public meeting on the same subject. Speakers will be Des O'Hagan, Kevin McCorry and Malachy McCurrain.

A number of indoor meetings are planned for the Glens in the coming months. The idea is to warn and inform the small farmers of the area of the dangers that Common Market entry will mean to them and to organise effective opposition to the Common Market in that area. In Belfast the Henry Joy McCracken Republican Club, Turf Lodge, have called upon the

**KEVIN BARRY**  
MEMORATIVE POSTER by Jim FitzPatrick.  
**ONLY 22p**

TO THE UNITED IRISHMAN  
30 Caroline Place, Dublin 1.  
Please send me the Kevin Barry Poster I enclose P.O. for

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

### The final vindication

The final vindication of The United Irishman expose in November 1969 of the "Voice of the North" as part of a Fleming Fail plot came last month in the evidence of Eoin Neeson, Director of the Government Information Bureau, to the Aid Inquiry Committee. Mr. Seamus Brady had described the story as "a pack of lies".

Mr. Neeson told the Inquiry that the first information he received on Mr. Brady's appointment in the bureau came as a result of a casual conversation with Mr. Haughey on August 15th. In normal circumstances it would be his responsibility to recruit staff to the bureau, but in this instance the circumstances were extraordinary. The position was that the demand on their resources exceeded their resources enormously. He knew nothing about the arrangement made in the recruitment of Mr. Brady had been appointed, that Mr. Brady had been appointed that this had his approval and that it was being arranged with the Department of the Taoiseach, Mr. Neeson said.

### Call for Trade Union Youth Conference

A number of young Trade Unionists last month called on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to establish a National Youth Conference within the Trade Union structure to give youth the education and training necessary to help it play its role in the development of the unions and society as a whole.

The main demand is that I.C.T.U. should convene an Annual Youth Conference. It should also give encouragement to the establishment of youth sections at every level of the Trade Union Movement including Junior Shop Stewards and youth sections of Trade Councils.

The group statement focuses attention on the need to win the high percentage of young working girls to the Trade Union ranks.

Many other imaginative suggestions are made in the statement e.g. that agreement be sought with local education authorities to permit trade unionists to attend secondary and higher education institutes, schools, colleges and universities, to speak on the role and work of the unions.

There is also a suggestion for increased social, cultural and recreational facilities, including the acquiring of premises for young trade unionists.

If adopted, any of the suggestions could herald a new spring for trade unionism in Ireland.

Copies of the full statement may

be obtained by writing to V. O'Reilly, 25 Albert Place, Lower Grand Canal Street, Dublin 2 or to M. Naughton, 466 Ballyfermot Road, Dublin 10.

### Action demand on grievances

The workers of Irish Plastic Packaging, Ballyfermot, Dublin, are demanding that their Union, the I.T.G.W.U., call a mass meeting of all employees of the company to discuss complaints of bad working facilities, overcrowding and management policy.

There has been labour unrest for some time now in the factory which employs about 250 operatives, 100 of them women.

Recently 20 skilled workers resigned and over the past month twelve employees have left due to unsatisfactory pay and conditions.

The workers expect that a mass meeting could thrash out differences between the workers related to relations with management and the excessive overtime being done by a few of the men.

The "one man, one job" demand arose from the alleged policy of the management to play off a small number of privileged men against the vast majority and so pin down a general demand for an increase in wages and a radical improvement in canteen facilities at the factory.

### lascaireacht gan mhaith - ceal smaointe

An Bradán agus lascaireacht an Bhradáin. Anraoí Ó Liatháin agus Seamus Mac Ualghair. Sáirséal agus Dill. EIL.05.

Fear mór seolaíochta é Anraoí Ó Liatháin agus síl dá chuid féin aige idir ghuth agus Ghaeilge a n-ádhmheith lucht disteachta Raidió Éireann. Láithreach. Cloisfidh tu an guth agus an síl céanna tríd síos sa leabhar seo agus is brea mar gheallán siad don ábhar. Leabhar é seo a thairneadh go fóill le daoine nár bhartaigh slat iasacháin riann agus nach bhfaca riann breac ar linn.

Ina dhiaidh sin tá cuid mhóin den leabhar, an caibidil deiridh, a chuirfidh díom ar an té a bheadh ag súil le leirmheas gear agus moltaí tuiscenacha ó na h-udair. Baineann an chuid seo leis na h-iasacháin príobháideacha, aithníonn siad go bhfeadfaidh an gnáth-phobal scrios a dhéanamh ar stoc na mbradan, fé mar a dhéanann cuid de na h-uineiri príobháideacha faoi líthair, dá mbeadh úinéiríocháil níosúil i bhfeidhm; ach is fianach agus is scaipthe an caibidil é: ní críoch ná slácht ná doimhneas ann, agus is mor an trua sin.

### FAR and NEAR

● Republican Publications this month publishes a major work by Sean Cronin on the leading figures in the Republican Movement since 1798.

Republicans throughout the country will welcome this work by a man they know to be a careful historian and a good story teller. A former editor of The United Irishman, Sean now lives and works in the U.S.A. but his book shows his abiding interest in Ireland.

● When the French fleet of 36 sails appeared in a storm-swept Bantry Bay one day in 1798 two English Gentlemen took to horse to warn the British garrison in Cork. One rode from Bantry and the other from Castletownbere, towns located on opposite sides of the bay. The gentelman from Bantry won the race and was created Lord Bantry for his pains. To this day Lord Bantry collects ground-rent in Castletownbere.

● W. F. Stout works in the Ministry of Development at Stormont. If you are living in the North you might never have heard of him. But if you are a Republican the odds are that he has heard of you. His rise to prominence started between '56 and '62 when he worked under Brian Faulkner at Home Affairs during the I.R.A. border campaign. Now he is "servicing the security committee".

● David Bleakley's hypocrisy eclipsed even that of Harry West's in the scramble for Cabinet seats in Faulkner's County Council. Bleakley represents the third — and, many will hope, the last — age of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. The first was William Walker who quarrelled with James Connolly and took a seat on the Northern Ireland Labour Party. The second was the infamous Harry Midgley whose brand of Union Jack socialism allowed him to become a Unionist Cabinet Minister. Bleakley's is the lowest-yet. Liberal Cabinet, Unionist Cabinet and now Unionist puppet Cabinet!

### NATIONAL WATERS RESTORATION LEAGUE

Irish people, support the campaign against private ownership of Irish rivers!

FISH-IN on Sunday, April 4, 3.00 p.m., at Leixlip on the River Liffey.

FISH-IN same day and time, Lord Tegenmouth's private waters on the River Nore, Co. Kilkenny. Assemblée Brownsbaron Bridge between Thomastown and Inistioge.

FISH-IN, Sunday, April 18, at De La Poer Estate, Kilsheelin, on the River Nore.

LECTURE on N.W.R.L. campaign by Leisge Chairman, Seamus O Tuathail, at 8.00 p.m., Tuesday, April 8, St. Patrick's Hall, Coalsland, Co. Tyrone.





● Group Chairman Tom Conaty.

## Conaty and peace with honour

Details of a new organisation, the Minority Rights Group, were announced at a press conference in Belfast last month. The Minority Rights Group described itself as representative of "all sections of the Catholic minority" in the North.

The two leading figures in the group are already familiar throughout the North; the Rev. Padraig Murphy, St. Peter's, Falls Rd., Belfast (vice-chairman) and Mr. Tom Conaty, chairman, also chairman of the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee. Other executive members include Mr. Michael Canavan (secretary); Mr. Patrick Duffy, solicitor, Dungannon (minutes secretary); and Mr. John O'Hehir (treasurer).

Politically, as Mr. Conaty explained at the Press Conference, the Group is apolitical. It aims to create an extra-parliamentary body which will keep the Opposition parties at Stormont in touch with the minority and which will act as a back-up to the parliamentary parties. In reply to a question the Rev. Padraig Murphy pointed out that the Group had not formalised any relationships with the political parties in opposition at Stormont. Mr. Conaty stressed that

although the Group was a Catholic one they would be very glad to see a similar organisation "on the other side of the political divide".

Mr. Conaty has been a familiar labourer on his side of the political divide since the incorporation of the "Voice of the North" in September, 1969. He was named as a director of the "Voice" by Mr. Hugh Kennedy in the controversy following upon *The United Irishman* exposé of the Fianna Fail backing for the publication as part of a general infiltration plan in Civil Rights and Citizen Defence Committees throughout the North.

A poem written by Mr. Conaty appeared in the "Voice of the North" for the week ending November 15, 1969. Entitled "Peace with Honour" the first line reads: "There is one Peace — The Peace of conscience". The heart of the poem discusses public apathy to the problems of the North prior to August, 1969: "On the cold night I sleep in my warm home. I am at Peace/My brothers in Bogside or Birmingham I forget — my children are healthy and warm. / I give to the Missions. I am at Peace — everyone is at Peace".

The poem concludes: "Peace is hard, it is difficult, it is long — but I will be at Peace with my conscience". We wish him luck.

## The new writing on the wall

A new type of slogan is appearing on the walls of Belfast. In the working class areas of the city the old sectarian slogans are being replaced by new economic ones — "Butter 8/- per lb.", "Oppose E.E.C.". These new slogans deal with the threat of the proposed entry of Britain into the Common Market and they reflect the increasing opposition that exists in Belfast to the Common Market.

The anti-Common Market campaign is being spear-headed by the James Connolly Republican Club, North Queen Street. Already 100 members have been well educated on the subject by a number of lectures and discussion groups and they propose to begin a leaflet campaign in the area. The aim is to inform local housewives and workers of the adverse affect that British entry

into the Common Market will have on them.

A recent club statement on the matter pointed out that any system designed to benefit the monopoly capitalists of Europe would pay little heed to the needs of the worker, the housewife or the small farmer in Ireland. "As socialists we realise the great harm posed to the Irish people by such an event" the statement continues.

Throughout the city other Republican Clubs are actively engaged in similar campaigns because they realise that time is already running out on them. Despite various diversions, the Belfast Republicans are intent on continuing their active work in the interests of the common people of that city.

## Fianna to be busy at Easter

Over 40 Fianna from Dublin took part in the annual St. Patrick's Day parade through the city. It was a very youthful turn-out and no officer higher than O/C took part. Other Fianna in the Dublin area helped Connaught on Gaeltacht with its annual National Collection on the same day.

Easter is always a busy time for members. Their various duties include selling Easter Lilies and helping generally throughout the



● Fianna members are active this month selling Easter Lilies.

country. It is at times such as this that the full potential of the Fianna as an organisational help is realised when they throw their weight in with the various other branches of the Republican Movement to honour Ireland's dead in a fitting manner.

At the recent extraordinary Ard-Fheis of Na Fianna the following resolution was carried over unanimously by the delegates: "That Na Fianna Eireann recognises the Irish Republican

Army under the present leadership of Cathal Goulding, and Sinn Fein under the present leadership of Tomas Mac Giolla as being the official Republican Movement, and Na Fianna respects the views of every person, whether official or 'Provisional'".

A statement issued after the Ard-Fheis pointed out that this meant that Na Fianna have now abandoned the neutral policy and that they support the official Republican Movement.

## NATIONAL BOOK SERVICE

	Incl. Post	
Stolen Waters (The case for public ownership of Ireland's rivers and lakes)	15p (3/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ua Rathaille (P. O. Snodagh)	9p (1/9)	<input type="checkbox"/>
An Aisling (M. O. Cshdhai)	10p (2/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Republicanism, Christianity and Marxism (D. Kelleher)	17½p (3/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Our Own Red Blood. Sean Cronin	20p (4/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
WRITINGS OF JAMES CONNOLLY:		
Labour in Irish History	22½p (4/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour, Nationality and Religion	15p (3/-)	<input type="checkbox"/>
The New Evangel (Erin's Hope)	12½ (2/6)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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# EASTER COMMEMORATIONS

## ULADH

### ANTRIM

**Belfast:**  
Parade assemblies Beechmount 2.30 p.m.  
March to Milltown Cemetery 3.00 p.m.  
Oration: Sean Garland.

### DOWN

**Newry:**  
Parade assemblies Mall 11.30 a.m.  
March to Cemetery 12 noon.  
Oration: Ivan Barr, Strabane.

### ARMAGH

**Ballymacnab:**  
Afternoon parade.  
Oration: Ivan Barr.

**Crossmaglen:**  
Parade assemblies Crossmaglen Hall 11.00 a.m.  
March to St. Patrick's Church, Commemoration Ceremony after 11.30 Mass.

**Armagh Town — Easter Monday:**  
Chairman: Dennis Casin, Bray.  
Oration: Seamus Costello, Bray.

### DERRY

**Derry City:**  
Oration: Mairin De Burca, Dublin.

**Strabane:**  
Chairman: Liam McElhinney.  
Oration: Mairin De Burca.

**Dungiven:**  
Parade Easter Sunday.

## DONEGAL

**Glencolmille:**  
Comoradh ag leacht Dhonncha Mhic Niallghais 12.30 p.m.  
Cathaoirleach: Sean O hEinne.  
Cainteoir: Eoin O Murchu.

**Drumboe:**  
Wreath-laying ceremony at 10.30 a.m.

## MONAGHAN

**Carrickmacross:**  
Parade assemblies Shercock Road 10.30 a.m.  
March to Rafeagh Cemetery.  
Chairman: Francis O'Donoghue.  
Oration: Tom Kilroy.

## TYRONE

**Ardboe:**  
Sunday morning Commemoration.

## MUMMIAN

### CORK

**Cork City:**  
Parade assemblies Thomas Ashe Hall 2.30 p.m.  
March to Cemetery 3.00 p.m.  
Chairman: Jack Lynch.  
Oration: Malachy McBurney, Belfast.

**Mallow:**  
Parade 7.30 p.m.  
Oration: Malachy McBurney.

**Millstreet:**  
Parade 11.30 a.m.  
Oration: Malachy McBurney.

## LIMERICK

Parade assemblies Bedford Row 12.45 p.m.  
March to Mount St. Lawrence.  
Oration: Tomás Mac Giolla.

## KERRY

**Ballykissane:**  
Oration: Liam Leddy, Cork.

## TIPPERARY

**Nenagh:**  
Parade assemblies 3.30 in Square.  
Oration: Tomás Mac Giolla.

## WATERFORD

Parade assemblies at Clock Tower, The Quay, 2.30 p.m.  
March to Ballygunner Cemetery via G.P.O. 3.00 p.m.  
Chairman: Sean O Ceallaigh.  
Oration: Cathal Goulding.

## CLARE

**Killaloe:**  
Oration: Paddy Murphy, Co. Down

## CONNACHT

### SLIGO

Easter Monday. Parade assemblies Town Hall 2.30 p.m.  
March to Cemetery 3.30 p.m.  
Chairman: Jude Gilligan.  
Oration: Cathal Goulding.

## GALWAY

**Galway City:**  
Oration: Niall McGinn.  
**Tuam — Sunday, April 18:**  
Parade assemblies Memorial Cross 1 p.m. March to Old Workhouse.  
Chairman: Paddy Garaghty.  
Oration: Seamus Costello.

**Ballina:**  
League Cemetery 3 p.m.

## LAIGHEAN

### DUBLIN

Parade assemblies Custom House 2.30 p.m. March to Glasnevin Cemetery 3.00 p.m.  
Chairman: Praisias De Rossa.  
Oration: Oliver Frawley, Belfast.  
**Deans Grange:**  
Parade assemblies St. Michael's Church, Dun Laoghaire, 10.30 a.m.  
March to Dean's Grange 11 a.m.  
Chairman: Dan O Rioridan.  
Oration: Tony Heffernan, Dublin.

### WICKLOW

**Bray:**  
Parade assemblies Old Connaught Corner 3 p.m.  
March to Town Hall 3 p.m.  
Chairman: Seamus Costello.  
Oration: Malachy McGurran, Belfast.

### KILDARE

**Celbridge:** Easter Monday.  
Parade assemblies Bridge 3 p.m.  
March to Cemetery 3.30 p.m.  
Chairman: Noel Murray.  
Oration: Oliver Frawley, Belfast.



### NOTE

Watch local papers for further details.  
Note that Tuam Commemoration takes place on Sunday, April 18. Armagh Town and Celbridge Commemorations take place on Easter Monday.  
Avoid dissension and respect the Republican dead.

TYRONE NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION — CARRICKMORE, EASTER MONDAY  
Opening of Garden of Remembrance by Nora Connolly O'Brien. Speakers: Frank Morris, Tom Mitchell.

# Fianna Fail and the IRA

**1926-44** Twice in the past, in 1932 and again in 1957, Fianna Fail used the I.R.A. to gain political power and then turned on it and put it down savagely. The latest attempt, in 1969, by a section of Fianna Fail to again use the I.R.A. for its political advantage failed because of the political awareness of the I.R.A. leadership. But the failure was not complete as evidence the present tense situation in Belfast between rival I.R.A. groups.

De Valera dominated Fianna Fail-I.R.A. relationships during the period of greatest trial from 1926 when he broke with the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein to found Fianna Fail until 1945, when the remnants of the once numerically powerful I.R.A. were released from the prisons and the Curragh internment camp. Again, briefly, in the pre-1957 General Election period De Valera flirted with the I.R.A. until his return to office when he quickly opened the Curragh once more to eliminate any possible threat to Fianna Fail political hegemony.

The next period of Fianna Fail interest in the I.R.A. occurred in the days following August 14, 1969 in Belfast when Fianna Fail saw their political position threatened by political developments in the North over which they had no control. This time a section of Fianna Fail — the Haughey-Blaney-Boland faction — tried to harness the I.R.A. to their own sectional advantage inside Fianna Fail. Their failure to do so is part of contemporary Irish history but it is still too early to estimate the full damage done to the I.R.A. resulting from the attempt.

## No political programme

How did Fianna Fail outmanoeuvre the I.R.A. between 1926 and 1932? Why did the I.R.A. leadership support Fianna Fail in the crucial 1932 and 1933 elections? What happened between then and September 13, 1936, when the first of many I.R.A. men died in solitary confinement in Fianna Fail's Arbour Hill prison in 1936?

All this happened because basically the I.R.A. had no political programme geared to the actual needs of the 26 County population in those years. The I.R.A. of those days thought in terms of gaining the support of the people for the army rather than of the army spear-pointing a popular struggle. This attitude had been made inevitable by historical circumstances. It took decades before the lesson was fully learned that a change in attitude was overdue. To the majority within the I.R.A. the maintenance of the military force, rather than the revolutionary movement that produced it, had become the tradition as George Gilmore points out.

Connolly had written of the danger of crystallising nationalism into a tradition: "Traditions may, and frequently do, provide materials for a glorious martyrdom, but can never be strong enough to ride the storm of a successful revolution". The I.R.A. stood still almost and allowed De Valera steal the one political cloak that Peader O'Donnell had provided, the land annuities' campaign.

In November 1932, the Army Council of the I.R.A. rescinded the General Army Order prohibiting Volunteers from voting or working in Free State or Northern Ireland elections. No I.R.A. policy would be put forward but Volunteers might co-operate in putting Cosgrove out. The schizophrenia was visible in the wording of the Order . . . "The Army Council would, however, emphasise to Volunteers that while advocating voting at these elections, our objects cannot be achieved by the methods of politics of the parties seeking election". This blind spot gave De Valera a wide open field of approach to appeal to Republican supporters over the head of the I.R.A. leadership in the 1930s. It led to the Clann na Poblachta outburst of the late 'forties. It was left to the mid-sixties to evolve a policy allowing parliamentary participation as an additional weapon in the context of a mass-revolutionary movement and even then it caused a group to break away from the main body.

## De Valera pays court

De Valera out of office avidly courted the apolitical I.R.A. The March 1929 edition of the Fianna Fail "Nation" paper could say that "Fianna Fail did not condone brutality but they did not wish to associate themselves with the equally brutal, inefficient, useless methods of repression adopted by the Free State Government".

Regularly through 1928 and 1929 De Valera rubbed the relic,

Twice in the past, in 1932 and again in 1957, Fianna Fail used the I.R.A. to gain political power and then turned on it and put it down savagely. The latest attempt, in 1969, by a section of Fianna Fail to again use the I.R.A. for its political advantage failed because of the political awareness of the I.R.A. leadership.

This article analyses the relationship between the I.R.A. and Fianna Fail in its three critical phases—1926-44, 1957 and 1969 and shows why Fianna Fail were always willing to rattle the sabre when out of office.

stressing the validity of the ideals of the men outside the Dail. "Those who continued on in that organisation which we have left can claim exactly the same continuity that we claimed up to 1925". At the 1931 Bodenstown Commemoration, De Valera could be seen with the Fianna Fail delegation "off to one side, listening to the soaring words of O'Donnell and tasting the seething enthusiasm of the crowd". Peader O'Donnell, who gave the oration that day recalls the scene in his book, "There will be another day", describing De Valera as "waiting in the wings". De Valera did not have long to wait. Within nine months, on March 9, 1932, De Valera led Fianna Fail to electoral victory and to its first spell in office.

De Valera in office used the I.R.A. against the Blueshirt threat while he consolidated his political strength. In the January 1933 General Election De Valera was again supported by the I.R.A. and increased his number of seats in the Dail by five giving him 77 seats in a house of 153. And then he had the Labour Party to count on for support.

Now he was strong enough to commence his final assault on the I.R.A. flank. The creation of the new S-Branch, Broys's Harriers, to counter the Blueshirt threats, had presented several hundred sound Republicans with a good job and an outlet for their anti-fascist energies. As a result several hundred good men were lost to the I.R.A.

## Outflanking the I.R.A.

The process is well described in James Bower Bell's book "The Secret Army". It describes the formation of the present F.C.A. around this time as intended to cut off potential recruits from the I.R.A. "The idea attracted those who wanted a bit of excitement, a new uniform, and didn't care to risk paternal or priestly disapproval of the more militant I.R.A.". The process of chloroforming continued in other ways. "In the Dail, several Bills were passed, compensating Republican supporters for property losses suffered during the Civil War and providing pensions for the wounded. It was even rumoured that a military service pension for old I.R.A. men would be introduced later in 1934. All these measures gathered Republicans more firmly into the Fianna Fail fold. The end of the oath, the reduction of the Governor General to a strawman, the promise of more Republican manoeuvres in the days ahead, and the economic war under De Valera's generalship convinced many that Fianna Fail was on the high road to the Republic". Ever so gradually Fianna Fail outflanked the I.R.A., tranquilized their old supporters and secured the confidence of the mass of the people. The defection of leftward thinking people who realised the need for a revolutionary alternative left the Movement politically rudderless.

In the late 'thirties De Valera was strong enough to turn on the I.R.A. Volunteer Peter McCarthy was shot down in Clanbrassill Street, Dublin, by Fianna Fail Special Branch, on June 15, 1937. Fianna Fail's catalogue of terror and atrocity against the I.R.A. had commenced. Then came Gerry Boland, The Emergency Powers Act, The Military Tribunals and the Curragh Concentration Camp in early 1940. As far as Fianna Fail was concerned, for the moment at least, the I.R.A. orange was sucked dry. By 1944 at least sixteen active Republicans had been shot, executed or hanged by Fianna Fail in the 26 County area. In the Dail the Fianna Fail Minister for Justice, Gerald Boland, announced with pride that the I.R.A. was dead and that he had killed it.

**1956-57** It was 1956-1957 before the paths of De Valera and the I.R.A. crossed again. Again De Valera was out of power and on the opposition benches. His 1948-'49 world-wide anti-Partition tour had been more than just a valley period occupation. It was intended to stress Fianna Fail's copyright claim to the Republican tradition; and it was certainly a help in restoring Fianna Fail to power in 1952. The anti-Partition campaign was then dropped; it had served its purpose. But in 1954 a Coalition Government was again in power with the support of Clann na Poblachta's three Dail deputies.

## "More Pomeroy's"

Fianna Fail's flirtations with the resurgent Sinn Fein and I.R.A. began. The organisers of the meeting in Pomeroy which ended in a riot on the occasion on Liam Kelly's release from prison were interviewed in the Dail restaurant by an enthusiastic De Valera. What Ireland needed, he declared, was "more Pomeroy's".

At local level in politics in the South it was often difficult to tell the difference between Fianna Fail and Sinn Fein Councillors. Fianna Fail was re-discovering its militant Republicanism. Friendly Fianna Fail people provided facilities for I.R.A. training camps and gave fiery speeches from public platforms.

On May 26, 1955, Sinn Fein candidates in the Westminster elections in the North polled a total of 152,310 votes. The Nationalist Party was buried in the rush to elect I.R.A. prisoners Tom Mitchell for Mid-Ulster and Phil Clarke for Fermanagh-South Tyrone.

The I.R.A. decided on a military guerilla campaign inside the

## AIBREAN, 1971

On one of these occasions, in 1948, de Valera regained power by conducting a world-wide anti-Partition tour. He is pictured below with Pandit Nehru at Government House, New Delhi, 1948-49. The irony of the visit to India may be gained from the remark passed by a leading official of Nehru's National Congress Party who visited Ireland in 1932.

Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, came as a representative of the National Congress to ask help from the

## SEACHT

Fianna Fail Government in its struggle against the British Raj in India. Mr. de Valera refused any help. Mr. Patel returned to India a good deal disappointed with Mr. de Valera remarking that de Valera had evolved a "kind of nationalism that is not anti-imperialist". But then, Mr. de Valera took up the anti-Partition campaign in the years 1948-49 and went to India to impress the Irish voters not to ask help from the people of India. His relationship with the I.R.A. at home had made him a past master of the art of hypocrisy.

North. As in the 1939 Campaign in England it was expected that a policy of doing nothing in the 26 Counties would be reciprocated by the Government of the day. This attitude went out in the inner councils of the I.R.A. despite warnings to the contrary and the lessons of the past. In the North the I.R.A. columns were to face apathy among the Nationalists and hostility among the Orange majority. In January 1957 the Coalition Government under John Costello began to arrest the known I.R.A. leaders as the campaign started in spectacular fashion.

Pressure came on the small Clann na Poblachta party to withdraw from a Government that was jailing Republicans. De Valera seemed preferable in his present mood. Wiser counsel failed and an election was declared for March 5, 1957.

Sinn Fein seemed to be riding the crest of a wave. So too was De Valera — and it was the same wave. Sinn Fein put forward 19 candidates in 40 constituencies and elected four, polling a total of 65,640 votes out of the total 1,127,016 cast.

## When the honeymoon was over

Rory Brady was elected in Longford-Westmeath, Einachan O'h-Anluain in Monaghan, J. J. McGill in Sligo-Leitrim and John Joe Rice in South Kerry. But De Valera took the lion's share of the wave and led Fianna Fail to its greatest ever electoral triumph with a smashing 78 seats.

With Fianna Fail back in power, the honeymoon was suddenly over. The Offences Against the State Act was re-activated, the Curragh re-opened and Republicans swept into it from all parts of the country. On July 6, 1957, the whole Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle were arrested with the exception of Mrs. Buckley. De Valera did not even need the advice of British Ambassador Sir Alexander Clutterbuck that a failure by the Southern Government to take firm action against the I.R.A. would lead to economic sanctions against the 26 Counties by Britain. A successful I.R.A. campaign would lead to competition for him for political power in the 26 Counties. He was going to crush the I.R.A. challenge by a ruthless use of the power they had helped him gain.

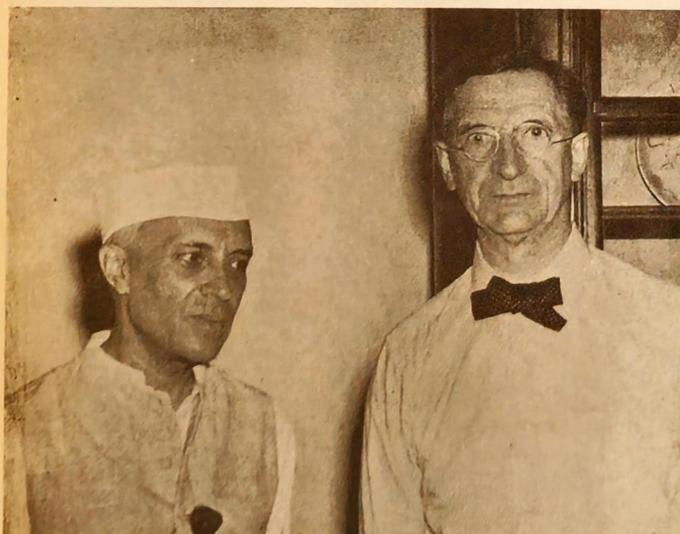
The Curragh Concentration Camp was soon overflowing with the victims of the Offences Against The State Act whose real crime was their potential to offend against Fianna Fail power.

## 1969

long neglect of the North ended in the Belfast and Derry chaos brought about by the Republican-backed Civil Rights Movement.

The explosion in the North caught Fianna Fail in the contradictory position of having a Government in power pursuing a policy of sub-servience to Britain while the party itself posed before

In August 1969 the paths of the Republican Movement and Fianna Fail were fated to cross once again. Fianna Fail's



● Mr. de Valera with Pandit Nehru at Government House, New Delhi, on his world tour to impress the Irish people with his anti-Partition feelings.



Thomas Harris, executed by Fianna Fail, September 6, 1948.



Barney Casey, shot in Fianna Fail concentration camp, December 16, 1948.



Maurice O'Neill, executed by Fianna Fail, November 12, 1942.



Charlie Kerins, executed by Fianna Fail, December 1, 1944.

the public as a Republican party. This was further complicated by the power struggle inside the party.

Where De Valera had in the past harnessed the I.R.A. to the benefit of the whole Fianna Fail party an attempt was now made by one section of the party to use the I.R.A. for its own ends inside the party.

In 1967 at Bodentown, Cathal Goulding stated publicly: "You are all aware of the result of this re-thinking phase. We decided, you and I, in Conventon and Ard Fheis, at Comhairle Ceantir and staff meetings, to make an all out attack on the take-over of Irish assets by foreign interests. We decided that the best method of preventing the degradation of our people by these foreign interests was for us to develop the spirit and practice of co-operation in our local areas, to develop the credit-union idea so that our people would be rescued from the exorbitant rates charged by the almost exclusively foreign owned H.P. companies. We decided that we would organise resistance to the exploitation of Irish workers and farmers . . . This movement has room only for revolutionaries, for radicals, for men with a sense of urgent purpose who are aware of realities, who are not afraid to meet hard work, men who will not be defeated and who will not be deceived".

## Function of the civil wing

At Bodentown in 1968 John Garland was even more explicit:

"The traditional policy of the I.R.A. up to the present has been to prepare the army for an armed struggle and use the civil wings of the Movement simply as support groups for publicity, finance, recruits and suppliers of transport and friendly houses. There is nothing wrong with these ideas but the real and most important function of the civil wing has been overlooked and neglected — that is of being a bridge between the underground activities of the Army and the people — the connecting link.

"The function of the civil wing of all successful revolutionary movements has been to act as the mass organizer of the people, to lead them in their agitational activities. Therefore we should be leading the people by means of the civil wings in agitating for better working, living and social conditions, in agitating for land, showing them in all these fights that their enemies are their landlords, their bosses and their gombeen exploiters and finally get them to understand that all these forces are banded together in an organisation called 'the Establishment'.

"This changes drastically our traditional line of tactics. There are no longer two different types of republicans; physical force men and politicians. We in the Republican Movement must be politically aware of our objectives and must also be prepared to take the appropriate educational, economic, political and finally military action to achieve them".

## The next phase

Looking to the future, Garland continued: "The next phase of the struggle must be one in which the Movement commits itself and all its resources to the full so that when the struggle is over we will emerge either successful or annihilated. Let no mealy-mouthed sentimentalist tell us that we must preserve the movement as traditionally constituted if this proves impractical and hand on these impracticalities to the next generation. The struggle for the emancipation of the Irish people is inevitable and by saddling the next generation with useless tools and tactics we are not helping them but destroying their chances of success by binding them to a line of thought and action that was a failure with one generation and must just as surely be a failure with the next. We must be prepared for any structural or organisational changes as we are prepared for changes in tactics and simply regard the movement and its policies as a means to an end, remembering at the same time that the basics cannot change and the basic is as it was in '98, '16 and '56 — the freedom of the Irish people".

## Attempt to split

Having failed to harness the Republican Movement to their ends for the first time in the history of Fianna Fail-I.R.A. relationships it was then decided by the Fianna Fail clique to split the Movement so as to destroy its effectiveness as the main anti-imperialist organisation in Ireland.

## Methods used

The methods used were money, promises of arms and red-scare propaganda. Existing tensions and difficulties within the Movement were exploited and very many genuine people led astray. The effects of that effort are with us still but the Movement has retained its integrity and capacity to continue the struggle against British Imperialism and its agents in Ireland.

It seems a long call from the ranks of the Irish Republican Army celebrating the Easter Rising to the marching throngs of the Orange Order who will later on be celebrating the Battle of the Boyne. Across the space we have sometimes exchanged shots or missiles or hard words but never forgetting that on occasions our ancestors have stood shoulder to shoulder. When we again exchange ideas the distance between us will visibly shorten. For a time last year it seemed that our long and patient work in this direction was having some success, for even in the midst of turmoil, some small areas of possible contact and co-operation were being opened up. Now the gulf has again been widened by the sectarian activities of those who wished to turn the Irish Republican Army into a purely Catholic Defence Force. Our task is to defend the common people against physical attack from the forces of the establishment and against economic exploitation by the forces of capitalism and British Imperialism in both the North and South of our country.

PREJUDICE

To prejudice you against us it is emphasised that we of the Irish Republican Army and the mass of republicans are mainly Catholic, and that your religious beliefs would not be respected in a free Ireland. It is quite true we are now mainly Catholics simply because the dissenters have been prevented by constant indoctrination from embracing republicanism which should be their natural political philosophy. But in Southern Ireland the same political and economic interests and voices which tell you we are Catholics, tell the Catholic population of the South that we are anti-God fanatics and yearning for an opportunity to make war on the religion to which the majority of us belong.

The fact is we are quite unaware of religious distinctions within our movement. We guarantee you, you will guarantee us, and we will both guarantee to all, full freedom of conscience and civil and religious liberty in a united and

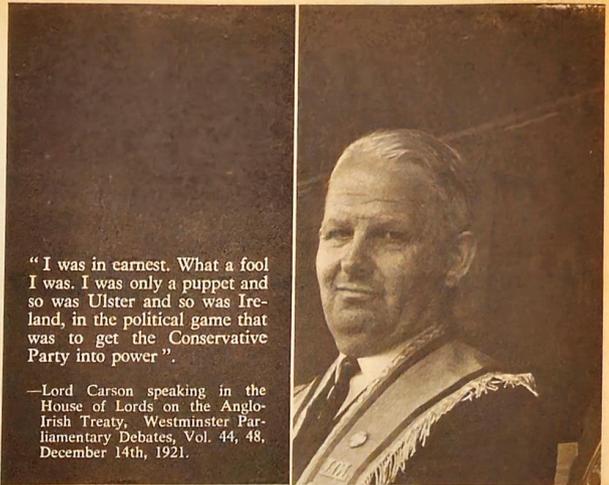
independent Ireland. This is the truth of the matter and just now when Imperial interests are attempting to conceal themselves behind the mad fury of religious strife, you and we should combine to make certain that no such escape should be provided them.

In the process of exploitation of workers and small producers, do you not realise how little religion matters to the exploiters? Orange and Republican, Catholic and Protestant toil side by side in factory and mill, all equally victims. Those who thus exploit mercilessly our labour and energies, would set us at one another's throats, because it is to their advantage to divide us and lead us into conflict by arousing irrelevant religious issues and inflaming passions. In this way they can split the organisations of the workers and render them ineffective. Do you not find Protestant and Catholic queued shoulder to shoulder at the unemployment bureaux waiting for the "dole". In that fast growing queue your religion or your membership of the Orange Order will count for as little as Catholicism does to the unemployed and emigrating Catholics in the South.

EXPLOITATION OF RELIGION

The fact that the religious feelings of the masses of both Protestant and Catholic are played on and exploited by the Imperialists and capitalists the more surely to enslave them.

You celebrate the victory of the Boyne. This was a victory for the alliance of the then Pope and William of Orange; strange alliance for you to celebrate; strange victory for Catholics to oppose. History has been distorted and antagonisms manufactured to hide the occasions when our forefathers of all faiths made common cause. If William of Orange and the Pope of Rome could achieve an alliance in a European struggle for power, there is surely hope that the Protestant and Catholic work-



"I was in earnest. What a fool I was. I was only a puppet and so was Ulster and so was Ireland, in the political game that was to get the Conservative Party into power".

—Lord Carson speaking in the House of Lords on the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Westminster Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 44, 48, December 14th, 1921.

# THE LONG CALL

ers and small farmers of Ireland will unite in the struggle for power and ownership of their own country.

The Irish Republican Army, in North East Ulster as well as in the rest of Ireland, believe that the mass of workers and small farmers must organise behind revolutionary leadership if they are to rescue themselves from a system within which the few prosper and the many are impoverished. It is our opinion, a conviction driven in on our minds by the facts of life around us, that capitalism and imperialism constitute a system of exploitation and injustice within which the mass of the people know no real freedom. Unemployment is today reaching dangerous proportions while a Tory Government makes economies in Social Services; workers' real earnings are falling due to inflationary conditions caused by speculators and profiteers, while the British Tory Government introduces anti-worker legislation; and small and medium sized farmers are being driven from their holdings by social pressures and falling incomes while the British Government try to force them into the European Common Market which has plans for their total destruction.

NO SOLUTION EXCEPT . . .

We can see no permanent solution of these and other social evils except by the transfer of power over production, distribution and exchange to the mass of the people. The power to produce what the many require exists; its organisation and distribution presents no insoluble difficulty. But the vested interests of a privileged minority are across the road and progress is impossible unless we are prepared to clear away these obstacles.

These interests that deny their rights to the many are those on which imperialism rests. Touch or threaten these privileged interests and the whole force of British Imperialism is invoked for their protection. Thus it is that we see and say that the emancipation of the mass of the Irish people is impossible without breaking the connection with imperial Britain and with the system she has imposed on Ireland, North and South.

You must realise that the native industries on which the former prosperity of North East Ulster rested are gone without hope of revival; that your jobs now depend on British, American and continental employers who will close down their Irish branches at the first hint of recession at home; that the lead-

ing stores, supermarkets, banks and insurance companies are in English hands, and that top jobs in managerial and technological sectors are in English hands or in the hands of other foreign nationals. How can the British people help you while their own workers are struggling desperately to exist and even the largest of their industries are going to the wall. Where do you see any hope for yourselves and your families under the present system?

BREAK FREE

Workers and farmers of Protestant or settler stock! You surely must see that your future is inevitably bound up with the mass of the people in the remainder of Ireland, many of whom are in even worse straits than you are. To preserve yourselves from extinction, and to preserve the Irish Nation from extinction, you and they must combine and go forward to the attainment of a free democratic republic within which life and living will be organised and controlled by you to serve your needs and thus end the present economic and social injustices for ever. The industrial capacity and training of your industrial workers of North East Ulster and your democratic and republican tradition, (there is not a genuine monarchist among you) ensure for you a leading influence and place in the economy and life of a free Irish nation. Break free from the ghettoes into which you have been forced and take possession of your country.

CRADLE OF REVOLUTION

Your stock were the founders and inspiration, and Belfast the cradle of the modern revolutionary movement for national and economic freedom. Your illustrious ancestors and co-religionists, the United Irishmen, by their gallant struggle in 1798 set aflame the ideals of republicanism which never since have been extinguished. We ask that you should join us to achieve their ideals—National Independence and civil and religious liberties.

It was John Mitchel, a Newry man of your stock, who addressed these words to your forefathers: "In fact religious hatred has been kept alive in Ireland longer than anywhere else in Christendom, just for the simple reason that Irish landlords and British Statesmen found their own account in it, and so soon as Irish landlordism and British domination are finally rooted out of our country it will be heard no longer in Ireland any more than it was in France or Belgium now".

## TRAGIC EVENTS IN ULSTER

Last month's "United Irishman" asked the question "Who was the man fighting Republicans?" The inevitability of a shooting war in Belfast was seen by all clear-sighted Republicans. The tragic consequences were also foreseen. Less than a week later, however, a member of the Provisional Movement was dead and another was seriously wounded. Why was this so? A comprehensive statement about the events in Belfast was issued recently by the Republican Movement and it traces the history of the present split pointing out that as early as February, 1969, agents of Blaney Island Haughey approached members of the Republican Movement in the North with promises of large amounts of money on certain conditions. The statement, signed by J. J. McGarrity, illustrates that when the Republican Movement refused to allow itself to be led by this clique within Fianna Fail the agents attempted to split it. This they succeeded in doing and the recent shootings stem directly from the seeds sown by Fianna Fail agents both before and after August, 1969.

Dealing with the actual events in Belfast the statement points out that the chain of shooting and counter-shooting began on a Friday when "the British Army were engaged by units of the official I.R.A. in the Ballymurphy area. On Saturday the O/C of the Official unit in Ballymurphy was attacked and pistol whipped by seven members of the MacStiofain/Brady group. Later the same day a member of the breakaway group who had taken part in this assault was shot and wounded in the arms and leg by members of the I.R.A. as retaliation. On Sunday two members of the I.R.A. were kidnapped and manhandled. On Monday two members of the breakaway group were taken and held as hostages for the safety of the two men then in the custody of the splinter group."



• Charles Hughes

The culmination of events came when about 20 members of the Provisional Movement armed with machine guns and pistols and carrying cans of petrol, burst into a public house in Sultan Street and held up the staff and customers. They threatened to shoot some leading members of the Republican Movement who were present and would have done so except for the presence of some women who refused to get out when told to do so. The raiders set fire to the premises downstairs thereby trapping a number of customers in an upstairs lounge. In the ensuing panic the raiders lost their nerve and they fled.

The statement continues: "The same group joined by some others later proceeded to a Republican club premises in Leeson Street

where a Republican function was being held. As the crowd of whom were young people, were leaving the function they heard a young girl cry out that a group of armed men were coming to shoot them. As the warning was being given a hail of fire was opened up on the front of the premises from several angles. During the course of this firing from sub-machine guns, two passers-by were wounded. Cars and buildings in the immediate vicinity were damaged. No member of the club was wounded in this sustained, calculated, murderous attack. Later the same night members of the I.R.A. who had armed themselves for defence came in conflict with some members of the armed group which had been raiding and shooting earlier. In an exchange of fire on man, a member of the breakaway group, was killed and another man wounded. No one regrets the death of this young Irishman more than the members of the I.R.A. and we wish to convey to his family and relatives our very deep sympathy."

On Tuesday a statement signed by P. O'Neill was handed to the press by Sean Mac Stiofain and in it the Provisional Movement said that they had not started the trouble. A similar statement was given to the press at a news conference on St. Patrick's Day in Dublin, again in breach of the truce agreement which ruled out any press releases.

Since then Belfast has seen little trouble — openly at least — between the two groups. Neither side has been hit by the events of last month. The victors were the British Army, who sat outside the area of conflict and waited to pick up the pieces; the Stormont Government, whose then leader, Major Chichester Clark laughed openly about it all on TV, and the ruling British financiers and politicians who saw it as a solution to their problems.

It is not too late yet to learn by past mistakes.

## AIBREAN, 1971

This message is addressed to the Protestant Unionists of Ulster. It is an attempt at a heart to heart talk among radical Irishmen: an attempt to point out to you that England is preparing to throw you away now that the Orange is sucked dry.

How come the Orange is sucked dry? Simply because in 1912 Britain decided to "play the Orange Card" against the Home Rule demands of the Irish people. This card is no longer useful to Britain.

For reasons of history and religion it was an easy matter for Britain to inflame prejudice and feelings. Sir Edward Carson and F. E. Smith became willing agents of the Imperial designs as it suited the big industrialists of the North to maintain the union with the British markets. This division served the imperial interest of dividing Ireland now for fifty years.

At the beginning of that period the Orangemen were important to the Imperial needs of Britain. Britain gave the first Northern Premier, Lord Craigavon, a relatively free hand at Stormont. Proportional Representation was abolished in order to deprive the minority of electoral power. Various types of militias were sanctioned for the defence of the North. Slowly over the years the machine of coercion and discrimination was built up, bolstered by the fears of the majority Protestant population. Reaction set in among the discriminated against minority and sectarianism became a marked feature of life in the British-created enclave. The minority Nationalist population sifted into ghetto areas — thus turning many Protestant working class areas into ghettos.

The fable was that this state of Northern Ireland had been created by the Orange Order backed up with the guns landed at Larne. This was repeated over and over again at July 12 rallies and parades. The truth has begun to dawn in some Unionist quarters of late that the North was a creation of Britain's. Chichester-Clarke fell in the cross-fire caused by the British Army refusing to do what he asked them to do and the right-wing Unionist idea that they had to do as he asked. This is why Craig cuts such an absurd figure as he struggles around in Carson's seven league boots. Britain does not need the Orange bigot any longer. Not only that but Britain is actually embarrassed by the latter day Craigavons. We are reliving in farce the tragedy that befell the Irish people, Catholic and Protestant in 1912-'21.

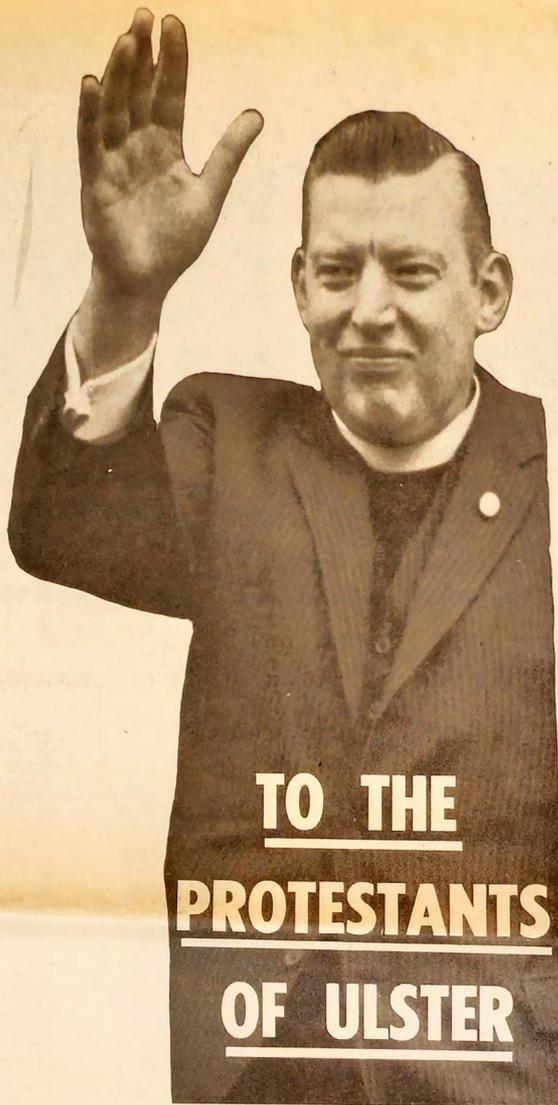
Why is Britain embarrassed by the Orangemen? Why is it yielding to Civil Rights? Why does it not try to crush the I.R.A., to "seek out and destroy" instead of its stated policy of "containment"? Because this is 1971 — not 1921.

The scene in Ireland has changed radically as far as the British are concerned; and, of course, the British look at Ireland as a unit — not as two separate states. The Government in the South, far from being hostile to Britain or striving towards a Republic, are actually leading the people back into the British Empire. This is the logic of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which has made the South jump from being Britain's ninth best customer five years ago to being third best at the moment. It has increased the dependency of the Southern economy on Britain to the extent that it is now a neo-colony with slightly more sham political freedom than Stormont.

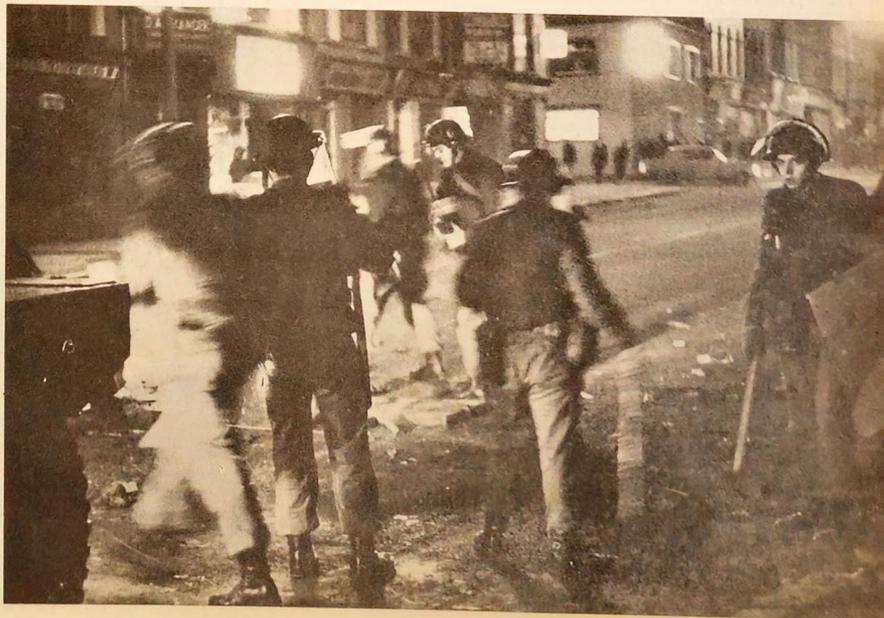
Britain's interests lie now in conciliating the South still further. There is the common attitude on the Common Market. Also there are, since 1921, a million Irish-born from the 26 County area in Britain. These million have votes that must be respected by either a Labour or Conservative Government and their sympathies would be with the minority in the North.

Unionism, therefore, from being a friendly port during the stormy days of the demand for an Irish Republic has now outlined its usefulness. The splendid Stormont warship of Carson's days has become a derelict wreck that wanders the sea lane between British Imperialism and her latest prize, De Valera's "Republic". Britain is toying with the idea of removing the danger by sending a torpedo into the wreck and sinking it in the foundation of a new solution to the Irish question. That torpedo is direct rule and the solution is Federalism.

Any Unionist foolish enough to think that Britain would not introduce direct rule should read the *London Times* or the *Sunday Times*. In a recent editorial the *Sunday Times* states that the hopes of Mr. Craig, Mr. Paisley and Mr. West that a different Unionist leadership could extract a different policy from London than the one it wants to pursue is "proof only of their bottomless ignorance".



# TO THE PROTESTANTS OF ULSTER



(N/AO)

The *Times* further comments: "for Westminster to take back the reins is a logical next stage; but only a stage". It goes ahead to sketch the long-term British plan. "Since pushing the North out of association with Britain would be extraordinarily messy and painful, the trick could be worked by bringing the South into association instead". It underlines the new dependence of the South on Britain. It points out that "the association is pretty close already: the Dublin Government had little say, for example, in whether it went decimal last month or not. And this is a solution, it can be firmly stated, which Dublin would take very seriously if a serious overture were made from London". Unionists, please note. The Dublin Government, it is stated explicitly "would be interested in a device which allowed it some say in running the whole island in harness with Westminster".

In brief, the British now propose to rule Ireland by playing the Catholic Card where fifty years ago they played the Orange one. Where do you stand on that? We stand where non-sectarian Republicans have stood for hundreds of years. As Pearce could say in November 1913: "Hitherto England has governed Ireland through the Orange Lodges; she now proposes to govern Ireland through the Ancient Order of Hibernians. You object: so do we. Why not unite and get rid of the English? They are the real difficulty; their presence here is the real incongruity".

And make no mistake about it. Jack Lynch would go for a federal deal with Britain. In Fianna Fail terms the achievement of some say in the affairs of the North could be presented as a step towards the Republic. It would also be Catholics up and Protestants down as one group of Irishmen got Britain's help to down another. Republicans would see the major British profit on the deal. Britain would have a say politically in the South as well as in the North and far from progressing towards a Republic, Ireland would have taken a long step back into history and into the British Empire. This time it would be Federal troops that would shoot down the Protestants of the North. Britain would be back again to the old game of "ruling Ireland with an economy of British lives".

We point this out to radicals in the North because we respect your radicalism on social issues. It was your radical tradition that informed Republicanism at its outset under the leadership of Tone and McCracken and Hope. In that tradition, which we share, lies the hope of the Irish working class against their masters both foreign and domestic. Do write and tell us what you think.

● Shankill Protestants battle it out with the British troops. Orangemen are loyal to Britain because they imagine that Britain secures their prosperity. Their loyalty is conditional. When the Union flag threatens their imagined prosperity they are the first to turn and fire on it.



# Ulster '71 - by our skills we live

While the future of the Six Counties as a separate political unit hangs in the balance, the Stormont Government are pushing ahead with their ambitious plans for this summer's ULSTER '71 Festival. The festival, an attempt at a respectable commemoration for 50 years of Tory misrule, will centre on a 37-acre Expo-style exhibition in Belfast, while in the rural areas the Government hope to sponsor a series of "festival fortnights"—a new name for Terence O'Neill's infamous civic weeks.

Despite extensive press coverage of other more topical events in the North at the present time, no effort is being spared at bringing this would-be panacea to the attention of the people of the Six Counties and Britain. The motto adopted for the festival is "By Our Skills We Live"—a particularly appropriate one at this point in the turbulent history of the Six Counties. The man appointed to take charge of the operation is Sir Francis Evans G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.L., former British Ambassador to the Argentine and Israel and President of the Central Council of Ulster '71. Sir Cecil Bateman, K.B.E., is chairman of the Council which is largely made up of civil servants, active and retired, and a number of business men.

Commission believes that the Festival is an attempt at whitewashing in the dark in these troubled days for the Six Counties but he believes also that it will improve community relations. Other reasons for supporting this venture is that it will improve the economy and help the tourist industry. But all the reasons advanced betray the desperation of the Establishment which must face the hostility of those who know that Ulster '71 is an orange celebration. Already there are strict security precautions in force at the Exhibition Hall in the Botanic Gardens in Belfast and it is expected that when the hall is completed it will be ringed by a permanent guard of British soldiers. People attending the exhibition can expect to be searched going into the hall.

Opposition to the proposed Festival has been growing since the idea was first put forward. Already a number of groups are working at a series of counter-festivals. Action '71 is an alliance of radical groups in the Six Counties. It is working in co-operation with the exclusively student group Expose '71 which is confining itself to holding a week-long exhibition in the Student's Union illustrating some of the facts of life in the Six Counties which the Unionist Government do not seem keen to publicise.

Action '71 are staging a series of exhibitions also, including a mobile one which will be able to tour the rural areas possibly coinciding with the various Festival Fortnights.

The Ulster '71 newsletter says: "The skill of its people, the beauty of its land, the pride in its past, the hope for its future—that is what Ulster '71 is all about." Whatever may be said about the skill of the people of the Six Counties and the beauty of the land in which they live, there is certainly little reason to celebrate either the past history of the North or the hopes for its future.

Three more Irishmen have joined the Irish Political Prisoners. James Monaghan (23) and Patrick McGarrigle (24) were both jailed for three years when found guilty of conspiring to cause an explosion and possessing explosives. Brendan Magill (37) was sentenced to two years for possessing explosives. He was found not guilty of the conspiracy charges.

The three men had refused to recognise the court and formal pleas of not guilty had been entered.

It was alleged that explosives were found when Special Branch detectives raided a flat in Drakefield Road. They were also accused of making the prosecution falter.

Detective Superintendent Richard Booker said that Magill, Monaghan and McGarrigle all came from Ireland.

In February James Anthony Roche, a Westfordman, was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment for lobbying a CS gas grenade into the chamber of the House of Commons. Shortly after this action, which met with widespread public approval in Ireland, the use of CS gas by British troops in the North showed a marked decline. It was about a week after this incident that the flat in Drakefield Road was raided and the three latest victims of British justice were arrested and charged and held in custody.

against the Irish political prisoners. Still a Category "A" prisoner, he is subject to the same persecution inflicted on Pat O'Sullivan and Connor Lynch in the early days of their imprisonment.

Continued treatment of this nature could drive Smullen insane and this knowledge added urgency to the Clann na h-Eireann protest at Gartree prison on March 7. Dan Murphy, National Secretary of Clann na h-Eireann, saw the Governor and demanded to know why Emmons was being maltreated. The Governor explained that the Home Office did not have to explain their mode of treatment to anyone. The victim is an Irish political prisoner.

The terrible conditions in which Smullen is held were forcefully brought home to James Callaghan in Newry on March 27 when he was draped with a banner calling for the release of Irish political prisoners in a near riot situation. What Labour Councillor Thomas Mackay chose to describe as "the unemployed sum of Newry" surrounded Mr. Callaghan, paying his first trip to Newry in fifteen years to talk to the natives, and the worthy gentleman had to be rescued by police intervention. The demonstrators were mainly members of the Ulster Craven Republican Club but members of the breakaway Sina Fein group also co-operated. After this incident the former Home Secretary hurriedly drove off in his £2,000 limousine with his Savile Row suit—and his dignity—slightly ruffled, while the crowd sang "Good-bye, Jimmy, Goodbye".

Pat O'Sullivan's letters publicising the underhand manner the British authorities used to prevent him receiving a just appeal caused the Home Office to send a memorandum to the Governor of Wormwood Scrubs asking the prison authorities to penalise him.

O'Sullivan challenged the memorandum on the grounds that as the letters sent out were all censored, they were legitimate for anyone to receive and that what happened to them after that was no business of his or the prison authorities. The outcome of it all was that the Governor withdrew the allegations and apologised.

On the home front the return of Frank Keane and the treatment being accorded him by Mountjoy Jail will for his chances of a fair trial. The hysteria at the time of the shooting of Garda Fallon and the public naming by the Garda of seven suspects (most of whom were not subsequently arrested or questioned) makes it almost impossible for Keane to receive an unprejudiced jury trial if the Garda fail to drop the charge against him. Apart from the suffering inflicted on the defendant and his family the whole Garda approach to the case has created a precedent, which, followed in the future is bound to lead to serious miscarriages of justice. Keane is the test case.

● Jim Monaghan (3 years)



● Eamonn Smullen (8 years)



● Gerry O'Doherty (4 years)



● Connor Lynch (7 years)



● Pat O'Sullivan (7 years)

## Torture of E. Smullen

No news is yet available as to the treatment these men are receiving in prison. News that Eamonn Smullen, sentenced to eight years in jail on the word of British police (not Reginald Gee, is that he is the most discriminated

### LEGAL AID APPEAL

The following donations were received by the legal aid fund:

- Jack Edwards Cumann, Waterford, £12.10.
- Herv G. McGibney, New York, £14.00.
- Teresa Herman, California, \$20.00.

Send your contribution to the LEGAL AID APPEAL FUND, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

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Northgate acquire a new subsidiary shares rise

Lemass goes to launch the shares on the New York Stock Exchange

The new company is based in Toronto. But all the directors are Irish born!!!



# CHEQUE BOOK IMPERIALISM

In a unique international gesture of generosity the Irish Government have granted North American financiers certain tax-free concessions in their arduous task of taking £300 million out of Ireland. This is in keeping with the policy of the 26 County Government to smooth the way of these mining companies. The following is the curious tale of Tara Exploration and their mineral find in An Uaimh.

The story begins in November 1970 when Tara began exploratory core drilling near An Uaimh, Co. Meath, armed with background information provided by the Geological Survey of Ireland and using geochemical analyses made by An Foras Taluntais. At the time the "Irish Times" commented that

if 8 per cent lead-zinc mineralisation occurred then the find was very valuable indeed. The subsequent lead-zinc content of the assay samples was 43 per cent and it is now generally accepted that An Uaimh with 14 million tons of ore will be far more valuable than the present mine at Tynagh (12 million tons). A modest estimation of the An Uaimh find's future net profits is in the range of £60 million.

With this in mind Tara made an offer of £80,000 plus 1 per cent royalty to Mr. Patrick Wright for his 120 acre farm under which the deposits lay. Mr. Wright was not impressed by this offer and he was later contacted by a Mr. Roche who is a director of Roadstone. The result of the meeting

## SMELTER STRANGLEHOLD

As more and more mineral finds occur in this country the importance of an Irish smelter is rapidly becoming evident. With a yearly projected output of 120,000 tons of zinc the smelter is certainly a viable prospect and the many ancillary metal industries which could be consequently generated would lay the basis for an independent industrial Ireland in this field.

However the Fianna Fail Government does not think along these lines and instead of setting up a state smelter they plan to allow the monopoly mining companies to operate a lead-zinc smelter.

Not only will the Government allow the Smelter Corporation of Ireland to set up the smelter, but it also plans to give them 46 per cent of the cost. The whole project will cost £15 million and it is reported that the Government will provide £7 million. A look at the ownership of the Smelter Corporation of Ireland Ltd. shows that the Canadian Company Northgate owns 70 per cent of it and the remaining 30 per cent is owned by a Northgate associate company, Tara Exploration, another Canadian Company.

At present the S.C.I.L. is not doing anything that a state mining board could not do. It has merely hired the Lurgi Company to set up a zinc refining plant, something a State Mining Board could do. The Government could also begin an immediate programme of training plant operatives and any skills that were not in the country by the time the smelter was finished could be bought from abroad. Freedom of siting could also be achieved by a state board but it is interesting to note that the most recent expenditure of S.C.I.L. has been on a £10,000 publicity banquet for the notables of Cork. This is because they want to have their smelter site near Cork only three miles from a city of 120,000 people.

Recent studies by the resources Study Group on the siting of the smelter have produced significant new facts. Taking into account freight rates, the cost of rail and power line extensions it is estimated that the Cork site would cost £2.2 million more per year than would a suitable deep-water harbour site in Co. Galway. Also taking into account environmental, sociological and financial factors this particular deep-water harbour (compared with eleven other sites in Ireland) emerges as the most suitable. The harbour is Cashla Bay in the Connemara Gaeltacht.

Other reasons favouring the site in this area are that it would afford employment in a depressed area and the prospect of associated industries in the locality would make possible a new town/industrial complex.

between these two men was that on March 19th, 1971 Bula Ltd. was set up, with Messrs. Wright and Roche as directors. Mr. Wright sold his farm to Bula for £500,000 plus 20 per cent royalty — a sizeable increase on the original offer by Tara.

On learning this Tara notified the President of Northgate, Mr. P. Hughes, who was in Canada at that time. (Northgate is the parent company of Tara.) Also in Canada at the same time was Mr. Lalor, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, who was attending a St. Patrick's parade there. He was praising "Canada's contribution to Ireland's mining industry". Hughes went to see Lalor and the result was that a compulsory purchase order was made for the mineral rights in the An Uaimh area.

Tara and Bula are now firing the first salvos in the battle for the control of this juicy £60 million slice of Irish mineral wealth. The Canadian-owned Tara is busy proclaiming to the world how Irish it really is. Bula also claims Irish directors and the "Irish Times" has been driven by the Irishness of it all to say on March 23rd that the "Irish" claims of Bula and Tara "seem to be acknowledgments of the recent arguments by the Resources Study Group that Irish mining had been taken out of the hands of Irish people and was being exploited in the interests of foreign companies".

IN Leinster House last month the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Lalor, denied assertions that recent factory closures had been caused by Free Trade. All the factories which had closed had been set up for the export market, he claimed, and thus could not have been influenced by the Free Trade Agreement.

This is a view not shared by Trade Unionists. Mr. Maurice Cosgrave, President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, asserted that these closures had occurred because of the Government's decision to enter into this agreement without taking adequate measures to protect the livelihood of workers. "Is the Government's confidence in the E.E.C. comparable with their confidence in the Free Trade Area agreement?" he asked.

Already the Confederation of Irish Industries has reported the disastrous effects of Free Trade but can only call for more free trade in the Common Market. If Free Trade has already had the effects we reported in The United Irishman last month, then it is clear that these effects would be even greater if Irish industry were exposed to the competition of the large European cartels.

The textile industry and the shoe industry—already hit by a combination of Free Trade and an international trade recession—would be destroyed if opened up to the competition of the Italian industry. If the Italian shoe and textile industry market could be flooded with cut-rate goods at little extra cost to the producers but with appalling results for Irish workers in these industries. There are no anti-dumping regulations in the Common Market.

As we slip from blunder to blunder, from disaster to disaster, from Free Trade to Common Market, the ruling class tell us we have no alternative. The bankruptcy of the apologist economists is clear from the C.I.L.'s despairing trust in the Common Market when they recognise the failure of the Free Trade Agreement to benefit Ireland. It is worth remembering that the first five years were the 'benefit' years of the Free Trade Agreement. If that is benefit, God help us when the bad effects are felt: there are no 'benefit years' at all. For Free Trade will be exacting its tribute from the Irish people while we glumly and grimly prepare for the greater disaster of the Common Market.

The bankrupt politicians tell us we have no alternative. We can squander our native resources—e.g. the mining scandal—but cannot develop industry. Why? First of all we should remember that Fianna Fail abandoned 'protectionism' in 1957 by the repeal of the Control of Manufacturers Act. This repeal allowed foreign imperialist companies unlimited 'repatriation of profits', i.e. theft of Irish wealth. Protectionism had failed as a policy, and the only viable alternative, taking all the nation's wealth and resources, its banks and productive sources, into ownership of the people, would hit too hard at the privileges of the nation's rulers. Grants and tax free concessions were offered as bait to foreign companies but they availed of the grants, and then disappeared. This policy, pursued since the mid-fifties, produced an immediate increase in jobs and prosperity but Fianna Fail carelessly avoided to mention that more jobs and prosperity could have been created by state development of the nation's resources under local control of the workers, suppliers and consumers.

The short-term prosperity, however, soon gave rise to new problems. The over-dependence on the British market, its sell-out policy by further economic integration. The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement of 1965 was denounced by the Republican Movement at the time because of the foreseeable effects of the agreement on Irish industry and the livelihood of Irish workers. The long, and ever-growing, list of closures proves the accuracy of our prediction in 1965.

Nevertheless the message does not yet seem to have reached many people. The Common Market is held out as a new bonanza. Farmers are lured with talk of high prices even though Mansholt has recently boasted that the new agricultural policy will put 1,400,000 farmers off the land. One farmer was murdered by Belgian police in a fierce riot against this policy. There is only one alternative in the long term to this inefficient bungling. That is the alternative offered by the Republican Movement. Let us end the movement of capital out of Ireland. Let us assume common ownership over all the resources of Ireland. Let us diversify our markets. Let us relate investment to social need and not capitalist greed. People before profits. This is the creation of a genuinely independent democratic Republic.

## FREE TRADE AND EEC

# KENMARE ROBBERY

The fishermen of the Beara Peninsula on the Cork/Kerry border are enraged because they are being denied the right to earn a living in their own locality. They are protesting about the continued denial of basic human rights in one of the most blatant examples of landlordism in the country by which the Landsdowne Estate own not only the fishing rights of the local rivers but also the rights to fish 40 miles out to sea.

Their plight has been highlighted by a recent survey which was carried out in the area with the help of the Cork County Council.

Part of the survey dealt with the fisheries in the area and the following people, under the Chairmanship of Denis Driscoll, made up the

Fishery Group: Joe O'Sullivan, John Finbarre O'Sullivan, John L. O'Sullivan, Michael Power, Nellie O'Shea and Cormac O'Sullivan.

Local Kenmare people Jimmy O'Sullivan, Patrick, Arthur and John O'Sullivan gave help in the drawing up of the report.

The report concentrated on the rivers flowing into Kenmare Bay and their owners and the research unearthed the following details. Sneem River owned by Captain Whitworth; Blackwater River owned in this area by Major Waller; Sheen River, formerly owned by the Landsdowne Fishery, now owned by Mr. Sidebottom; Roughy River owned by Mr. McCarthy of Kenmare except the Ardtrully Pool which is

owned by the Kenmare Salmon Fishermen's Association; Lough and Clonee Rivers owned by Lady Mersey (the Clonee River and Ardea salt-lake are leased from Lady Mersey by Sir Hugh Nugent).

Added to this deprivation of inland fishing rights is the even more ridiculous situation whereby no one but the landlords can drift net for salmon in the forty mile stretch of open sea from Kenmare out to the Bull Rock in the South Atlantic.

In 1913 the Landsdowne estate had bye-laws 322, 335 and 336 passed and with the support of these legalisms they enacted a divine transformation of geographical nomenclature and changed Kenmare Bay into Kenmare

## KENMARE BAY AREA



River thereby claiming the sole fishing rights of this stretch of open sea.

This hoarding of the natural resources of the area forces the local fishermen to earn a living in the less fruitful areas further out to sea where adverse weather conditions add to their difficulties.

Kenmare Bay is a very good salmon fishing stretch and the landlords use this to their advantage particularly at the end of a dry spell when the rivers are in flood. Net fishing under such conditions can lead to a complete slaughter of salmon stocks but as the report points out, the landlords "are much more worried about their own profits than about conserving the

salmon". At Kenmare itself downstream from the confluence of the Sheen and Roughy Rivers, the landlords' boats have been known to land over 200 salmon in a single haul. In 1970 the salmon landings of Sidebottom's two boats at Kenmare came to £12,000. Local people estimate that Waller's landing on the Blackwater are even higher than this.

The ownership of a stretch of open sea is not unique in Irish coastal area. Up to 1968-69 parts of Galway Bay were prohibited fishing areas until the N.W.R.L., in conjunction with the Conamara Fishermen's Co-operative won major concessions at the Leitir Fraic Inquiry.

What is needed in the Beara Peninsula is an inquiry of a similar nature and it is up to the local fishermen and those local people with the sense of justice to pressurise the Government into setting one up.

The case for the public ownership of the rivers and sea in this area is best summed up by the report which states: "How can a man who lives for fifty-one weeks of the year in London lay claim to a wild salmon off the Bull Rock bound from Greenland to the spawning beds of the Sheen or Blackwater?"

## Bron ar an mbas

The death took place recently of Seamus O'Brien, a life long member of the Republican Movement, in Instioige, Co. Kilkenny. He was actively involved in the work of the movement up to the time of his death, and in recent years he took a particular interest in the local fishings.

A guard of honour of his comrades escorted the funeral and the sympathy of the Republican Movement was expressed to his family by Mr. Paddy Murphy.

Ar dheis laimh De go raibh a nam usal.

The Republican Movement wish to extend their deepest sympathy to an tUas. Padraig Mac Callag, one of the longest serving Republicans in the country, on the death of his brother.

Deanann Gluaiseacht na Poblachta combhronn le Eamonn Bhearta O'Conghaile faoi bhas a athar an mhí seo caite. Bhi clu i bhfad is i ngear ar Bhearta as a chuid seanchais agus seantacht agus ba soláisteach an tOireachtas. Ar dheis De go raibh a nam usal.



● A section of the 25-strong picket organised by the Coalisland Republican Club outside the local R.U.C. station last month. The members of the picket wore combat jackets and berets in protest against the order banning this type of dress which had been introduced earlier by the Stormont Government.

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