

# THE

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

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# UNITED IRISHMAN

# Unite against repression

The callous murder of two unarmed civilians in Derry, the reckless disregard for life which resulted in a small boy being crushed to death by a military lorry loaded with C.S. gas canisters, internment by remand as a result of the dawn arrests and raids in the North, armed raids by Special Branch men in Dublin, the introduction of repressive legislation and the threat of internment — this is the background to the political scene today. Those who rule this country, whether it be the British imperialists or their native capitalist hirelings like Lynch and Faulkner, have decided that their grip on the wealth of Ireland can only be maintained by introducing massive repression and intimidation.

The raids by the British Army and the RUC Special Branch in the North were accompanied by the now usual assaults of men, terrorising of women and children, stealing of personal possessions from the working class homes, and wrecking of the houses. The only apparent result of this viciousness has been to increase the determination of the people to resist, and to show who represents the major threat to the security of British imperial exploitation of Ireland.

The concentration on the official Republican

Movement shows that it is politically conscious action that is the biggest threat to our enemy. Both Fianna Fail and the British regime have ordered their police and military to step up a campaign of intimidation and harassment against the Republican Movement. They recognise that our fight against imperialism is an all-Ireland fight, as the tragic death of IRA Vol. Martin O'Leary in an explosion at Silvermines showed. The threatened internment in the South and the legal repression that is being brought in through the Firearms Act and the Prevention of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill is Fianna Fail's effort to do in the 26 counties what the British military are doing in the 6: to defend the rich at the expense of the poor.

The establishment, North and South, has decided that repression is the only way that the men of privilege can hang onto their ill-gotten gains. The speculators, the landlords, the moneylenders, the foreign financiers — they all want more opportunities to exploit the Irish people.

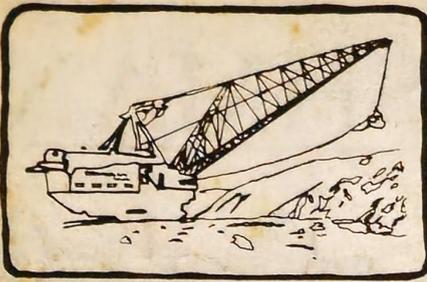
Britain's aim for Ireland is to integrate the whole of the country back into the empire politically. Already the economic basis for this has been laid by the Anglo-Irish Free Trade

Agreement which has led to many factory closures in the South. British policy in the North has led to the highest unemployment figure there for eight years. Her answer to the Irish 'problem' is the federal solution, which will not solve our problems of emigration or unemployment or bad wages, but which will make sure that we have less sovereignty and democracy with which to defend ourselves. In the EEC all hopes of building a free and prosperous Ireland will have gone.

Now is the time for radical and democratic forces to unite. Let us forget small differences, and concentrate all our energies on defeating British imperialism, our major enemy, and the native hirelings who are engaged on selling us out. The conference against internment held in Belfast just after the intimidatory raids is a sign that the anti-unionist forces are once again beginning to realise the need for unity — the unity that prevailed in the Civil Rights campaign. This is the basic issue in all Ireland: NO REPRESSION. This call is a Civil Rights call, and it is the task of Republicans to do all in their power to build this unity.

(See editorial, page 4; news on raids, page 4; and analysis of crisis pp 6 and 7.)





MORE MONEY FOR MOGUL?

The strike at Silvermines, Nenagh, is over and after a long and bitter struggle by the workers their demands have been met. It was a victory for workers solidarity and for the supporting militancy of Republicans.

During the six week strike, families were threatened with eviction and power supplies to their homes were cut off by the ESB. In an action to counter the aggressive attitude of the employers, Martin O Leary lost his life, yet his sacrifice, coupled with the determination of the men and their families overcame the might of the men of capital.

But the real fight is only now beginning. The foreign mine owners are trying to vent their anger at being forced to yield to the people. Not content with having been given millions of pounds of Irish money by a so called 'Irish government', they have now lodged a claim for over £1.5 million for compensation for damage done to an electricity transformer, fences, machinery and bearings and also for an estimated consequential loss of £1,579,653.

This demand must be immediately resisted and condemned for there can be no question of compensation to those who are robbing the Irish people of their wealth. Rather we demand that they compensate the workers and their families for their loss of earnings and the Nation for the plundered wealth.

The claim for consequential loss being made by Mogul is a mischievous device to try to divide the people of Tipperary from the

workers' struggle and the efforts of the Republican Movement to champion that struggle. The speed with which Mogul's accountants produced their claim indicates that they are trying it on with the people by making an exorbitant and unrealistic claim.

The people of Tipperary should be under no illusions as to the validity of the claim, for it has no basis in law. A Supreme Court decision in 1948 ruled that claims for consequential loss were not valid. This being so, all that Mogul can legally claim under Free State Law is for damage to capital equipment.

Exploitation

Morally, of course, they have no claim at all. A look at the production figures and financial position of Silvermines will show why. The mine was brought into production on May 20, 1968 with a daily capacity of 3,000 tons. During the period ending December 31, 1969, 1,470,127 tons of ore had been mined.

At that time, an ore reserve of 12,500,000 tons was still being mined. This figure, taken in conjunction with the 1,470,127 tons already mined, gives an initial ore reserve of 13,970,127 tons. No taxation, income or corporate, is payable on the profit earned at Silvermines until May 1988, seven years after the ore reserves run out.

Thus, the Irish people will get no part of the profits they produce, all of which will go into the pockets of the foreign owners. Because Mogul is a private company it is not required to publish an annual report but it is estimated that net profits over the life of the mine should be between £80 million and £66.5 million.

Quite clearly, the present claim being advanced by Mogul is indicative of the greed which typifies capitalist undertakings, for every last penny they can extract from the country will be avariciously sought and taken by them. Yet these same leeches on society, who neither labour nor toil in the mines, will certainly not compensate all the workers who have been on strike for loss of earnings.

Nationalise the mines

This is a situation which must not be allowed to continue. The call must now be for the complete state-ownership of all the mining operations in the country, North and South, with full compensation to the people for the loss sustained over the last few years. All prospecting for, extracting, smelting and marketing of the mineral wealth of this country must be undertaken by a company responsible to the people and that can only be one which is owned by the people.

FISHERIES' AUCTION

"ILLEGAL"

An auction in Dublin of the Sheen Falls estate, Kenmare, was described as "illegal for no one has the right to sell this property of the Irish people". Members of Sinn Fein and the National Waters Restoration League distributed leaflets explaining why no one should bid for a property which clearly belongs to the people. The statement said: "The Kenmare Anglers Club have pressed for public ownership of the River Sheen, Bord Failte also wants this river in public hands. It is no secret that the oral submissions before the Commission on Inland Fisheries have been overwhelmingly in favour of nationalisation. Accordingly, Sinn Fein and the National Waters Restoration League are merely taking their place among the ranks of Irish opinion. This place will be taken with vigour. The river Sheen will be designated a special target for demonstrations and agitation; purchase by private treaty will give no guarantee of enjoyment to any foreign cartel".

CONCERN

ABOUT 'LIVE'

MUSIC ON RTE

The National Executive of the Irish Federation of Musicians and Associated Professions is gravely concerned about the lack of reasonable exposure of Irish records on RTE radio programmes. Allied with this is the low incidence of 'live' employment in casual broadcasts. Over a four week period, the Federation made a survey of radio programmes. It is interesting to note that during this period two State Sponsored Bodies, the Post Office Savings and Bord Iascaigh Mhara used only 3 Irish records as against 33 foreign ones in 8 programmes. Moreover, in the sponsored programmes sector, 8 firms out of the 18 involved did not play any Irish records at all. An example of this is IMCO, compiled by Gay Byrne, which during the four week period played 19 foreign records but no Irish ones.

Perhaps the National Development Association, to which many of these sponsors belong, should do some "educating" about the true meaning of "Buy Irish".

Ireland no matter where the profit might be going. Asked why there was no provision for residential accommodation in the plan, Mr. James Gallagher said that the group were building houses in Ireland and England. Pressed for a figure, he said that about a thousand homes would be built this year, half of them in Ireland.

This means that at an average cost of £5,000 per house, the group will spend about £250,000 on housing as compared with £6 million on office blocks. It's nice to know their priorities at a time when the housing situation in Dublin is getting steadily worse, as house prices soar beyond the reach of ordinary people and the numbers looking for accommodation also increase.

AG TROID

FOS I

DTIR CHONAILL

Ni chloistear moran cainte anois fa dtaobh den dol, agus den ríocht ina bhfuil na daoine bochta atá faighte anois gan pingin cunamh a' aon dream. Go deimhin, da mbeadh muid ag brath ar na paipéir naisiunta is eolais a fhail bheadh muid ag 'learn go deo sara dtíne-faith muid ar aon chaint faoi na hagdúit atá ar síl i dtír Chonail.

D'engraigh Seamus Rogers, fear de chuid Sinn Fein atá ar Chomhairle Chonadha Dhun na nGall, na fir neamh-náisiunta ar fud an chontae. Bhi maisrealacha agus mórshluanna agus crunnithe agóide i gClochFheannaola sa Chlochan Liath, sna Gleannaití, sna Rosa, i nGleann Fhinn agus moran áiteanna eile.

Cineál cinsireacht atá a imirt ag lucht fóilsireach na bpaipéir naisiunta, nuair a thig leofa a gcuid paipéir a lionadh e cainteannat airtí stairí ach nach bhfuil spás acu do rudat a bhaineann le daoine bochta in ait iargúlta mar Thír Chonail. Bhi an dream atá in uachtar (the establishment) ag súil go bhfaighidh na hagdúit bas as caespa pobliochta. Ach ní shin a thion. Tá siad ag fas i gconai, mar bhiont sluaite os cionn 400 ag freastal ar chruinnithe sna áiteanna is iargúlta sa chontae. Tá muintir na n-óileán ag seasamh go dlúth le muintir na mórthíre, ce go bhfuil an dol ar ais acu. Mr. ní dol ach abair atá o mhuintir Dhun na nGall anois. Faire orlabh, a airtí stáit!

GALLAGHER

TO DO IT AGAIN?

At a press conference held in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, on July 21st, the Abbey group announced outline plans for the development of the area enclosed by Leeson St., Hatch St. and Earlsfort Terrace. This area is not very far away from Hume St., where the projected demolition of Georgian houses caused serious concern.

The present scheme involves the demolition of Alexandra College, the Sacred Heart Convent and several Georgian and Huguenot houses in Leeson St. In answer to questions, Mr. Charles Gallagher said that because of spiralling costs it is likely that the final cost of this project could be about £6 million, but that all the finance was coming from

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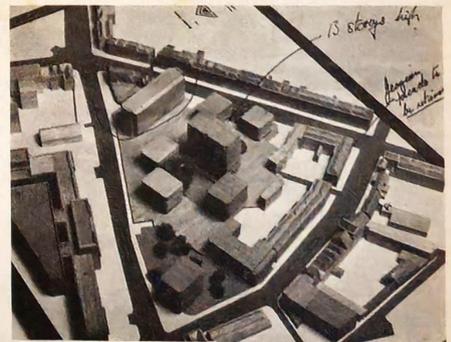


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Sinn Fein Finance Committee, £20; Kitty O'Kane, £21; Mrs. E. Walsh, Manchester, 50p; Gerald O'Reilly, N.Y., £20; Hugh McKiernan, California, \$10; Jerry O'Brien, N.Y., \$5; Austin Hogan, N.Y., \$5; Tim McInerney, £1; Eamonn Sullivan, Dublin, £1; Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath, £16; Mrs. Ryan, Dublin, £1; John Williams, Waterford, £1; Miss B. McMonagle, Sussex, £2; Mr. W. Barry, Melbourne, \$10; James Connolly Rep. Club, £11; Seamus Burns Rep. Club, £60; Liam Mellows Republican Club, £32.75. Last month Finance Committee should be £10.

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## LONDON CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY

A very impressive crowd of 5,000 to 6,000 attended a rally in Trafalgar Square following a march from Hyde Park on July 11. The large crowd was a clear indication to the Tory government in Westminster that the Irish in Britain are waking up. The presence of several English trade union groups was a welcome sign of the international solidarity with the Irish struggle that is so needed. Amongst those who spoke were Bernadette Devlin, who was given a tremendous reception by the crowd, and Des O'Hagan, whose clear-cut political theme must have been worrying to the many branches in attendance.

Mr. O'Hagan pointed out that the Six Counties was Britain's responsibility since it was Britain's army which was terrorising the ordinary people there and British political demands which were the cause of the situation. "The excuse for the carving out of the Six Co. state was supposed to be to safeguard the rights of the non Roman Catholic minority — but in fact the orange army was played to protect the landlords, the linen barons, the ruling class, and the interests of Imperialist Britain".

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

A Chara, — The article in your July issue under the heading "Dirty Deeds in the Abbey" is unworthy of the "United Irishman". It is superficial and petty and is grossly unjust to Tomas MacAnna. Last autumn, MacAnna raised the tiny *Peacock* to the level of a *National Theatre*. For the first time in decades the theatre could be said to be saying something relevant to the contemporary political scene in Ireland as it did in "A State of Chassis", "The Dall Debate", and in the "The Plebians Rehearse the Uprising". Anyone who is involved in revolutionary politics in Ireland would recognise "The Plebians" as magnificent live contemporary theatre. It is not surprising then that MacAnna's work in the *Peacock* was a meeting fierce opposition from the State morons in the Abbey resulting in the clampdown on the production of Stuart's "Who Fears to Speak" as mentioned by your contributor, but he does not mention the perpetrators in the "dirty deeds" in the Abbey. The only villain apparently is MacAnna who has been confined to the *Peacock*. If MacAnna were allowed to perpetrate some of his villainy on the boards of the Abbey perhaps we would soon have a real national theatre.

Tomas Mac Gíolla

## ANTI-EEC PRESSURE GROWS

Over 500 people attended the anti-EEC meeting organised by the Michael Davitt Cumann of Sinn Féin in Uachtar Ard, Co. Galway, last month. Local businessmen hired

hecklers in an attempt to break up the meeting, and the Gardai showed a strange reluctance to stop them, in sharp contrast to their more violent displays at Flanna Fall rallies. The meeting coincided with the Ras Tallteann, and speaking to the crowd, Seamus O Tuathail said: "The coalition of Flanna Fall and Fine Gael to force Ireland into the Common Market highlights the failure of successive governments to develop a viable economy in this country."

Meanwhile, in the north, at a meeting in the Brackerelly Hall under the auspices of the Six Co. Regional Executive of Republican Clubs, a campaign against EEC entry was launched. Tomas Mac Gíolla, President of Sinn Féin, said that now that Britain's negotiations for entry had been concluded it was obvious that no concessions were achieved for the area of the North of Ireland which Britain controls. He went on to say that the negotiations are largely window-dressing, and all they can achieve is an extension of time before the terms of the Treaty of Rome come into effect.

The Wolfe Tone Republican Club, Crossmaglen, has been stepping up its campaign to publicise the real effects of EEC membership. In a statement issued to the local press, the Club analysed current food prices in the Common Market and pointed out that the government was already forcing food prices up as a prelude to entry to the community. The statement went on to say that unemployment and emigration will undoubtedly increase after entry and called upon the people of the area to protect their future in Ireland by opposing the EEC and demanding that the Six Counties are not dragged into the community on Britain's coat tails.

## REPUBLICAN THEORETICAL JOURNAL

After several delays and production difficulties, which have now been overcome, the Republican theoretical journal has at last been produced. "Theoric", as it is called, contains articles dealing with the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle, and its appearance marks an important development in Republican politics. The first issue, on sale now and available from "United Irishman" office for 10p, has articles on Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics, Imperialism and the Fight for Freedom, What NICRA should do next, and a review in Irish of Frantz Fanon's "Wretched of the Earth". The journal is selling extremely well, and those wishing to get a copy are advised to do so as soon as possible.

## HOUSING ACTION: DUBLIN, DUN LAOGHAIRE

As Flanna Fall push the Prevention of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill through the reactionary legislative process, the landlords rub their crime-stained hands with glee and the homeless and inadequately housed look forward to a winter of great discontent. While the Bill is being pushed through the plight of many families has become such that they are forced to squat, often in poor accommodation; but poor accommodation is better than none.

In Dun Laoghaire, two families were illegally evicted about two months ago to make way for tourists who would pay a higher rent for the summer. These people are now squatting in empty premises, due for demolition, much to the dissatisfaction of Galen Weston, whose wife serves such exquisite lunches for £2.80 in the Balley. The Dun Laoghaire Housing Action Group have pointed out that the Dun Laoghaire Corporation is basically responsible for allowing the "developers" and exploiters such a free run.

In other parts of Dublin also, families have been forced to squat: in Percy Place, Ballsbridge and in Gardiner Street. Three families moved into the Gardiner Street premises which has been vacant for some time, although described as suitable for office use. The Dublin Housing Action Committee and the Sinn Féin Citizen Advice Bureau has succeeded in housing these people. Prior to this four adults and five children were sharing a one bedroomed flat with two other families in Liberty House, off Amiens Street. The Courts, through the medium of Judge Pringle, have threatened eviction, but unless Dublin Corporation houses these families immediately they will have no option but to continue to highlight their conditions.

All fair-minded people must agree with the following demands: adequate housing for all citizens; fair rents for proper homes; protection from eviction by unscrupulous landlords; and end to the scandal of empty houses; protection for families forced to squat.

The landlords may bring in their reactionary laws, but the people will defeat them — because they must.

### KEVIN BARRY SOCIAL

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### FUND RAISING DANCE

The Greater Springfield Irish Republican Aid Committee which was formed in late April announced at its general membership meeting that a Fund Raising Dance will be held August 28, 1971, John Boyle O'Reilly Club, Springfield under their sponsorship for the legal aid for political prisoners held in Belfast and England. All proceeds from the dance will be sent directly to the main committee in Dublin. SPRINGFIELD AUG. 28

### ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

If you want to see a free united socialist Republic and have not the time to take an active part you may like to become an associate member for a fee of £5. In return you will be eligible to receive regular bulletins of all activities, including Nuacht Náisiunta.

McRory vindicated: unnamed policemen keeping 'law and order' on the streets of Belfast.

na don Chás

## MUINTIR

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The basic reality of politics in Ireland is British interference in our domestic affairs. This interference is clearly shown by the way our economy, in the South as much as in the North, depends on the vagaries of British economic matters. If Britain sneezes, we catch flu. Our dependence is so marked that the only real argument put up for EEC entry is what will we do if Britain goes in and we don't. The slave mentality has really gripped the gaibinmen.

Britain still exploits the wealth of Ireland, and though the British ruling class might like to pose before the world as philanthropic fairy godmothers looking after the wild, uncultured Irish, the reality is that they make a good deal of money out of exploiting the Irish people.

The original Treaty settlement was made to safeguard imperialist interests, and now that a change of economic circumstances (including Fianna Fail's sell-out of national sovereignty in economic matters) means that the Orange card has outlived its usefulness they are trying for a new solution. A closer political integration of both the 26 and the 6 Counties into Britain is what they want. This is the federal solution.

The Irish people are divided on many issues; it is that which keeps us weak in the face of our enemies. But these divisions are not natural ones. They have been deliberately foisted by an alien regime, anxious to use any means to maintain its position of power and privilege. In our efforts to achieve unity, we must never forget that our main enemy is British imperialism — not the Unionist party or Fianna Fail, for these are merely the hirling hacks of the master.

Republicans seek to do what Tone proposed: to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter. This is our position because we realise that our real interests are the same, and that all the Irish people — excepting a few over-privileged and overweening men of power — suffer from the imperial connection. Our task is to forge unity, a unity that will overthrow imperial domination and open up the possibilities of real progress. It is Britain that is responsible for the present situation, and we must never cease to lay blame where it lies.

## CENSORSHIP

The fining of newspapers in the 26 counties recently is an example of the type of censorship the establishment uses to hide what is going on. The foolish recurrence of the term 'illegal organisation' when the IRA is meant and the proposals in section four of the Prevention of Forcible Occupation and Entry Bill herald the new censorship that is to accompany the imminent political repression.

Not merely, however, is Fianna Fail censoring newspapers in this fashion, but it is obvious to any reader of the national dailies how news is being twisted to give the establishment slant. The infamous 'Irish Times' editorial which crudely distorted the aims and objects, as well as the methods of work, of the Republican Movement is a case in point. This distortion we might more readily expect from the other papers, but the way all the papers are cutting and editing statements from the Republican Movement shows us all that we cannot rely on the establishment press for objective news reporting.

The forces of reaction well realise that they can only maintain their positions by creating and promoting mythology, which is why the Protestant working class is assured by the extremely class-conscious Unionist press that Republicans seek to wage through Protestant blood. We can only dispel such fears by the example of our practice, and here we find that what doesn't suit the establishment is distorted or omitted. The reintroduction of censorship is a warning to all radical and democratic groups that full political repression is on the way. It must be resisted.

## DAWN SWOOPS, NORTH AND SOUTH

"It was just after four in the morning when I heard them kick their way through the front door". That was how one man whose house was ransacked by the British military described how he first learnt of the raids on homes all over the North.

These raids were the British answer to the demand for an enquiry into the military savagery and murder in Derry and Belfast. A 6 county wide operation was mounted by over 3,000 troops who burst into homes, wrecking them and stealing personal items where ever they went. Belfast, Lurgan, Derrymacash, Newry, Armagh, Dungannon, Cookstown, Coalsland were all visited; but with little benefit for the Crown forces. A handful of men have been charged with possession of illegal documents, amongst them being anti-EEC literature. Clearly the establishment sees anti-EEC action as dangerous to their privileged interests.

## Women protest

The reaction of the people at large was swift and indignant. The women of Belfast sent a strong condemnation to the military commander of the Lower Falls area which said: "We the women of Belfast wish to protest at the indiscriminate use of men in the Lower Falls area. The British Army last night in this area brutally assaulted people in their homes, terrorised women and children and wrecked homes. For too long the people of this area have been subject to terror tactics by the military, and this last action under the cloak of the Special Powers Act has reduced the British Army to the level of bully boys. We the women of the area are tired of this continual intimidation and assault. We demand an impartial enquiry into why our houses were raided and our men arrested without charge. Is this a new form of internment — internment under remand? We wish to state that we will resist future military attempts to intimidate our families or wreck our homes. For too long we have suffered nights of terror brought about by the British Army: we can only endure so much".



The move was clearly seen as an attempt to appease the right wing of the Unionist party, but what was most interesting was the heavy concentration on members of the official Republican Movement. Almost all of the homes raided and the people arrested were either members of Republican Clubs or ordinary citizens who sympathised with the aims of the Republican Clubs. Leaflets given out publicly by Republican Clubs were seized, as well as the now traditional seizure of the 'United Irishman'. It appears that the soldiers are too poorly paid to be able to afford to buy copies, while their officers are too mean.

## Was it a boob?

Apart from improving their supply of reading matter, however, the British Army seem to have gained little out of it. The original euphoria which led Bill Craig (King of the Thicks, as he is called) to welcome the military repression as a step in the right direction turned to a sullen frustration when he saw the arrested men released and internment stalled. It is possible, of course, that the British deliberately did this, for they are not normally so incredibly bovine in their intelligence planning. The whole operation shows that their intelligence just isn't what they crack it up to be, and as they wander from deception to deception the crisis for imperialism in Ireland grows.

One immediate benefit for the radical and democratic groups was the coming together of most of the anti-Unionist forces at a public meeting called by the county executive of Republican Clubs. The regional executive called the meeting because it was their members who had been the subjects of the intimidation and raids and they had to take the initiative. It is extremely regrettable that the local



CPI could not see its way to being officially represented at the meeting, although Betty Sinclair did speak in a personal capacity. Other organisations who were represented by speakers were NICRA, P.D., Citizens for Civil Liberties of Dublin and the London based NCCL, Miss Bernadette Devlin, M.P. for Mid Ulster, Frank McManus, M.P. for Fermanagh/South Tyrone and Paddy Devlin, M.P. for the Falls also lent their support to this important unity meeting. Two themes emerged: one, as expressed by Bernadette Devlin in these words: "If they touch just one of us in any part of this country, then they touch us all"; the other was the call for united mass action in pursuit of basic democracy.

## Intimidation

Over one thousand people attended the meeting, and were photographed by British military intelligence under Capt. Kemble (picture below) on their way in. This crude intimidation did not deter any of the people there from expressing their extreme disgust at the terror tactics of the military, in his welcome to the crowd, Malachy McGurran, chairman of the six county regional executive of Republican clubs expressed the anger felt by many people throughout the six counties at this new strategy of mass coercion destined to smash and destroy any form of anti-imperialist organisation. "We in the Republican Clubs have constantly and clearly stated that we would not be driven underground or out of existence by any order under the Special Powers Act, and that we would continue to organise, agitate and educate openly for our short and long term objectives". The consensus of the meeting realised that the way forward was by opposition to repression and sectarianism through the civil rights movement and mass involvement of the people in defence of their liberties.

Jack Lynch's 'loyal' government reacted, with predictable speed. Homes of members of the official Republican Movement were raided throughout Dublin in the Tuesday after the Northern raids and one man Sean Dunne, has been charged with possession of detonators. He was arrested and charged nearly twelve hours after his home had been searched, in a despairing effort by the Branch to bolster their case.



Capt. Kemble: Intelligence Officer of the Royal Green Jackets, was in charge of the intimidatory photographing of those who attended the anti-internment meeting in Belfast. He is from Dublin, and is a Catholic.

It is perfectly clear that Lynch's stab in the back raids were made to assist the British military regime in its bid to introduce internment, and also as a prelude to Lynch's own needs for repressive action. Malachy McGurran summed up what was to be done North and South: "We have a duty to halt the tide of Fascist reaction and oppression and to build the strongest possible barriers to protect our freedom and to move forward together, to make our demands in one united voice; and to end coercion, oppression and tyranny".



Andy Smith, Pearse St., Dublin: his house has been raided four times this year by the Dublin Special Branch. This harassment must stop.

DERRY IRA  
ISSUES  
STATEMENT

Derry Command of the IRA has warned gangster elements in the Creggan area of the city that action will be taken against them if there is any repetition of attacks against the homes and persons of people living in Creggan. The police have refused to give any protection to Creggan householders, and it seems that these gangsters are being used as informers and agents provocateurs. Whenever there is any confrontation between the people of Derry and the Crown forces, while the people are down at the barricades the hoodlums are breaking into homes, looting shops and terrorising passers by. The IRA statement concludes that they will have no hesitation in defending the people of Creggan against these elements.

NEW CUMANN  
NAMED AFTER  
MARTIN O'LEARY

In the Derrymacash area near Lurgan, Co. Armagh, a new Republican Club has been set up. It has been named after Martin O'Leary, the young Cork City volunteer of the IRA who lost his life at an explosion at Silvermines, Co. Tipperary in the defence of the interests of Irish workers. The members of the new club felt that by naming the club after Martin they were re-emphasising the all-Ireland character of the struggle for national liberation and showing that the 26 counties was no more free than the 6. Martin O'Leary's example is an inspiration to all Republicans throughout Ireland.

Far & Near

● **APPEAL:** A fund has been set up to assist the widow and family of Joe Nolan who died recently. Anyone wishing to contribute to this fund may send subscriptions to the United Irishman office (marked Joe Nolan fund) and they will be passed on to the committee.

\*\*\*\*\*

● **Meirionydd finance committee** at Dolgellau decided last month to recommend that the county council refuse to deduct fines from the wages of employees who are members of the Welsh Language Society. The society had asked the council not to co-operate. The society wrote that a large number of members were refusing to pay fines imposed on them for their part in the campaign to get official recognition for the Welsh language. The attitude of the Meirionydd council is in sharp contrast to that of the Department of Education here which deducted a day's pay from a teacher in Wexford when he attended the funeral of Martin O Cadhain.

\*\*\*\*\*

● **Belfast:** The Joe McKelvey Republican Club has protested against the use of British troops to construct playgrounds in the Lower Falls and Shankill areas. In view of the high level of unemployment in the city, the Club feels that the work should have been offered to those who could benefit from worthwhile work. In a statement, the club said that the soldiers were paid for one job and should not have two. A call was made to the trade unions to investigate the position.

\*\*\*\*\*

● **Property:** The Cornwall Property (Holdings) Company of Birmingham is proposing to enter the property market in Ireland and thus joins other large British developers in the despoilation of the capital city. At present there are limited safeguards as to the scenic aspects of Dublin in the curbs on the height of new blocks, but there are signs that pressure from these British firms will result in a change of law. Money talks, and by putting it in the right place the speculators hope to influence policy, as they have done in other areas.

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The fishing fleet at Howth near Dublin. The livelihood and future prosperity of Ireland's fishermen and the fishing ports depend on keeping the seas as free from pollution as possible. The EEC already is a grave threat to their well-being; pollution is an even greater one.

# POLLUTION FOR PROFIT

The case of the odyssey of the Dutch ship *Stella Maris* seeking an area in which to dump poisonous waste products draws attention to a world phenomenon of vital concern to the Irish people.

Beautiful seas like the Baltic and the Aegean have been turned, like rivers such as the Rhine, into lifeless sewers by the continuous dumping into them not only of human excrement from the great conurbations needed for the profit of modern industry but even more by the industrial waste of that industry itself. The great Mediterranean is a dying sea and the explorer Heyerdahl, on his experimental voyage last year from Africa to America in a ship built of reeds, was horrified to find large areas of the very Atlantic Ocean seriously polluted.

This pollution does not only destroy marine life with all its enormous potential for feeding and providing medical and other requirements for the world's rapidly growing population; it does not only menace the amenities of the sea side birds; it threatens to obliterate all human life, all life on our globe.

In January this year Commander Cousteau, the pioneer underwater explorer, said in Washington: "To poison the waters of the sea is to commit murder." Speaking at the office of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation in Rome the same month, Professor Picard, second only to Cousteau in renown as an underwater discoverer, said: "Almost two thirds of the oxygen of our atmosphere comes from the sea . . . so it's very important not only in the long run but in the very immediate future but that we avoid throwing into the sea any product capable of threatening the phyto-plankton." (The minute sea organisms out of which the oxygen is created).

The fight against sea pollution is inseparable from the fight for a democratic and socialist Ireland. Ireland is a small island to which independence, unity, and social transformation would be quite useless if the seas lapping our shores

become polluted enough to make life in our country impossible.

The fight against pollution is the fight against the same forces that are damming back the movement for social progress and national independence right across the world. These are the vast supra-national industrial-financial complexes, with which the Dutch firm owning the *Stella Maris* is closely associated, which are the creation and incarnation of imperialism in its late 20th century form and the supreme beneficiaries from it. These people would have to cut their profits if they disposed of their waste otherwise than by dumping it into the sea.

The Council of Europe, in its Document No. 2896 of January this year, demonstrated that industrialised nations, by an annual expenditure of 5-6 per cent of their Gross National Product, could completely eliminate marine pollution. The cost is high but it will not fall on the people if the people are alive to their chances and responsibilities, but on the industrial concerns whose profits depend on polluting the waters, and who must be compelled to foot the whole bill.

There are Irish industrial concerns polluting our waters. They must be brought to book. There are Irish scientists who could help to discover better methods of pollution-prevention. They must be given jobs doing just that instead of having to emigrate or work for the profit of industrialists on projects that will create even more pollution. There are Irish local authorities, notably Dublin City, which daily pollute our coastal waters with sewage because they lack the courage or vision to build inland sewerage-disposal plants whose initial cost would be heavy but which would ultimately pay their way from the sale of their treated products for fertiliser and other purposes. They must be made to change their policy.

The Irish people must be in the vanguard of the demand for international action against sea pollution. The Faroese set an example by refusing to allow the

*Stella Maris* into their ports. On the broader front, forward looking people everywhere must unite behind the anti-pollution programme put before the Council of Europe by Cousteau last September and demand that the International Maritime Conference scheduled to try to establish international anti-pollution regulations in 1973 be called not in 1973 but in 1972 at the latest.

Already action is being taken in various areas to prevent pollution. In Dunganvaran an anti-pollution campaign is being built up and centres around the Quigley Magnesite Division of the Pfizer Corporation. This plant, which mines dolomites in Ballynacourty and Bennettsbridge, is discharging effluent into the bay and this seriously damages shell fish life and lobsters, from which many of our local fishermen derive their living.

Moreover, it continuously pollutes the atmosphere with plumes of a smoky black substance from its chimneys and this covers the adjoining farms with films of slime. Ballynacourty is an area of market gardening and small farmers and these people feel that any further expansion of the plant without anti-pollution guarantees, would either make their land unproductive or lower the yields from the land.

A protest committee has demanded that the Waterford County Council gets the facts relating to marine life and that every effort is made to eliminate the plumes spewing from the chimneys. On Wednesday, July 21, the Waterford Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Fein issued a protest to the Albatros Fertiliser Company in Waterford, which is owned by the same firm as the *Stella Maris*, demanding that the dumping of the toxic waste be stopped.

Representations were also made in Dublin to the Dutch embassy, advising them of the serious repercussions to Dutch industry in Ireland if the dumping took place, as a result of which the ship was sent back.

Reviews

LIAM MELLOWES AND THE IRISH REVOLUTION

By Desmond Greaves.  
Published by Lawrence and Wishart, price £4.00.

Those who expect to get a detailed biography of Liam Mellows will be disappointed by Desmond Greaves' latest book, but for those who seek a detailed study of the crucial events following the Easter Rising in 1916 and leading up to the murderous executions of December 8, 1922, they will find it an extremely well researched and accurately analysed work.

In recent years, attention has centred mainly on Mellows' 'Notes From Mounjoey Jail', but Mr. Greaves ably clarifies in this work that there is far more to him than these few letters.

After the death of Connolly, Liam Mellows was one of his few surviving lieutenants to continue to lead the labour movement in the fight for the freedom of the workers, for Mellows saw, perhaps more clearly than his fellow socialists, the need for labour to be in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle and not be merely contented with a supporting role.

Throughout his short career, Mellows came into conflict with the conservative factions within Sinn Fein, as is clearly seen from his experiences in America. Nevertheless, he strove to move the struggle to a more radical and socialist position.

In his book, Mr. Greaves shows the road which Mellows trod in pursuit of this aim. Particularly interesting are those parts of the book dealing with the setting up of soviets in Limerick and Kildare. What emerges is the unco-ordinated use of these soviets and the basic failure of the radicals to win the leadership so vitally necessary if the IRA was to become a national liberation force and not merely the vehicle for the ascendancy, the national bourgeoisie.

By study of the forces at work in the period 1916-1922, Mr. Greaves teaches valuable lessons which we must learn today if the present generation are to win freedom in its true sense. Perhaps the main criticism that can be levelled against Mr. Greaves is his failure to provide sources of information and from the point of view of the student of history this is a serious omission. Perhaps when the second issue appears, this will be corrected. Although a bit expensive at £4.00, this book is still essential reading for Republicans.

**D. Mac Giolla Phadraig**  
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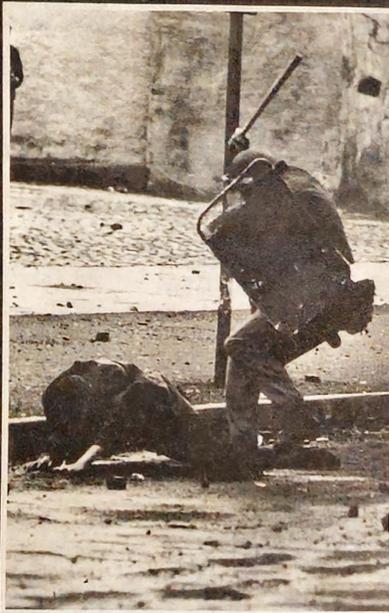
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## CRISIS NORTH



The issue in Ireland today, North and South, is democracy versus reaction. The forces of reaction — the bankers, industrialists, the taciturn, the Unionist bosses — wish to keep the Irish people in subjection to British Imperialism, and are willing to use any means of repression, any denial of the democratic rights of the people, to maintain that subjection. The whole of Ireland is under British Imperial domination: the North through the direct presence of the aggressor troops of the British Army, and the South through the economic control of Irish banks and industries which is maintained by British and other foreign investors. This system is the cause of the chronic unemployment and emigration problems that we have faced for over a hundred years; and we are now approaching disaster point. In the North, the number of unemployed is the highest for eight years; while in the South, the constant round of factory closures coupled with the withdrawal of dole assistance in rural areas in a forecast of renewed mass emigration — with the consequent impoverishment of the Irish nation.

The forces of democracy — republicans, socialists and all who uphold justice and the basic human rights of man — are opposed to this system. The demand for basic democracy in the North, the Civil Rights demands, have openly split the parties of reaction, the Unionist Party in the North and Fianna Fail in the South. The use of repression on such a large scale indicates the vital necessity of winning democratic rights, of winning civil rights: no repression, no military aggression, freedom of political expression and action.

### All-Ireland Republic

The ultimate demand of any democrat is the establishment of a genuinely independent sovereign all-Ireland Republic which will guarantee the liberties and livelihood of the working people of Ireland — urban workers, small farmers, fishermen and miners, and all who are threatened by the present system. To achieve that historic demand of the Irish people, we must weigh up the balance of forces and recognise that reaction is more firmly entrenched and united than those who want peace and

prosperity for our people. Consequently the intermediate demand of democrats at this stage must centre around the civil rights issue: a demand for people's 'law and order' as a guarantee of ordinary people's rights' to protest, to agitate and to force concessions from unwilling reactionary regimes, North and South, who are busy selling out the resources and the sovereignty of Ireland.

The present crisis which is exemplified by the repression and arrests is the result of a change in the policy of the British government towards Ireland. Previously, the North was the safeguard of British imperial interests in Ireland, but this is no longer so. The 26 counties has jumped to being Britain's third best customer in the world and is of more importance to British industrialists and exporters than the North and the Unionist party. These are now being ditched in the time honoured fashion of British diplomacy. This change in policy coincided with the Lemass decision to go back into the empire and open Ireland up to foreign exploitation on the massive scale we see today. This change has had its logical result in the present efforts to drag the people of Ireland into the common market, against their own interests, but certainly very much in the interests of large monopoly concerns like I.C.I. and Courtaulds.

In all this the Unionist party is powerless if it leads the English, Tories into the EEC, they will be able to do nothing about it despite their own widespread misgivings on the subject. It is an illustration of the political development in the North that almost all classes and sections of the community oppose the EEC while in the South the gaibin men clutch at the straw — like a drowning man — of Fianna Fail's promises of future prosperity.

British strategy is simple therefore. If they can closely integrate the political administrations of the two puppet states with their own imperial one, this will complement the economic integration which has already taken place as a result of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade agreement. Hence the repeated calls for some sort of federal solution from all sides of the establishment political spectrum: Hogg, Callaghan, Lynch, O'Neill, McAteer, the Alliance Party and even Bill Craig. The federal issue is tied up

with the EEC threat and the overall policy of sell-out pursued by Fianna Fail.

### A Federal Solution

It is in this light that we should look at recent events both North and South. Since Britain wants a federal solution, the most obvious prelude to such a solution is direct rule of the North from Westminster and the arranging of tripartite talks — these to give the impression to the nationally-minded population that national reunification was about to take place. Britain's major problem is how to do this without provoking a 'Protestant backlash'. The obvious way is to equate direct rule, in the minds of the Protestant working class, with subjugation of the Catholic community but up till now they have failed to achieve this. The obstinate intransigency of the Protestant working class is upsetting the British plan, and, while we cannot approve of Paisleyism, Republicans must welcome this resistance.

The Northern crisis got under way with the murder of two unarmed civilians in Derry and the subsequent call for an official enquiry which was refused. This refusal placed in doubt the whole credibility of the SDLP leading to a situation where they decided to withdraw from Stormont. This withdrawal certainly indicates that direct rule is on the way, and Craig's prediction that Faulkner would last only till September may well be true.

Now, the SDLP was set up in the first place with one aim: to break the mass movement of the people around the civil rights demands. It followed the old Nationalist Party policy of rejecting mass involvement by the people, and for this reason condemned the return to the streets in Enniskillen and Dungannon at its beginning of the year. If the streets were to be ruled out, the only alternative was the parliamentary role of the SDLP.

British Imperialism was worried by the great success of the two marches and immediately set about creating a confrontation situation by provocative raids in various parts of Belfast. The tactics of the Provisional Alliance throughout were designed to assist British

policy (unconsciously we must assume). The sectarian actions such as the blowing up of Protestant church halls and pubs could only have the effect of making the streets too dangerous for anyone not armed. British policy was to end mass involvement and to reduce the issue to a battle between the IRA (and the Provos) and the British military forces. The SDLP wittingly and the Provisional Alliance unwittingly played into this strategy.

The SDLP withdrawal shows the frustration felt at the present situation in which very little progress is being made to improve conditions or achieve democracy. It also illustrates the bankruptcy of the SDLP itself, in that it was set up (at the instigation of honest Jim Callaghan) to break the Civil Rights Association and now has no useful purpose for imperialist policy (except to promote direct rule) now that it had as much success as it could in performing its original function. It made no attempt whatever to build any sort of mass base, relying on elitist politics. Now it has the insolence to be talking of setting up an alternative assembly. This is a most dangerous move, especially if Faulkner goes ahead with his plans to bring (suitably moderate) trade union opinion onto powerless Stormont committees. The 'Derry Parliament', if it ever materialised, would remain the rump assembly of the Roman Catholic community. Its only possible result could be to split the trade union movement in the North on sectarian lines and hasten the introduction of direct rule and the federal solution.

### Back to the Streets

The way forward out of the impasses, and indeed the only logical alternative to parliamentary activity, is a return to the streets by mass involvement on civil rights demands of an end to repression. The Special Powers Act and the other pieces of repressive legislation are the most basic denial of civil rights, and it is this issue which should be highlighted to reassert the strength of democratic forces. The repression, and in particular the raids throughout the North to arrest the most politically conscious opposition (the official Republican Movement), is an attempt by British



## CRISIS SOUTH

imperialism to lay the grounds for the federal solution when Republicans had been isolated from their mass base. Civil rights, more than ever, is the key issue; and repression: abolish Special Powers; democratic representation now.

The carnival of reaction in the South — the Firearms Act with its mandatory penalties, the Prevention of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill which outlaws protest and the imminent introduction of internment — is part of the same strategy devised in Westminster for the Irish 'subjects'. The crisis in the South developed in the aftermath of the tragic death of Martin O'Leary, a volunteer in the IRA who lost his life in an action to defend the interests of Irish workers against the foreign mining monopolies. The foreign investors smelt danger to their fat profits and to their future prospects of exploiting the Irish people, and demanded action. Representatives of the three parliamentary parties, including Labour, met and agreed in principle to the introduction of internment. Both Fine Gael and Labour have issued calls on the law and order theme since then, and Cruise O'Brien's arrogant dismissal of the concept of an Irish political prisoner in Galway takes on a more sinister aspect.

### British Strategy

The strategy of imperialism in the South is as simple as in the North. By means of repression they hope to put an end to mass agitations such as the fish-ins and the housing issues, and so isolate the Republican movement from its mass base, a mass base that is developing because of its coherent policy of involvement politically and industrially with the people. Lynch wants a straightforward IRA-Defence Force / Garda confrontation in the same way as the British want this in the North. The present mass involvement and the growing anti-imperialist consciousness among the people is the greatest threat to imperial interests and to the speculators and exploiters since the mass action of the early thirties. Yet, the Provisional Alliance — in a statement from P. O'Neill — could say that the 26 counties was not the place for a fight against imperialism. Can anyone

doubt that their political role is merely the militant extension of Blancite and Bolandite Fianna Falism? The investment of Fianna Fail gold into the Provisional Alliance is still paying a dividend.

Against this background of repression, imperialist policy stands out clearly, the Federal solution. Internment will most likely be introduced when the informal agreement drafted in Westminster has been settled. A snap internment for a short period would herald the announcement of the talks: a united Ireland would be proclaimed by Lynch while the 'subversives' were deprived of their democratic rights of liberty and while the grip of imperialism — of the London and New York financiers and the monopoly companies — was tightened. With the council of Ireland a fait accompli, 'moderation' could prevail. Democracy would be weaker and reaction more firmly entrenched.

### Democracy v Reaction

The issue is democracy versus reaction. The only sensible tactic at this stage is to increase the pressure on the agitational front. This year's fish-in campaign has got well under way, and plans are being laid in many areas to set up co-operatives to run rivers democratically in place of the old feudal ownership which Fianna Fail and Niall Blaney uphold. The increasing bigness of property speculation, of housing crisis, of rising unemployment, the continued scar of rural unemployment without even dole assistance, the savage brutality and murderous attacks of the British aggressor troops — these are the issues on which to place the immediate demands.

North and South, imperialism is in crisis as it tries to change its tactics and its approach to the Irish question. The central issue is the common market and the proposed federal solution. The obvious line for those who uphold democracy and who are working for the creation of a united fully independent Ireland which will guarantee the people's democratic demand of civil rights, and otherwise increase militant opposition to the forces of reaction, of sectarianism and of bigotry. This indeed is the logic of the SDLP's withdrawal, unless they are to dismiss themselves completely as out and out opportunists.

# REABHLOID NA GAELTACHT

Ta caint bhreha cloiste againn le deanal faoi na pleananna ata gceist ag an rialtas chun sabhailt na Gaeltachta baille nua i dTír Chonáil, plean forbartha don Ghaeltacht, coras radio agus ar ille.

Mar sin, bheadh duine ag ceapadh go mbeadh daoine o Ghluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta, agus ona heagraíochtaí Gaeltachta eile, ainmnithe don choiste atáthar ag cur ar bun leis an coras radio a stiúru. D'fhogair an rialtas go mbeadh ionadálacht leathn Gaeltacht ann, agus ar an abhar sin arís bheadh duine ag ceapadh go mbeadh a n-ionad ceart ag muintir na Gaeltachta. Ach ní shin a tharla.

Nuair a thosaigh an feachtas san chead aif leirigh na hagdóidhe nar theastaigh macasmhail RTE uatha, mar thuig stad nach raibh, agus nach bhfuil, RTE ag freastal ar dhream ar bith sa tír ach meánaicme Sasaníche, nach raibh RTE balnteach le gnáthshaoil mhuintir na hÉireann, idir lucht tuaithe no lucht oibre na gcathair. Mhol Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltacht go mbeadh smacht dhaonlathach ag muintir na Gaeltacht ar an radio tren udaras aifíuail, ach ar ndoigh ní theastalonn o Fianna Fail aon daonlathas a chothu sa nGaeltacht agus ta ceist an udaras aifíuail curtha ar an mear fhad acu.

Níl einne o Ghluaiseacht na gCearta Sibhialta ainmnithe ag an rialtas don choiste radio a stiúras an mhodh ina rithfeas RTE e, mura n-aireofaí Deasun Fennel mar urlabharai thar cheann mhuintir na Gaeltachta — rud ba mhaith leis fein a cheapadh. Níl aon bhaint ag Fennel leis an nGaeltacht ach amháin go gconalonn se ann agus go bhfuil dearcadh feimntosach aige ag cur ina lui ar mhuintir na Gaeltacht nach iad an dream a chaitheas an coras radio a rith. Is beag an seasamh ata ag Fennel insan Ghaeltacht mar gheall ar a mheasuil agus a mheanaicmeach agus ata se. Seo duine on taobh amuigh a' fíocht isteach san Ghaeltacht agus anois e ag leanan síos an dlí faoi chuile rud a bhaineas le mhuintir na Gaeltachta. Fuair se an-phóiblíocht (b'fhéidir ro-phóiblíocht on eagraíocht leibideacha a chuir se are bun faoin anim 'larchonnacht' a mhol plandail a dheanamh san Ghaeltacht.

Ta larchonnacht marbh; agus b'fhéidir an Ghaeltacht leis, mair gheall ar an meid ama a caitear amu ag ple leibideas Fennel. Ach is ceart go dtuigfeadh daoine cen fath ar thogh an rialtas Fennel. Mas culmhín linn an t-am a thosaigh Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta ar 'Thuaisric' a chur amach, níor ghlac Deasun le ceannaireacht na ndaoine; o no, theastalgh uaidh a iris fein a fhoilsiu agus thainig 'iris larchonnacht' amach. Anois

ta an oiread ceart ag Fennel a rogha iris a thabhairt amach agus ata ag dream ar bith eile, ach seard a bhí i gceist anseo na iarracht da chuid ceannaireacht gluaiseacht na gcearta sibhialta a fhail. Theip air agus theip ar a iris, mar nach raibh bunus ar bith aige dlí.

Ar fud an ama a bhí díspeoir eacht ar siul faoin nGaeltacht agus a bhí i ndon dlí, bhí Fennel ag iarraidh cur ina lui ar dhaoine gur labhair se thar cheann mhuintir na Gaeltachta; agus, ar ndoigh, fuair se an-phóiblíocht ona nuachtain oifigiúla agus on establishment i gcolfinne. Anois is leir an cleas a bhí a imirt ar na daoine. Bhí Fennel ag iarraidh breag-chlu mar reabhloidi a bhaint amach do fein ionas go mbeadh se i ndon labhairt le hudasas eicint. Ach níl mhuintir na Gaeltacht chomh dall agus a mheasann an rialtas iad a bheith. Ma ta macantacht ar bith ag Deasun Fennel fíocfaidh se amach go poiblí ag caineadh sócráithe neamhdhaonlathacha an rialtais i leith ceist an radio agus dearfadh se go dearfadh nach mbeidh baint aige ann mura bhfuil deis ag muintir na Gaeltacht an coiste a thoghadh go daonlathach; ach ní doigh linn go dtionlathadh.

Ca bhfuil Gluaiseacht na gCearta Sibhialta? An suan an bhais ata tagalthe orthu no nach dtuigeann siad an baol mor ata ann do fhorbairt na Gaeltachta agus feacht-chun cinn a muintre? Is ceart doibh dhul ar ais ag agoid, ag miniu da mhuintir ceard ata ar siul, ceard ata beartaithe ag an rialtas i leith mhuintir na Gaeltachta. Muna ndeantar sin agus ma ligtear do leithdhéil Fennel an cheannaireacht a ghlacadh, teipfidh gur iarrachta na gluaiseacht síl bheatha na muintre a fheabsu. Faoi lathair ta na gaimbini mar Dhonall O Cathain as Baile an Fhírléirigh agus na measulaigh mar Deasun Fennel a ullmhu ag an rialtas le ceannaireacht gluaiseacht na Gaeltachta a ghlacadh.

Ta se easca a thuisint cen fath go mbeadh an rialtas agus lucht na pribhléide ag iarraidh leithdhéil Uí Chathain agus Fennel bheith a ghlacadh mar urlabhairthe na Gaeltachta. Tuigeann siad go bhfuil se an-bhaolach doibh ligint do fhor-ghuth na Gaeltachta, guth an aicme is díroéile agus is bliuaithe da bhfuil in Éirinn, mar duairt O Cadhain, teacht treansa; teastalonn uatha i a chlúna, agus sin an fath go bhfuil coiste de mheasulaigh agus oifigiúlaigh a thoghadh acu le guth an radio a stiúru. Ta sin in-tuigthe. Seard nach bhfuil so-thuigthe na cen fath nar sheas lucht na gcearta sibhialta i gConamara, Ciarrai agus sna Gaeltachtaí i dTír Chonáil amach ar son a gcearta bunusacha: cearta na ndaoine le smacht a choinneal ar a gcursaí clúthurtha fein. Anois is ea an t-am doibh ceannaireacht a thabhairt da mhuintir. Éirigi a chairde: bigi ag obair.



INDEPENDENCE YES • EEC NO • INDEPENDENCE YES • EEC NO • INDEPENDENCE YES • EEC NO • INDEPENDENCE YES

# NORTHERN HILL FARMING

There is a growing anxiety in Northern Ireland's farming industry regarding Common Market entry. Disquiet is more widespread among hill farmers than in any other sector of the industry. They have good reason to be worried. One of the major rules of the Treaty of Rome and, even more so, of later fortifying agreements is that no member country must create unfair competition by subsidising its farmers. Strict application of this policy to Northern Ireland's hill farmers would be likely to halve their incomes. The 1947 agriculture Act gave hill farmers a measure of security they never had before. Despite the fact that subsidies are now 60 per cent of gross hill farm receipts incomes have declined steadily during the past ten years. The hills also produce 30 per cent of the homebred store cattle fattened on Northern Ireland farms.

The chief districts affected would be the Sperrin area in Tyrone and Derry, the Mourne area in Down and South Armagh and the Antrim hills. The results may be possibly be shown best by two sample budgets of a man who keeps twelve suckler cows on a 50 acre hill farm.

AT PRESENT INCOME	
12 Store calves sold at £40	= £480
12 Hill Cow Subsidy at £23.75	= £285
12 Brucellosis incentive Subsidy at £5	= £60
12 Calf subsidy at average £10	= £120
<b>Total gross income</b>	<b>= £945</b>
EXPENSES	
Forage and fodder and fertilizer	= £180
Meal	= £120
Veterinary costs, Cow replacement and depreciation of machinery etc	= £100
<b>TOTAL EXPENSE</b>	<b>= £400</b>

Net Income = £945 - £400 = £545 or approximately £10 per week.

Other advantages that hill farmers enjoy at present are 60 per cent grants on drainage and land reclamation, approximately 30 per cent grant for the building of a shed for stock, fodder and machinery. Even fertiliser is cheap due to a 30 per cent subsidy approximately.

Under Common Market conditions all subsidies and grants are normally forbidden. Meal feeding stuffs cost much more and thus the cost of production will rise accordingly. In the second sample budget we will increase the value of the store calf sold by the farmer by £20 to allow for the improved price of beef in the Common Market.

IN THE COMMON MARKET INCOME	
12 Store calves @ £60	= £720
Total gross income	= £720
EXPENSES	
Forage and fodder and fertilizer	= £200
Meal	= £160
Veterinary costs, cow replacement and machinery depreciation	= £120
<b>TOTAL EXPENSE</b>	<b>= £480</b>

Net income = £720 - £480 = £240 or approximately £5 per week.

We can now see how a farmer's income can be cut in half by being expected to survive on the end price alone of his produce. To this add the Common Market's increased cost of living and it is obvious that as much as 90 per cent of Northern Ireland hill farmers will be forced to leave their land and swell the already large unemployment queues in the towns. If these people are allowed to drift away, the communities from which they come will surely die and add to the problems of the surviving farms. Depopulation has many serious social effects. As the population in an area declines so does the quantity and quality of services. No schools, clinics or community recreation facilities are all strong encouragements for younger families to migrate to the towns.

Neither the British

Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Prior nor Mr. Rippon have given any assurance that the hill farmer will receive any concessions. Indeed the outlook is most depressing. This month Mr. Harry West, the Northern Ireland Minister of Agriculture said in Stormont that he was very conscious of the fact that they would face problems over and above those being faced in Great Britain. These included dearer feeding stuffs and farmers in the main were concerned with the margin between the cost of production and the price of the end product. "The Ulster Farmers Union claims that it is only interested in negotiating the best possible entry terms. This policy was defended in the inaugural speech of the Union's new President, Mr. A. E. Gibson, in May.

"This is for us, both more practical and, we believe, more effective than entering directly into the present largely uninformed squabble about the rights and wrongs of entry". This attitude is only a betrayal of the hill farmers' rights to a livelihood Common Market entry can only mean an economic and social catastrophe for these hill areas.

## WHAT'S IN STORE FOR EMIGRANTS

Our readers will be fairly well acquainted with the imminent loss of employment that hangs over the Irish nation on entry into the EEC. Probably the majority will have to emigrate and now that there are 850,000 unemployed in Britain, the most likely places they will head for are Germany, France, Switzerland and the Benelux states.

What can they expect to find there? Two recent articles dealt with this very topic and make interesting reading, for it appears that the most exploited workers in Europe are the migrants drawn mainly from Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and North Africa. The conditions these workers have to live and work in are similar to the sweat shop conditions that were only too familiar here some years ago.

Things are no better in France, where eight African workers were burned to death in lodgings that were

little better than a ghetto, slum doss house. These houses are referred to as bidonvilles and their inhabitants regarded by the French as 'sub-proletariat'.

In Germany things are a little better but only just. The greatest problem is for the migrant to adapt to German conditions and social habits. Half the workers live in hostels and there are just enough flats at present to meet demand. But the rate of house building is static and as more workers enter Germany so the position will become progressively worse for migrants.

The position for prospective Irish emigrants is not very promising. Traditionally, our exiles have been involved in the building industry and the unskilled work provided in factories. If this trend continues when our people are forced to leave for Germany and France then hard times loom ahead for them.



INDEPENDENCE YES • EEC NO • INDEPENDENCE YES • EEC NO • INDEPENDENCE YES • EEC NO • INDEPENDENCE YES

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The general view of taxation is like the bishop's view of sex; there is too much of it but unfortunately it seems to be necessary. Just as with sex, any consideration of the subject of tax has to concern itself not only with the mechanics of the thing but also the end result. If the one is an unpardonable rape and the other a monstrous abortion, the fault must lie with the government that levies and spends the tax, and ultimately with the society that conceived the government.

The analogy can go a little further. For as sex is basically concerned with the survival of the species, so tax is an instrument for the survival of society. There the analogy, already weak, must end since tax will never beat sex as a popular pastime among the Irish.

Societies and communities come together basically for mutual protection. The interest they wish to preserve may be society itself, e.g. a tribe or nation, or it may be an aspect of life, e.g. a musical society. All rules and policies must logically aim at protection of the interest. Assuming, as we must, that the best protection for the Irish people lies in a society founded on Republican and Socialist principles, what sort of taxation policy is required to progress to this free independent and above all just society; what needs protecting and to what extent?

In a perfect world, there would be no need for taxation. Whether or not the ideal state can be achieved, we seem likely as far as one can see to have to accept the continued proximity of Capitalist countries which will inevitably influence our economy. Like any other policy, taxation will be designed to protect all the community's interests both cultural and material, both in relation to individuals and groupings of individuals. Protection for a people does not therefore consist only of military battles, of perhaps "winning the war and losing the peace." We had that fifty years ago. The fight for freedom is even more an economic, cultural and social conflict. There are even well-meaning people who take a partitionist view and seek to confine Irish resistance to militarily occupied territory.

Taxation is primarily concerned with channelling production. Part of the increase in national wealth will be redistributed not only to poorer individuals but also to weaker cultural and material interests; part will be used to provide social goods such as free education and welfare services; and thirdly, it is used to correct imperfections in the economy. There is a convention to describe as public expenditure what the government does with its share of production and to call the rest private. The distinction is largely irrelevant and meaningless in modern, even Capitalist, societies. It is as much in a government's omissions as in its positive actions that it affects so-called private business. Contrast the British Government's treatment of Harland and Wolff with its treatment of Upper Clyde Shipbuilding. In all but name, these are nationalized industries. But ignoring that aspect, for the local people immediately dependent on them, expenditure in around and by these industries is public whoever the payer.

Much rubbish is talked about deficit and surplus budgets. The theory behind this requires a precision of economic measurement that is not possible in an uncontrolled Capitalist economy. In attempting to secure this accuracy in forecasting,

## Indirect taxes fall heaviest on the poor, are inflationary, easy to collect and hard to avoid.

Western society is evolving into a system where public expenditure and public interest mean the subordination of people to the corporation which, by controlling the state, is the state. Lip service is paid to the ideal of the welfare state if only to ward off threat of revolution. But when economic crises inevitably occur, the axe falls heaviest on the poor and the weak. This is because they have no surplus of income: the entirety is consumed in order to live. So if a government wishes to reduce consumption by so many millions of pounds, it can achieve this exactly by taking the same amount in tax from the lower paid, cutting income and thus their consumption.

To achieve this from taxation of the rich would require a levy of twice or three times the amount simply because it would take so much more tax to bite into their incomes before their consumption was affected. To calculate the figure is not easy and in any case, as the rich control the industries and sources of wealth, they control the government. Taxa is not a charity. And that is why at the last budget the reduced rate of income tax was withdrawn. "It's only a few pounds", they said, but these alleged followers of Christ should recall His description of the effect of a lost groat on a widow.

The immediate cause of the present economic crisis is inflation. The responsibility for this lies solely with the government as controllers of consumption. In the long term our production should meet our needs. Where there is a policy of borrowing by a government to finance its spending, a policy of increasing the national debt, there is a policy of inflation; and all concerned should be advised that no Republican government could be expected to pay for the consequences.

In fiscal terms, protection may be achieved by direct grant or subsidy which is a reverse or

negative tax; or the object of protection may pay less tax than it would otherwise bear; or competitors may pay more tax than normal. There are basically two kinds of tax, direct which includes income and wealth taxes, and indirect which may also be termed consumption taxes.

Direct taxes have the advantage that equity as between one individual and another is easily achieved by graduating the charge to tax on income at different levels, by giving reliefs according to a man's personal circumstances. The direct taxes in this country do little to redistribute wealth as there is no tax on capital gains which is really income and there is no real effective wealth tax. The difficulty of applying the latter tax is that being surrounded by and part of the capitalist system, the attempted imposition of such a tax would lead to an export of capital. What is clear is that there can be no real equality in a capitalist tax system, only partial mitigation. The only form of wealth tax in Ireland is the death duty, which is a complete farce in that the real holders of wealth avoid it with ease.

There are two main criticisms of direct taxes. They are a disincentive to increase production, and all the tax reliefs in the world will not increase an inadequate income. The first criticism is really subjective. If we all earned £100,000, paid 95 per cent in tax and had £5,000 to spend at today's prices, there would not be a lot of complaints. It is really a question of adequacy of income. It is a criticism most often made by employers when workers are unwilling to do overtime at an effective tax rate of 35 per cent for each extra pound earned. But there is no reason why this rate should not dip at a certain level for specific workers or for those in a particular industry. There is no reason why tax incentives to operate in undeveloped areas

should not be extended to the workers as well as the industrialist under present conditions. In conjunction with a fair incomes policy, a graduated negative tax will lessen excess burdens on individual incomes. Certainly no Tory boss willingly pays Leo XIII's living wage. Who would meet a family man's needs when he can get a bachelor for half as much and a woman for half as much again. Thus Tories put men rather than women on the streets; a different but effective moral degradation.

Indirect taxes fall heaviest on the poor, are inflationary, easy to collect and hard to avoid. Governments literally treasure them. They can be made partially equitable in that the VAT zero rating, freeing exporters from the tax and repaying them the tax paid by their suppliers, could also be applied to those on low incomes. To the complaint about the paper work involved, consider the volume caused by the tax itself.

The biggest fault to be found with Fianna Fail's tax system is the direct encouragement given to British interests, our biggest customers, to take over our domestic industries, to assume control not only of new ventures but the existing businesses. O.E.C.D., an organisation formed to rationalize and thus protect Capitalist interests, in 1963 drew up a model convention designed to protect the rights of States over production out of their domestic resources. In relation to Britain, virtually all the provisions of this convention are deliberately countered. Any production in Ireland arising to a British resident is free of Irish income tax and that includes the ground rents of absentee landlords. It is true that in certain cases Corporation Profits tax of 23 per cent is paid but this is useless when the system shows the British "investor" that profits earned and retained here bear 58 per cent tax on an Irish subsidiary, only 49 per cent if the profits are exported, and only 40 per cent if the business is managed from Britain. So you take over Irish industries from weak inherited management, then close them down.

The correct policy for foreign investment is manufacture under licence, a fixed return to the foreign investor for 'know-how' supplied, giving him no ultimate control of our sources of wealth. Even under present conditions of capitalist exploitation heavier taxation on exported profits would be preferable.

But mere reversal of taxation policies would not cure the damage done. U.K. law does not allow a British company to move its residence from Britain or to sell its trade to a company not resident in Britain. They keep what they've got.

Other measures have to be taken to put control of the national sources of wealth into national hands; to put the people's wealth back into the people's hands. The scope of this article does not allow an examination of such measures. They could involve British retaliatory action. However, we note that the current surplus on the British balance of payments is nicely supported by their exports here — exports we do not particularly need. Ireland has a strong bargaining position in many respects, and if Fianna Fail was not so busy falling over itself in its haste to sell out they too could increase the prosperity of Ireland. But they are too concerned with their immediate ill-gotten profits.

Clearly we need a unified coherent policy of protection for the Irish people, not only in taxation but in all aspects of our national life. The remedy is in our hands.

## Direct taxes do little to redistribute wealth as there is no tax on capital gains or on wealth.

July was Release the Prisoners Month and throughout Ireland and Britain concerted efforts were made to highlight the problems of the 15 men in English jails. The protests and pickets were aimed against the British government for the imprisonment and ill treatment of these men and against the Fianna Fail junta for collaborating with the British and allowing Free State Special Branch men to supply information on the men to their British counterparts.

Eamonn Smullen, Pat O'Sullivan and Conor Lynch are treated as Category A prisoners, which means that they are isolated in their cells, subject to constant harassment and are only allowed limited visits.

Part of this treatment involves the banging of doors at regular two hour intervals during the night, thus preventing the men from getting proper sleep. The British and Irish authorities hope that these men will be forgotten but if the evidence of the last month's activities on their behalf means anything, then our enemies are being sorely disappointed.

At the moment there is an urgent need for funds, particularly for the appeals of Conor Lynch and Pat O'Sullivan. The British Home

# RELEASE THE PRISONERS

Office has supplied them with only a part transcript of their trial and this was used in their appeal in July 1970. It does not contain any of the 16 points which they submitted as grounds for appeal and explains why their appeal was not considered. In order to present a proper petition to the British Home Secretary, they need a full transcript and it will cost between £650 and £800 to obtain this. Although considerable money was collected during the month, more is still needed.

Crossmaglen

July 2 saw a well attended protest meeting sponsored by the Wolfe Tone Club. Tom Moore of

Newry and Patricia Shortt and Aloysius Garvey, of Crossmaglen addressed the large crowd, who afterwards picketed the local RUC barracks.

Cork

Addressing a Release the Prisoners meeting in Fermoy on July 10, Liam Ledy spoke of the need for greater efforts from all Republicans on behalf of the 15 men in English jails. A large collection was taken up after the meeting.

Dublin

On July 2, Mrs. Nuala Monaghan, wife of Jim Monaghan, and Marie Ni Philibb chained themselves to the railings of the British Embassy. Watched by an armed Special Branch detective and members of the Gardai, the two women were joined by a group of picketers who stayed at the Embassy for 3 hours.

The Dublin Comhairle Ceannairle held a vigil in aid of the Legal Aid Fund on July 24 at the GPO. The vigil lasted 7 hours and collections were taken during the day.

London

The all night vigil which lasted from 4 p.m. on July 3 till noon on July 4 outside the British Home Office was a successful expression of solidarity with the 15 men in English jails. Thirty members of Clann na hÉireann took part. Largely ignored by the British and Irish media, this peaceful 20 hour vigil aroused great interest among foreign tourists, who were informed through leaflets of the names and sentences of the men and how the state was forced to resort to the notorious 'conspiracy' charges. At the end of the vigil, the protesters stood facing the Home Office as a mark of solidarity with the men who lost their freedom through upholding the cause of freedom.



At a time when the main struggle of mankind is directed against an increasingly determined, and extremely devious, imperialism, there is an urgent need for the English and French Socialists to understand and co-operate with the various Celtic anti-imperialist movements.

It is strange, indeed, that most English and French Socialists will recognise the anti-imperialist character of the Vietnamese struggle, or that in the Negro ghettos of the USA, the American Indian movement or the Palestinian Arab cause but few of these Socialists widen their vision sufficiently to take in the Celtic struggle.

The Celtic countries are dependent territories, exploited, as they have been for centuries, by the ruling class of metropolitan powers — England and France — and by those Celts who have joined, and been assimilated, into the English and French ruling classes.

Cumberland's "final solution" for Scotland which involved the clearances of a Ghaidhealtachd (Scottish Gaelic speaking areas) removed the obstacle of an indigenous population so that a profit making pastoral industry could be introduced.

When the Industrial Revolution came about, a highly specialised coal and iron industry arose in the Scottish Midlands and South Wales, while tin and copper mining escalated in Cornwall. Obsessed only with the need to maximise profits, the new class of industrialists showed little concern for the long term results of exploitation. They were concerned with the profit to be derived from mineral extraction and the production of semi-processed goods.

All this production was worked

## NATIONALISM OF THE OPPRESSED

into finished goods by industries in England — employment in the South East of England increased at tremendous costs to the Celtic nations which were left with a dangerously specialised and truncated industrial structure.

This process on the "Celtic periphery" destroyed the traditional egalitarian social structure and left a legacy of ravaged countries, some of the most leprous slums in Europe, an area from where the inhabitants migrate in their thousands to search for better material conditions in the centralised metropolis states of England and France.

The exploitation of the Celtic countries is the classic example of colonial style exploitation. Once the resources of the geo-economic cores (coal fields etc.) were exhausted by the Imperialist-Capitalist interest, the exhausted Celtic nations felt the full impact of economic recession.

At present the only role the Celtic nations have in the world is as reservoirs to cheap labour for the English speaking markets — French speaking markets in the case of Brittany.

The emigrant problem is the great Celtic problem.

In Ireland, where in the 28 county state an ineffective government gears itself politically, economically and culturally to England, migration is one in two persons. This average also covers the Six County statelet. Recent census figures

reveal that one out of every four Welshmen and women have to emigrate. There are 2,190,000 Welsh born in Wales and 632,000 Welsh born in England. In Scotland one out of every eight Scots have to emigrate. Emigration from the Scottish Ghaidhealtachd is far higher — a figure of one in three is quoted. In Brittany one in three Bretons has to leave his native country in search of a living. This figure is increasing because Breton farming, a major part of Breton life, is being totally destroyed by the "greater efficiency" of the E.E.C. (Common Market).

In the United Kingdom, in the same period that there was a sharp decrease of jobs in the Celtic countries, subsequently creating higher unemployment and migration, there was an increase of 780,000 jobs created in England, mostly in the South East. (Hansard, 1967).

The Imperialist style exploitation and oppression has been the fate of most nations now emerging into the Third World, but it has also been the fate of many small European nations which have been absorbed by the ancient imperialisms of their more powerful neighbours. The exploitation and oppression is something the Celtic people are increasingly disinclined to tolerate.

Their oppression is not only manifested in the material field, e.g.

the exploitation of the resources of the Celtic countries in the interest of the English ruling class, but also in the cultural field. This is demonstrated by the long refusal to recognise the Celtic languages and cultures and also the destruction of the egalitarian Celtic social fabric by English "development".

The pattern of oppression and exploitation of the Celts follows the classic lines of all colonial adventures — the use of superior military force to break resistance, followed by the imposition of a new social and political structure, and the attempt to destroy the indigenous languages and cultures, designed to make possible the more profitable exploitation of the resources of the conquered. The success of colonialism depends on the collaboration with the colonial power of a significant proportion of the indigenous elite. In fact, the techniques of colonial control which England subsequently applied to her overseas colonies were first tested and perfected in the Celtic countries.

The Celtic peoples have doggedly survived in face of two of the most destructive "internal colonialisms" in the western world, a colonialism which involved the protracted and systematic exploitation of the natural resources of the Celtic countries and of the Celtic peoples in the interest of the English and French industrialists and money classes and their assimilated Celtic lick-spittles. The impact of this colonialism has been terrible but the colonized have shown, at least, some resilience and their current road to recuperation from the colonial trauma is far from a reactionary process.

# CORK PATRIOT DIES IN MINES EXPLOSION

Martin O'Leary, political activist, worker and soldier, was laid to rest by his comrades from the Republican Movement in the Republican Plot in Cork City on July 8. Just 20 years young, Martin was a full time organiser for Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army in Munster.

Mr. Seamus Corry of the ITGWU, representing the miners of Nenagh, laid a wreath on behalf of his colleagues and joined in the tribute to Volunteer O'Leary.

Cathal Goulding, speaking on behalf of the Republican Movement, led the homage to the martyred volunteer. During the course of his oration, he said: "It is our earnest wish, as it was Martin's, that the full emancipation of the Irish Nation could be achieved by peaceful means, but unfortunately it is not within our power to dictate what action the forces of imperialism and exploitation will engage in to repress, coerce, and deny ordinary people their God given rights, and when their answer to the just demands of the people are the lock out, the strike breaking, evictions, the prison cells, intimidation or the gallows, then our duty is to reply as he replied, in the language that brings vultures to their senses most effectively, the language of the bomb and the bullet".

Speaking at a reception later in Cork, Liam MacMillan said:

"Volunteer O'Leary died on active service against the forces which are exploiting our people, and while assisting others who are claiming their just rights. Our objective is the re-conquest of Ireland, to place the ownership of the resources and of the wealth of Ireland in the hands of the Irish people.

"We in the North are well aware that the fight for the Republic does not end with the withdrawal of the British forces from the North. Free-Statism, the ally and collaborator of British Im-

perialism, must be defeated in the South.

Republicans do not want an extension of the Free State to the North. We want a Republic in which the workers will be masters — the Republic for which Martin O'Leary died.

"North and South of the border, the slow, patient work of building a revolutionary movement is going ahead. Martin was engaged in this work when he received the injuries from which he died.

"British and American Imperialism have long recognised that military action is merely an extension of Imperialist politics. That is why there are at present more than 10,000 British troops in the 6 Counties. So also does the Republican Movement recognise that revolutionary military action must be the logical extension of revolutionary politics.

"Martin O'Leary, political activist, worker and soldier, was the prototype of the modern revolutionary. His death is a grievous loss to all his comrades. But his death will prove an inspiration to those of us gathered here today and to all those other volunteers in the Irish Republican Army throughout Ireland, who will not fail to finish the work which Martin commenced.

"Martin is dead but the revolutionary movement of which he was a part is not dead. We will remember him with pride in all the struggles that lie before us, until the Irish people, the common people, are established as lords and masters in their own country.

The following statement was also issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau:

"The operation in which Volunteer O'Leary received his fatal injuries, the destruction of a company transformer, was carried out by a unit of the Irish Republican Army in defence of the rights of Irish workers.

"Since the end of May, upwards of 500 mining workers have been on strike at the Mogul Mines.



Volunteer Martin O'Leary

Despite efforts of the Labour Court, trade union officials and local people to effect a just settlement of the strike the attitude of the Mogul ownership and management, who are mostly non-nationals, has been one of Lord to Serf.

"The Irish Republican Army and all parallel groups who stand for the freedom and emancipation of the Irish people, North and South, have repeatedly stated that they will take action, as on several occasions in the past, where it is obvious that the rights of Irishmen and Irishwomen are being denied. This applies equally to all instances where the natural resources of the Nation are being exploited for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the many.

"We would once again say to those elements of exploitation and their agents, native or foreign, whose sole concern is self-enrichment, that the Irish Republican Army — the Army of the Irish Revolution — will not hesitate to take all necessary steps to defend the Irish people and their inalienable right to the ownership of Ireland and its resources.

"It was for this cause that Volunteer Martin O'Leary gave his life".

I gcomhludar na martar ga raibh a ainm.

## A DEDICATION

And rise up Pearse and Plunkett, and Connolly and Ceannit. When you fought for freedom, tell us what you meant.

Awaken from your slumbers, McDonagh and McBride. Tell us Tone the Leader, your feelings do not hide.

Did you die for foreigners to come and build up mines  
And pay out bloody buttons to he who toils and grinds.  
But still we have the people, who tell us we are free  
Whose eyes are but blinkered and cannot clearly see.

So now we see the reasons for why a man should die  
He died for Ireland's workers, for folk like you and I.  
He gave his life for Nenagh, for Nenagh's working men,  
Who all remember Martin, the mining workers' friend.

A dedication from a young Belfast Republican.

## A TRIBUTE FROM A JAILED COMRADE

Yesterday I learned of Martin O'Leary's death. I am deeply shocked by the news. In fact, since I found out I have been going around this place in a shocked state. I must admit I have taken it badly. It is still hard to accept that Martin is gone from us — gone he is but he will be remembered for ever.

He could be so serious when discussing the Irish people. He once said "Do you know what is worse than being a slave?, a person who does not know that he is a slave! We think that we are a free people, we are not. When a man finds out he is a slave, he wants to change to a free man. That is our job, we must show our people that they are not free. When they find out the truth of their position, they will want change".

Discussing death, he was even more serious — "If a man tells me that he is not afraid of death, he is a liar or else he doesn't realise the significance of the word. For a man to put his life in danger certain things must come about. The emotion of love must overcome the emotion of fear. The emotion of fear is basic to all of us. We have to learn to control fear, drive out hate and above all, accept that the driving force to our aims and ideals must be the emotion of love.

If we love our people, our country, our ideals, our principles, when these things come about, then this man of ours will lay down his life". When you think of it, Martin's words could well be his epitaph.

Working in the C.H.A.C. and the Citizens Advice Bureau, he was always on the job — all the time. His record for stopping evictions is second to none. I have known him to spend days and days besieged inside the house with the poor family, always telling them that they, the bailiffs and police, will never get in.

Let there be no mistake about it, Martin was a revolutionary. He was a part of a Revolutionary Movement and now Martin is dead. For my own part, I am sad. I should have been his escort. I should have been at his graveside — I should have been there. This was his last colour party and I should have been there — I feel that I have let him down.

Martin's death must not be a waste, it must not be in vain. His ideals, his courage, his loyalty must help us to carry on. We owe him that. When a man is willing to pay with his life, everything else is small compared to that. I will remember him for ever!

Yours Comrade,  
Patrick O'Sullivan.

