

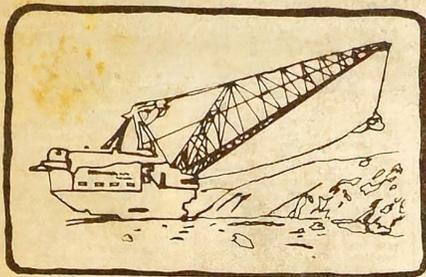
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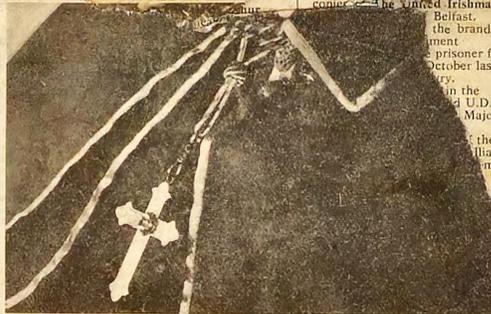
IRISHMAN

need for action



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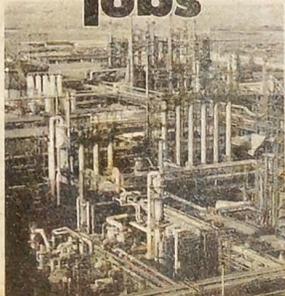
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the new departure



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threat to jobs



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litreachó

From an English Prison cell

Wakefield Prison.

do I show emotion, here, but today, the account of the Cork march — the one and the other — looking through the barred windows, I pattered with my feet from all over a shelf-full of books. I present a little too much of words could, my sincere gratitude I say is a simple prison, I marched the 160 of Cork, and to the Sinn Féin, Republican Clubs individuals everywhere remembered us. A quotation, a letter that Eamonn Allen sent to a friend of mine at Christmas is appropriate here. "No longer are those English Governments able to lock the Irish political prisoners away from the eyes of the world. The new generation is not going to stand idly by and watch these injustices being meted out. It is not the same as the old days when Eamonn is referring to the 14 year sentence he received at the hands of Fianna Fáil's military court, and how one of his comrades, Seán MacGabháin, was allowed to starve to death in the next cell in Portlaoise prison. As he says, the isolation that was endured by those who survived then is not being endured today.

Things are much more pleasant and relaxed here. New concessions every week. I might want to say, I even manage to follow the "University of the Air" programme at the weekends, something unprecedented here. However, sometimes it is a bit lonely viewing alone.

I do have regular letters from Eamonn's one and only Home Office authorised visitor, and she was saying that there was a general changing of attitudes at Gartree prison, ever since Frank McManus, M.P. for Fermangh and South Tyrone, and Michael O'Halloran, Labour M.P. for Islington, went to visit Eamonn and see for themselves under what conditions he is being held.

I do not have any definite word as to how the appeal procedure is going. I do not have any contact with the solicitors. I left this all to Eamonn for obvious reason. However, I do feel that it will be heard either before the end of January or in February. I am glad to see Conor and Pat may get another chance to bring their case before a court. The treatment that their original appeal received was the most standard procedure where other prisoners are concerned, that is, if the appeal is brought under "legal aid" the appeal is conducted under this system, the "Law Officer", who prepares the case on the court's behalf, can decide whether the appellant should be present, or if he should be represented by Counsel, or whether he should be penalised with a bigger sentence should the appeal be classed as frivolous. Now if an appellant is lucky enough to be able to pay for his appeal, he is not subject to the arbitrary decisions of the "Law Officer" often referred to as the "first judge". The appellant will be present; he will be represented by Counsel and he is in no danger of receiving extra time no matter how frivolous his appeal is classed. Just an illustration to show how the rich have more access to justice than the poor.

The article "Ireland's mines and minerals" was very appropriate. I had been reading so much lately about the exploration and mining that was in progress but my overall picture had been very sketchy — now this article has filled in the gaps. I was surprised at the amount of mining that is in progress. It goes to show how much

untapped resources that are in existence in Ireland but it is doubtful if the Irish people are going to benefit any, apart, that is, from the few pounds that the miners will receive in the form of subsistence.

I must also congratulate you on your quotation from Cathal Goulding's message at Bodelstown '67. It was very apt but it left me wondering how many applauded his reasoning then, without really understanding the significance of it. All in all, I must say that you are on the ball this time. All you need now are more book reviews. This is a real taste. I often read reviews before anything else.

Well, I know that this is a very important, weekend for you all. As Cathal says, there can be no compromise for the sake of numbers; this I whole-heartedly support. I am still a little sceptic of ending the abstentionist policy, from a revolutionary viewpoint not a traditional one. However, if it goes it does not matter a great deal as it occupies such a minute part of our overall strategy.

I end by saying thanks to you all once again and I am sure I speak for Eamonn, Pat and Conor when I wish you all a very successful Ard Fheis and more power along the road to our agreed objectives.

Is mise do Cara,
Gearóid O Dochartaigh.

Tacaíocht do n Ghaeltacht

● O'Doherty ● Smullen

Ar crúinnín na hArd-Chomhairle a tionsáil in Ard Oifig Shinn Féin, 30 Plás Gardair, óche Dé Sathair, 30 Eanáir, ritheadh an rún seo leanas: —

"Tugann Sinn Féin tacaíocht don pheilean un uradís áitiúil atá dreachtaithe ag Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeilteachta (Conamara). Is léir nach bhfuair muintir na Gaeilteachta cithrom na féinte ariamh an Stát ó bunafódh é. Is beag nach bhfuil an Ghaeltacht ar Ghlaeilteachta, agus i gceinn deich bliain fuil is beag Gaeilteachta a bhág fátha.

"Se an fáth is mó le bánú na Gaeilteachta an caspa forbartha a ndearmad ann. Pé argead stáit a cuireadh ar fáil don Ghaeltacht, cairheadh an chuid is mó d'he ar óstáin ghálánta agus scéimeanna beag-mhathas a chle. Lean na daoine ag imeacht. Tá cúlpa náracháin a fhóstaíonn fir i dTír Chonnail — ní focann siad ach airgead (seal, ach ní móran eile sa nGaeilteachta. Is léir gur coart na cúlachtaí beith ag muintir na Ghaeltachta a gceirfa a riaradh.

"Tugann Sinn Féin le pleann Ghluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeilteachta mar 'sé muintir na Gaeilteachta agus a réitigh é, ní sé bunaithe ar phionnsabail an daonlathais agus is iarracht é an Ghaeltacht a shábháil. Da n-imeadh an Ghaeltacht beadh tacaíocht ar Ghlaeilteachta leis. Tuirfidh Sinn Féin san chúnamh gur feidir leo do mhuintir na Gaeilteachta san eileamh seo".

Lonsaíonn "Inniu" na príosunaigh

Foillsear páipéir (nuachtá?) i nGaeilteachta mBaile Átha Cliath gach seachtain faoi n-ainm "INNUI". focann Fianna Fáil deontas mór chulle bhliain leis an pháipéir seo, airgead a tógar sa pócaí muintir na hÉireann. Cuid de na hÉireannaithe a focann an páipéir seo "INNUI", is a gailta agus cáirde leo i bpríosún i Sasana i ngeall ar chúrsaí polaitíochta na hÉireann. Is poblachtóir iad na daoine seo. Ní maith le "INNUI" Poblachtóirí de chineál ar bith, ach amháin nuair is focal thallainn thairisín Fhianáin nó a úsáideann siad an focal (agus ní "in-word" é níos mó faoi n-bhallainn chéanna, ó tháinig "reality" sa bhfaiséan).

Ní bheadh muid ag súil go mbeadh "INNUI" burtha faoi chéad na ndaoine seo. Ní bheadh muid ag súil go gcuideadh siad leo ar bhealach ar bith. Ní bheadh muid ag súil go gcuirfeadh siad suim sa chineál "English Justice" a rinneadh le Conor Lynch, Pat O'Sullivan, Gerry Smullen, Gerry Doherty agus a gcáirde.

Ina dhiaidh sin is uile n' bheadh muid ag súil ach oiread go ndéanfaid siad iarracht ar scian aige ar a n-ádhmáireach na hÉireann seo; rud a rinne siad in eagarfhocal le déanaí (Eanáir 15) nuair a cháin siad an phoiblíocht a tháinigann Ghluaiseacht na Poblachtaí; agus an phoiblíocht a thug an "Irish Times" don mháireáil go Corcaigh roimh Nollaig, a faibh sé de chúisúir aige áird a chaitheamh ar na hÉireannaithe "faoi ghlas ag Gallabhaí". Cuirfeadh "feyn-setting" i leith Jack Lynch (an Taoiseach) tamall ó shin faoi ghníomhaíocht den chineál seo.

"Se an fóid-beidéal atá ag "INNUI" ar a chéad leathnach na "Nuachtán Náisiúnta na Gaeil". Tá Gaeil agus Gaeil an d'ríre deairm, agus tá cuid acu nach bhfuil faoi n-bhallainn. B'fhéidir nach ionann "náisiúntach" doibh ach oiread; ná an bhfí atá acu le "nuachtán".

The "ins" and "outs" at Clara

Last month's report of the threatened redundancies at the Goodbody Jute Mill in Clara, Co. Oaly, has given rise to some local interest.

This culminated in a small meeting on Thursday, January 28, at which the idea of Clara Defence Committee was considered. This meeting consisted of an informal exchange of views between members of the local community leaders and some Dublin Trade Unionists who had travelled down for the occasion, on the invitation of Dr. O'Hara.

A number of facts emerged and some conjectures. Facts included the world decline of jute as an industrial raw material and its replacement by polypropylene. (How much research has the industry done into materials based on a natural-artificial fibre mix?) Flax as an industrial raw materials has, in recent years, made a come-back as a result of the development of linen-nylon fabrics.

Also, apparently fairly "hard" is the intention to centralise production in the Waterford factory, and the intention to develop polypropylene fabric production in Clara. This, however, is not labour-intensive, employing only some tens of workers.

One of the Dublin workers happened to be a docker and had experience of handling jute. He stated that jute and tea came in large ocean-going cargo ships from India and that Dublin was the only port capable of handling them. Jute would have to be railed to Waterford just like Clara. The siting of the Waterford factory involved a three-mile road haul into the bargain. Thus, if there is any economy to be made in Waterford it is not in raw material handling.

In the realm of conjecture is the estimate of the number of extra jobs in Waterford; likewise the final level of run-down in Clara. Rumour abounded as to the contents of the constant reports. Some said it favoured Waterford, others Clara; others again (and this seems probable) said that the report was concerned with how to carry out the run-down without running into an agitation and the basic decision was taken by the Goodbody directors on the spot.

It was also suggested that the nominal run-down figure, 250, had been fixed as a policy matter, being that number most likely to split the workers into the 'ins' and 'outs'. When the 'outs' had faded away, a feeling 'ins' would then be split again.

A feeling emerged in the meeting that property-owners in Clara (most of whom were in the factory, or depended on those who did)

stand today. We stand for a 32 County Socialist Republic and the huge attendance at our Ard-Fheis last week-end and the tone of that Ard-Fheis proves that we are the only broad-based Radical movement in the 32 Counties today and that we have the ability, courage and energy to implement our policies.

The cumann arranged to picket a pro-EEC meeting called for January 29 in Mitchelstown and invited members of the Labour Movement, farming, club and other community organisations to participate in the protest.

were having their rights undermined by the Goodbody decision, and that, as the amount of capital tied up in housing and social investment was considerably greater than that accounted for on the Goodbody books, they would be justified in demanding the full facts of the case and a voice in the decision.

Accordingly it was resolved to demand that there be no further redundancies and that no machinery be moved until accredited nominees of the people concerned (the trade unions and the community) got an opportunity to examine the relevant company records, including the consultant's report, and to make propositions to ensure the continued economic employment of the Clara work-force.

A leaflet was drafted and arrangements were made to give it out after church services on January 31. A further leaflet was drafted for distribution to the Waterford Goodbody workers at the following week. It was considered that the support of the Waterford workers might be sought on the grounds that an increase in the working population in Waterford would increase the already acute housing shortage. However, despite these ideas, exponents of a more cautious approach prevailed. The leaflets remain in draft form undisturbed. The Clara workers have, apparently, confidence that their political representatives will be able to hi-jack a sausage factory from Ballinacloe, and that this will compensate them adequately for the loss of an industry with five generations of skilled tradition.

Another opportunity has been lost for establishing the rights of a community to have a say in the decision affecting the value of its social and individual property. Or is there still time?

Mitchelstown review progress

The annual general meeting of the O'Neill-Crowley Sinn Féin cumann, Mitchelstown, was held on January 23.

The Secretary, James Aherne, gave a detailed report of the activities of the Cumann over the past twelve months. "In many ways," he said, "it was a difficult year, in that it commenced with the walk-out of a minority of the delegates at last year's Ard-Fheis with the resultant confusion which was aggravated by grave misrepresentation in at least one section of the National Press. Before the year ended, however, the movement had fully recovered and got on with the job of opposing imperialism in every shape and form in every part of each of the 32 Counties. The cheque-book imperialism of the South is no less our enemy than the naked imperialism of the Rife in the North. Republicans will fight both as had been proved in the Battle of The Falls in Belfast on July 3rd and 4th and by our active participation in the campaign for the restoration of Fishing Rights, the abolition of Ground Rents, the Release of Irish Republican Prisoners and our active opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill, Offences Against the State Act, Internment without trial, Anti-Trade Union legislation, Incomes Freeze and the Common Market treaty."

The Treasurer, Denis Roche, reported that while the Cumann met its financial commitments, it needed a big increase in funds to meet the demand for leadership of the people in so many spheres and in particular in its opposition to the Common Market.

The Chairman, Michael O'Keefe, in his address to the meeting dwelt largely on Sinn Féin Policy and the Common Market. He said "Let there be no doubt where we in Sinn Féin

LEGAL AID APPEAL

One of the beneficial side-effects of the march to Cork was the raising of £200 towards the estimated £450 expenditure on the petition of Conor Lynch and Pat O'Sullivan. This brings to £340 the total collected from all sources to meet this expense. £110 more and this item will be met in full.

The appeal for Eamonn Smullen and Gerry O'Doherty (8 years and four years respectively) due to be heard this month will cost an estimated £200. A start on this fund has been made with the collection of £15.

This leaves a total of £295 to be collected to see to it that these men get the best help possible in their fight against the British prison system.

Here is where you can help. Organise a collection on the job, collect among friends, run a fund-raising do, or make a personal contribution. Send the proceeds to the Irish Political Prisoners Release Campaign, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. Receipts will be forwarded for all monies.

ar fáil arís

Nuabhfarsaíocht eag. SEAN Ó TUAMA Rogha Sheán Ó Tuama den fhilicéad a foilsíodh iúil 1939 agus 1942. Tá eadshaothar foilsithe na mór-fhíilí anseo. Eagrán nua sa chló Rómhánach. crua 50p pc 10p

Eireaball Spideog SEAN Ó RIORDAIN Eagrán nua sa chló Rómhánach de leabhar clúiteach Sheán Ó Riordain. Leagan údairithe nua. crua 63p pc 10p

Brosna SEAN Ó RIORDAIN Anois sa chúigiú eagrán. crua 63p pc 8p

Na hAírd Ó Thuaidh P'ADRAIG ua MAOLÉOIN Saol Chorca Dhubhain le duine dá scríbhneoirí féin — údar *Bhríde Doherty* bog 65p pc 10p

Tonn Tuile SEAMUS Ó NEILL An chéad leabhar a d'fhoilsigh Sáirséal agus Dill bog 35p pc 7p

lacáiste triain do bhail ár eClub SAIRSEAL AGUS DILL 37 Br Ardpháircé Ath Cliath 6



● Lynch ● O'Sullivan



Part of the Crossmaglen/Courtbane Road left in a dangerous condition by British Troops after abortive attempts by them to spike the road. The road is used by many people from the Crossmaglen area who work in Dundalk across the border.

Crossmaglen angry at vandalism

The new Wolfe Tone Republican Club in Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh has initiated a campaign against the destructive activities of the British Army in the area carried on under the guise of 'security'. In a statement the Club described the vandalism of the British troops: During the past few weeks, many farmers in the Crossmaglen area have been incensed by the activities of members of the British Army. The course of fruitless searches for arms, they have forced their way into farm buildings and have left doors and gates open, with a total disregard for the farming community. A number of farmers have had to spend hours rounding up strayed cattle and repairing damage done as a result of these activities.

One elderly man, on returning from Crossmaglen, discovered that his home had been broken into by members of the British Army! Only after a complaint was made, was an apology offered for this particular act of vandalism! Another example of the British Army's total disregard for the people of the area is the state in which they have left the Crossmaglen/Courtbane road which, at the moment, is only passable with extreme care. And it is but one of many roads in the area which the British Army have left in a dangerous state! When will these roads be repaired? And at whose expense? Surely the already-overburdened ratepayers should not have to pay for wanton damage to public property caused by members of the British Army of Occupation!

Fascist bill condemned by Dail

Fish-ins, sit-ins, squatting and similar forms of peaceful protest will be proscribed if a new Bill recently introduced at Leinster House becomes Law. The Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill, 1970, as it is known, is one of the most outrageous pieces of repressive legislation ever spawned by Fianna Fail. The Bill seeks to make an offence of 'forcible occupation of land or a vehicle' which is described in section 3 as (a) the act of locking, obstructing or barring any window, door or other entry to or means of exit from land or a vehicle with a view to preventing or restricting a lawful attempt to enter the land or vehicle, and (b) the act of physically resisting a lawful

Fianna Fail Landlords have not learned anything from the troubles of their counterparts, the Unionist Landlords of the North. The lesson to be learned from the events in the North is that coercion and repression do not work. If oppressed people are deprived of the methods of peaceful protest, including squatting, they usually turn to other methods much more convenient for Lands that on an occasional squat-in or fish-in. And, the Fianna Fail Landlords have not got the British Army to protect them. Or have they?

Gearcheim a thainig go h-Eirinn

Gearcheim in Éirinn le Dick Walsh, F.N.T. 21/-

B'fhéidir go bhfuil seo ar an leabhar is fearr chomh maith le bheith ar an gcéad leabhar a thoisíodar go ceann n'bhfad ar chúrsaí na h-Éireann le cupla bliain annas, mar tá síl agus intinn ghar neamhbheith ag an ghad, rud nach mbéid ag síl leis nuair a thiofaid leabhair o Captain Kelly, Séamus Brady agus daoine nach iad a raibh codanna den chluiche a n-imir acu féin. Caitheann an t-urad beagnach leath an leabhar ag plé gnéithe uilig thrial chomhcheig na n-arm. Bíodh nach é an chuid is tábhachtaí den leabhar é tugann sé idir thuarais agus anailís amháin ar ar thír, fid ar rudaí nar léir agus nach léir fós iad don phobal i scoitine. Deir sé faoin' fhuilteas idir lucht faisnéise an Airm (26 Condae) agus an Brainse Speisialta: "d' fheadfaí a bheith ag síl go mbeadh claothadh na n-uisiúnta ar a dhéanadh an Airm, san áit ar dhual don Bhrainse Speisialta bí a bheith acu le díil na n-dáirtí, o thuaidh sa smacht agus fú arbhán fonn a bheith orthu comhoibriú lena com-bairtigh i gConstáblacht Ríoga Uiladh, dream nach raibh amhras riann faoin gclaothadh polaitiúil a bhí orthu."

Sa dara chuid den leabhar rianáinn sé na foinsí stairiúla ar fúas an gearcheim seo astu. Tá sé ar mhíosa scríbhneoireacht chomh maith a cuireadh ar fáil riamh faoi stair na h-Éireann o bhuan an dá Stát i leith. Ní thait neoidh cuid mháid de le díseoirf ceachtar pháirtí Rialtais, o thuaidh ná ó dheas, cruthú atá sa mhéid sin féin, b'fhéidir, ar ghéire agus sin ar shreibe na frinne atá ann. "Bhí an dá rialtas, o thuaidh agus ó dheas, ag gealladh go gcuirfidís deireadh leis an eisirme. B'fhéidir nach mar chomh cheite a bheadhnaigh siad iorthu: ach n' fheadfaidís gan a h-éiceat mar gheallús bunaithe a chumha a aithní". Léiríonn sé ar go leor bhealach an t-ionannas bunúsach idir an dá Rialtas agus idir an dá

Stát, ainneoin na dírochtáí fáinacha atá eatorra ar waichtar. O thabhbh na h-éiceannafochtá de, o thabhbh an chultúir de, o thabhbh na polaitiúchá féin de, ní iontu ach dhá phort bunaithe ar go dlúth ar an léam caeanna. "There will always be an England..."

Tá go leor le foghlaim freisin on gcur síos ar phobalchais ("populism") i gcás Fiannacha Fáil agus ar an nua-fheadachas i gcás na n-Aontachtóirí; agus ar an tionchar a bhí ag cirsaf éiceannafochtá ar na h-aithriúite a tháinig sa tír sna seascáid. Ní for chor ar bith amh a deir sé faoi Fianna Fáil agus an t-urad. Ghaeilge: "Bí a morganfaid ar son saol cultúrtha an náisiúin aithbheochán na Gaeilge a chur chun cinn trí na scoileanna." Ní an le searbhás a deir sé? B'fhéidir náire ar an Aire is ríghne seithe sa Rialtas (agus bheadh sé deacair ar Sholamh fhéin an chraobh sin a bíreannadh) na focla ud a r!

Sinn Fein expands in Waterford

A new cumann of Sinn Fein, Cumann Jack Edwards, was officially established in Waterford City on January 26. In the course of an address to the cumann, Sean Breathnach, local Sinn Fein organiser said that the advent of a second Sinn Fein cumann in the City was a true indication of the ever-growing strength of the Movement and a clear indication of a re-awakening of socialism and republicanism in Waterford. The new cumann is comprised of members from the Lisdugan, Roanmore, Upper Town and Corn Road areas. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Cathaoirleach, Seamus Giles; Leas-Cathaoirleach, Liam Breathnach; Rúnaí, W. McCarthy; Cisteoir, Donal O'Connell; P.R.O., J. O'Neill. Persons wishing to join the new cumann should contact Sinn Fein, 113, An Ge, Portlaoire, or Seamus Giles, 37 Roanmore Terrace, Portlaoire.

Ban on U.I. sales defeated

Last month's statement by Chichester-Clarke in relation to The United Irishman marks a major break-through for the

Republican Clubs in the North who have for so long successfully defied the ban on the public sale of the paper.

Chichester-Clarke stated on U.T.V.: "The law is just about to be changed. The old United Irishman was a subversive document. Now the paper is not". He added: "I am quite certain we would make ourselves look idiots if we took proceedings against it".

People familiar with the situation will agree that the R.U.C. have acted the idiot for the past fifteen years in attempting to ban the public sale of the paper. As recently as May of last year the British Army successfully surrounded and wiped out 7,000 copies of The United Irishman in the Falls area of Belfast. Not to be outdone the brand new Ulster Defence Regiment ambushed and made prisoner four thousand copies in October last in the vicinity of Newry.

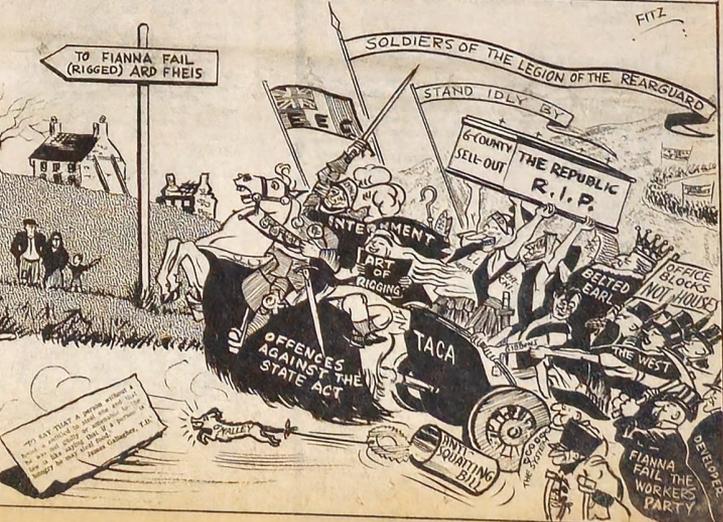
What will the idiots in the British Army, R.U.C. and U.D.R. do this month? Will the Major be able to control them? The three year extension of the ban imposed by Captain William Long during his period in Home Affairs only expires on December 31 this year.

The Major's attempt at acting the newspaper critic in discovering that The United Irishman is not any longer "subversive" will hardly fool hardliners like Senator E. B. Barnhill who wrote that the public sale of the paper in Strabane recently "might have provoked a riot." The description "subversive" is a British coinage which the split in the Unionist Party has forced to the backbenches. We will leave the awkward job of re-educating the dinosaurs in the Unionist backbenches on the new definition of the word "subversive" to the Major. For our part The United Irishman is a Republican publication pledged to the securing of an independent 32-County Republic controlled by the working people of the whole country.

In his re-education programme the Major should also discourage the idocy of outlawing the Republican Clubs openly functioning in the North. When will the Major have the courage of his new-found convictions and publicly declare that the advocacy of a united Ireland is to be no longer "subversive"?

ANTI-BEC PUBLIC MEETING
Ireland's Mines and Minerals
LIBERTY HALL
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 8 P.M.

EASTER
All local Commemoration Committees should begin their preparations for Easter immediately and The National Commemoration Committee, c/o 20 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.
Easter Sunday is on April 11.



eagarthaca

Coming Storm

Since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement this paper has warned of its ultimate effects — large scale unemployment and emigration. The jute industry, the shoe industry and the car assembly industry are now in dire trouble. In 1965 the number of fully-assembled cars imported came to 306. As a direct result of the Free Trade Agreement the number of fully-assembled cars imported in 1969 came to 8,858 with the graph showing a line of dramatic increase in the interval. Both Poole car-assemblers have now announced the closure of their plant and the unemployment of 140 men. Factories have closed and hundreds are unemployed already in the shoe industry. By 1969 imported shoes were flooding the market at the rate of 95,476 pairs per annum. Figures for July-August 1970 show at 25,000 pairs — approximately 150,000 in the year.

Emigration can be counted upon to siphon off the political pressures that otherwise would be exerted by the victims of the Free Trade policy against the policy and the politicians responsible. By the time the car-assembly workers come to protest the jute workers of Clara will have already gone. The Trade Unions may be counted upon to dither as they did when Hibernian Transport collapsed and so hinder preventive action. Politicians will fill bellies full of hope in the interval between the factory closure and the final act of emigration: in a private enterprise economy that is the role of the politician. Workers will gradually realise that in the much vaunted democracy that is Fianna Fail and Unionist Ireland elected representatives cannot directly affect the provision of the two vital things of life — a job and a house.

And Jack Lynch, Paddy Hillery and George Colley will blandly look at the effects of the Free Trade Agreement to date and urge Irish workers to join the great area of Free Trade that is the Common Market! Any conscious worker who now sees the effects of Free Trade knows why he should immediately do all in his power to rouse his fellow-workers in defence of their jobs and families.

Under the pressure of imports from Britain the whole structure of industry is buckling while the adverse trade balance is added to by the month. The failure by George Colley to raise a national loan at home is a further ominous sign of the storm to come. The tragedy is that many workers will confuse personalities for policy and look to Charles Haughey as being the answer to the problem. Haughey, Cincinnatus-like, is just waiting in the wings to stab his arch-rival: the same Haughey that signed the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in 1966.

The coming economic crisis will inevitably lead to a great debate among workers as to the best course to follow. The answer is the answer of James Connolly. Until the workers of Ireland own the country and its wealth-producing processes they will not be in a position to chart their own destiny or write their own history. At this moment it is being written for them by the rich industrialists and their bought political lackeys who are herding them into the Common Market. Whatever the debate the immediate task is to fight the Common Market.

The vital difference

The coming Labour Party Conference will be more important to the future of this country than the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis. Why? Because of the number of delegates going there who are opposed to the Common Market. Their conduct at the coming Conference will be vital to all the workers of the country and to the livelihood of many of the two sets of delegates is that the Labour Party men are far more alive to the dangers of Common Market entry and have a fighting chance of gaining the support of the majority for a campaign against the Common Market.

The problems is that the main battle might be fought on the Coalition issue. The main battle should concern the fate of the Nation, not the fate of the Labour Party. The main battle is undoubtedly that on the Common Market, the question of a coalition with Fine Gael is incidental. A decision by the Labour Party to fight the Common Market would give it leadership of the Irish nation. It would involve a fight against the might of the existing Coalition — that which came into being when Fianna Fail joined Fine Gael in urging that Ireland should enter the Common Market.

A milk-and-water decision to sanction entry on conditions is, in effect, a decision to join the Fianna Fail-Fine Gael Coalition in the destruction of the homes and jobs of countless thousands of Ireland's small farmers and workers. It is simply the question of whether you work for or against the people of Ireland.

To date the Republican Movement has borne the brunt of the battle against the Common Market. A distinct commitment from the Labour Party would not be premature. With a referendum in prospect towards the end of the year it becomes a matter of urgency that the Party makes up its mind on this most crucial of issues.

MacRory — the new gerrymander?

The main purpose of the Civil Rights campaign in the Six Counties was to secure the introduction of basic democratic government there, not only from Stormont but also at local council level. The cries of "One man, one vote" and "Fair Boundaries" were frequently voiced at various protests throughout virtually every area in the North. It was not until after several months of rioting, disorder, pogrom and death that the Unionist government gave in — or so it seemed. Universal adult franchise and fair boundaries were promised and the people of the Six Counties were also told that their local government areas were to be reformed.

The idea of local government re-organisation was first put forward under the administration of that arch-reformist Captain O'Neill and by the summer of 1969 Brian Faulkner had got his new gerrymander (made to last) well under way when he produced "The Reshaping of Local Government—Further Proposals". Unfortunately for Brian the events of August 1969 caught up with the Unionist Government and Westminster was forced to take an interest in the events going on in the back yard. At this point Stormont was forced to concede that all had not been well and they conveniently dropped their original proposals for the re-shaping of the local government areas.

In December, 1969 a new Review Body was set up to look at the re-organisation of local authorities under the chairmanship of Patrick Macrory, a move conveniently very likely pushed by Westminster because only a few months previously a similar commission had made a number of recommendations to the British Government on local government reform in England and Wales (The Redcliffe-Maud Report). In June 1970 Macrory published his report.

To examine objectively the findings of the Macrory report it is necessary to understand something about the theory of local government. Local government exists to provide public services to the people of a particular area—these services may be national in origin, needing only to be administered locally, or they may be local services. Furthermore, it exists to represent the people of a community and to run the affairs of the community in their own affairs. Theoretically local government is exactly what it says: the democratic governing of a community by the members of that community — administrative power in the hands of the people.

The present area pattern of local government units in the North is of 19th century origin, consisting of 73 directly elected local authorities, 27 of which have a population of under 10,000. As a rule, these councils are based on gerrymandered boundaries, their members have been elected on the property vote (no property, no vote) and their continued discrimination in local matters of housing and employment have been a blatant contradiction of all that local government should be. Added to this is the fact that the areas of local administration have not been based on any scientific or objective evaluation geared to the needs of the local people — indeed the reverse has been true. For these two reasons Republicans will agree that there is a need for a change in local government in the North (not to mention the 26 Counties, where attempts at local democracy are suppressed by the state).

Having established the need for change in the present set-up let us examine the proposals of the Macrory report. The report gives four reasons for wanting to change existing structures: (1) they give verbatim from the Redcliffe-Maud Report:

- (a) local government areas do not fit the modern pattern of life and work;



- (b) the large number of units involved makes the proper planning of development and transportation impossible;
- (c) the fact that all services are not in the hands of one authority complicates the work of meeting comprehensively the different needs of families and individuals;
- (d) many local authorities are too small in size and revenue to employ qualified staff and buy work as well as it could and should be done.

These points are basically valid but the glaring omission of the facts of maladministration being included as a reason for reform indicates a certain lack of objectivity. The report favours what could best be described as a two-tier system, but this is not a two-tier system below Stormont — it is a system which incorporates Stormont as the top tier: "... but when we bear in mind the size, population and resources of the country it seems clear that Stormont should be two levels of local authorities below Stormont without running the risk of still being as seriously over-administered as we consider it now to be." In practical terms this means that the following services will be administered "regionally" i.e., directly by ministerial responsibility from Stormont, and non-administered public libraries, personal health and personal social services, including welfare and child care, planning, roads and traffic management, motor taxation and electoral arrangements, water and sewerage services, the fire service, the electricity supply, the major ports and harbours. (Housing will also be directly controlled by Stormont, but provision for this was made before Macrory).

The lower tier of the local administration i.e., the local councils, will be responsible for the following services: culture and sports, entertainment, environmental health, cleansing and sanitation, local gas boards, parks and cemeteries, the enforcement of building and other byelaws, protective services such as road safety, the licensing of dance-halls and as many other forms of petty bureaucracy and non-administration as Brian Faulkner can conjure up in the meantime.

The basic fault with the Macrory Report is that it ignores the fact that local government is concerned with the people — a major fault incidentally with the Maud and Wheatley Commissions also. The report is a genuine attempt to reform a crumbling, bureaucratic, inefficient system and to replace it with a modern, streamlined efficient but equally bureaucratic system. Working on the basis that the Maud Report used, the findings of Macrory make intelligent reading e.g., the size of area involved, the efficiency of existing services, etc. But Macrory ignores the fact that by trusting local government services to Stormont he is in effect abandoning all that local government stands for by removing power from the hands of the people and placing it in the control of a corrupt regime.

Macrory also gives the Unionist Government a free hand in the drawing up of the new unit boundaries. On the 20th of January this year Brian Faulkner announced to Stormont that he intended to appoint a commissioner to draw up the new local government boundaries and the electoral wards within them. This man (i.e. the commissioner) will listen to the opinions of local people in each area care to put before him before he finally decides on the exact location of the new boundaries.

However, to Republicans the Macrory Report is not acceptable nor is its interpretation and subsequent application by the Unionist Government. For us the alternative is as follows: We believe that local government should serve the needs of the people and to do this effectively local government units should be based on the area patterns of the people's needs and activities. These patterns can be constructed by examining various factors such as distance to work, recreation and entertainment facilities, journey to church and to school and journey to shops where everyday-goods are purchased. The area extent of these patterns should be the basis of the local council area, i.e., district administration.

Other factors such as journey to shops where specialised goods are bought, journey to places where specialist attention is required e.g., large hospitals, electricity supply, and other centres of co-ordination will form the basis of regional councils. The Stormont Government intends to draw up the new local council areas and then expects the people to conform to these new boundaries. We believe that the opposite should be the case — that the present patterns of movement of the people should be examined and that the local council areas should be based on these patterns so that truly representative areas of local consciousness will emerge.

The actual construction of these areas is not a difficult task. The modus operandi is to use a 10% random sample survey of the Six Counties, something which the Stormont Government has never completed in no more than 6 months, and a similar length of time would be needed to produce a scientific analysis of the unamalgamated existing statistical techniques. Within a year from now the Six Counties could have a local government system based on the needs of the people there — something never before seen in any part of Ireland or Britain.

The results of the proposed survey would produce a two-tier system of administration. Services such as water, electricity, gas, sewerage, town and country planning, education and social services could be administered regionally, i.e., by the top tier, while the duty of the lower tier would be to implement these services and to maintain remaining services of a more localised nature such as sanitation, cleansing, local planning, housing and generally caring for the needs of the community.

To ensure that these services are administered fairly the local councils should be elected on the basis of one man one vote under the P.R. system. The size of the electoral wards within these local government areas should be directly proportionate to the number of people in them.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the Macrory Report is not a deliberate attempt at a new gerrymander. The Unionist Government accepted the report not because it was a gerrymander, but because it entrusted them with ministerial responsibility over all the important local services. The past record would indicate that they will not implement the recommendations of the report fairly, but with Westminster looking on they stand they may be forced to do so, thereby bolstering up Brian Faulkner's mirage-type liberalism.

Brittany — farmers fight E.E.C. land-grabbers

The struggle for control of farmland in Brittany was highlighted by a number of recent demonstrations and court actions. F. Goumelen, who heads a Young Farmers' Association in the area north-west of Brest, was sentenced to pay a fine of 6,500 Francs for disrupting an auction of a small farm which was sold for a price no small farmer could afford. The farm, which was rented, if sold would have deprived the present tenant of his livelihood. The sentence is seen as an attempt to discourage those who oppose land speculation and the acquisition of farmland by absentee landlords.

In Meneac, Morbihan, 300 far-

mers demonstrated against the sale of land to a local businessman whose main source of income is not from farming. Action is being taken also against members of the Young Farmers' Union in Finistère because they had occupied a solicitor's office in Kemper and removed documents to prevent the sale of a farm by auction in Ervras at a price of £1,500 an acre. Last December 17,110 farmers ploughed 90 acres of grassland which had been bought by a cattle dealer in Morbihan. Also that month the Brest-Kemper "National" road, number 164, was barricaded at Ar Merzhen and the Kemper-Paris express was held up by demonstrators for 40 minutes in the

Kemper Station; it left carrying large inscriptions to explain their grievances to the Parisians. The land crisis is particularly acute in Brittany because of the population pressure and the lack of outlets for young people in industry and commerce. Three quarters of the 300,000 farmers are working on holdings of less than 5 acres. They resent the fact that in 1968 20% of the land offered for sale was bought up by non-farmers. A vigorous campaign against French plans to develop the Breton coast has been carried out for some time by "Le Peuple Breton," monthly organ of the socialist Union Democratique Breton.



Mr. Robert W. Haack, President of the New York Stock Exchange, Mr. P. J. Hughes, President of Northgate Exploration Ltd., helped by Mr. Sean Lemass start the selling of Ireland's mineral wealth on the Stock Exchange. Thanks to Mr. Lemass, the Irish people will not be making out one penny from the huge profits which these exploiter companies are bringing out of Irish natural resources.

Mining imperialists worried

Following the publication in last month's United Irishman of some revealing facts about mining in Ireland, the matter was raised by a delegate from the Trinity Republican Club. In the course of his speech he outlined the projected profits from mining for the next decade, a figure of some £300m. This money, if in the hands of the Irish people to whom it belongs, could be spent to improve social welfare, education, and health programmes.

The response of the other delegates was extremely enthusiastic and advance sales of the pamphlet Irish Mining: The need for Action being produced by the Resources Study Group has reached 1,000. Already this useful document is selling well in Dublin and has aroused replies from those in the mining industry. M. V. O'Brien, former director of the Geological Survey and now managing director of Tara Explorations, spent much of a Geography Teachers' meeting trying to answer many of the points raised.

At this meeting he asked two young questioners if they were 'from the United Irishman'. It is good to know that he is a reader. So concerned is Mr. O'Brien about the adverse publicity being given to his and other companies' dealings, that he attended a meeting of the Business and Economics Society in Trinity College on January 19, where Milo Rockett of the Resources Study Group was speaking. Mr. O'Brien failed in his efforts to discredit the work of the group and the general feeling of the meeting was that foreign financed groups were robbing the people of Ireland. Mr. O'Brien was also heard to remark that the U.I. article on Mines and Minerals was 'very well researched'.

Concern about similar robbery in the Six Counties has been expressed by the regional executive of Republican Clubs who issued a statement condemning the Northern Government's decision to allow foreign-owned mineral exploration companies to operate in the North.

In the statement the executive said that the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Bradford, should inform the Northern Ireland people if valuable wealth is to be taken from the country and how much is involved. "The present maximum forecasted expenditure by the exploiting companies is negligible, about £300,000. If the returns are anyway close to those in the Twenty-Six Counties then Mr. Bradford will, undoubtedly, be the fairy godmother of Wall Street. How will the people of Fermanagh and Tyrone react to this golden gift to the U.S.A.?" the statement asks.

The executive said that it believed that the people of these countries would support their demand to amend the Mineral Development Act (Northern Ireland) 1969 in favour of public ownership. The statement said that Mr. Bradford could be assured that the Republican movement would campaign vigorously to resist "this disastrous policy and economic sell-out."

(The Resources Study Group was set up towards the end of the last term in TCD, mainly composed of Trinity students in

disciplines ranging from Economics and Law to Geology.

The purpose of the group was to expose the massive profiteering which was being conducted by two Canadian firms who hold the major share of the ownership of the four mines in the country. Following from the findings, the Trinity delegation at the U.S.I. congress in Killarney proposed the following resolution which was received with almost unanimous acceptance: "That Congress condemns the sell out of almost all the mineral resources of the country to foreign business firms and is prepared to actively and financially help in revealing the extent of the failure on the part of the Government to the Irish people, and furthermore calls on Irish technologists, members of the political parties and the general public to demand the nationalisation of all mineral resources and processing plant". Details of the new pamphlet are on page 11).



● Lator: "No danger from Free Trade".

Free Trade chickens home to roost

The results of a survey by the Confederation of Irish Industry on the effects of Free Trade on their members have confirmed the predictions of Republicans and Labour people who opposed the agreement when it was signed in 1966.

The survey was a repeat of one carried out in 1969 to check members' views on the present and future effects of Free Trade. Replies were received from 472 firms with employment of 113,737 (62% of total employment in all manufacturing industry).

Commenting on the results, the C.I.I. newsletter says "the most significant point emerging from the survey is that relatively few Irish firms have benefited under the Free Trade Agreement and that a growing number of firms are finding it to be significantly unfavourable. Their home markets are coming under increasingly heavy competition from British firms without any corresponding enhancement of export opportunities."

"In 1969, 7% of responding firms claimed they were suffering serious adverse effects under the agreement. In 1970 this rose to 12%. This increase was accompanied by a change from 1/3 who said they were feeling slight effects in 1969 to 44% who were feeling these in 1970".

"The most depressing aspect of the results emerging from the survey is the pessimism with which firms view their prospects under the agreement over the next five years. By 1975, 78% of firms

anticipate that their home markets will be suffering some adverse effects. This pessimism has deepened since the 1969 survey when the corresponding figure was 68% of firms".

"We must conclude that the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement hasn't been to the benefit of Irish industry. The promised increased trade in agricultural goods which might have compensated industry has not materialised and the home market is coming under increasingly heavy competition."

"We could say 'we told you so'. The C.I.I. however, is not prepared to learn by experience; "at the same time," they say, "industry is committed to free trade and an open economy." It seems they are going to sit passively and await their doom. Will Trade Unionists do the same?



"Voice" the well runs dry

Evidence given by Mr. Anthony Fagan, Principal Officer in the Department of Finance, to the Dail Committee of Inquiry into the expenditure of the £100,000 Relief Fund for the Press in the North confirms the United Irishman allegation in November, 1969 that the publication of the "Voice of the North" newspaper was part of the caucus Fianna Fail Government plot.

The front page expose made the statement: "It is hard to believe that Mr. Jack Lynch is unaware of this cynical double-dealing by his Ministers. These Fianna Fail politicians are doing their best to disrupt Civil Rights and anti-Unionist forces in the North whose successes have been politically highly embarrassing to them", and asked the question: "Is this plan an official Government or an official Fianna Fail plan? How much of this work has been financed directly by Government money?"

In August 1970 in a statement printed in the Irish Press, Mr. Brady is quoted as saying about the "Voice": "I helped to fund it with the knowledge and consent of the Government Information Bureau... Initially, the G.I.B., under its director, Mr. Eoin Neeson, supported the idea but withdrew after a week or so on orders from the Taoiseach, I believe."

Immediately following the publication of this news item the Government Information Bureau issued a statement describing Mr. Brady's account as "completely false".

In his evidence to the Committee of Inquiry last month Mr. Fagan said that he did not regard the "Voice of the North" as coming within the intentions of the grant-in-aid.

Mr. Keating — When did you become aware that money from the grant-in-aid was being used to subsidise the "Voice of the North"?

Mr. Fagan replied that it started with a cheque for £1,000, payable to Seamus Brady. Seamus Brady had written to the Director of the Government Information Bureau. He thought it was in the autumn or early winter of 1969.

It was accompanied by an account setting out expenditure involved in getting this publication under way. Witness said he first saw it with the Minister for Finance, who said: "Ask somebody in the Department of the Taoiseach if this can be paid from the Department of the Taoiseach Vote".

When he saw the document was addressed to Mr. Neeson, Director of the Government Information Bureau, he took it down to ask

him about it. Mr. Neeson had said that, when he got the letter, he gave it to the Taoiseach and Mr. Fagan presumed that the Minister for Finance had got it from him. Mr. Fagan said he discussed it with an officer of the Taoiseach's Department and he said some days later that the Taoiseach had told him this was not to be paid from public funds.

Witness took it back to the Minister, who said he would talk to the Taoiseach, himself, about it. Later the Minister told him it was being looked after.

The "Voice of the North" has not appeared since Christmas 1970.

BELFAST

As we go to press the Lower Falls and Springfield areas of Belfast are again the scene of confrontation between civilians and heavily armed British troops.

Trouble began on the afternoon of February 3 when R.U.C. and British troops began searching houses in the Lower Falls area "for arms". The blatantly provocative nature of the searches angered the people of the area who have been continually subjected to harassment by the British forces since the July attack on their homes by the British, again in the guise of "arms searches".

In a statement the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association said that the trouble and disturbances in the Springfield-Falls area once more revealed the dangers of military over-reaction in working class areas. "The tension which was built up on the Springfield road by the raids in the early part of the day was further increased by military jeeps full of troops in riot gear speeding up and down the Falls road when the military themselves said everything was quiet". The C.R.A. said in a statement, "The military should by now have learned the lesson that troops patrolling the streets of a city constitute an abnormal state of affairs for the people who live in that city."

Powell picketed in Derry

Members of the James Connolly Republican Club, in concert with the Derry Civil Rights Committee and the Derry branch of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, picketed the Derry Guildhall on Friday, January 15 in protest against the visit to the city of English racist MP Enoch Powell and the reception to him by Derry Development Commission. A Commission referred to by Republican organisers, Liam O'Comin, as "the symbol of bureaucratic elitism".

A statement issued on behalf of the demonstrators utterly condemned "the non-elected 'representatives' of Derry welcoming on behalf of the people of Derry this latter-day Mosley. This invitation also casts doubts on the political impartiality of the Derry Development Commission. Anyone who foments sectarianism, whether religious or racial, deserves the condemnation of all."

An Uaimh gets new cumann

A new cumann of Sinn Féin has been formed in An Uaimh Co. Meath. At a meeting presided over by Donnachadh Mac Raghnaill, Ard Comhairle, and M. Wall, the following officers were elected: Cathaoirleach, L. McDonagh, 56 St. Bridgid's Villas; Ruanaí, C. Collins, Newgate; Treasurers, P. McBride, Stackallen, Co. Meath and Martin Ratuigan, 9 Millbrook Terrace, An Uaimh. The cumann will be known as Liam Mellows Cumann.

The meeting discussed such important issues as the EEC, Fisheries, and Mining and decided to open the EEC campaign in the area. It was also decided to hold a fish-in on February 7.

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The unfolding of the nature of the forces which are destroying the Irish nation and enslaving the Irish people makes us even more aware of the urgent need of unity of the forces which are striving for National Independence and the Emancipation of the Irish people. There are many organisations besides Sinn Féin working in this field — political groups, socio-economic groups and cultural groups. But it is apparent that all of them are fighting hopeless rear-guard actions against economic imperialism whose unseen hand makes a mockery of our political independence, treats our people as economic slaves to be pushed about at the whim of faceless planners and strangles the last vestiges of our cultural traditions destroying our identity as a people. I must emphasise that our cultural heritage embraces Native Irish, Scots Irish and Anglo Irish traditions and that all are subject to the same erosion by an international pop-culture designed to make us more malleable and easy prey to the design of monopoly-capitalism.

The forces which are destroying the Irish people will continue victoriously unless the various groups acting in defence of the people and the nation recognise their identity of interest and unite on a broadly agreed programme. Obviously there is room for a closer alliance and unity of action between the various cultural organisations working in defence of the Irish language, music, songs and pastimes. Similarly Trade Unions, farmers' organisations, tenants' associations and such mass organisations of the people must co-ordinate their activities if they are to fully protect the economic interests of the workers and small farmers. In the political field it is becoming increasingly obvious that the paths of the Republican and Labour movements will be crossing more frequently. Already local branches are acting in consort on many issues and the time is approaching when more formal links should be established. The Fianna Fail/Fine Gael coalition which has been on the horizon for some years is gradually becoming a reality. The Lynch/Cosgrave policy on the North is now identical — support for Chichester-Clarke and a closer political arrangement with Britain; on the "law and order" issue Lynch and Cosgrave and L'Estrange and O'Malley speak with one voice—the voice of Peter Berry, and on Common Market issues Fianna Fail are relying increasingly on Garret Fitzgerald for leadership, to the extent that he is now generally regarded as Minister Without Portfolio in charge of Common Market affairs. It is time he claimed his place in the Cabinet.

The forces of reaction in the 26 County State are in the uniquely powerful position of being in control of the government and of the alternative government. This makes the people frustrated and apathetic and leaves Fianna Fail in an unshakable position of power. They will remain so until a real opposition is created by unity of the anti-imperialist forces. Let all those who stand for the integrity of the Irish Nation, for unity of the Irish people, for national independence, for the rights of workers and farmers to ownership of the wealth they create, for the real emancipation of all the Irish people — let them all stand in Unity on one side of the fence.

In the North of Ireland we have had in the Civil Rights Movement the great example of the power of unity of the common people and the futility of the imperial forces in the face of such unity. No sooner had this great new weapon of the people been forged and proved on the streets of the North than some left wing pseudo revolutionaries began the task of the enemy and did everything in their power to weaken and destroy it and frustrate its objectives. They declared it to be a middle class reformist movement unfit for revolutionaries and socialists and that it promoted sectarianism. They were, of course, aided by their counterparts on the right who found it too militant and revolutionary for their liking and by the moderate politicians who came to power on the backs of the marchers and now told them to get off the streets and return to their former status of dependence on their MPs.

It is absolute and dangerous nonsense to say the Civil Rights Campaign promoted sectarianism. It was in fact sectarianism which promoted the Civil Rights Campaign. The silent wall of sectarianism has existed for generations in the North. It hung as a pall over Derry long before October 5th, 1968. The marches, clashes and riots brought it out into the open in all its naked ugliness as at Burntollet. The people were forced to examine it in the cold light of day, week after week, month after month. They did not like what they saw. They could see its futility in the face of their common oppressor, in the light of unemployment, bad housing and social conditions which existed on both sides of the Barrier. Confrontation led to contacts, to examination of each others viewpoint and to the discovery that they talked the same language. Derry and Belfast, the areas of greatest confrontation are also the areas of greatest contact between Catholic and Protestant. Fermanagh was almost untouched by the Civil Rights Campaign

THIS YEAR'S TASK



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and so the sectarian politics remained unchanged. The landed gentry are still in political control and Catholic and Protestant remain peacefully in their ghettos — where Unionism wants them. This is not peace — this is surrender — surrender to an evil bigoted dictatorship. The sectarian barriers must be faced and crossed even if they have to be crossed by force. Those who decry the role of the Civil Rights Movement are serving only the cause of Unionism and reaction.

A strong Civil Rights Association is essential to safeguard democracy, to push through the reforms which are still being delayed, to end jobbery, expose the corruptness of the judiciary and oppose repressive legislation. Republicans should continue to give it their fullest support.

The struggle against the EEC absorption is entering the final and crucial stage this year. It is a struggle which will involve everyone and extend over the whole country. The fact that the campaign against it has not yet gained momentum in the North does not mean that there is general acceptance of it there. Far from it. There seems to be a far greater understanding of its dangers both for industrial workers in shipbuilding, textile and other industries and for small farmers than there is in the 26 county State. There is confusion, however, as to how it can be opposed since it is the Westminster Government which is making the decisions and doing the negotiating for the U.K. There is already considerable opposition in Britain to the Common Market but the people of the North should not rely on this. They must unite all sections of the community and all shades of religious and political opinion in a demand on the Westminster Government that the 6 county area be left out of the Common Market negotiations. Already there is a disturbing increase in unemployment in the North and factory closures are becoming commonplace. There is an urgent need for massive public investment in State enterprises and they must retain the power to do so. It could not be done under the Treaty of Rome.

The workers of Harland and Wolff, by virtually taking control of decision-making in their own industry, have given a headline which could be fol-

lowed by workers all over the country who are threatened with redundancies and closures. It certainly could be followed with benefit by the workers in Goodbody's factory in Clara, Co. Offaly. Here is an industry employing 700 workers, on which the whole town of Clara depends, being closed down by an arbitrary decision of management without any consultation with workers. A sizeable town will be wiped out as hundreds of workers will be forced to emigrate. But Mr. Lalor, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, who is also the Fianna Fail deputy for the area, states that there is nothing he can do. We are told that this is democracy in a private enterprise society. A decision affecting in a most fundamental way the lives of hundreds of families and of a whole town is taken by Mr. Douglas Goodbody and Mr. Desmond Goodbody. Who elected them to that position of authority over the lives of hundreds? Why does Mr. Lalor who WAS ELECTED HAVE NO AUTHORITY? Such democracy is meaningless. We must alter our outlook on ownership of wealth and the rights of workers. There is no democracy unless workers have some say over the economic decisions which affect their lives.

Once we begin to examine the economic concepts on which our society is based, we will see that they dominate our legal and social code and that they are completely alien to the Irish character. Under the Anglo-Saxon legal code which we inherited, no human consideration can save those who offend against property. From the concept of the divine right of property stems the monstrous cruelty of the legal system which treats backward, wayward or mentally deficient children as criminals, takes them from the care of their parents, incarcerates them in penal reform schools for all those wonderful years of their childhood. The mentally ill who damage property, even to the extent of breaking a window, are treated as criminal lunatics and can be imprisoned at the pleasure of the Minister for Justice without any prison sentence being passed upon them by a court. Currently there is the notorious case of a young Maoist who has never been charged with any crime, detained by order of the Minister, obviously as a punishment for his political views. Surely these frightful injustices continually being perpetrated under our economic system and our legal and social system, must indicate the need for a radical change in society. Let us forget this nonsense about alien philosophy and determine to get rid of this one which is destroying us.

The betrayal of the Republic and the acceptance of the Treaty of surrender in 1921 disillusioned the Irish people. But they did not lose hope. It was the long slow realisation that de Valera had also betrayed them that led to despair. Under his leadership the vision of Pearse and Connolly was dropped and that of Griffith was pursued. The result was a long period of stagnation and decay and hopelessness.

Under the leadership of Lemass and Lynch, Fianna Fail have now dropped even the limited nationalism of Griffith and have gone back to Redmondism. Just as Redmond paid obsequious tributes to the British Monarch and called on the youth of Ireland to fight for the British Empire, so Lynch slavishly praises Britain as a peace loving nation and sympathises with the British soldiers who had brutally assaulted the people of the lower Falls in Belfast, shooting innocent people, destroying their homes and placing the whole area under curfew.

The Irish nation is now at a lower ebb than during the early years of this century. The viability of hundreds of rural communities has almost been destroyed by the huge emigration of the past 20 years. Many of them could still be saved but it has now been decided that their destruction will be planned to ensure that they cannot survive. The Gaeltacht areas which have been subjected to a slow death for decades are now to be killed off quickly. We have almost reached the stage when it can be said that the Irish language is dead.

Politically the next step backward beyond Redmondism is the Act of Union. This step has already been taken economically in 1965 when the Free Trade Area Agreement with Britain was signed. The political step has been decided but not yet implemented. Mr. Lynch's view on the setting up of a Council of Ireland and the establishment of an Anglo Irish Federation are in accord with those of Heath and Harold Wilson. National Independence is no longer an objective of either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael.

But the North is awake. There is a quickening of pulses and a rush of new ideas on all sides. They are becoming impatient at our lethargy. They realise that time is running out for the Irish people. This time we cannot sit back and wait for another generation to do the job. The future depends on us. Don't spend too much time looking towards the North for action. The real struggle to save the Irish Nation is down here. We now need the help of our comrades in the North. It may well be that the new generation of Protestant Republicans will show us the way.

ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS

ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS

In a businesslike and unemotional manner the delegates at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis dealt with what had become the thorniest problem in the organisation — whether or not to participate in the parliaments ruling Ireland which were set up by the Government of Ireland Act 1920.

The resolution, which was carried, removing embargoes on parliamentary participation, took the following form:—

"That all embargoes on political participation in parliament be removed from the Constitution and Rules, under the following conditions:—

a) That all questions relating to electoral tactics be left to the Ard Comhairle to decide in the light of the needs of the moment, taking due account of a democratic decision by the local membership of the movement.

b) That the undermining of confidence in existing parliaments and eventual abstention from them in order to establish an alternative form of Government must be a major objective of the movement. In order to lead the people to acceptance of the objective, flexible use of the electoral policy is essential.

c) That participation in parliament be not regarded as a means of gaining control of Government within the system but as a means of giving leadership to the people towards a revolutionary alternative. If the movement decides to remove restrictions on attendance at parliament and does in the future participate in parliament it must maintain its revolutionary and nonconformist role and not become just an alternative political party within the existing system.

d) That the guidelines on choice and control of candidates laid down on pages 17-19 of 'Ireland Today' be accepted (*see below).

e) That the number and location of candidates in any election be not laid down arbitrarily, but be based on quality of candidates and strength of local organisation; that the uneven development of the movement in various areas be accepted as a reality and that an initial round involving a small number of candidates be worked towards by suitable concentration of organising effort.

*The following guidelines from 'Ireland Today' were included in the resolution:—

Candidates would not be chosen unless the Movement has had a consistent prior record of public activity and links with the people's organisations in the constituency. A candidate would be local and would personally have local roots, he would be experienced in revolutionary theory and practice. He would be prepared to sign over his whole salary if elected to claim from the Movement his original salary plus vouched expenses. He would also resign all local and regional office, acting as a paid organiser for the Movement. He must, of course, be agreed by the Ard Fheis, but should not attempt to act as a regional delegate, handing over to a substitute.

Relationship with the Movement must be based on regular meetings with the local, regional and national executives of the Movement, to discuss and co-ordinate actions by individuals, cumainn, the mass movement and other bodies with the current agenda in whichever of the three assemblies he acts, in resisting all repressive and retrograde legislation and exposing the inadequacy of the existing structure, and the hypocrisy of the leadership of the opportunist parties by pressing for the implementation of their verbal reforms.

Electoral programmes to be without unrealistic promises, objectively stating the difficulty of obtaining significant advances within the 6/26 county structure, stressing the need for the people to press forward outside parliament with their own organisations, guaranteeing support for this as far as possible within the constraints, and stressing the urgency of resistance to repressive and regressive legislation by the Unionists and neo-Unionists.

The following addendum was also included in the resolution:

That no Parliamentary Election — Westminster, Stormont or Leinster House — be contested before the next six-county Local Elections.

That the 6 county local elections be contested whether the oath has been abolished or not.

That if the oath still exists every possible effort be made within the Councils to smash it.

That a decision on contesting Parliamentary elections be made at a Sinn Féin Ard Fheis following the 6 county Local Elections.

THE NEW DEPARTURE

"So late as 1878 there was a preposterous objection in Irish extreme circles even to participation in municipal elections. To take part in such contests was as unorthodox as to be identified with parliamentary parties. Both were a violation of advanced nationalist principles and a "recognition" of English rule. Any such action spelled moral force, and moral force stood for conciliation, compromise and surrender. All this, again, was the outcome of a sincere but a hopelessly narrow conception of what should be the media of a rational revolutionary purpose, under conditions and circumstances which offered no reasonable hope of the possibility of any conflict in the field of actual warfare. It was moreover, a line of inaction most conducive to the continuance of the existing state of things".

The person making that statement was not proposing the scrapping of abstention as a principle of the Republican Movement at the recent Ard Fheis. It is a comment by Michael Davitt on the hostile reception accorded his projected campaign to wrest the land of Ireland from the grip of Landlordism by the Fenian Movement of his day. The "New Departure", as the the Land League proposal came to be known, split the Fenian Movement into two hostile camps. Nor was dissension arising from methods new to the Republican Movement even in Fenian times. Davitt could say: "Movements of national importance against English power in Ireland have had this special peculiarity: they have regularly alternated between attempts at insurrection and moral-force agitations. One has succeeded the other in uniform sequence for the past one hundred and fifty years." Davitt, the ex-Fenian convict with the idea of an economic agitation, was himself a product of this process. So was Devoy, who supported the new departure, and O'Donovan Rossa, who bitterly opposed it. So were the men who came out of the jails and concentration camps in England and Ireland in the Twenties, Thirties, Forties, Fifties and Sixties of this Century and who were present at the Ard Fheiseanna of the past two years.

The problem now, as then, has been to achieve a synthesis of methods without splitting the Movement. Only for a brief uneasy decade under the enigmatic leadership of Parnell were the two streams effectively—though not officially—fused together. Even within that brief span the New Departure led from what was a purely economic agitation to the question of Home Rule. But even this proven success did not obviate the fierce squabbles among the old comrades.

Pearse summed up the Fenian quarrel about parliaments very diplomatically when the news of Rossa's death reached Ireland. Rossa, he said, was the most splendid of the Fenians. Devoy he described as the "greatest of the Fenians". That was in 1915. Nor was he mistaken in his estimate of the man. Devoy, who had sent men into parliament in the 1880's by his support for the New Departure, lived to send German rifles to Banna Strand in 1916.

The heart-searching that went into the present "New Departure" and the careful definition of the exact use envisaged for the parliamentary weapon are captured in the motion printed alongside. Participation is not the dumping of weapons but the addition of one extra weapon to a widely varied armoury in support of a multi-faceted campaign for the re-conquest of Ireland for the Irish.

It is part of the effort to answer the question raised by Cathal Goulding in his 1967 Bodenstown speech. "While the IRA faced North, its sole aim being the ending of partition, the salesmen of Imperialism, aided by their native servants, commenced a systematic take-over of Irish assets, a systematic speculation in Irish money, Irish manpower, Irish land. The army guarded a frontier while the imperialists quietly entered by another and laid claim to Ireland".

The task of Republicans is not to defend the past but to conquer the future and in doing so ensure that the experience inherited from the past is not allowed to be eroded.

The Ard Fheis passed a resolution confirming the concept of a National Liberation organisation of anti-Imperialist unity as agreed at the Ard Fheis of last year, and suggesting the name "Go-Ghluaissteacht na Saoirse" or National Liberation Movement.

*Note: the resolution at last year's Ard Fheis read as follows:

(I) That a freedom charter be drafted for submission to a preparatory committee of individuals of such standing that a conference convened by them would be well attended.

(II) That the Ard Fheis be asked to accept the N.L.F. concept in principle, as outlined in the addendum to 'Ireland Today'; and to refer to An Ard Chomhairle the task of establishing a suitable preparatory committee to draw up guidelines for co-operation of radical groups at local level.

(III) That the N.L.F. be allowed to develop naturally on the basis of local co-operation on specific objectives between potential organisations.

(IV) That there is no question of integration or amalgamation of the Movement; rather it is aiming at co-ordination and the Movement would retain its identity and freedom of action."

A resolution was passed deciding to contest the 1972 local elections in the 26 Counties applying the same guidelines as for general elections. It was also decided to register Sinn Féin for election purposes.

On the EEC the following resolution was carried: "That trade unionists be organised to demand militant support for the anti-EEC stand of the ICTU Congress to the extent of one-day general strikes to coincide with the visits of Government negotiators to Brussels.

The Ard Runaithe reported on the progress of the organisation during 1970—

"On the organisational front it has been a very difficult year for organisers. Following the walk out from last year's Ard Fheis a break-away group was set up styling itself Sinn Féin. A number of cumainn throughout the country particularly in the inactive areas gave their allegiance to this group. The organisers' task until Easter was one of establishing the precise situation of our organisation in each county. This entailed meeting almost every individual member in many counties to explain the issues involved in the walk-out, to counteract the deliberate misleading propaganda spread both by printed statements and rumours. The main method of contact at this period in the weaker areas was by sales of The United Irishman. In all areas in which there had been a major breakaway, The United Irishman has been sold throughout the year either by individuals who remained loyal in the areas or by members from adjacent counties and this essential work has rebuilt our organisation in nearly all areas where there was a major breakaway during the year.

"The loss of membership following the walk-out at last year's Ard Fheis was recovered within six months and we now have a 40% increase in membership.

"The explosive situation in the North in late 1969 and early 1970 halted the Civil Rights campaign as people were pre-occupied with defence of their homes. The need for a civil rights campaign existed, however, as the promised reforms had not been fully implemented. Mainly due to pressure from Republicans the civil rights campaign was eventually brought back to the streets of Enniskillen during November. The Enniskillen march proved that civil rights is still a live issue and Republicans must continue their involvement in it as the Civil Rights Association is undoubtedly our greatest weapon against internment and repressive legislation.

"A campaign against repressive legislation was carried on by Republican Clubs throughout the North especially the Special Powers Act, the Public Order Act, and the Criminal Justice Act. Republicans in the North faced the threat of internment in July last and mounted a determined campaign against it. By September the threat had been defeated. Mr. Lynch's sudden announcement of intention to intern in December almost undid all their work as it again opened the way for Chichester-Clark to do the same. Quick reaction of our members throughout the country and of other organisations together with student groups and the general public forced Fianna Fail to back down. The people from the North played their part against this threat by coming down to Dublin in huge numbers to hold a massive parade and rally at the GPO."

ELECTORAL
POLICY
IS MADE
FLEXIBLE

ARD FHEIS
CONFIRMS
N. L. M.
CONCEPT

ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS + ARD FHEIS

'We preached the eternal truth — the truth which one day or other will be recognised throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, England and Scotland — that the land of a country, the air of a country, the water of a country, belongs to no man. They were not made by any man, and they belong to all the human race'

— Charles Stewart Parnell,
Land League meeting,
An Uaimh, May 4, 1880.



Fish-in at An Uaimh, February 7

The persecution of the Boyne Valley Branch of the National Waters Restoration League by the Department of Justice took a new turn last month when charges relating to the seizure of Slane Castle last year were revived and subsequently altered in court. Previously charged with trespass the eighteen defendants are now charged with assaulting the guards.

Six months elapsed between the preferment of the original charge and the most recent one. Another charge — causing malicious damage above £50 — was dropped in court.

The idea of bringing the charges in the first instance, of altering and renewing them, are part of the campaign by the Department of Justice to pin down the local N.W.R.L. branch with court cases and so hinder the organising of more fish-ins before the new repressive legislation of the Forcible Entry and Occupation Act comes into force giving the Garda even wider powers to proceed against protesters.

The answer is a fish-in at An Uaimh on February 7 to emphasise the demand for public ownership of fisheries.

Other centres throughout the country are urged to organise early season fish-ins before the passage of the new Bill into law. The Executive Committee of the League is to meet later this month to discuss the tactics to be used in dealing with the likely situation if the present Bill is made law. Every fish-in held in the interval will be a useful forum to explain to people the exact aim of the Bill and the people whom it serves.

It will be pointed out that while a Commission sits on the side of property in all area of agitation—housing, river rights and ground rent—that the victims of the abuses complained of are met with repressive legislation. By and large the Commissions are staffed by the very people whose vested interests cause the social problems complained of while the victims are met with landlord law and Fianna Fail speeches about democracy.

The Outsider

The futility of the Department of Fisheries in the present private ownership of rivers context was well illustrated at a meeting of Youghal Fishermen's Association and Carbery Sea Products held last month in Youghal.

Speaking of the potential of Youghal Harbour as a Mussel fishery, Mr. Michael Crowley of the Department of Fisheries pointed out that in a mussel fishery mussels were required in large quantities, fishermen were required to dredge them and a buyer was needed to buy the dredged mussels. He pointed out that all three prerequisites seemed to be present in Youghal. He also pointed out that salmon fishing and mussel dredging go well together as in Cromane, Co. Kerry and Mornington, Co. Meath.

But here the good work of the Department came to a stop. The River Blackwater and estuary are owned by the Duke of Devonshire and "this being the case, the State has no authority to enter into discussion as to who ought to fish in the River Blackwater."

An attempt by the Department to promote mussel fishing in Youghal despite this fact led to a row between some local fishermen and the skipper of a Wexford boat brought in to test the potential of the estuary. The fact that this test proved positive with the Wexford boat catching four times more mussels in Youghal than in Wexford came second to the resentment of some shortsighted local men who resented the presence of the Wexford boat from "outside". The real outsider — the Duke of Devonshire — was not mentioned.

And now Sir Charles . . .

Millionaire Sir Charles Forte has sold the Lough Beltra West fishery for £20,000 to Newport House Ltd., a private company associated with Newport House Hotel, Newport, Co. Mayo.

The sale price is a timely reminder of the value of inland fisheries at the opening of yet another fish-in season.

The Lough Beltra West fishery was originally purchased by Sir Charles Forte from Brigadier Dominic Browne of Breafy House, Castlebar, for a reported £15,000. One of the newest members co-opted onto the board of Newport House Ltd., is advertising executive Peter M. Owens.

Commenting on the plans by Newport House Ltd. for the twenty miles fishing recently acquired from Forte, Business and Finance comments: "By making the fishing also available to local guesthouses for their visitors and to members of the local angling club, the move takes some of the heat out of nationalisation."

It is possible that the "good neighbour" policy is a direct result of the National Waters Restoration League campaign for public ownership of Irish rivers and lakes.

And more than owner-angler relations has been put in the melting-pot by the fish-ins. Casla fishery has changed hands following a fish-in. Sir Richard Levinge has sold out recently and is now followed by Sir Charles Forte. Mr. Barber has been trying for the past year to sell the valuable Galway fishery. The fact that the new owners are millionaires or advertising executives cannot detract from the public dissatisfaction with the system of private ownership that finds its origins in the Conquest. One fact does emerge. Fisheries being sold under pressure are changing hands at par or below. £20,000 this year is hardly equal to £15,000 some years ago. Public ownership could be nearer than Business and Finance might allow.

New Land Prices Body

The Minister for Local Government, Mr. Robert Molloy, on January 13 announced the establishment of a committee to study "the problem of building land prices."

The Committee is headed by High Court Justice, John Kenny, and the other members are: Mr. M. Murphy, assistant legal adviser, Department of Local Government; Mr. M. O'Donoghue, economist, Department of the Taoiseach; Mr. J. T. O'Mera, assistant principal officer, Department of Local Government; Mr. L. Reason, principal officer, Office of the revenue Commissioners; Mr. D. F. Ryan, staff valuer, Valuation Office.

The committee's terms of reference are (1) to consider in the interests of the common good possible measures for—

(a) controlling the price of land required for housing and other forms of development.

(b) ensuring that all or a substantial part of the increase in the value of land due to the decisions of public authorities shall be secured for the benefit of the community.

(2) To report on the merits of any measures considered, with particular reference to legal and administrative practicability.

(3) To advise on what changes in the present law may be required.

The Minister explained that the committee was being established because, while various ideas had been explored within his Department, no basis for "reasonable and workable legislation" had been found which would control building land prices. The main obstacle to such legislation, of course, is the Divine Right of Private Property which Fianna Fail are pledged to defend.

Blatant land-speculation by get-rich-quick members of Fianna Fail (Party and Government), the continuing and worsening housing crisis, and public opinion aroused by protests has forced the Government to set up this committee. An example of such speculation was given in the December issue of the United Irishman—

"Take a certain piece of land in Co. Dublin.

1952—sold for £1,700.

1961—sold for £3,950.

1963—The Planning Act.

1965—sold for £7,600.

1969—sold for £38,400 with a total of £504 ground rent per annum.

The man who bought for £7,600 in 1965 got £38,400 in cash from builders in 1969. That £38,400 was subscribed by the young married couples who bought their homes. Each of them paid £1,200 as a site fee. But, even at this scandalous price they had not bought the land.

The man who netted £38,400 in cash was now putting 15 guineas ground rent on each site. The number of houses on the site means that he collects £504 per annum."

Lord Roden

"The Yeos were in Dunshaughlin and the Hessians in Drumree,

And spread thro' fair Moynalty were the Fencibles of Reagh,

While Roden's bloody Hunters ranged from Skraem to Mullachoo,

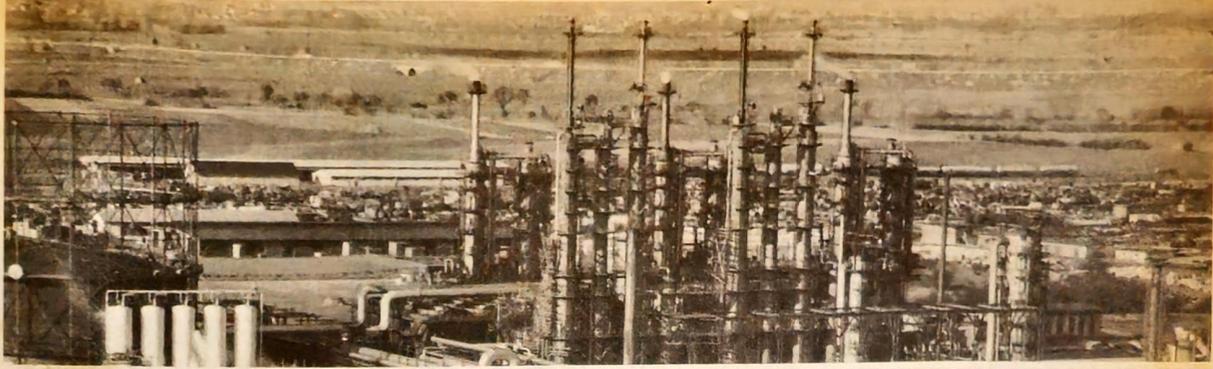
When hammered were the pike-heads first by Paid O'Donoghue?"

So go the words of the '98 recitation. The Roden mentioned was a cavalry commander who earned a knighthood for his diligent pursuit and slaying of the defeated rebel forces in the County Meath area. A note for the reciter. The Roden estate draws annual tribute from the town of Dundalk in ground rent. A recent estimate shows that the estate controls almost two thirds of the original town area of Dundalk. Roll on 1998?

Big news

Big news for ground rent payers. Daniel F. Stephenson, prominent Fianna Fail businessman and member of Conroy Commission on ground rent (1961-64) is now of the opinion that "ground rent is immoral and should be illegal" (Law Society, U.C.G. 1/2/1971). Pity he was not of that opinion when he signed the Conroy Commission Report that robbed thousands of people of millions of pounds.





The effects of the Free Trade Agreement with Britain are now showing in closed industries and rising unemployment. This trend will accelerate with disastrous consequences for Irish workers if Mr. Hillery succeeds in fooling Irish people into joining the Common Market. Mr. T. J. Maher of the big-farmer dominated N.F.A. is proving an able ally in the task of pulling the wool over the eyes of Ireland's small farmer. For further light on a controversial subject, read the facts and opinions in this article.

FREE TRADE AND COMMON MARKET

Irish Industry is rapidly losing the battle against Free Trade competition from Britain. The list of factory closures grows longer and affects more workers and their families with each addition. And, the worst is yet to come. The full effects of the Free Trade agreement will not be felt until 1975 when all tariffs and duties on British imports are abolished. Also the Government expects to have gained entry to the EEC before then so that the Irish home market will be thrown open to duty free imports from France, West Germany, Italy and the other EEC countries.

If the effects of partial Free Trade with Britain are so bad and have closed so many factories what will the effects be of full Free Trade with Britain and other big industrial countries if we enter the Common Market? It is logical to say that we will be ten times worse off than we are at present. At present we can change our minds and scrap Free Trade but once in the Common Market we will have surrendered our right to make our own decisions to the Brussels Commission with no provision for drawing back if we get into difficulties.

The realisation of this is beginning to dawn on some management in the middle level of the Confederation of Irish Industries, who in replies to a questionnaire expressed anxiety about the effects Free Trade would have in the next few years. But, as Tomas Mac Giolla pointed out in his Ard Fheis address —

"The Nation is being faced with an unnecessary crisis. A decade has been squandered saying entry to the E.E.C. is inevitable when we should have spent it building towards the alternative. Every Economic decision taken by the Dublin Government in the past decade was designed to reduce our independence of action in the economic field. As a result of the Free Trade Agreement

signed in 1965 with Britain and the removal of all controls on foreign take-overs of our industries, we are now utterly dependent on Britain. The Fianna Fail Government who deliberately brought us to this position, now use our dependence on Britain as their main argument for joining the Common Market. If Britain joins, we must join — there is no alternative. It is indeed a clever machiavellian tactic.

The inevitability of the whole thing leaves the opposition to the Common Market stunned and in disarray. They are being constantly asked to produce the alternative when it is clear to them that any alternative is preferable to National suicide. Existing policies are so disastrous for workers and farmers that many seem to think that things could not be much worse in the E.E.C. Farmers, who are being driven from the land in their thousands anyhow, seem to welcome Mansholt for the reason that he will pay them to get off faster.

Despair and apathy are widespread in rural Ireland. There is a deliberate destruction of rural life and amenities. Small schools, hospitals, post offices and garda stations are being closed down by Departmental order from Bureaucrats who are planning only for decay. Rural Ireland has been written off by planners such as Fitzgerald, Buchanan and McKinsey with their emphasis on Regionalisation and growth centres. They are anticipating Mansholt and see only a small number of huge farmers in rural Ireland. But this is not inevitable. The farmers have the solution in their own hands if they will but grasp it.

In the midst of all the decay there is one tiny rural area which has shown

growth in the past decade; one tiny rural area in which there has been an increase in population not a decline, in which there is life and hope in the future rather than despair and apathy. I refer to Glencolmcille, Co. Donegal. They have succeeded only because they rejected the planners, and adopted a new outlook on society and on the creation of wealth. They rejected the private enterprise society which had led only to misery and adopted a co-operative enterprise society where all are working for each other and all control and share in the wealth they create. This must be the pattern for the future, this is part of the alternative to Common Market entry. The people must be given a National ideal, a destiny as a people, an identity of their own through which they can contribute to International progress. They must have a community life to work and strive for and a future they can see being formed with their own hands.

Fianna Fail's decision to join the Common Market is a decision to place the ownership of Ireland and the control of Irish destinies in the hands of the European Economic Commission in Brussels. Could any policy run more directly counter to Republicanism? The alternative to Common Market membership is adherence to the principle that the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies is sovereign and indefeasible."

The trade unions, apart from the resolution at the ICTU congress last year, have not shown much vigour in defence of jobs threatened by Free Trade. In one industry, however, there

are murmurs of "more militant action" by the trade union concerned. The footwear industry which has been devastated by Free Trade and which will disappear altogether in the EEC has reached the beginning of the end according to Mr. Michael Bell, general secretary of the Irish Shoe and Leather Workers' Union speaking on January 23. Mr. Bell said he would "calculate the number of redundant leather workers at present at about 300."

The firm of J. B. Brittain Ltd., Limerick, is due to close in early May, putting 260 people out of work and recently 65 employees of Laurel Shoes, Dundalk, were put on protective notice. The firm of Ulster Shoes, Castleblayney, employing about 60, is also in difficulties and has only operated sporadically since the Christmas break. Last month some 50 employees were laid off.

Mr. Bell also said that by his calculations there would be about 2,000,000 pairs of imported shoes in the country by July of this year — about 25 per cent of the home market. "I can say that this is the beginning of the end," he added.

The end has already come for Rawsons, Dundalk, Limerick Shoes, Birt Shoes, Sligo's North West Chip Basket factory, Athlone's General Textiles, Clara's Goodbody Jute factory, CWS Bacon factory in Tralee, Clarinco Murray's confectionery in Dublin, Vidor in Roscommon, all casualties of Free Trade.

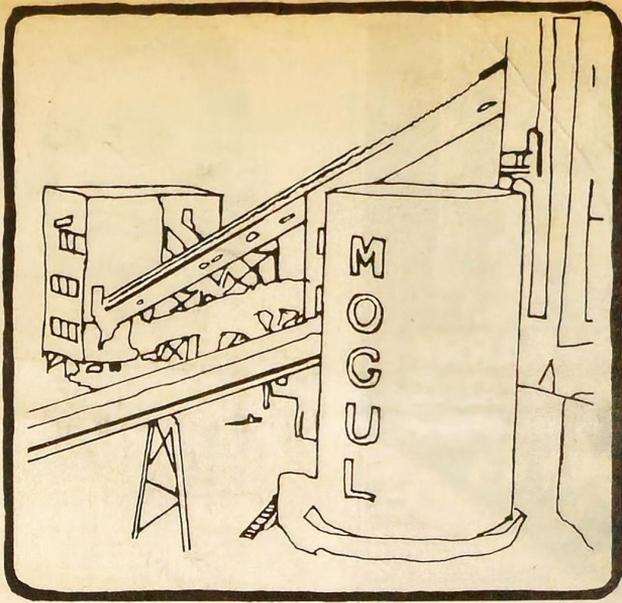
Make no mistake, full Free Trade with Britain after 1975, or with Britain and the Common Market at a similar date would wipe out most Irish industries. Every worker's job is in jeopardy. No one can say "I'm all right" or "It won't happen to me." Organisation, through Trade Unions and political organisations, is vitally necessary if this threat of mass unemployment is to be defeated.



T. J. Maher, N.F.A.



IRISH MINING



A CASE STUDY

The myth that Ireland has no mineral resources has been well and truly exploded by recent discoveries of mineral wealth in many parts of Ireland. The myth that Irish people might have some say in the exploitation of this mineral wealth has also been exploded by a study recently conducted by the Resources Study Group and printed in pamphlet form under the title "Irish Mining — the need for action".

The Resource Study Group was formed late last year by a group of Trinity College students and graduates in disciplines ranging from Economics and Engineering to Geology. All mining operations in Ireland including prospecting operations are examined by the Resource Study Group. The four centres where mining has commenced are minutely studied — Silvermines, Avoca, Gortdrum and, the largest of all, Tynagh.

The main finding of the study is that Ireland's mineral wealth, a major national asset producing a profit return out of all proportion with normal industrial operations, is almost totally in the hands of two foreign mining firms — Northgate Explorations Ltd., and Mogul International Ltd.

The study concludes that the total investment to date in the four mines amounts to £20,000,000 while the net profit projected for the lives of the four mines will be in the region of at least £230,000,000. To date the net profit in Irish mining is estimated at £17,000,000 and this only involves the Tynagh mine as the other operations have not yet reached the stage where they have repaid debts.

None of these mines pay one penny income tax. All have twenty years exemption periods. Tynagh's twenty years tax-free period began on October 22, 1965. Since then a total tonnage of 2,631,153 of ore has been mined yielding a net profit of £15,261,666. The ore reserve is estimated at 9,300,000 tons with a projected net profit of £34,000,000. This ore reserve will be exhausted in early 1983 while the tax-free cover extends to October 22, 1985.

Silvermines are in a similar position with a net profit of £7,900,000 accrued since operations commenced in May, 1968. With an ore reserve tonnage in excess of twelve million and a projected net profit of £60,000,000 the mine is expected to be worked out in late 1985. The tax-free cover extends to May 24, 1988.

Other operations have yet to commence. Three months ago at An Uaimh, Co. Meath, a major strike was recorded indicating the existence of the largest ore reserve yet uncovered. Further strikes are expected when full scale drilling is embarked upon at finds in Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, the Vale of Aherlow, Co. Tipperary, Glensmaddy, Co. Galway, Keel, Co. Lonsford and Adare, Co. Carlow.

The only Irish firm involved in

this sudden dazzle of mining activity, Silvermines Lead and Zinc Ltd., has a 25% share in the Silvermines mine. Northgate totally owns the mines at Gortdrum and Tynagh and has an interest in Avoca through its subsidiary Tara Explorations Ltd. Mogul holds 75% of Silvermines and the Avoca mines is held by a consortium of Canadian firms.

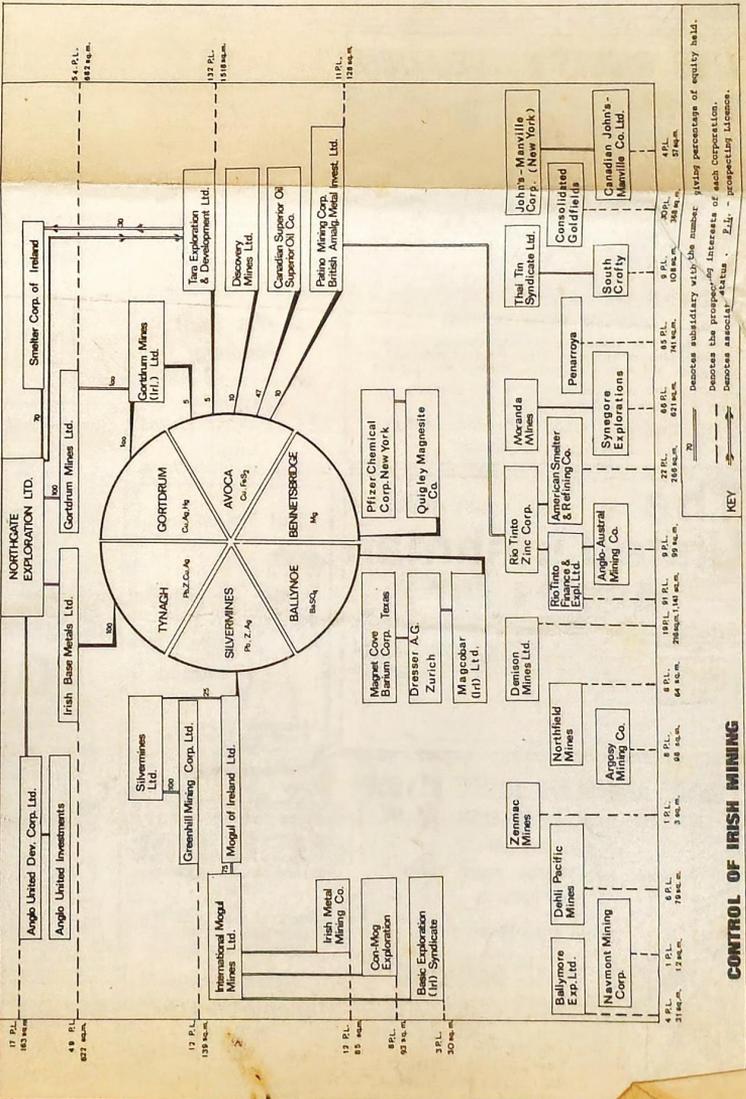
In their introduction to the study the authors point out with emphasis the lesson to be learned: "Throughout our history we have been led to believe that Ireland has no mineral resources. With 9,800,000 tons of lead/zinc/copper/silver ore mined since 1958, and a minimum ore reserve of 50 million tons remaining in 1971, the "no-minerals" myth is being well and truly exploded. By 1970 Ireland had the largest underground zinc mine in Europe, at Silvermines; the largest producing lead mine in Europe, at Tynagh; the largest producing silver mine in Europe; one of the largest copper mines in Europe; the fifth largest mercury mine in the world, at Gortdrum; and the most profitable barytes deposit in the world."

The authors of the study also comment "If democracy means economic and not just paper freedom, it would seem natural that such immense wealth be used for the benefit of the Irish people. In fact half a dozen North American mining corporations own and control this fundamental indicator of economic independence".

Ireland's mineral wealth is being eroded at an accelerated pace. This is not a unique phenomenon in the world. Other countries have already met this challenge in various ways. It is not uncommon for foreign mining companies in "Third World" countries to be nationalised; even in countries where Western influence is strong. In Congo-Kinshasa, the Mobutu Government nationalised Union Miniere in 1967; albeit with compensation. The importance of this measure is illustrated by the fact that the Congo produces 10% of the world's copper. Before nationalisation 50% of the Gross National Product had flowed into the hands of expatriots.

At present there exists two alternative paths open to this country. We can take control of our resources, use them to build an independent industrial base, and share the wealth thus generated among all the people (not just the few as at present) or we can allow the present situation to continue and reduce Ireland to the status of a neo-colony supplying Western Europe and North America with raw materials and components.

The way ahead must be that of public ownership of what is an Irish natural resource. It is up to modern Ireland to assert Pearsé's dictum that the nation's sovereignty over the nation's material resources is absolute.



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**Republicans
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At the past Ard Fheis meeting of the Liam Mellows Republican Club held in the Cromac area the following new officer board was elected — Chair, Pat McCarthy; Vice Chairman, Billy Magill; Secretary, Brenda McKnight; Treasurer, Seamus McKnight and Education/Press Officer, Joe McCann. The meeting was given a report from the delegates to the recent Ard Fheis held in Liberty Hall, Dublin where the Belfast representatives were given a standing ovation.

Mr. Billy Magill stated that he was at present in contact with some interested bodies concerning the formation of a Re-development group for the Market area and expressed the hope that the Republican club would play a constructive role in the interests of the people of the area. Mr. Joe McCann said that the greatest issue of the coming year was the proposed entry into the E.E.C. which was not in the interests of the workers and small farmers of Ireland including the North.

To wage the people's battle as effectively as possible the club would have to extend its membership in the Cromac area making a genuine attempt to attract the Protestant people of the neighbourhood to the non-sectarian, democratic, socialist policies of the Republican Movement. Mr. McCann further stated that a series of lectures, debates and historical quizzes had been

arranged for the Club which would be conducted in the new premises which the Liam Mellows Club had secured in the Market area.



● Fianna look forward to spring.

Dublin Fianna will be holding a fancy dress Ceilí on the afternoon of Sunday, February 14.

Seniors are reminded to support a Ceilí for the Montpellier School Fund on Saturday, February 20 at Dixon Hall, T.C.D. 8 p.m.

Most Sluaité will shortly be preparing for summer activities, especially annual and Whit camps. Already some have held joint midnight hikes in below zero conditions.

BODENSTOWN

The annual all-Ireland Wolfe Tone Commemoration will be held at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare, on Sunday, June 20. Full details will be announced later.

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

UNITE TO FIGHT

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Contact or write to the following:

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Earlswood Estate,
Togher Road,
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Lurgan, Co. Armagh. | IGNATIUS CRAVEN
Mannin, Craughwell,
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c/o Halla Tomas Aghas,
Fr. Matthew Quay,
Cork City. |
| LIAM O COMAIN ,
36 Rathbeg Crescent,
Limavady, Co. Derry. | | SEAN O CEALLAIGH ,
113 An Cú,
Portlairge. |

CLANN NA h-EIREANN

The Irish Socialist Republican Organisation in England, Scotland and Wales. Co-ordinates activities of Irish Exiles in support of the Republican Movement in Ireland. The work of Clann na h-Eireann is vital at a time when the Republican Movement is engaged in fighting the Tory and Unionist Government misrule in Ireland, in fighting the Common Market pro-imperialist sell-out policies of the Government in the South. Clann is playing an active role in the release campaign for Irish political prisoners. Play your part. Contact any of the following organisers.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| BIRMINGHAM AND MIDLANDS
Padraig Yeats,
67 Birchwood Crescent,
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6 Albermarle Way,
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