

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

EEC: THE FIGHT IS ON

The fight against the EEC begins in earnest this month, as Fianna Fail sign the Treaty of Rome on the 22nd. Demonstrations of protest against this sell out of the interests of the vast majority of the Irish people have been planned throughout the country.

Border towns will see the people of the North demanding their right to a voice in what happens to the Irish people. The Fianna Failures sat in Brussels for three years with the representatives of British Imperialism — Geoffrey Rippon and company — and never

once demanded a vote for the people of the North whom they claim as Irish citizens.

The Common Market would finally destroy the Irish people and all hopes of building an independent Irish nation. It will wipe out our industries, more surely than even the Free Trade agreement; it will drive our farmers off the land more surely than the present policies, as Mansholt boasts; it will ruin our fishermen, and housewives will face ever rising prices. Poverty and emigration will face us all, North and South. Now is the time to really get stuck into the fight against the EEC.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

14 Ladybrook Park, Belfast.

Dear Sir - Your December issue contained quite the meanest, cheapest, most dishonest and scurrilous piece of character assassination I have read for some time.

Under the heading "P.D. Ally with Provisionals against NICRA" you print a long attack on the newly-formed Northern Resistance Committee, alleging it was set up after an attempt to take over NICRA had failed. You also allege that the P.D. is out to wreck NICRA. How ludicrous this is, is shown by the fact that two of the most active members of the NICRA Executive, Kevin Hoyle and Brid McGlade, are P.D. members and hold their seats with full approval of our organisation.

In fact the Northern Resistance Committee was only set up after NICRA had refused to cooperate in establishing a broadly-based coordinating structure for the Resistance campaign - a Parliament of Peoples - and had insisted in trying to retain control for itself, despite the fact that the NICRA Executive is quite unrepresentative of the movement as a whole. The P.D.'s position is still that NICRA and the Northern Resistance Committee should jointly convene a conference to elect a broader committee.

With reference to the Provisionals, we are no more in alliance with them than we are with your group, after several meetings with your Executive. We do not however believe that all Provisionals are Fascists and are anxious to encourage the maximum cooperation by both Republican groups in the Resistance campaign.

But the real meat of your article is contained in the deliberate lies and slanders about the P.D. and about myself in particular. It is alleged that "the P.D. has joined the ranks of those who can be bought with Fianna Fail gold". Few people will believe that, who have so vehemently attacked the Socialist Provisional regime, could have any connections with Fianna Fail. But you allege that we have been bribed. That is a lie. We have never received a penny from Fianna Fail. Where is your evidence?

You refer to "the Fianna Fail agents Corrigan and Farrell". Mr. Corrigan, whose views are very different from mine, can defend himself but I have never even discussed the Northern crisis with any official of Fianna Fail. In fact I have spent all my political life opposing Fianna Fail. Again where is your evidence for this lying charge?

The article quotes a news report of a meeting in Omagh to the effect that I said "Catholics have the right to fight for a united Ireland". No such report appeared in any Irish paper. I attacked what I regarded as a sectarian statement by Kevin Andrews and the Irish News and Irish Press (Nov. 22nd) reported me accurately as follows: "Mr. Farrell said he believed in the right of the Catholic people if they so desired to use force to get their rights within Northern Ireland but he still did not believe that the Protestant people should be coerced into a united Ireland". Where did you get your supposed "quotation" - or did you just invent it to suit your purpose? I take charges of sectarianism ill from those who so vigorously opposed my resolutions on divorce and contraception in the South at NICRA conferences.

Finally the article contains a despicable sneer. It refers to me as an erstwhile socialist. For your information I am still a socialist and my form of socialism entails having sufficient respect for my fellow-men not to slander or smear them.

I read your article with regret. Lies so gross, so mean, so filthy, have hardly been used in the socialist movement since the Moscow trials of the late 20's when the architects of the Russian revolution were denounced as Hitler's agents by the pro-Reddiggers of that revolution. I have the greatest respect for many members of the Official Republican movement. I am sorry to see them dragged into the sewers. I only wish they would root out the poisonous cancer in their midst that is dragging them down to such depths.

Yours faithfully,
Michael Farrell.

EDITOR'S REPLY

Mr. Farrell has allowed himself to get caught up in his own rhetoric. In his efforts to justify his splitist actions he calls on those who worked for unity of action as defence. Mr. Farrell considers the CRA to have many weaknesses, but instead of working to overcome these weaknesses he joins with the most reactionary elements of the Provisional Alliance to set up another new 'co-ordinating' organisation. In other words, at a time when maximum unity of the people is essential he indulges in the sowing of confusions. Such actions may well appeal to his intellectual soul, but they do not serve the interests of the masses of the people. Mr. Farrell asserts that the Northern Resistance Committee (so-called) was only set up after CRA had refused to broaden its base. This is a lie, Mr. Farrell. Your new found friend, Aidan 'Count the Catholics' Corrigan, was elected to the CRA executive to help broaden its base, but never attended executive meetings. The Tyrone Central Resistance Committee from which the NRC grew has no democratic base since 90 per cent of the resistance groups - those doing the work, organising meetings, printing leaflets, etc. - had no part in its formation. Where is this broader base, Mr. Farrell?

Indeed the weakness and irrelevancy of your manoeuvrings was clearly shown by the response given you at the Dungannon conference in October, when representatives of over 115 street and estate committees and civil rights branches thwarted your efforts by 150 votes to 31. Where is your broad base, Mr. Farrell?

You claim not to be in alliance with the Provisional Alliance, despite the clear evidence of your association with Corrigan and your articles praising them in 'Unfree Citizen'; you then go on to say 'so what'. You justify this by saying that not all Provos are fascists. But how many are, Mr. Farrell? You cannot just ignore the clearly sectarian nature of the anti-civilian bombing campaign begun by the Provos, their open claiming of the blowing up of the Mount View bar on the Shankill Road, nor their intimate connection with the dissident elements of Fianna Fail you profess to dislike. Is it not the fact, Mr. Farrell, that you find yourself personally, in a power vacuum and hope to be able to use a political Provo to further your opportunism? The Provos certainly do not stand in a political vacuum, and they hope to use you to further their power struggle. What do the rest of PD think about all this, especially those who have been active, like Kevin Hoyle, whom you attempt to quote in your defence?

The Republican Movement has cooperated with PD in the past and will continue to do so with genuine elements working for people's unity. But we will not stand by while you attempt to split the civil rights movement, and we will have no hesitation in exposing your collaboration with the Fianna Fail elements of the Provisional Alliance.

ANTI-WAR LEAFLETS GIVEN TO SOLDIERS

On New Year's Day 1972 a group of approximately 20 British citizens are going to distribute leaflets to British soldiers in Belfast. They will travel overnight from Heysham and plan to return to England the following night. The leaflet will be given to soldiers on patrol, and, if possible, in barracks, in Catholic areas and in the centre of the city. It will also be posted on to derelict buildings.

The leaflet will call for the end of internment and the withdrawal of British troops. It states: "We suggest that British soldiers should not be confined to barracks and a definite date in the immediate future fixed for their complete withdrawal." It also calls for recognition of the right of Irish people to self-determination and states: "With-



drawing British troops should be part of a process of transferring power away from either Stormont or Westminster to the people themselves.

The leaflet is published by the War Resisters' International, the international pacifist organisation (which has leafleted American soldiers destined for Vietnam and citizens in Eastern European capitals after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia). The W.R.I. hope and intend that this leaflet should have wide distribution at barracks in England, also.

LONG KESH REPUBLICAN STATEMENT

The following press release has been received from the co-ordinating committee of Long Kesh Republican Clubs.

"As we begin a New Year bleak with the knowledge of massive unemployment, hundreds interned unjustly and a divided, hate-filled community our sincere wish is that the people's search for a solution will be guided by the principles of genuine democracy and true justice. But above all we would emphasise that in this coming year Ireland, her people, her wealth and her future may be surrendered into the hands of the international money grabbers of the Common Market. The freedom which we all so much desire may be lost irrevocably. Our nation is at the crossroads, centuries of struggle for independence will be wiped out if we are deluded into signing the Treaty of Rome. We are confident that no true Republican, no genuine Irishman will do anything to prevent the people seeing and understanding the enormous tragedy which may overtake us.

"The new bondage which is being urged on the Irish people by both Lynch and Faulkner will only be rejected by a people free to hear every political viewpoint in this vital year every voice must be heard, no political organisations outlawed. This natural and internationally recognised right is frustrated by internment. We demand our freedom now so that we can oppose those who would sell the country and the people."

SWEDISH DEMONSTRATION OF SUPPORT

December saw a large proportion of solidarity with the Irish struggle in the Swedish capital of Stockholm. The picture above shows one of the banners carried by the demonstrators, pledging support for the IRA in the fight against British imperialism and for a workers' republic. Close on 1,000 people took part in the demonstration.

The Swedish people were astonished at the blatant fascism of the Special Powers Act which was publicly read, and a resolution was passed expressing support for the Irish struggle. "We declare our solidarity with the suppressed people in Ireland. All the working people in the world must unite in the struggle against imperialism and overcome national divisions. The Irish people's democratic victory is a part of the Swedish people's own liberation."

After the meeting a large contingent of the parade marched to the British Embassy to hand in the resolution but were prevented from doing so by the actions of the Swedish police. But several days later demonstrators occupied a British tourist bureau to protest against British imperialism in the North of Ireland. The Starry Plough was hung out of the window and the British flag burned.

Money is being collected throughout Sweden to aid political prisoners in Ireland. It is this international solidarity in opposition to the EEC, Vietnam, that is true internationalism and not the gangsterism of the EEC cartels and monopolies.

ARKLOW FISHERMEN FIGHT EEC

Representatives of Arklow fishermen and local members of Sinn Féin met to discuss the EEC threat during the last month. The fishermen gave it as their opinion that a 12-mile limit for shell-fish on the east coast was ridiculous in view of the limited amount of shell-fishing carried out. The main source of income for Arklow fishermen, they said, came from white fish for which the limit was to be only six miles, and even that for only a few years until the review period.

The fishermen present agreed to work with the Arklow anti-Common Market group which has already launched an anti-EEC campaign in the area. This unity of purpose, combined with other measures that the fishermen are adopting for their defence, is an example to all other areas.

Far & Near

The Republican Movement very much regrets the untimely death of Jack McCabe, who was killed in an explosion recently. Although not a member of our movement, Jack was a life-long Republican and had given many years to the struggle for Irish freedom, particularly in jail in England. Ar dheis De go raibean a nam. We also extend our sincerest sympathy to the relatives of Tom Burke of Galbally in Tipperary, who died recently.

★ ★ ★ ★

Roland Giles and Jimmy McCabe recently received a savage sentence of six years imprisonment from Judge O'Keefe, the man who washed his hands of the Charlie Haughey case. O'Keefe was accused by rightwing Gardai of being lenient in his sentencing. He certainly made up for it, in this frame up case. Similarly he gave a Dungenivan man, Hazlett, by name, six years for taking weapons for defensive use in the North. Dillon and Casey have similarly been maltreated.

★ ★ ★ ★

As the long-forgotten 'Ulster 71' expires in a dying whimper, the good news to cheer all United Irishmen sellers is that the infamous ban on our paper has now fallen. The U.I. is now a 'lawful' newspaper, and anyone found with one in his possession is free of legal restraints. It will be interesting to see if the British Army thuds acknowledge the law and order they claim to protect, or whether they will continue to persecute U.I. sellers and other distributors of political literature.

★ ★ ★ ★

Ta prionsanigh i gcampa geibhinne Chluain Cais theis ceall a chuir amach fa taobh de staille cearta a bhí acu la na nollag mor. Fhad a bhí leitheidi Health agus Faulkner agus Lynch na maidrin laithige eile ag roith is ag roith ar allas na n-obriithe, staon na geibhinne de bhia. Ar mbéannaicht le.

★ ★ ★ ★

People of Tyrone are warned to watch out for the following Special Branch men: Martin and O'Brien in Dungannon; Gillan and Rocks in Cookstown, and Peter Flanagan in Omagh. You all know what to do with them.

★ ★ ★ ★

Dermot Ryan supports the Buy Irish campaign. Dermot Ryan imports tyres from Hong Kong. Tyres are also made in Ireland. Buy Irish, Dermot Ryan.

★ ★ ★ ★

Officials of the MPGWU, fresh from selling out Dublin's dockers over the compulsory redundancy issue, held an annual dinner recently in the Clarence Hotel. Guest of honour was Mr. McGinn, a representative of the Dublin Stevedores Association.

★ ★ ★ ★

Republicans in Cork have started a fund to erect a monument to the memory of Volunteer Martin O'Leary, who lost his life at Silvermines in the defence of the interests of Irish miners. All monies should be sent to the fund, c/o the Ashe Hall, Cork.

★ ★ ★ ★

A question for Mr. Colley at Leinster House. Why haven't Tara released the assay reports they recently produced, and whatever is happening to the copper survey in Donegal? Foreign investors get a good deal here, in its share any come back for the Irish people, or at least our public representatives?

★ ★ ★ ★

Distressing news for the Bolandmen in Cork. Members are leaving at a fast and furious rate. Not to go back to the one true fold of Union Jack Lynch and his cronies. No they are joining the Provisional Alliance. Where now, a Quair? The only thing separating the Provos from green Fianna Failures is abstinence, and when they go will Ruairi go with it, in enaicht to Deasun a cMara n'ndhoigh.

DERRY BEATS BACK THE MILITARY

Twice in the last month, British military attempted to capture the Beside and Croggan areas of Derry. Twice they were beaten out by the ordinary people joining with the IRA to drive the invaders back. All the military might of the empire has so far been unable to daunt the courage of the people of Derry.

At the end of December, British troops entered the Bogside in Derry at dawn, but were met with a burst of machine gun fire from local IRA. Following a gun battle the troops withdrew having attempted to search a number of derelict houses in the area.

The battle flared up at first light, only a few hours after the IRA had declared that they would stand against the British Army in defence of the people of Bogside, Brandywell and Croggan. The people of these areas also rallied, and a united fight was put up against the marauding murderers of the British military.

This battle followed an earlier attempt by the military to search for wanted men and possible defensive equipment. On the first occasion, also, they had to contend not only with the armed IRA but also with masses of ordinary people who were willing to fight as only Derry people can fight in order to defend themselves against the vicious military and political machinations of the discredited Unionist regime. It appears that more the British attack this area the more they stir up the determination of the people not to give in.

Derry has thus far escaped the worst British excesses which are regularly visited on the beleaguered people of Ardoyne and Lower Falls, but the example and inspiration of the Belfast people has not been lost elsewhere in the North. Derry maintains the right of Irish people to fight for control of their own destinies, in which the battle for basic democracy and civil rights is the most pressing and immediate.

The Derry IRA has won great praise from the people for its efforts against the military. It lies in the press slanders and others have well and truly been rammed back down their throats just as the military were driven out of Derry.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT IN AUSTRALIA

The growth of Republican societies among exiles in Australia took a big step forward with the expansion of the Sean South/Fergal Hanlon Society in Sydney. Meetings are held by the society every Thursday and with growing attendances it has become necessary to find a new venue. These gatherings discuss every aspect of the situation in Ireland and have proven to be a great stimulus to the work of the exiled in gaining support for the Irish cause in Australia.

One of the biggest breakthroughs so far achieved by Republicans in Sydney has been in enlisting the support of trade unions. The Building Workers Union recently passed a resolution condemning British interference and violence in Ireland and a member of the federal executive has also pledged support for the work being done by the exiles.

Copies of the Building Workers' resolution were sent to the Australian, British and 26 Counties governments, as well as to the British T.U.C. and the I.C.T.U.

The significance of this move cannot be underestimated. In the past trade unions in Australia have played an important role in focusing public opinion on the evils of the Vietnam war and Australia's involvement in it. As a result of the anti-war movement throughout the Australian commonwealth has grown and forced the federal government to mellow its attitude.

By their support for the Irish struggle, the trade unions pressure the government in Canberra with a clear call to put pressure on the Heath government in London to end British rule in Ireland. All Irish exiles in Australia have a duty to increase that pressure so that the British can be under no illusions as

to their popularity rating in at least one part of their so-called Commonwealth.

Republicans in Ireland can help in pushing forward the hard work being done by our exiled comrades by keeping them in touch with events in Ireland. Information should be sent to BOX 101, Pyrmont, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

DERRY IRA BURNS RENT RECORDS

The Stormont government's plans to defeat the rent and rates strike in Derry were badly upset during the month when members of the IRA in the city raided the offices of the Northern Ireland Housing Trust. Nearly 2,000 files containing information on those taking part in the civil disobedience campaign were removed and burned.

A spokesman for the IRA said that the operation had been carried out as a protest against internment and as a means of combatting the Stormont policy of deducting money from social security payments to cover rents. Many of the files showed names and addresses and were being used by the government as a reference when deducting money.

The whole operation was carried out under the very noses of the military who were positioned in an army observation post overlooking the city walls. The files were torn up, packed into suitcases and bags and carried out. They were later burned completely in the Croggan to the delight of local people.

This action in Derry city follows on a similar operation carried out in Limavady, Co. Derry, where a local rent strike was burned by the IRA. The official policy of giving military backing to the civil disobedience campaign of the people has been shown in practice in both these cases. A severe blow has been dealt to the hopes of the Stormont authorities.

It is not clear to what extent copies or duplicates had been made of records. But it emerges that such copies would have to be regularly made if they were to be kept up to date. The burning of the records means that the Stormont government will be unable to prove who owes rent, and the onus of proof is on them. If the people continue to display the unity and high morale that has been shown up to date, the Stormont plans to defeat the rent and rates strike will themselves be defeated.

The civil disobedience campaign is having a crippling effect on the whole Northern administration, as the total refusal of large sections of the community to have anything to do with the corrupt system until their rights are won continues to grow. Not long ago, Roy Bradford admitted that the six counties were nearly bankrupt as a result of the campaign, and although Faulkner tried to shut off this admission the situation has continued to get worse and worse for the Unionists.

The civil disobedience campaign is the people's answer to the campaign of military terror and repression which the British government has unleashed on the North. It has so far succeeded that the Stormont regime is now totally irrelevant. Westminster has been flushed out into the open, and can no longer hide behind their puppets at Stormont. Burning the rent records has made matters even worse for them.

IRA BURNS RICH HOMES IN REPRISAL

The IRA policy of taking reprisals against the rich for the injustices inflicted on the poor was decisively displayed during the month when several houses belonging to leading proponents of the regime, and particularly advocates of its policy of repression, were destroyed. The most notable were the cases of Ivan Neill, speaker of the Stormont parliament, John Barnhill a Unionist senator and arch right-winger, and Sir Basil McFarland, Lord Lieutenant of Derry.

Barnhill had a particularly bad reputation in the Strabane area, and his house was chosen for a reprisal raid because of the extreme bigotry of his position, and that one constant calls for more and more repression.

When the raiding party arrived to burn the house, it now appears that Barnhill himself drew a gun on the IRA men and fired at them. This was how he came to be killed when the volunteers shot him in their defence. These facts were carefully not revealed by the Unionist authorities, and the IRA statement issued in Dublin did not make it clear either.

The effect of the raid was almost instantaneous. Maudling stopped talking about a military victory, and started to babble about violence being reduced to what he called 'an acceptable level'. Mr. Maudling should realise that there is no acceptable level and the sooner he takes his military thugs off the streets the sooner opportunities for peaceful progress will arise.

Barnhill's death was the first of a prominent member of the regime since the M.P. Twaddell was killed by the Unionist apologists attempted to make some propaganda out of the incident, but those who had been subjected to the policies called for by Barnhill could easily see through them.

At the end of December, the IRA carried out another raid, burning the home of Ivan Neill. Damage estimated at £25,000 was done in the raid which completely devastated the house. This raid, following on the Barnhill operation, the bombing of the home of the Lord Lieutenant of Derry and other raids in the month, really set a wave of alarm rippling through the rich and privileged. Up till now these people have been able to sit back while the working class suffered the insults and atrocities of the military, and while the dangers of sectarian conflict threatened only the poor. Now the rich are getting a taste of their own medicine they don't like it at all.

One thing that is particularly illustrated by these raids is the weakness of the much vaunted British security system. Previously an attempt had been made to kidnap Neill to hold him as a hostage for the internees, and he was receiving special security protection. This didn't save him from the IRA.

Hitting the rich is the right thing to do. For too long working class shops, shopping areas and places of work have been the target of sectarian bombers. If all those who claim to be defending the people followed the example of the IRA it wouldn't be long before we had the ruling class on their knees.

CO-OPERATIVE FORMED IN ANDERSONSTOWN

In the working class areas of Belfast over the last few years and even more so since the introduction of internment, people have been moving towards a realisation that the existing capitalist state has nothing to offer them. They have been thrown back on their own devices. Their future is now in their own hands and only united action can ensure that the future will be founded on their own interests — the interests of the working class. The initiative no longer rests with the once well entrenched Unionist Party.

Whole areas are providing for themselves the services once

provided for them by the state and its private profiteers. Though still in its infancy, this trend is reflected in the many self help schemes now functioning in Belfast. In the Andersonstown district a recent venture has been the formation of a local consumer co-operative.

This co-operative is primarily aimed at providing fresh vegetables to local housewives. Vegetables are bought in bulk and sold to the members of the co-op at prices which just cover the basic costs involved. Thus, prices are very low. In fact, potatoes are supplied at half the price ruling in local shops.

By cutting out the middlemen and buying at the farm gate, it is hoped that a direct bond will be created between the farmers and the workers of Ireland. They have an identity of interests which have been hidden by the operation of the middlemen, who are, in the final analysis, dispensable. That these profiteers exist at all and are able to thrive is an indictment of our society.

The Andersonstown co-operative, at present operating on a limited scale, was set up originally by the Wolfe Tone Republican Club. They have guided the venture over the difficulties of the first months of its existence. However, it is realised that this kind of activity cannot have a lasting effect unless the local community not only support the venture but also exert democratic control.

The success of this and similar ventures will promote awareness among the working class of how effective they can be in supplying their own needs by group action. In a small way this assists the workers to recognise themselves as a distinct class, a necessary step before the final goal of building a Socialist Workers' Republic can be achieved.

TYRONE EXECUTIVE CONDEMNNS MURDER

The Executive on behalf of all Republican clubs express sincere sympathy to the parents and relatives of Martin McShane murdered by armed thugs masquerading as so-called security forces. Deepest sympathy was also expressed to the families of Jim Sheridan, John Bateson and Martin Lee.

The Executive fully supports the demand for a full judicial inquiry into the foul murder of Martin McShane and appeals to the people of Conliland and district for their cooperation in establishing facts which will repudiate once and for all the lying statements of the British Army. All information should be given to the local investigation committee.

The Executive regrets the efforts being made to co-opt the SDLP through the back doors of Stormont and Westminster and urges them to tread warily as 800 men and women are still being held as political hostages in Armagh, Crumlin Road, Long Kesh and British Concentration Camps.

AMHRAS FAOI RADIO GAELTACHTA

Le tamall anuas tá cuid mháth daoinne ag éirí amhrasach i dtuaisce na soicraite atá a ndéanamh le haghaidh Raidió na Gaeltachta. Is léir don saol mór nach bhfuil sa 'Chomhairle' a ceapadh ach fo-chostas na Gaeltachta. Agus tá sé éirthe an-soláir le déanamh gur ag RTE a bheidh an chumhacht.

Méadóidh ar an amhras nuair a fógraíodh ainmneacha na gClár-Reachtairí na daoine fóntacha ina measc ach ní siad bealach ar bhith ionadaíoch ar ghnáth-mhuintir na Gaeltachta. Muinteoirí agus ceimice oillseolaí iad uilig ach duine. Más é atá i gceist seirbhís a bheid bunaithe ar bheo-chultúr na Gaeltachta, is deacair a thuisct é an fáth ar tugadh droim láimhe do Sheán Ó Ceolstaibha agus do Phiaras Ó Cais.

Tá clár seoldach craoltaíon Raidió na Gaeltachta amach anois agus curtha faoi bhraid na Comhairle. Ionadach agus ailtreach a chuir an liosta seo orainn. Pé daine a leag amach é, is léir nach dtuigean sé chor ar bith cé an sórt Raidió atá ag teastail sa nGaeltacht.

Cuir i gcás, tá uair a'chloígh an aghaidh na seachtaine in áiríte do cheol clasaiceach, ach ní ach chúig nóiméad sa tséachtainn agus cúrsaí talmhaíochta. 45 nóiméad ag 'Pop-cheol Eorpach' cúig nóiméad arís ag cúrsaí tascraíochta agus an t-achar céanna do chúrsaí féil. Beidh nuacht ann sé huair in aghaidh an lae, cé nach bhfuil ann inséir gairmúil i measc na gClár-Reachtairí, Oíche Satharn tá leath-uair in áiríte do 'Bhannáil Míleata' murúis míste leat. Cén mháth bheidh ag caint.

Tá séilteirí go soláir ag pobal na Gaeltachta nach é lethúid seo ach anuthu. Mar adúir Gluascacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta.

Tá i bhfad níos mó i gceist le Raidió do nGaeltacht ná cairsá teangan. Is é atá ag teastail seirbhís a thabharfaidh deis do ghnáth- mhuintir na Gaeltachta bheidh ag caint agus ag caidreamh le chéile gan caint gan úsáid. Ní theastaitinn inleacháit ná athbheochantóirí ná oideacháit ná cineál ar bith eile amadán leantna a shamlaíonn gur fearr náid na daoine eile. Ach go háirithe ní theastaitinn an bhreag-ghairmíulacht agus an bhreag-ghabhacht a bhíonn mar shliat tomháis i gcóir ag RTE.

Is léir anois nach bheidh áit ar bith do ghnáth-pobal na Gaeltachta sa Raidió atá dá bhearta. Sainleailthe agus daoine 'tábhachtacha' a bheidh ag déanamh na gléannra, ní áit iad a bheid bunaithe ar thuairim na ndaoine féin ar chúrsaí an tsaoil, agus ar an dúchas agus an salbhreag fiontach cainte atá mar aidbreacht acu.

Go hachtomair, ní raidió Gaeltachta a bheid chor ar bith ann. Ní ar phobal na Gaeltachta atá an clár craoltaí se dírithe, ach ar Ghaeilgeoirí meán-nóméacha na gaeatrchta. Ní bheidh ann ach leagan Gaeilge de RTE. An gearthfear a léirí arís nach nglacfar leis sin?



The remains of the house of Ivan Neill, Stormont speaker, destroyed by I.R.A.

eagarfhocal

LOOK BACK IN ANGER

The last year has certainly been a memorable one for the Irish people. 1972 promises to be a year of decision as the vital issues of staying out of the EEC and winning democracy in the North reach their final stages. It is no exaggeration to say that the Irish people have never been more seriously threatened as a people than we are today. Total economic collapse faces us from the EEC, while marauding British military maintain a reign of terror in the North for the benefit of the leading imperialists and their collaborationist henchmen.

The Irish people may feel justifiably proud of their efforts over the past year, for we have faced the Unionist jackboot and armoured cars and weaponry of the British Army with a fortitude that is an inspiration to the whole of Europe. In the South, social agitations have grown quietly but widely: land struggles, as in Uachtar Ard, workers struggles as in Nenagh, and the anti-EEC fight have all combined to threaten the smug self satisfaction of the ruling class.

Internment and death has been the backcloth for the political struggle going on in Ireland today. Many civilians have been foully murdered by the forces of the Crown, while three volunteers of the Irish Republican Army have lost their lives in the fight for true national freedom and for the social liberation of the Irish working class. Marlin O'Leary, Rose Curry and Gerald O'Hare are names that will be long remembered by Irish, and indeed world revolutionaries. Their memories will be part of the battle slogans with which we will approach this new year.

We have much cause for anger in all the injustices and atrocities we have been forced to endure. But we also have much cause for hope. *Imperialism is in crisis throughout the world, while the Irish people are showing the way to people's unity.* The establishment North and South is crumbling. It only remains for the common people to band together in a resolute way, to keep up the solidarity of the civil disobedience campaign until we achieve our basic needs.

The final solution to the problems of the Irish people can only be found in a socialist republic, in which the working class in alliance with the small farmers and locally based small business community will have control over the means of production, distribution and exchange. True equality and prosperity can only prevail in such a society, where class discrimination will be abolished in the workers' favour. The road to this socialist republic lies in winning democracy in the North as a prerequisite of defeating sectarianism, and of defeating the EEC threat throughout Ireland as a means of maintaining sovereignty.

RÉABHLÓID A DHÍTH

Ta dearmad deanta ag lucht reabhloide na tíre seo ar an Ghaeltacht o aimsir an Phiaraisaigh. Le cupla bliain amh bhí súil ann go raibh an Ghaeltacht ag muscaillt as a stuaim fein. Ritheadh radio neamhdhleathach mar chuid de theachtas chun Radio Gaeltachta a bhaint den Stát, cuireadh feachtas le haghaidh ceart sibhialta agus udaras aitiúil ar bun, agus ta deireadh curtha i gcuid mhor den Ghaeltacht leis an meas ar na bodaigh. Is líor a ra nach bhfuil meas madraidh ag an bpobal orthu anois ach in aiteacha aird.

Ach ta cinas tagaithe ar an Ghaeltacht. Murach eadhra Leitir Mhor agus corr-shampla eile, níor deineadh achranann ar bith moran fuad bheart an rialtais maidir leis an radio no leis an udaras aitiúil no leis na comharthaí bothair Gaeilge. Gheall rialtas ar gha do geilleadh na rudaí seo ach ní mar a gealladh a deineadh. Ta feall deanta ag an Stát i leith na Ghaeltacht ar na bunéilthe seo, faoi mar ta deanta ina leith ar chuide bhuncheart eile.

Ta se in am do mhuintir na Ghaeltacht eagar ceart agus ord catha a chur orthu fein. Ni feidir leis an gceineal corais stait ala againn fadhanna na Ghaeltacht a reiteach. Ni feidir leis na bodaigh e a dheanamh, no le lucht measulachta no le dream ar bith ach gnáthmhuintir na Ghaeltacht fein, le cunamh o ibrithe na gcathracha agus on Ghluaiseacht reabhloideach faoin duailh.

Ta Gluaiseacht na Poblacht ann ar mháil le ceart na daoine a chosaint. Ta an cosaint seo a dhíth go gear san nGhaeltacht. Ta se in am eirí. Cuirtear Reabhloid ar súil

IRISH NEW YEAR STATEMENT

The following statement has been issued by the Irish Republican Army:

As the year of 1971 draws to a close the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army looks with pride on the progressive achievements of the past year and salutes all those who have been in the forefront of the struggle against British Imperialism in both the North and the South of Ireland and also all those fighting against Capitalism and imperialism throughout the world. We pay tribute to the many victims of imperialism in the past year.

The Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army have truly proved themselves to be the Army of the people. The many actions in which they have been engaged and the many casualties which they have inflicted on the forces of imperialism have been carried out within the context of Army policy which is to defend the people against aggression by terror forces and to take retaliatory action against those who murder innocent people in the streets or who participate in tortures. The main aggressive force has been the British Army. The people's resistance has at all times been a defensive one and the Irish Republican Army has acted with the people, although they face internment and torture or death.

It cannot be too often emphasised that the present struggle in the North is a struggle not simply of the Irish Republican Army against the British Army but of an oppressed people against their oppressor. The main brunt of the struggle has been carried with magnificent strength and courage by the common people. It is the working class and their families who suffer the constant harassment, terror and murder, and it is they who are the backbone of the resistance. They actively resist the British Army raiding parties and they also resist through the Civil Disobedience Campaign the political forces who direct this terror campaign. Such resistance cannot be broken.

The declaration in 1967 by the Irish Republican Army that the Objective of the Revolutionary Movement must be the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic was the first full explicit statement by the revolutionary movement of the Irish people. The statement was the culmination of many years of debate and analysis among the revolutionaries as to the causes for the continuation of the revolutionary forces in Ireland. Accepting completely that as our enemies will resist in arms, final

Victory can only be accomplished by armed struggle, we have realised that armed struggle on its own, or as an end in itself, is doomed to failure. Armed struggle must be linked and integrated with all other forms of struggle. It must be related to the needs of the people.

It has never been and is not now our intention to build a movement to launch a purely military campaign against British forces in the North. We have seen the failures of past campaigns based on military action only and have set our faces against such campaigns which are doomed to failure. We do not see, nor do we want a repetition of the fifties. Our purpose is to unite workers throughout Ireland behind the struggle for the reconquest of their country from British Imperialism and to lead them to a realisation that until power is passed to the hands of the common people in a Socialist Republic bigotry, hatred and divisions on religious or ethnic lines would continue to be promoted. There will be no peace, no freedom, no justice, until workers unite in brotherhood to claim their inheritance.

1971 saw the beginning of the sectarian bombing campaign by people who are blinded by bigotry and who are unable to see who the real enemies of the Irish people are. As this continued it provided the opportunity to the British Army to escalate their terror tactics to the stage where innocent civilians were and are being indiscriminately murdered in the streets. The Irish Republican Army, which had maintained a purely defensive role with the people early in the year, made it clear that it would take retaliatory action for such murders and have since inflicted many casualties on the British forces in many areas without however launching an all-out military campaign.

The introduction of internment on August 9th had a twofold purpose:

1. To further escalate the terror against the people designed to provoke more armed conflict;
2. To remove the political control which guided the people's resistance and continually thwarted the establishment's plans and leave the compromisers to take over the political leadership of the people.

Republican Clubs, socialist organisations and the Civil Rights Movement have suffered far more from internment than have the Units of the Irish Republican Army which have greatly increased in strength

The responsibility for violence in the Six County and Westminster Governments and on those who are trying to promote sectarian conflict. The Irish Republican Army which is not engaged in a military campaign, will cease its armed defensive and retaliatory actions only when the British Army calls off its campaign of terror against the people, and ends internment and torture. There will however be no cessation of the just struggle of the people for what is their right. We know that there can be no peace in Ireland between a subject Irish people and a victorious British Imperialism except the peace of desolation and oppression.

Republicans believe that the real and fundamental talks on the future of the Irish Nation must take place within Ireland. Talks must be opened between the Catholic and Protestant working class, between Trade Unionists and small farmers, between the Labour Movement and the Republican Movement, between the North and the South, between the Gaeltacht and the Galltacht. It is here that the foundations of unity of the Irish people can be laid and not in talks with Britain nor in talks between the Tory establishments in Dublin and Belfast.

The New Year 1972 will see an intensification of the struggle of the Irish people for the re-conquest of their land. The Labour and Republican Movements will be confronting the right wing Coalition of Fine Gael Fianna Fail on the E.E.C. referendum issue in the spring. This is a battle which must be won. It must be seen as an integral part of the struggle which is taking place in the North — the struggle against British Imperialism in Ireland. What is at stake is the ownership of Ireland and the control of Irish destinies. Britain's new political solution to maintain her hold on Ireland is based on the assumption that Ireland will be under her wing in the Common Market. A defeat for the Lynch Cosgrove axis in the referendum will therefore be a defeat for Britain's designs on Ireland and will protect the interests of the workers and small farmers and will also be a demonstration of solidarity with the people of the North.

It must be made clear that the new Ireland we envisage and intend to build will not be a new Free State in any shape or form. It will be a country that does not allow oppression or exploitation of any group or individual: a state that provides equal opportunities for all its people.



"LANDSLIDE. HELP!"

SPORTS BODIES TO SAY NO?

Both the National Cycling Association and the National Athletic and Cycling Association passed a resolution at their annual Congresses held last month pledging opposition to any attempt to delete Article 2 of the Constitution. Article 2 contains the statement that "the national territory consists of the whole island".

The resolution, unanimously carried at both congresses by delegates from all over Ireland, is highly significant in the context of



Paddy Crehan, of the N.A.C.A., who won two All-Ireland weight throwing titles this year.

the coming Referendum on Common Market entry. If, as is more than likely, Article 2 of the 1937 Constitution has to be abolished to comply with the Articles of the Treaty of Rome then both sports organisations will campaign against membership.

Common Market membership has implications for all national sporting organisations in Ireland. It was pointed out at the N.A.C.A. Congress that at present grants received from the Government of the Republic may be and are spent on an all-Ireland basis. Accession to the Treaty of Rome could mean that monies disbursed by either of the two States on the island would be statute barred from being spent in the other. This would mean, in the event of the Republic agreeing to that grants hitherto accepted by the N.C.A. and the N.A.C.A. on the basis of their being spent on a 32 County basis would have to be refused to honour the 32 County principles in their constitutions. The Gaelic Athletic Association could be the next major sports body to comment on the future of Article 2 of Bunreacht na h-Eireann.

MERRIGAN Hammers THE EEC

Speaking on behalf of the Common Market Defence Campaign at UCC recently, Mr. Matt Merrigan, District Secretary of the A.G. & G.W.U., said that people will not be asked to vote for or against entry into the E.E.C.

He said that there has been a great betrayal of the people by all parties on this issue. The Labour party, as usual, he said, is hedging its bets until the ICTU makes up its mind at its special conference in January. He went on: "From the massive inactivity in relation to the Government's arrogance on this question, one would presume that the Labour Party had no position on entry. At its Galway Conference this year the Party adopted a resolution opposing entry, at least on paper."

"Workers and trade unionists are concerned at the risk to jobs in full membership of the E.E.C. Unemployment at the moment is running at 7 per cent of our work force. The bite of the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement has lost us approximately 5,000 since 1966 because of loss of protection in the cost competitiveness of British industry arising from scale of materials of low cost origin.

"The illusion that the E.E.C. is a

high wage area is simply not true. My union has done a comparative study of Commercial Road Transport wages and hours."

Mr. Merrigan showed that whereas in France wages in this sector were £16.50 for a 40 hour week, in Ireland earnings are £18.4 for 40 hours week. He also pointed out that unlike France, within the Common Market, while there is a limit on driving time to 8 hours a day, there is no limit to ancillary work like loading, maintenance, warehouse work, etc.

He said that since 75 per cent of our work force is engaged on producing for the home market, any significant loss of trade to European competitors will mean substantial unemployment. He called on workers and trade unionists not to support in any way the Government's plan for full membership of the E.E.C.

6 CO. AGM OF REPUBLICAN CLUBS HELD

The Annual General Meeting of the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs was held in County Kerry on Saturday, 4th December. Delegates representing Republican Clubs throughout the 6 Counties attended the meeting.

Following the reading of the various reports, the main business of the General Meeting got underway with a proposal that those delegates who are on the Executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association should press for the A.G.M. of N.I.C.R.A. to be brought forward from March to January.

This, it was felt, was necessary in order that N.I.C.R.A. should have an on-the-spot assessment of the effectiveness of the civil disobedience campaign and also be in a position to review the effects of internment and the ensuing crisis on the work of the Association.

It was further proposed that the various County Executives should submit the names of candidates to the Six County Executive with a view to having these people elected to the N.I.C.R.A. Executive. These motions were passed.

The question of a levy of £2 per cent to defray the expenses of the Regional Executive was raised and after a short debate on this, the resolution was carried.

Delegates from Fermanagh and Tyrone raised the matter of the relationship between the 6 County Executive and the newly formed Tyrone-Fermanagh Civil Resistance Committee. This was discussed at length and it was decided that a further statement from the Executive, clarifying the position, should be issued.

The attitude of the Republican Clubs towards the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association was discussed and after various opinions had been put forward, it was agreed that a press statement on the Association should be issued. The incoming Executive. The general view was that such a statement should not condemn the Catholic Ex-Servicemen as such but should condemn any anti-growth who might attempt to use them as a sectarian force.

The question of the dissemination of Republican opinions and policies on current affairs throughout the 6 Counties was raised. It was suggested that a 6 County Newsheet as a supplement to the "United Irishman" should be produced.

As delegates are dispersed the question of entry into the Common Market. It was felt that there was insufficient information available as to effects of membership on the Six Counties, since most of the literature that has been produced has been 26 County oriented. In order to facilitate the generation of more detailed information about the effects on the region, it was decided that a Study Group be formed to research all aspects of the situation. It was also agreed that an attempt should be made to get a panel of speakers conversant with the effects of the I.T.C. to tour the Counties, explaining the position as Republicans see it.

It was agreed that Mr. Rory McShane, who acted as secretary during the meeting, should draw up the minutes of the A.G.M. for Mr. K. Smith, who was elected secretary. The officer board for the coming year was elected as follows: Chairman, A. McGarr; Vice-Chairman, G. Barr; Secretary, K. Smith; Treasurer, F. Donnelly; Press Officer, L. McMillan; Education Officer, Margot Collins.

GOOD YEAR FOR CUMANN IN KILDORREY

The AGM of the Jerry Casey Cumann Kildorrery, Cork, was held recently in the area. The past year has been one of the most successful ever for Sinn Fein in the area. Last Christmas, members of the Cumann participated in the Release of the Prisoners March from Dublin, while others provided accommodation for the marchers.

In addition to holding a number of fishons on the Blackwater, the Cumann has been active in the anti F.E.C. campaign and the appeals for aid for the families of internees held in the Six Counties.

One of the most spectacular events of the year was the joint commemoration staged by the Kildorrery-Mitchelstown Cumann in honour of the men of East Limerick who died at Knockanevin 50 years ago. This commemoration was attended by over 3,000 people and was one of the biggest gatherings for years.

Sales of the United Irishman in the village now average 20 dozen every month and interest in the work of Sinn Fein has been given a great boost by the concern of the Cumann in local affairs. At a recent meeting, the Cork County Council was called upon to improve the inadequate water supply in the village and also to repair the boundary fence around the local cemetery.

At the AGM the following officers were elected for the coming year: Chairman, M. Sherlock; Vice-Chairman, B. Coughlan; Secretary, G. Norris; Treasurer, P. Roche. Delegates to the Comhairle Ceannair: M. McElidowney and G. Norris.

MASSIVE NUVB MARCH AGAINST EEC

Following on the previous march of vehicle builders and workers in car assembly, in which over 2,000 took part, another massive car workers protest took place early in December. Naturally, the establishment press did not consider a march by workers worthy of reporting; especially since the car assembly workers protest took place early in December. Naturally, the establishment press did not consider a march by workers worthy of reporting; especially since the car assembly workers protest took place early in December. Naturally, the establishment press did not consider a march by workers worthy of reporting; especially since the car assembly workers protest took place early in December.

The demonstration was jointly called by the NUVB and ATGWU EEC sub committees, to protest against the disastrous consequences both of free trade and the EEC to the Fianna Fail government. A statement from the organising committee pointed out that already this year 8,000 jobs had been lost due to the free trade agreement, so that the massive trend of redundancies could be expected to get much worse if we went into the EEC.

The statement added: "Irish industry, neither capable of combating, nor has it been developed or geared to, the kind of fierce competition which it is bound to meet from the giant monopolies which dominate the EEC". The statement illustrated this point by referring to the fact that in 1965, before free trade, 300 cars per year were imported into the country, but that now over 9,000 are imported, an increase of 3,000 per cent in six years.

The background of the car industry in particular is one of protection, having been built up to cater for a small internal market. This is in fact the case of practically all the industries in Ireland. Structurally, Irish industry could not be more unorganised to competition than the highly organised international market.

"The burden of the economic difficulties, the unemployment and the emigration will be borne by ordinary trade unionists. Therefore, it is from this section of the community that the bulk of the resistance must come."

This march is part of a general campaign by Irish workers to protect their interests against the corrupt politicians who are willing to sell out Irish independence for a share in the robber spoils of a new managerial class. Other workers, as well as the fishermen and the farmers, should follow their example and start protesting against the EEC now, before it is too late.



LOUGH NEAGH SELL OUT?

Harry WBS has done it again. The man who had to be dismissed from O'Neill's cabinet because of his dubious land speculations has now stepped in to prevent the fishermen even though Neagh establishing the people's control over the eel fisheries on the Lough. By nationalising the fisheries, the eel company will get a higher price, and Harry's fingers will get well stuck into the productive eel pie.

There has been a local agitation for some time to end the eel company's supposed monopoly of fishing rights on the Lough, rights inherited from the Elizabethan conquest of Arthur Chichester. In September, local units of the Irish Republican Army blew up a fishery 'protection' vessel belonging to the company, and which was being used in gunboat fashion in an attempt to intimidate the fishermen and drive them off the Lough.

No words of support for the fishermen were to be heard then, from Stormont ministers or senators. Indeed, Senator Gerry Lennon, of John Hume's Duvignev Assembly, was wont to be employed as prosecutor against the fishermen. The company is now beaten, but the Stormont government has jumped in to the aid: this, despite the fact that all communities in the North, from the IRA to Ian Paisley uphold the local men's rights.

By far the most valuable catch on Lough Neagh and the Bann are eels. The company, known today as the 'old company', sold its eels on the London Market and the eel trade fell more and more into the hands of a group of merchants in Billingsgate fish market. In the 1950's the control by these merchants was threatened by an agreement between the old company and Hans G. Kuitjen a Dutch shipper whose brother owned one of the biggest eel businesses on the Continent. Kuitjen began to divert more of the eels to the Continental Market.

The London Merchants formed an organised ring and made an agreement with Kuitjen. As a result in 1959 a consortium of four London dealers and Kuitjen bought the Toome Fishery. The deal was secret, the Company was never offered publicly for sale and the purchase price was never disclosed. The Managing Director of the old company was dying at the time and died before the transfer was complete.

Shares in the new company, Toome Eel Fishery N.I. Ltd., were evenly divided between Kuitjen's Live Eel Shipping Co. of Maldon in Essex and four dealers: H. Barber and Son Ltd., I. Brammer and Co., Ltd., H. Gade Co., Ltd. and E. L. Salomonsen and Co. Ltd. all of Billingsgate Market. The purchase price was £130,000, a ridiculously low figure. In 1965 E. L. Salomonsen and Co's 1/5 share was bought by the Lough Neagh Fishermen's Co-Operative Society for £87,000. The Company was now worth nearly four times the purchase price.

Apparently it had quadrupled in value in six years. The annual profit of the company has averaged about £100,000 so that the firm dealers recovered their investment, with interest, inside two years. Since then it has been clear profit all the way. The company makes its money very simply. They have a monopoly of the eel fishing rights on the Bann and the Lough. They alone can catch the more valuable silver eels and they do this in a series of traps on the

river Bann. The only effort required is to set the traps and lift out the eels. The Company employs only about 25 men and thus makes a profit of approaching 14,000 per employee—a very handsome figure even among today's highly profitable industries. As well as this they receive a royalty of 10p a stone on all eels caught by fishermen and collect some 15,000 per year on eels they never touch.

Besides a source of easy money, ownership of the company has provided the ring with a monopoly of the eel supply in these islands which has tightened their control of the market. Thus they can dictate prices to the fishermen and the public. In 1969 fishermen received an average 16p per lb. The retail price was 40p to 45p per lb.

This was the basis for the agitation which Harry WBS is trying to abort. The rule of conquest will not win, however, if the people stay united and fight for their rights.

LAND LEAGUE IN ACTION IN DONAGHMOYNE

Members of the Land League at Donaghmoyné intervened at the auction of a farm in the Lissodan area at the end of November. The land, which had been farmed by a young married man for 14 years, had been put up for sale, thus leaving the man, his wife, young son and widowed mother without a house or home.

After the men had bid £1,500 for the property, Mr. Owen Kirke read a statement on behalf of the Land League. He said that the men's neighbours had agreed not to bid against him for the land and their reaction showed the worthiness of the man's case.

"We approached the neighbours on the perimeter of this farm to get their feelings and their consent not to bid against this young man who was himself prepared to pay a reasonable price for this property, which was once valued to him."

On behalf of the League, Mr. Kirke appealed to prospective buyers to consider from a moral, social and Christian point of view the man's difficult position. As a result of this appeal no further bids were made and the sale was subsequently adjourned.

There have been several attempts in recent months to sell land from under the sitting tenants and install people from outside. Perhaps the most notorious case is that Mrs. O'Connor from Meath who was in Mountjoy Jail for so-called contempt of court. She had been there for six months.

Her crime was her refusal to vacate a farm which she and her husband have worked for 18 years.

The Land Commission have insisted that new tenants designated by them should have the land but have not offered the O'Connor's an alternative farm. All the State had given Mrs. O'Connor was six months in Mountjoy.

WUI SELLS OUT PERMANENT WORKERS

The Irish Permanent Building Society strike is over. The union has disgracefully let the workers down. Many have been victimised and sacked, and will be forced to emigrate. A full report will appear next month.

WHAT'S IN STORE

In June 1971, the 'United Irishman' published an article dealing with the question of the fisheries and the EEC. The article pointed out the great concern felt by Irish fishermen at the imminent give away of their livelihoods by the 26 county government, in Hillery's haste to make a name for himself. The heir aspirant to the Taoiseach has fallen a long way behind in the race for power, and his original verbal twistings over the fishery issue have faded into vague declarations of how good the terms are. These declarations, however, are made with little attempt to be really convincing.

All along Hillery has refused to adopt the stand of the Norwegians on this issue. The Norwegians, back in May of this year, proposed certain guarantees as a minimum for their entry; they were at least prepared to negotiate about it. But not Fianna Fail. Mother England knows best was always the bankrupt cry of the establishment parties, and Hillery was quite prepared to accept the destruction of the Irish fishing industry.

Efforts to confuse the fishermen on the EEC question seem to have failed, and the agreement Hillery has consented to shows how little Fianna Fail are even bothered to try and convince people. More confusion has reigned on the agricultural front, but the hinterlands who rely on the spin off from fishing are well aware that EEC entry means the death of regions like Killybegs and Dunmore East.

Fishing was one aspect of the entry into

the EEC which Fianna Fail found great difficulty in solving. For a while Dr. Hillery was able to sail through the negotiations on farming and industrial policy because of support from bodies like the NFA and the CII, pressure from the fishermen forced him to apparent negotiations. Thus, initially, he turned down the Commission's proposals on coastal waters.

Yet in the end he duly reached a 'compromise' and sold out the fishermen's livelihood in return for the dubious benefits of membership. The key issue in the dispute was whether or not the applicant countries should be allowed to continue protecting coastal waters after 1982. Irish fishermen have been adamant that so far as this country is concerned, they should.

What Dr. Hillery has agreed to is that Ireland should retain a six mile limit on the entire coastline of the 26 Counties for ten years. In addition, a further six miles protection has been conceded from Lough Foyle southwards to Cork Harbour. The valuable fishing grounds between Cork and Dundalk, however, will have a six mile limit and this means that the Wexford and Waterford coasts will be easily accessible to foreign trawlers, even before the ten years are up.

The problem that Dr. Hillery now finds, and this equally applies to Mr. Harry West as the Stormont minister responsible for fisheries, is that this limited protection is not acceptable to Irish fishermen. They feel



WHO OWNS 6 CO.?

In recent years, the Stormont government has adopted many of the incentives offered by the 26 County government, to attract foreign business into the 6 Counties. The effect of this policy in relation to the economy of the latter is discussed elsewhere. Can we expect a similar policy to be more successful in the North?

All incoming firms to the North are offered various forms of assistance, most of which will become 'illegal' within the Common Market. According to a booklet produced by the Ministry of Commerce in Belfast, cash grants of up to 35 per cent of plant construction costs are offered, plus grants of 20 per cent towards the cost of new machinery and equipment. Labour training grants and premiums for female workers are also offered to foreign investors.

Under the regulations drawn up, grants towards machinery are treated as reducing the capital cost of the asset for the purpose of depreciation allowances and the cost of new machinery is given 100 per cent allowance for the period in which it is being paid.

Where this cost does not qualify for free depreciation, the Unionist allow the foreign investors to write it off against tax at the rate of 80 per cent in the first year. Like the Fianna Fail government in Dublin, the Stormont administration imposes no bar on the export of profits and dividends or on the repatriation of capital.

In certain instances, they also offer rent free concessions to foreigners who hire state owned factories.

Though they boast of the availability of highly qualified graduates, Stormont is still prepared, under its incentive scheme, to encourage what it describes as key personnel from abroad to take the top managerial jobs.

From these facts, we can make certain deductions about the Unionists' industrial and employment policy. First, they are quite prepared to encourage the use of women workers rather than male workers. From the table of earnings given in the booklet, it is not difficult to see why.

Average wages for comparable factory jobs are about two-thirds lower than those given to American workers. Thus, Stormont offers cheaper labour in terms of male workers. In the manufacturing sector as a whole the average rate for men over 21 is 55p per hour including overtime bonuses, while women workers get only 34p per hour, including incentive bonuses.

Thus, it is cheaper for incoming firms to employ women rather than men. This reflects the social undesirability of paying less to women than to men. The case for equal pay is not only justified on the grounds of equity but also the present situation discriminates against male workers.

Second, the freedom of entry of foreign managers and executives offered by the Stormont government, prevents qualified Irish workers from getting the top jobs. It is apparent in the 26 Counties that foreign firms prefer to keep jobs for their own nationals. Irish workers invariably have to take the lower paid jobs.

The Unionists appear to be paying lip service to the idea of Irish managers getting these better paid jobs. In their booklet they say: "A company setting up in Northern Ireland should have no trouble in finding suitable managerial potential". Doubtless the managers are here already, but will they get the opportunities to take the top jobs?

If the Stormont government were to invest the grants it is prepared to offer to foreign firms in enterprises of its own, not only would Irish graduates get top work but employment would be provided for the 40,000 people currently unemployed in the North.

The outflow of capital from the 6 Counties is greater than the inflow, a classical example of imperialism at work. This outflow takes the form of profit repatriation, due to the excess of imports over exports; the payment of ground rents to absentee landlords; and in the form of share investment on the British stock market by the banks and credit houses.

In 1967 it is estimated that Northerners' investments abroad were something like £200m. Taking into account the foreign holdings of the banks, government departments and other bodies, the total income from such investment was about £44m.

At the same time, there was an outflow of £167m. By definition the balance of payments is where total income equals total outflow. Hence, the difference between these figures, over £120m., gives us an idea of the drain from the Northern economy.



FOR FISHERMEN?

that both Dr. Hillery and Mr. Rippon, who negotiated the Northern sell out, should have adopted the same attitude as did the Norwegian government and demand permanent protection.

The Six, however, insist that there must be free access provisions in the fishing regulations after the ten year transition. Even the proposal put forward by Mr. Rippon and M. Jean-Francois Deniau that an enlarged Community of ten should decide by a qualified majority the system to apply at the end of the decade, was rejected by the Six.

They realised that under this proposal, Ireland would have blocking powers of veto and would thus be enabled to prolong the standstill indefinitely. This view displayed more confidence in the willingness of Fianna Fail to protect Irish fishermen than the fishermen themselves have in the government.

In the event, the two negotiators for all Ireland, Dr. Hillery and Mr. Rippon, agreed to provisions that the Commission in Brussels should report to the Council of Ministers before 1982 on the economic and social effects on coastal waters. It is now widely agreed that this clause means that after then, all protection will go.

Thus, in effect, they have merely postponed the death sentence on Irish fisheries until then. The feelings of the people concerned was expressed by one Donegal man. "Our delegation should have stood out like Norway and insisted that our

existing territorial waters be permanently retained."

As things stand, within ten years, continental fishing fleets will be free to strip Irish coastal waters just as they have ravaged their own. The type of trawls they use virtually wipe out everything in their path and thus pick up immature and embryonic fish as well as the mature ones.

In a statement, the Irish Antagonish Co-operative Movement pointed out that Dr. Hillery had promised he would not depart from his declaration that Ireland would have a complete 12 mile limit. **THEY ACCUSED HIM OF GOING BACK ON HIS PROMISE** and agreeing to allow one of Ireland's richest natural resources to pass from the control of the Irish people.

The Norwegian negotiator, Mr. Per Klegge, criticised the decision of Ireland and the British and Danes, for giving in to the EEC on the review clause.

In the North, disgust at the outcome of the talks was expressed by Mr. Robert McKay of the Derry and North Antrim Sea and Coastal Fishermen's Association. He claimed that the North Coast should have been given special consideration as a distressed area. The proposals were a 'sell out', he said.

It seems likely that the future of Irish interests, North and South, now rests with the terms the Norwegians can negotiate. But the best safeguard is for the whole of Ireland to stay out altogether.



DEV'S LEGACY

Since 1957 in particular Fianna Fail has relied upon the inflow of foreign businesses to build up the industries of the 26 Counties. Under the direction of Sean Leamss, the old protectionist policy was abandoned and the Control of Manufacturers Act, which hindered foreign firms settling up here, was repealed.

As incentives, the government offered tax free holidays, free factory sites and export incentives. These allowed exporters to sell their goods completely free of tax for up to 15 years and to export their profits from the country.

The government's view was that there was insufficient investment from domestic sources. The incentives offered, they claim, would bring in the investment which would generate lasting and continuous employment.

However, the results of this policy have been varied. Many foreign firms have merely used Ireland as a jumping off base for sales elsewhere and as a testing ground for new techniques to be applied elsewhere if successful.

This investment is capital intensive, that is, it concentrates on automated machines rather than providing jobs. As a result, little work has resulted in proportion to the huge grants given by the I.D.A. to these firms. The biggest pool of employment created is in the region of 500 to 600 jobs, just sufficient to provide work for all the households of a Dublin suburb like Dundrum.

Yet, there are now signs that many of the British and American firms brought in after 1957 are thinking of

moving out to countries like Italy. This stems from the ending for these firms of the export incentives.

One of the main 'successes' claimed by the Government has been the creation of this industrial sector at Shannon. However, in recent months the superficial nature of this development has been shown by the increasing number of closures. Progress International, Rippen and Thomond Cabinets are just three examples where closures happened, creating over 400 redundancies.

Since 1965 and especially since 1967, the growth of the 26-Counties economy has been slowing down due to the international crisis of confidence. The American restriction on the export of capital has had severe repercussions, a situation aggravated by the effects of the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement.

In 1967, in an effort to stimulate growth, the Government lifted some of the credit restrictions but as even Garret Fitzgerald argued at the time, the recovery was a temporary one.

The free entry of British goods has had a crippling effect on industry and contributed to an employment crisis the system seems incapable of solving. Unemployment in the industrial and services sectors in May 1970 was the highest since 1959, when it was 8.1 per cent.

Since then, the position has worsened and in 1971 nearly 8,000 people lost their jobs. This sharp deterioration in employment prospects is closely linked with the government's trading and investment policies. By

placing the future of Irish workers on the hope that foreign investment will generate employment, the government have tied their fortunes to those of American and British businessmen.

Even within the terms of reference of a capitalist economy, this policy does not make sense. It has resulted in profitable undertakings, such as the Limerick Shoe factory, being swallowed up by less efficient but more capitalised foreign competitors.

A state investment body solely concerned with expanding Irish owned firms, should have been established, rather than relying on the fly by night overseas businesses. It is in the interests of the Irish people to support home industries as this will safeguard employment. The Buy Irish Campaign should have been government policy ten years ago.

It should also be clear that the system is in fact incapable of adapting itself to the changes which are necessary. The manufacturing and managerial class in Ireland is totally tied up with the free trade policies which are proving so disastrous. Ireland can never expand until we have cut loose from the stifling grip of foreign investment enterprises. And to do that would require an equalisation of Irish society that the privileged Tacaboyts would not welcome.

What needs to be done in the short term is to press for national control over investment, which means the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and other finance houses.



Ocht

The Republican position on the national question has always been that the most important issue in Ireland is the fact that the whole country, North and South, is tied to the aprons of mother England. The conditions of unemployment and emigration, of economic stagnation and political subjection, show how deeply we are still in the same position as we were in Wolfe Tone's time.

Tone recognised that it was the English connection which kept Ireland underdeveloped, and that the only way forward for the Irish people was to forget the dissensions of the past, based on religious differences, and to unite as a people in the fight to establish an independent Irish nation free from British imperial interference and able to achieve prosperity for all the people of this island.

That is still the stand of the Republican Movement. We realise that so long as the Irish people are tied in with the imperialist system that we will never be able to build a decent life for ourselves here. We also realise that sectarianism plays into the hands of our enemies because it hinders the building of that unity of the people which is so essential if genuine Irish freedom is to be won.

Religion misused

Obviously it always suited British imperial interests to pretend that the Irish people had no basis for national unity. Religion was adroitly used by the most reactionary, jingoistic, imperialist politicians, like Randolph Churchill his associates and Galloper Smith, to keep the Irish people fighting amongst themselves while Britain was freed to reach the necessary compromise with the sections of the Irish people who would be willing to sell out the ordinary people. These sections were the Unionist bosses in the North, who depended on patronage for the maintenance of their privileged positions, and the middle class gombeenmen in the South, who followed on in the footprints of the arch-renegade and traitor, Daniel O'Connell.

1798 had marked a new departure in Irish history. For the first time a movement arose which recognised that the men of property were a dubious element, liable to make a deal with the enemy. For the first time also the conscious desire to build national unity was proposed in place of the simplistic desire for revenge of the buachaill bana. The 'United Irishmen' had a plan for revolution.

Anti-imperialism

This revolutionary plan is still the basis of socialist republicanism. While opportunist groups, like Conor Cruise O'Brien of the Labour Party, and ultraleftists like the British and Irish Communist Organisation deny the need to make the struggle for national unity against imperialism the central issue in Irish politics, it becomes clearer as British economic policy works itself out that if the Irish people are to win the right of a prosperous and full existence in their own country they must unite in a common struggle. This is so for Protestants as well as for Catholics, since imperialism recognises no faith of one's fathers.

The working people of Ireland are doubly oppressed. They are exploited as workers, and they are oppressed as Irishmen. This national oppression exhibits itself in the complete underdeveloped nature of the Irish economy, the extent of foreign control of Irish natural resources (like the mines) and the contraction of whatever industry had been developed. This is happening in the North as much as in the South, and those who deny the need for a national liberation struggle are merely playing into the hands of the imperialist enemy.

To break the connection with England, the never ending source of all our political ills; that was my objective.



To substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the demoninations of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter; these were my means.

National liberation does not mean the reunification of the country under green-flag gombeenism. It means the Reconquest of Ireland; the replacing of the common people of Ireland in full control of all wealth, of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and of everything connected with economics and politics in Ireland. Only the Reconquest will let us win back the right to create an Irish nation as part of the recovery of our cultural traditions and ways of life which are being destroyed by the imperialist system.

The Irish middle class have proven themselves totally incapable of building an independent Irish nation. Their class interests of greed and privilege prevent them from subordinating themselves to the common good of the masses of the people. Only the working people themselves can achieve that, and it is they who must assume the leadership of the fight for national liberation in Ireland which will lay the basis for the building of socialism here.

Unity

The reactionaries assert that the Irish people should not struggle for unity, and that the Protestant people in the North should not join together with their fellow Irishmen and fellow workers in their common fight. But the reactionaries don't suffer the effects of sectarianism. It is the workers who are burnt out, whose livelihoods are destroyed in pogroms and in sectarian intimidation; it is the workers who are blown to the skies while the rich men swill brandy on the Malone Road and in Dublin hotels.

Protestant and Catholic, our interests are the same. We all endure the same squalid conditions of housing and working. We all suffer the destruction of our communities, and of our way of life. And all of our problems can be traced back to the rule of Britain over Ireland. We are weak because we are divided, and it is only in people's unity that we will be strong enough to defeat British imperialism.

This is the basis of the struggle going on in Ireland at the moment, and all who refuse to take part in that struggle will fall with the reactionary Tory regimes of Britain, Stormont and Leinster House. And it is on two main themes that the integrity of all those who claim to lead the Irish people can be tested. Firstly, there is the issue of the winning of democracy in the North in order to eliminate sectarianism and open up the possibilities of achieving national unity of the Irish people. Secondly, the over-riding and most important question is how to defeat the EEC, for failure to defeat it will face the Irish people with the total loss of our industry, our fisheries and the vast bulk of our agricultural population. We will be reduced to paupers in our own land.

At this moment, the whole worldwide system of imperialism is in severe crisis as unemployment and economic stagnation soar in America and Britain. Now is the moment for the Irish people to exert the maximum pressure against that system, and win important opportunities of progress. For the defeat of Fianna Fail's and Fine Gael's EEC proposals will throw capitalism into disorder in Ireland. It will open up new possibilities of advance to the oppressed and exploited peoples of Ireland, and is crucial to the immediate way forward.

We reject the division of our people. We deplore the theory of two or three nations. We proclaim the common national and social oppression of the Irish people, Protestant and Catholic, rural and urban, Gaeltacht and Galltacht. Our two issues of struggle are: democracy in the North to eliminate sectarianism; sovereignty in Ireland to eliminate imperialist domination.



THEY CAME IN THE MORNING

They Came in the Morning is the title of a booklet published by Republican Publications, which details tortures and atrocities perpetrated by the British war machine against the Irish people. The book is mainly concerned with those events which occurred in the direct aftermath of the introduction of internment without trial, but also gives firsthand accounts of the incredible barbarities perpetrated in Palace Barracks, Holywood.

Seamus O Tuathail, former editor of this paper, has done a first class job in compiling these accounts, many of which he had smuggled out of Crumlin Road while he was interned himself, for publication in the daily papers. It was these exposures which forced the British to make the gesture of the Compton enquiry. And while that enquiry avoided the truth like the plague, even the British apologists were forced to admit that appalling tortures had occurred.

These torturings are still going on, in the infamous Girdwood camp as well as in Holywood. No matter how much sickening cant the liberals may put forward, nor how much Labour MPs may declare their sympathy with the struggle of the Irish people, they have not stopped their barbarities. If any of the politicians who hold up their hands in horror at so-called IRA deeds of

violence were in any way genuine or serious they would reserve their condemnations for the British army of occupation.

This book is a valuable contemporary documentation of what was actually experienced by the innocent men and women picked up by the British military. While union Jack Lynch and his quisling cronies deplore the IRA's role as defender of the people, the facts contained in this book show how clearly defence is needed against the armed thugs of the British Army who roam the streets of the North intimidating and terrorising the population at will, but for the IRA.

On the front cover is a picture of Frank Kitson, the terrorist chiefly responsible for the British torturing (see top right). The book describes him as follows: "The face of a sadist, the face of Brigadier Frank Kitson. Served in Aden and Cyprus where he perfected the methods of torture now perpetrated on innocent suspects in the North. These methods include severe beatings, electrical tortures, psychological disorientation methods and gross humiliations — all in an attempt to break down resistance and stop political opposition to Unionism."

'They Came in the Morning' is well worth 25p. We recommend it completely.



**Tynagh: less than 40% of ore
extracted and already a net profit of
£16m. — Navan is 6 times bigger!**

Pfizer Inc. (New York) is of that breed of capitalist vulture that contents itself only when its tentacles reach into every corner of the globe. It is a representative sample of that kind of production organisation which has come to dominate under monopoly capitalism. It is one of the 500 or so multi-national corporations who, between them, own one quarter of the world's productive capacity and control another third.

Pfizer's profits

In 1970, with worldwide sales of £362,600,000, Pfizer had a productive capacity equal to that of the entire manufacturing sector of the 26 counties. Centred in pharmaceuticals, which account for 48 per cent of its sales, Pfizer is rapidly diversifying into such fields as chemicals, agriculture and consumer products as well as scientific materials. In 1970, with 51 per cent of Pfizer's assets held outside of the U.S.A. over 50 per cent of its profits was thereby derived.

Finding itself increasingly unable to raise its profit margin within the confines of North America, Pfizer, at the beginning of the sixties, turned its attention further afield.

IDA grant

Attracted by Fianna Fail's "Ireland: environment for profit" slogan (used by the I.D.A. to get multi-national corporations to come here and grab the surplus that we ourselves create) Pfizer set up Roofchrome Ltd. at Tivoli in Cork — not before being given a £120,000 non-repayable cash grant and assured that no tax would be payable on profits earned by Roofchrome before 1990.

Roofchrome Ltd.

Roofchrome's designated task was the manufacture of refractory material for the U.S. market. Chrome and magnesia formed the principle requirements for the manufacture of such refractory compounds. While chrome ore was readily available to Pfizer via Rhodesia and Mosambique, a source of natural magnesia was proving increasingly difficult to find. A synthetic or semi-synthetic alternative method of producing magnesia had to be found.

Quigley take-over

In 1966, Pfizer took over Quigley Co. — a major producer of refractory materials in the U.S.A. With this acquisition came J. A. Mulcahy, a President of Quigley.

Born near Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, Mulcahy began working for Quigley in the early 1930s. He was just the man Pfizer needed to gain a strong foothold in Ireland: unknown but with a lot of influence. The extent of this influence is



**THE GREAT
MINE
ROBBERY**

illustrated by two incidents in particular: his invitation to U.S. President Nixon, which was accepted, to come and sip tea at his Co. Limerick estate; and more recently his reported partnership in a new hotel to be constructed in Dublin by Pan American Airlines, once Nixon had forced the Irish people to allow Pan Am into Dublin (aided by a weak and vacillating Irish government).

Bennetsbridge find

Just 50 miles north of Dungarvan in Bennetsbridge, Co. Kilkenny, the geological office had proven the existence of a large dolomite deposit. Another name for dolomite is magnesium limestone. When burned it forms a magnesium oxide calcium oxide mix. If this mix is combined with seawater, magnesium hydroxide is produced. If this is burned in the presence of silicon and iron oxide magnesia is

produced. Just what Pfizer wanted: an alternative source.

Fianna Fail present

On January 1st, 1969, Fianna Fail made Quigley a present of the Bennetsbridge dolomite deposit — all 17,000,000 tons of it. A capital expenditure of less than half a million and Quigley was ready to begin operations at Bennetsbridge.

At Dungarvan (where else?) Quigley erected a processing plant to change the dolomite into magnesia. Constructed at a capital cost of £3,600,000 the I.D.A. gave Quigley £1,523,000 towards the cost. Brought into production during 1970 with an annual operating capacity of 75,000 tons of magnesia it is projected that by 1974 75 annual capacity would reach 150,000 tons.

Given the size of the deposit at Bennetsbridge and the fact that

three tons of dolomite is used in making one ton of magnesia, the life expectancy of the Bennetsbridge Dungarvan complex is 37.9 years.

Gigantic profits

What of the profit it will generate? Gigantic is the only word big enough to describe it. When stage two is completed and Dungarvan is able to produce 150,000 tons of magnesia per year the gross output will be worth £6,000,000 per year, or approximately £40 a ton.

Costs

From this 'gross' figure must be subtracted operating costs. For convenience these can be divided into four phases of production. (i) extraction of dolomite at Bennetsbridge costs £1 per ton — £160,000. (ii) transportation of dolomite from Bennetsbridge to Dungarvan at 1.6p per ton mile — £380,000. (iii) processing of dolomite into magnesia at Dungarvan; costs include 70,000 tons of fuel oil, 4,000 tons of silica, small quantities of iron oxide, maintenance of plant and machinery, the employment of 150 people and rates; total — £1,000,000. (iv) transportation of magnesia to Cork for shipment overseas — £600,000.

£151,600,000 profit

Operating costs are thus £2 million giving a profit of £4 millions per year. Multiply this by the projected 37.9 years of the complex and we get an operating profit of £151,600,000. Subtract overall capital cost to Pfizer and we get a net profit of £145,600,000. If you don't believe it check for yourself.

And it doesn't end there. By the time the magnesia is sold in the form of a refractory spray it will have multiplied in value by an additional 800 to 1,000 per cent. One can only speculate at the enormity of the profit being generated by Roofchrome and like subsidiaries using Dungarvan magnesia as a principal ingredient.

Even more grants

Last year, Pfizer was given an additional £112,537 by the I.D.A. to cover 're-equipment' costs incurred by Roofchrome. In 1971 Pfizer was also promised £5,585,000 by the I.D.A. for the organic chemical plant now under construction at Ringaskiddy, Co. Cork. If it wasn't so blatantly exploitative it might be classified as insane.

2,000 others

Nor is Pfizer alone. Take any of the more than 2,000 American, British, German, Dutch, Japanese, Belgian, Swiss and Italian corporations operating in this country and the story is basically the same. All that differs is the size of the profit being taken from the people.

"IRISH REBELS AND THEIR SWEETHEARTS"

A vivid account of the lives and loves of Ireland's greatest patriots. Paperback 35p including p & p. Ideal gift.

Order with cash to: 34 High St., Kilkenny, Ireland.

tuairim mholtóirí

FORAS CULTUR GAEL-MHEIRICEANACH
Duais na mBuitléarach £1000

O Donnabháin Rosa I

SEAN O LUING

Beathaisnéis inniúil a léiríonn ardabaltach liteartha agus stairiúil, a chabhróidh go mór chun tuiscint a fháil ar an n-aois seo. *crua* £3.15 *pe* 32p

Duais na mBuitléarach £500

An Uain Bheo

DIARMAID O SUILLEABHAIN

D'ainneoin míon-deacrachtaí le teanga agus abhar is dócha go mbeidh an leabhar seo ina chloch mhíle bhíorbairt an úrscéil sa Ghaeilge. *crua* £1.25 *pe* 18p

Duais Uí Sheachnasáigh £500

Linte Liombó

SEAN O RIORDAIN

Ealaíontóir dúbrachtach a bhfuil muinín aige sa aising féin, scríbhneoir a tháigfaidh rian ar a ré. *crua* 75p *pe* 9p

lacáiste trian do bhaill ar gClub

SAIRSEAL AGUS DILL

37 Br Ardpháirce Ath Cifath 6

WANTED



WAR CRIMINAL

Detective-Sergeant John Douglas Wilson. A notorious interrogator of the RUC Special Branch. Dangerous. Approach with caution.

THE REVOLUTIONARIES
THE STORY OF 12 GREAT IRISHMEN
BY SEAN CRONIN

35p

Republican Publications,
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Seol chugam *coip*
Ainm
Seoladh



I enclose 35p per copy plus 4p postage.

"CABHAIR"

Coiste Foirthint na bPhríosúnach Poblachtach

Please give as generously as you can to help the wives and dependents of interned men and of those on the run. These people face great hardships as a result of Britain's policy of repression, and we all have a duty to stand by them. Because of the large numbers who have subscribed so generously already, it is impossible to publish a full list of acknowledgements, but the committees will receipt all monies received.

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

NAME

SEOLADH

MEID

NATIONAL BOOK SERVICE

THE REVOLUTIONARIES, S. CRONIN	Inc. post
WRITINGS OF JAMES CONNOLLY:	39p <input type="checkbox"/>
Labour in Irish History	29p <input type="checkbox"/>
Reconquest of Ireland	15p <input type="checkbox"/>
Labour, Nationality and Religion	15p <input type="checkbox"/>
New Evangel: Erin's Hope	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
They Came in the Morning, Seamus O Tuathail	29p <input type="checkbox"/>
Lenin On Ireland	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
Ua Rathaille, P. O Snodaigh	9p <input type="checkbox"/>
Writings of John Mitchell	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
Facts about the EEC	5p <input type="checkbox"/>
Independence Not Domination	5p <input type="checkbox"/>
Mansholt; The Second Cromwell	5p <input type="checkbox"/>
Stolen Waters	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
Ground Rent is Robbery	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
Battle of Belfast	10p <input type="checkbox"/>
WRITINGS OF MAIRTIN O CADHAIN:	
Irish above Politics	7½p <input type="checkbox"/>
An Aisling	10p <input type="checkbox"/>
Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge; Gluaiseacht ar Strae	22½ <input type="checkbox"/>
REPSOL PAMPHLETS:	
1. Workshop Talks by Connolly	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
2. Culture and Revolution in Ireland by Eoin O Murchu	22½p <input type="checkbox"/>
3. The IRA Speaks: In the 70s	12½p <input type="checkbox"/>
4. Revolutionary Movements of the Past by John de Courcy Ireland	22½p <input type="checkbox"/>
5. Manifesto of Irish Workers and Small Farmers Republic	7½p <input type="checkbox"/>
6. EEC: An Alternative	29p <input type="checkbox"/>
Theoric; Theoretical Journal of the Irish Republican Movement	No. 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 15p
RECORDS:	
Songs of the Irish Republic	£1.05 <input type="checkbox"/>
Irish Songs of Freedom	75p <input type="checkbox"/>
Guns and Songs of the I.R.A.	1.50 <input type="checkbox"/>
Stick 'em Up (Marks Men)	£1.05 <input type="checkbox"/>
"Behind the Wire", Barleycorns	45p <input type="checkbox"/>
James Connolly — The Irish Rebel and Selection	£1.15 <input type="checkbox"/>
Na Fili: Farewell to Connacht	£2.20 <input type="checkbox"/>
POSTERS:	
Barnes and McCormack (black and white)	5p <input type="checkbox"/>
Kevin Barry	

Select the items you require by marking the quantity in the appropriate box

Please send me the items marked

AINM

SEOLADH

Enclosed is P.O. value £.....

Send orders to the United Irishman Office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

CASTLE HOTEL
Mr. and Mrs. Donal O'Connor (Props.)

FIRST CLASS CATERING
CENTRAL SITUATION
TERMS MODERATE

Personal Supervision

Gardiner Row, Dublin

Hot and cold water in all bedrooms
Phone 46949 and 42554
Free garage accommodation

D. Mac Giolla Phadraig
BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER
12 Cathedral Street, Dublin

The United Irishman
An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

12 months for £1

U.S. \$6 annual subscription.
Cheques or postal orders should be made payable to:
THE UNITED IRISHMAN, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

NAME

ADDRESS

HISTORY AS IT HAPPENED

The twelve issues of the United Irishman: Aug. 1969—Aug. 1970, a complete and accurate account of the historic events in Ireland.

THE 12 ISSUES 50p

Limited Numbers Only — Order Immediately.

Suit Yourself
at
E. LESLIE
Drapers

28 PETER STREET
DROGHEDA.

Specialists in Ladies', Gents' and Children's Wear.

Tel: Drogheda 8173.



KEVIN BARRY SOCIAL

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

JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland. We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic. We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators. We place the rights of the common man before the right of property. We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

UNITE TO FIGHT!

I wish to join the Republican Movement

NAME

ADDRESS

LEINSTER	CONNACHT	ULSTER
Ard-Ofióg 30 Gardiner Place Dublin.	P. KILCULLEN Kilmore, Ballina Co. Mayo.	M. MCGURRAN 16 Brownlow Terrace Lurgan, Co. Armagh.
Louth: DONNCHA Mac RAGHNAILL, 6 Leardis Square Drogheda.	MAUREEN McLOUGHLIN Drumrane, Ballinamore Co. Leitrim.	KITTY O'KANE 14 Ton Street, Belfast.
Longford: TOM CONNOLLY	SEAMUS REID Rinn, Collooney Co. Sligo.	SEAMUS Mac RUAIRI Anagaire Co. Donegal.
MUNSTER	KEVIN CUNNINGHAM 5 New Doocka, Galway.	AUSTRALIA South and Fargal O'Hanlon Soc. P.O. Box 120, Albert Park 1206, Victoria.
JACK LYNCH Carberry Earlwood Estate Togher Road Cork.		
SEAN O CEALLAIGH 113 An Cé Portlairge.		
BARRY DOYLE 41 St. Ita's Street St. Mary's Park Limerick.		

BRITAIN: CLANN NA hEIREANN

London:
Secretary, 315 Lillie Road
Fulham
London S.W.6.

Midlands:
SEAMUS COLLINS
48 Houghton Road
Handsworth
Birmingham.

North:
MICHAEL ROONEY
26 Deanswood View
Leeds 17.

Scotland:
FRANK DRAIN
20 Stanley Road
Newhaven
Edinburgh 6.

NORTH AMERICA

IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS
1776 44th St., Woodside,
N.Y. 11377.
Sh

On the first Saturday of the new year the Civil Rights Association returned to the streets in a massive demonstration of protest against the continual infliction of injustices in the North. From 15,000 to 20,000 people marched from various parts of Belfast to Falls Park, where the huge rally was addressed by several speakers — members of the NICRA executive and also MPs. The theme of all the speeches was that the people would not and could not be beaten by the sterile measures of repression now being resorted to by Westminster.

The military thugs who have been given licence to stalk the streets of Belfast and the North made every effort possible on their part to turn this peaceful, disciplined and orderly parade into a riot. Repeatedly they drove armoured cars into the crowd, jeered and shouted obscenities at the marchers. But the people held firm. The stewards did a wonderful job, but the ordinary people themselves fully realised the great importance of not responding to the military's provocation. When the armoured cars were driven into the crowd, the people broke ranks and reformed the other side. A superb display of what is meant by genuine passive resistance.

The march was held in contravention of Stormont's ban on marches, but the route was carefully chosen to avoid all flash point areas. The military therefore had no excuse for their peevish behaviour. Once more it has been illustrated that Westminster is not interested in genuine solutions to the Northern problem. The British government has consistently opposed the introduction of democracy to the North, and has confined itself to mumbblings about a military solution. But Britain can have no military solution so long as the people display the massive solidarity shown in this civil rights march.

As the parade filed past the aggressive military into Falls Park, they were met by banners condemning internment and the strains of a new record "The Men Behind the Wire", a song about the internees. A huge Christmas card, with anti-internment slogans and 1,000 signatures from the people of Ballymun, Dublin was displayed; and a message of solidarity from the Citizens for Civil Liberties in Dublin was also read. "Citizens for Civil Liberties greets the Falls Park rally and pledges full support for the new stage in resistance to internment and detention without charge or trial, North or South of the border".

The march followed the pre-Christmas peace ultimatum given by NICRA. Then it was stated that if Britain didn't want peace the Civil Rights Association would have no alternative but to go back on the streets. NICRA's peace proposals included the demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all internees and detained men, the abolition of the Special Powers Act (the undemocratic measure by which people are unjustly held), and the withdrawal of the troops to barracks. These demands were part of a general truce proposal, but of course, the British were unwilling to accede to this. There was no alternative but to go back to the streets. The massive turn out shows how much large sections of the Northern community are behind this move.

The fundamental civil rights demand is for democracy. The Republican Movement fully supports this demand, because we realise that the winning of democracy in the North is an important part of the overall struggle which the Republican Movement is engaged in. Our objective is, of course, a united democratic socialist republic. In this republic the masses of common people, led by the organised working class, will have complete and total state power over the means of production, distribution and exchange. This is the Reconquest of Ireland which has inspired generations of Irish people fighting for national and social rights. The Republican Movement fully realises, however, that one of the major obstacles to the achievement of a socialist republic, and to the creation of a genuinely independent united Irish nation, is the alienation felt by the majority of the Northern Protestant community to these ideas. Sectarianism has time and again been used by an unscrupulous British imperialism to divide the people. The whole state structure, undemocratic and bigoted, was specifically designed to preserve and maintain sectarianism. It is clear therefore that the wresting of democracy from an unwilling reactionary Westminster regime will be a major triumph for the Irish people, both in its own terms but also in the general light of a struggle for complete justice and peace, the struggle for socialism.

Democracy is not just a word to be bandied about in University intellectual circles, as some erstwhile socialists maintain. Democracy in the North has real meaning for all genuine revolutionaries, and more importantly for large masses of the common people. The abolition of the repressive measures of government (powers of internment and arbitrary arrest and deten-

BACK



TO THE STREETS

tion) and the whole crooked paraphernalia of judicial violence; the isolation and eventual elimination of sectarian elements (whether in the Roman Catholic or the Protestant communities) which pose such a threat to the security of ordinary people, with their anti-civilian bombing campaigns and their created pogroms; the placing of power of decision over planning and redevelopment issues, such as at present threaten the whole community basis of life on the Shankill and the Falls together; power for a Northern parliament to control capital investment, to nationalise key industries such as Harland and Wolfe when threatened with closure, and with full competence to declare its own relations with Britain and the EEC as well as the rest of Ireland: these are democratic powers; this is democracy.

The interests of the masses of people in the North are in real terms completely intertwined. It is only the reactionaries and the imperialist agents who uphold the divisions of the people, and seek to deflect the revolutionary movements away from this the true path of revolution into the verbal foundering of middle class intellectuals. If we can win democracy in the North, the opportunities for future progress by the whole Irish people are unlimited. This is why the civil rights campaign is so vitally important.

We must not be swayed by the cowboy antics of courageous but politically ignorant 'heroes', misled and misguided by some of the most reactionary elements of the Southern managerial class. This class has consistently abandoned all attempts to build an Irish nation, and the Haugheys and Blaneys are totally committed to the EEC. All sections of the Northern people, Protestant and Catholic, workers and farmers as well as small locally based business interests are opposed to the EEC.

Only two of the six counties representatives at Westminster approved of Britain's EEC policy, but it is to be imposed on the people nevertheless. Where do the Provisionals stand in the great confrontation between Blaney and Haughey and the whole Northern community on this EEC issue?

The Provisional inspired Northern Resistance Committee was shown to be totally irrelevant to the situation. It is clearly seen to be merely a divisive element, with no capability for leading the people in the demand for democracy. The reason is that the elements involved do not consider the winning of democracy to be of value. Michael Farrell and other ultra-leftist elements calls for a workers' revolution now, ignoring the fact that the working class in the North is divided on sectarian grounds. The Provisionals don't want it because their paymasters are only interested in military violence that will weaken their effort to win civil rights. The flames of democracy being lit in the North will sweep South on the over-riding social issues of neglect and corruption. In this fire of revolution all reactionaries will be swept away: all wings of Fianna Fail, the EEC axis and the foreign speculators. The wealth of Ireland will be laid at the feet of a conquering Irish nation, conquering what is its right: our own country.

The return to the streets by the civil rights movement marks an important new move in the struggle for democracy. The civil disobedience campaign, through particularly the medium of the rent and rates strike, has brought the Northern statelet to virtual bankruptcy. Westminster can no longer hide behind the puppet strings of Faulkner and the boys, for the British government has been clearly exposed as the perpetrator of the injustices suffered in the North.