

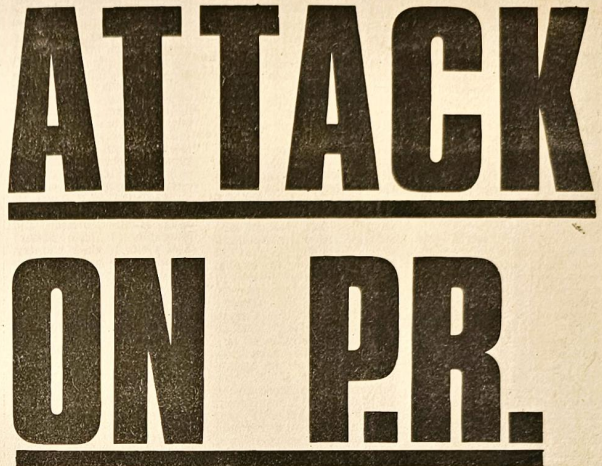
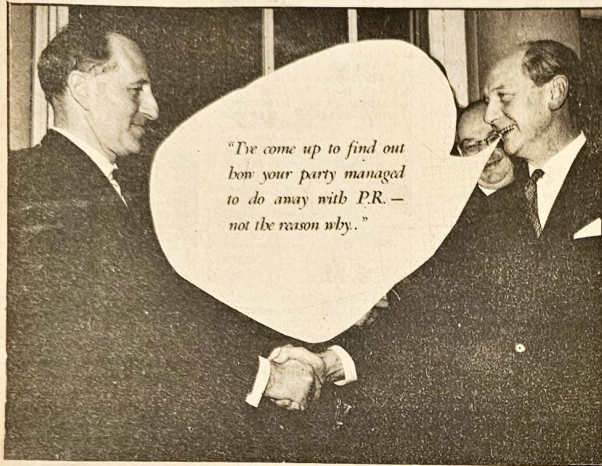
THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Eanáir (January) 1967

Iml. XXII Uimhir 1

Luach 9p. (US. and Canada 15c.)



G.A.A. TO WITHDRAW RECOGNITION FROM B.L.E.?

People who thought that the G.A.A. had succumbed to the brand of 26 Co. Republicanism so assiduously promoted by the Dublin Government in recent years got a welcome shock at the Dublin G.A.A. Convention held on Sunday, 17th December.

A Seol Uí Chonail motion to delete Rule 30 (which debar members of the Association from competing at athletic meetings other than those organised by the N.A.C.A.) was withdrawn when the General Secretary, Sean O Siachain, intervened in the debate.

Stating that it would be unwise, at this stage, to delete the Rule, he went on to point out that the N.A.C.A. was still in existence "and there are sharply divided opinions in the Central Council in the position of Bord Luthchleas na hÉireann."

"The Central Council's decision last June," he continued, "was not unanimous and it seems to me that the longer it goes the more divided these opinions will become. There is growing confusion about the position of B.L.E. and events of the past couple of weeks have appeared to vindicate the Munster Council's decision not to provide fields for B.L.E. meetings."

Withdraw request

The General Secretary then asked Seol Uí Chonail to withdraw the motion "to indicate that the G.A.A. was now no less in favour of a 32-county Ireland in athletics than it was when the N.A.C.A. was founded in 1922."

The decision taken by the Central Council last June was that "On the basis of the documents and information

submitted to the Central Council, B.L.E. is deemed not to rival the N.A.C.A."

It is understood that, prior to that decision being taken the B.L.E. Executive pledged to the G.A.A. that theirs was, in fact, a 32-County body and would continue to operate as such come what may.

It is believed that this declaration swayed a substantial majority of the Central Council to favour, at least, a tentative recognition of B.L.E. The General Secretary's statement shows that a substantial number of the G.A.A. Executive are now completely disillusioned by the B.L.E.

"The events of the past couple of weeks" to which O Siachain referred can be

interpreted to mean the break down of discussions between the B.L.E. and the Six County A.A.A. and recent appeals by B.L.E. officials in the Twenty-Six Counties to members asking them to ban Gaelic games. These latter appeals were made in areas where G.A.A. facilities were denied to the B.L.E., as reported in the last issue of the United Irishman.

The G.A.A. executive are realising a retrospect that they have in fact supported a sports organisation with a rabid 26 Co. mentality to the detriment of the N.A.C.A. O Siachain's statement reflects an awareness of this and seems to prestage an outright G.A.A. renunciation of B.L.E.

Muintir Wolfe Tone statement on P.R.

The Dublin Wolfe Tone Society wishes to draw the attention of all readers of the United Irishman to the danger to democracy in the 26 counties inherent in the proposed constitutional revisions, involving as they do the replacement of the multi-seat by the single seat constituency.

This procedure can only lead to the strengthening of the rule of Fianna Fáil, enabling it to maintain a stable rule over the 26 counties for the foreseeable future, reinforced by formidable machinery of patronage and repression.

It will also render more difficult the unification of the country, as the multi-member constituency enable minority interests to be catered for flexibly, while the single member constituency strengthens divisions and encourages local division of populations into ghettos.

The Society calls on all political and other bodies interested in the maintenance of P.R. to form joint action committees at local level for the purpose of preparing a coordinated campaign for the referendum.

As a first step, the Society commends the initiative of the T.C.D. Republican Club in inviting Miss Enid Lakeman, of the London Electoral Reform Society, to speak to a public meeting in the college on Monday, January 22nd. Miss Lakeman is a world authority on P.R. and spoke to a meeting under the auspices of the Society in Dublin a year ago in Jury's Hotel.

The Society calls upon all organisations interested in defending democracy to inform their members of this meeting, and where possible to depute people of standing to attend with a view to setting up joint action committees, to defend democracy in Ireland.

(This statement summarises the position adopted by the committee of the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society at a meeting held on Tuesday, December 19th.)

THE battle for Proportional Representation is on. It is now certain that Fianna Fáil is going to follow the example of the Unionist Party in the Six Counties and abolish P.R.

The report of the Constitutional Committee issued on Christmas Eve and the Leinster House Christmas recess until January 31st indicates that the long meditated move is afoot at last.

The Unionists abolished P.R. in the six counties in order to perpetuate their dictatorial discrimination against the large nationalist population there. Now Fianna Fáil strike for a similar increase of power in the 26 Counties by changing the rules that are slowly but surely easing them out of office. By removing P.R. Fianna Fáil remove one great guarantee of minority representation to the Unionists of the north in any proposed thirty two county context and, in the twenty six counties, they remove the threat of Labour and Sinn Féin. They move one step further away from unity with the six counties in order to consolidate their future in the twenty six counties.

Nor will the mistakes of the 1959 Referendum be repeated. This move has been made at a time when Fine Gael also have a vested interest in stifling the Labour Party, now strong rivals on the opposition benches. Fine Gael see Labour increasing their representation in urban areas under P.R. largely at the expense of a dwindling Fine Gael vote. Labour's refusal to consider coalition government has, as was pointed out in last August's United Irishman, pushed Fine Gael into a partnership of protection with Fianna Fáil. At the moment the moral and constitutional heroes of Fine Gael are in the process of accepting Fianna Fáil's latest attack on democracy in the hope that power will be theirs in the next election but one.

To further ensure success, the carrot of an increased number of seats is being held out to the back benches of both big parties. In the 1959 Referendum, some Fianna Fáil deputies canvassed against changing the system. The rationale for increasing the number of seats is given as the need to maintain rural and western representation in face of the

(Continued on page 12)

Fifty-Eight Per Cent In North Favour United Ireland

THE results of the National Opinion Polls Ltd. survey of Six-County attitudes will give rise to heart-searching in the ranks of the Unionist supporters and republicans alike.

The most significant figure is that 58 per cent of the population are in favour of some kind of a united Ireland and only 42 per cent are in favour of things as they are now, a slap in the face for unionist provincialism.

In the areas other than Belfast, the centre of Unionist patronage, the corresponding figures are 64 per cent and 36 per cent. The apparently solid Unionist front is indeed crumbling. The lessons of this will not be lost on Six County radicals of all religions: they are not so isolated as they thought, and if they stand up and are counted they are capable of becoming a formidable political force.

The results of the Six County poll confirm what perceptive observers have been saying for many years. Now perhaps they will be believed. There are also, however, some surprises.

The following results are not surprising and confirm long-standing Republican points of view:

* Religion and politics are not identical. Thus, if the "attitude" of a grouping is defined by a sequence of numbers representing respectively the measure of dependence: 4, "don't know," the Unionist attitude is (58, 2, 38, 2), while the Protestant attitude is (52, 2, 43, 3); thus fewer Protestants favour the status quo than do Unionists and more Pro-

testants favour a united Ireland (with the unspecified link with Britain).

Similarly, the Nationalist attitude is (18, 38, 47, 0) while the Catholic pattern is (20, 30, 50, 0), showing that there are more Catholic conservatives than Nationalist radicals than Catholic.

Support for change outside Belfast is greater than inside. Thus 56 per cent of

(Continued on page 12)

Telefis Eireann

We congratulate Telefís Éireann on the fine series of films about Fenianism that have just ended.

We note with satisfaction that there was no suggestion that the aims of the Fenians had been achieved.

The soldiers the Fenians fought were British soldiers. British soldiers still occupy six of Ireland's thirty-two counties, the only difference between 1867 and 1968 being the style of uniform in use by the British Army today.

The soldiers in the twenty-six counties are twenty-six county soldiers: Irish soldiers would want the British soldiers out of Ireland.

These soldiers protect the robber rights of those who exploit the people of Ireland — exploitation the Fenians fought to end.

Those who have drawn the conclusions from these films on Fenianism which explain the existence of the UNITED IRISHMAN should join the Republican movement without delay.

Help complete the greatest work undertaken in modern Irish history — the establishment of a thirty-two county Irish Republic.

THE EDITOR,
UNITED IRISHMAN,
30 CARSWATER PLACE,
DUBLIN.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Rebuke

A Chára,
According to Eoin O'Murchada of Trinity College, Dublin, in the November "United Irishman," Mrs. Fodla Mac Keown of Melbourne is "most amusing," a person with "cowardice inherent," "a fanatic voice crying in the wilderness" and "a babbler about principles." Allow me now to enlighten Mr. O'Murchada about this 80 year old lady reared up in true Fenian tradition in the Australian wilds.

In the first world war when rearing a young helpless family her husband, a native Irish speaker, was interned for Irish Ireland activities by the Australian government.

She was Secretary of the Gaelic League, active in Irish music and step-dancing, a member of Cumann na mBan and one of Sinn Féin's most active and uncompromising members and also a member of the League for an Undivided Ireland—all in Melbourne.

She was collector for the Irish Republican Prisoners and for the I.R.A. up to the 1956 campaign against British forces in the Six Counties. In propaganda demonstrations in Melbourne I've seen her knocked to the ground by burly policemen. I've seen her soot and dirt grimed face after the cells of Russell St. Watch-house Prison, the violent ink of the fingerprint expert on her fingers, her proud and haughty stand in court during the Fenian case "Wearing of the Green" case when charged under the "Rogues and Vagrants Act." On discharge the judge described her as "a person of high principle." Here in my own village she was assaulted by Free State Police in her defence of the Easter Lily, 1962. So now, Mr. O'Murchada, enough said.

You refer to payment of taxes, licences, and passports to the Free State government. Well, from 1906 to the men of 1956 and even today we, for example, purchase British and Free State postage stamps but to willingly enter the British, Six Co. or Free State Parliaments—no, never.

Learn your history, Mr. O'Murchada. There is today no Dail Eireann to enter, the British supplied guns of Free State forces suppressed it in 1922. The Six County and Free State Parliaments came into existence by British Law. England has no God-given or other right to establish these two parliaments in our land.

The second Dail Eireann was never dissolved and in 1928 the TDs of the Dail who remained true to Ireland, assembled and handed over authority of government to a Provisional Government of Ireland which is today the leadership of the Republican Movement.

This Provisional Government will dissolve when all Ireland next votes back Dail Eireann. Remember Pearse's words, Mr. O'Murchada—"If a few are faithful found they must be more faithful for being but a few."

There is no short cut to freedom. Let us travel the long hard road of high principle and uncompromising where at the end victory and freedom will eventually crown our banners.

Sean O'hairneide,
Carraigtwill.

Vietnam

A Chára,
Some of your readers have condemned the U.I. for publishing articles on Vietnam, because they point out that such articles can damage the advancement of Irish exile organisations and that Vietnam has no connection with the Irish struggle. I wish to express my support to the U.I. for its stand on this war, and point out that the struggle in Vietnam, like the struggle in Ireland, isn't two separate struggles, but part of one struggle, in which mankind is endeavouring to cast off the chains of imperialist slavery.

By waging this war in Vietnam, the U.S. Government violates the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and all norms of international law. This war is the most eloquent display of the aggressive policy of U.S. Imperialism. The military circles in the U.S.A. are aiming thereby to deprive the Vietnamese people of their freedom and independence, to impose their road to democratic development and the unification of their country. By the force of arms they are imposing an authoritarian regime of military dictatorship on the Vietnamese population, to crush the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula, to establish and consolidate their domination in Southeast Asia.

The U.S.A. has thrown a 350,000 strong modernly equipped army against the peaceful and industrious Vietnamese people and intends to increase it still further in the nearest future. It is waging a most ruthless war against a nation of peasants. Its bombs are falling over towns and villages with a peaceful population, killing children, women and old people, destroying factories, irrigation equipment and homes, schools, and hospitals, murdering peaceful people with napalm and poisonous substances. These activities in Vietnam are a crime against humanity.

Let our exiles in America and in those other countries involved in this "unholy War," take their stand for withdrawal of foreign troops in Vietnam as well as Ireland. We cannot close our eyes to this war as some day we ourselves may face the armies of the capitalist world if we choose to take the path of Socialism as did the people of Vietnam.

Flanníarra O'Dochartaigh,
8 Ravenswood Park,
Prehen,
Co. Derry.

A Chára,
I cannot agree with the two correspondents in the October issue of the "United Irishman" who imply that this paper should not support the Vietnamese in their fight for independence.

Mr. G. P. Fitzgerald (Australia) and Mr. Tom McGuigan Jr. (U.S.A.) support the U.I. in its fight against British Imperialism in Ireland, but they then switch sides to support the American and Australian Imperialists in the Vietnamese bloodbath.

What kind of nonsense is this? It's right for Irishmen to fight against Imperialism in Ireland (and it is) then it must be right for Irishmen to support the Vietnamese in their just struggle against the Imperialist Powers of the

United States and Australia.

Your Australian correspondent claims that Australia has a moral and legal right, under the SEATO Pact to be in Vietnam. But the Geneva Agreement of 1954 states in part: "That neither zone (North or South) would make International Alliances or receive military aid from outside."

He also claims that the majority of Australians support their Government's policy in Vietnam. This is untrue. Australians showed their dislike of the war by protesting in their thousands at the Johnson and Marshall (I like Hitler) Ky's visits to their country. Indeed there were so many demonstrations in Johnson and his army of armed C.I.A. men were constantly ducking in and out of back entrances to avoid meeting them.

Also the Australian Seamen won worldwide admiration and praise by their courageous action in refusing to sail the ships "Boonaroo" and "Jeparit" with their cargo of bombs to Vietnam.

At the Australian Council of Trade Unions Congress held in Melbourne from August 28 to September 1, 1967, the A.C.T.U. Executive recommendations of "Boonaroo" and "Jeparit" were endorsed. There was not one word of criticism, of the Australian seamen's action in refusing to man these ships for Vietnam by either the A.C.T.U. officers Executive or any of the 658 delegates who attended the Congress. Amongst those 653 delegates were representatives of the Communist Party, and some from extreme right wing organisations.

I agree with the suggestion by Sean Dunne that the U.I. should set aside a page for International affairs. I think Imperialism should be exposed in all its shapes and forms wherever it rears its ugly head.

Keep up the good work.
M. G. Flinnin,
Auckland,
New Zealand.

A Chára,
I would appreciate space in your paper to express an opinion on the Vietnam issue.

Several opinions have already been expressed, but it seems to me that the crux of the matter lies in the interpretation of the term "Republican".

U.S. policy in Vietnam appears to be callously indifferent, not only to the wishes of the Vietnamese people, but also to a fair percentage of world opinion.

I would like to recommend a book called the "Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti" to Tom McGuigan. It seems to reflect a certain type of thought peculiar to the Anglo Saxon race.

It seems fairly obvious that the countries involved in Vietnam had to rely on Volunteers instead of Conscripts, we would soon see the McDonald come.

K. McDonnell,
New Zealand.

Congratulations

A Chára,
Congratulations to Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtarán Sinn Féin, for his great, sensible and really down to earth address, entitled "Sinn Féin President on Socialism," delivered at the University on Friday, October 20th. I am, I hope, only one of thousands of U.I. readers who would

endorse his great inspired views. As a matter of fact that is the first really clear explanation on what should be the attitude of members of the N.F.A. and all members of our Trade Unions, that has ever been made by any of the leaders of the Republican Movement in recent years, at least to my knowledge.

Drumakill,
Castletown.

Information

A Chára,
The Central Citizens Advice Bureau is at present gathering information as to the whereabouts of vacant Corporation flats and houses in Dublin and we welcome the following information from readers:

1. Length of time vacant.
2. Approx. number of rooms in house or flat.
3. Present state of house or flat.

We already have some information of vacant Corporation flats and houses and we are now compiling a complete dossier as we want to bring to the attention of Dublin Corporation that such an un-called for information exists in a city where there are 10,000 families homeless. The required information should be sent to An Rúnai, Central Citizens Advice Bureau, F/ch. 3 Parad Mucois, Baile Atha Cliath 7.

Is mise,
Sean O'Connellath,
Ruaní.

Guevara

A Chára,
We notice with great surprise the death of the Guerrilla fighter, Dr. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, has passed unnoticed in your columns. We feel that his untimely death in Bolivia should have received some mention because of his Irish blood and in particular because of his continued struggle against imperialism and for his love of the common people.

We note that "Che's" death was given wide publicity, and in particular by two articles by Sean Cronin in the "Irish Times." Surely a paper like the "United Irishman" could afford the space for such a Revolutionary as Guevara.

Sean O'Duinn,
Sean O'Connellath,
Dublin 1.

Eviction

A Chára,
As a republican who has been active in the Movement since the 1930/40 period and who has since dropped out due to the everyday problem of trying to exist and provide for my family, I was overcome to learn of the return of the Movement to the problems that effect us all. I refer of course to the recent agitation on the housing front in Dublin and by the organisation of Citizens Advice Bureau in the Dublin Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin. I refer in particular to a recent eviction in Palmerstown quite near where I live. A young married couple was evicted on one of the coldest nights of the year and the next day a picket was put on the house by a very youthful group and I was delighted to know that this group consisted of members of Citizens Advice Bureau and local republicans. I feel that if the movement continues this type of work they will

BUY LYONS TEA AND HELP SIR GEORGE!

The East James Street Action Committee in conjunction with the Dublin Action Committee and the Sinn Féin Citizens Advice Bureau are organising a "Save East James Street Houses" picket outside the mansion of Sir George Mahon, Castleknock, Co. Dublin, on Tuesday, January 2nd, commencing at 8.30 p.m.

Sir George is chairman of Lyons Irish Holdings Ltd., distributors of Lyons tea. At the A.G.M. of Lyons held in the Shelbourne Hotel, Friday, 8 December, Sir George noted that the company had achieved record sales for the sixth year in succession. Profit before tax amounted to £182,303. East James Street demolition plans were not mentioned.

A. G. M. s

At the Annual General Meeting of Cumann an Pharsaigh, Rathfarnham, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Cathaoirleach, Dr. Roy Johnston; Leas-Cathaoirleach, Sylvester Doolan; Rúnai, Seamus O Brogan; Cisteoir, Deirdre McKenna. Delegate to an Comhairle Ceantair, Eoin O'Mairtin. Delegate to the Central Citizens Advice Bureau, Breasil O Caolla.

At the Annual General Meeting of Cumann James Fintan Laragh, Sinn Féin (East Wall, North Strand area) at which Michael O Riain, Ard Comhairle, presided, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Cathaoirleach, James Cruise; Rúnai, Mrs. Monica Ryan, 56 Coleford Road, East Wall; Cisteoir, Joseph Buckley. Delegate to an Comhairle Ceantair, Tom Murphy. Delegate to the Central meeting of the Citizens Advice Bureau, James Cruise.

Aifreann

Mass will be offered on January 14, 1968, for the repose of the souls of Sean O'Neilan and Joseph Malone whose anniversaries occur about this time. The Mass will be offered in the Franciscan Merchants Quay, at 10.45 a.m.

Brian O'hUiginn

At an dinner cummeachais Brian O'hUiginn, nDroichead Atha bronnadh an Phainne Nua ar na daoine seolaeas: Seosamh O'hUiginn, Peadar O'hUiginn, Labhras O'Crúigin, leas-

Martin Savage

The Republican Annual Commemoration for Martin Savage, Ballisodare, was held on Sunday, 17th Dec., in Ballisodare. The parade was led by Collooney Convent of Mercy Accordion Band with a colour party from the Martin Savage Cumann.

A wreath was placed on the grave by Michael Savage, a brother of deceased. The parade was led by Collooney Convent of Mercy Accordion Band with a colour party from the Martin Savage Cumann. A wreath was placed on the grave by Michael Savage, a brother of deceased. The parade was led by Collooney Convent of Mercy Accordion Band with a colour party from the Martin Savage Cumann.

Cumann Leonard

The annual general meeting of Cumann an Colonel Leonard was held in the Cumann rooms, Drogheda, on Thursday, 30th November, 1967.

All the following officers and committee were elected: Uachtarán Onorach, Michael O'Mairtin; Cathaoirleach, Domhachda Mac Ragnail; Leas-Cathaoirleach, Seosamh O'Canain; Rúnai, Deirdre Ni Mhartain; Leas Rúnai, Tomas O'Ceallaigh; Cisteoir, Eoin O'Mairtin.

Cisteoir, Pádraig Mac Domhnaill; Mairtín O'Ceallaigh, Claran O'Morda; Oibheir O'h-Eochaidh agus Oscar Mac Ragnail.

Common Market

On Friday, 12 January, at the Victor Hotel, Rochestown Ave., Dun Laoghaire, Anthony Coughlan, Lecturer in Social Administration in Trinity College, Dublin, and Derry Kelleher, M.Sc., lecturer in political science will speak on the subject "Ireland, Britain and the Common Market—the problems of a small nation". The chairman will be Vincent McDowell.

On Friday, 26 January, Colin Bird and Flor O'Mahony, Labour Cllr. for Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown will speak on "Youth in the Socialist Republic—the chairman of this meeting is Con Lehane.

Both commence at 8 p.m., and both are sponsored by the Labour Party.



● "It's not bad really. I am afraid you will just have to take your place on the housing list".

indeed achieve the long sought after, freedom that Frank Russell and George Plant worked so hard for. I would like to finish by expressing my approval of the progressive thought which is published in your paper each month.

Seamus Ryan,
Palmerstown,
Co. Dublin.

THE ERNE CAFE 4 Parnell Street

(200 yards from O'Connell St., Dublin)

Lunches, Teas, Snacks etc.
Prop. MICHAEL BOYLE

Fine Gael's Death-Bed Repentance

CHARLIE "Fingers" (in Spanish) Haughey, the Minister for Financing, I mean Finance, must think he knows better than the famous American politician who averred that you can't fool all the people all the time.

Either that or he believes the Irish people are extremely gullible. Consider his statement after the announcement of the devaluation of the pound last November: "I can see no living shore but the cost of living should be affected here as a result of the devaluation by Britain".

Who does Mr. Haughey think he is fooling? In the very same editions of the newspapers in which his deep-calm-boys speech was printed there appeared reports of imminent increases in the prices of bread, tea, petrol, oils, tobacco, copper, fertilisers and many other commodities.

Cost of living

AND if the increases in price of these items does not raise the cost of essentials like foodstuffs, fares, housing, etc., then I'm a devalued Dutchman.

By the time these few months and costs have been in print I am ready to bet my last precious dollar that the cost of living will have gone up several points.

Remember Charlie Haughey's rash words during 1968 ("I can see no reason why the cost of living should be affected here, bread, etc.") and ram them back down his throat at every opportunity, by writing to him, to the papers and generally kicking up a stink about this scandalous state of affairs.

Free currency

INCIDENTALLY, it amuses me greatly to see the Gaelic all people calling for the setting up of an independent currency—something Republicans have been screaming for seeking for many years. This surely is a death-bed repentance but it will fool nobody.

Neither will Charlie Haughey's vaunted plan to have a Bill passed giving the 26-County Government apparent power to control its own currency and to fix exchange rates independently of the pound sterling. This is sheer window-dressing, since we are inexorably linked with sterling through our reserves, our trade and our total dependence on Britain.

Rises for the boys

AND while the citizens of this benighted statelet prepare for leaner times in 1968, what do you think the politicians are doing? Why, getting ready to vote themselves increases in salary, no less! The Taoiseach and Ministers are doing nicely at the moment, thank you, but not satisfied with what they are getting. The Taoiseach is getting £5,000 a year or approximately £100 a week. His Ministers get £3,700 a year or approximately £75 a week.

I know old age pensioners, widows and poor people who have to live on less than a week! Is this the equality that Fianna Fáil boast about? Shame, shame, shame.

Shame on them

AND greater shame that such papers as the "Irish Independent" should support this move for bigger salaries for these public servants. In its editorial titled "Underpaid" on December 12, the "Independent" advocated "reduction in pay for the Taoiseach

and his minions, saying: 'We ought to be ashamed of the pitiful pay on which we pay the Taoiseach and his Ministers to live'.

How do you like that? Of course, we all cannot afford the standard of living enjoyed by Ministers—or directors of "national" newspapers for that matter. But may I ask by what right the wealthy newspaper magnates demand of the ordinary people, by way of increased taxes I suppose, that they give vastly increased salaries to the politicians who are ruining our country?

Setting example

THERE were but a few phrases in the same editorial with which I agreed wholeheartedly. They were as follows: "It is entirely proper that Ministers of State should set an example for the rest of the country. They are expected to live soberly, avoid shady dealings and not get arrested for drunken driving".

I agree. Ministers should, of course, set such example—by frugal living, unostentatious behaviour, reasonable salaries and a standard of living in keeping with their status as public servants in a democratic Republic struggling to keep its head above water.

How different from the home life of our own dear Ministers, nothing for the poor. Cherishing all the children of the nation equally, how are ye? But then that's Ireland 1968 for you—land of opportunity, if you are a Fianna Fáil, a Taca-man, a son, daughter, nephew, uncle, aunt, cousin or in-law of a Fianna Fáil Minister or deputy, island of quids and dolours, you know the right people.

And all the right people are in the know.

How long more must we put up with it?

£600 suite

IT is not inappropriate at this point to consider also the £600 bathroom suites recently installed in Government Buildings—the news of which I gave a few months back. Since then Mr. Haughey has admitted having a duck-egg blue suite installed in his offices at a cost of £600.

In contrast read this report of a meeting of the Cork Health Authority. "I was shocked and amazed," said Mr. T. J. O'Sullivan at the meeting when he said that on a recent visit to the Cork Mental Hospital he found that a portion of the Hospital (St. John's Ward) contained 53 patients and a staff of from six to eight with only one toilet and three small wash-basins. "I think it is an indictment of this Authority that such things can be allowed," said Mr. O'Sullivan.

He said that the ground on which the building stood was leased and that no reason why adequate toilet and washing facilities could not be provided for an expenditure of from £400 to £500.

Opportunity

AS I said—£600 bathroom suites for Ministers, nothing for the poor. Cherishing all the children of the nation equally, how are ye? But then that's Ireland 1968 for you—land of opportunity, if you are a Fianna Fáil, a Taca-man, a son, daughter, nephew, uncle, aunt, cousin or in-law of a Fianna Fáil Minister or deputy, island of quids and dolours, you know the right people.

And all the right people are in the know.

MAC DARA

REPUBLICAN CLUB NEWS + REPUBLICAN CLUB NEWS + REPUBLICAN CLUB NEWS

MR. CRAIG — CAREER AS A CLOWN?

ONE law for the rich; one law for the poor—one law for the Republics, and a different law for "safer" people. But not until these differences in what should be one impartial body of laws are challenged is the essential weakness of the ruling elements in Ireland made clear. The present flight of Mr. Craig, Minister for Home Affairs in the Six Counties, seems to have come straight from a comedy by Sheridan, but for the important consequences to any semblances of Democracy in the Six Counties.

Cumann' Illegal?

The Students' Republican Club at present supposedly illegal, can become legal and operate—if not with the Minister's blessing, at least with his consent—if the name of the Club is changed to 'Republican Society'—or like name; but according to the order made by Mr. Craig, Republican Clubs or like organisations are illegal. If the Republican Club in Queen's is illegal now, then if it changes its name it will still be a like organisation. I hesitate to think what would happen if the Club used the Gaelic form of its name. The Gaelic name can be translated as 'club', 'society', 'association' or 'like' term. The vagueness of the order, however, is not without purpose: the order is an attempt to cloak in suitable legal abstractions the use of an absolutist principle which was rejected in 1688. It is a

philosophy of their philanthropy never extended to their colonies and dominions.

Craig's Lost Sleep

The existence of this prima facie illegal organisation seems to have weighed heavily on the mind of the Minister: he may have lost sleep, we hear he has lost sleep, trying to legalise a Club which he does not agree with, but which, as a democrat, he believes should have the right to exist. So much was he concerned in, fact, that he persuaded a deputation of the Club to meet him to discuss the matter. He, firstly, assured the deputation that there would be no difficulty about the Club being legalised, if it became a society or an association; and, secondly, he wanted the Club to accept constant surveillance by the Police and to submit lists of members to his ministry whenever wanted. This latter condition is the more sinister part of the Minister's legalistic twistings; it demonstrates the fear of Republicanism that dominates the Unionist mind and the absolutist police-state mentality of the ruling powers, a mentality that finds uncomfortable parallels in South Africa, Zimbabwe and South Viet Nam where 'safe' or 'constitutional' parties are allowed to exist providing they either co-operate in the exploitation of the people of their own country or provide no serious opposition to the absolutism of the ruling junta.

OVER the months I have written quite a bit on the power of the Orange Order, on the Government which was exposed, not by here. This was once again demonstrated by a blatant example of favouritism which was exposed, not by weeks, and exposed, not by a Nationalist or Republican, but by a person whose loyalty, presumably, would be with status quo.

3000 Vacant

In Belfast, with its accommodation shortage of 8,000-9,000, plus another 3,000 if the ring-road project gets off the ground, it is scandalous to learn that within the city boundary, 3,000 houses are lying vacant because the owners either have no wish to carry out repairs, or have no direct interest in them. All such property should be requisitioned by the Government and made available to the housing list. But this would interfere with the private enterprise system, the backbone of Unionism.

On December 7th, "City Week," a Belfast weekly newspaper owned by the Morton Organisation, ran a special two-page article on the banned Republican Clubs using the heading "Outside the law." The article was fair, unbiased, illustrated by photographs of the various personalities, and gave the names of the clubs. It was by those concerned) of Liam Mulholland, Patsy Quinn, Rebecca McGlade, and many others.

The Students considered the Minister's proposals, but decided to reject them as they considered that any compromise of their civil rights would facilitate the enforcement of a dictatorial piece of legislation which they opposed in toto. A subsequent meeting of the Students' Representative Council passed by an overwhelming majority a motion declaring the moral right of the Club to exist. Membership now numbers 200, but the Police have as yet taken no action, though the Union building at the University is under constant surveillance by the Special Branch. A letter of congratulation and support has been received from the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, and they have invited the Club to send two delegates to explain the case at a meeting in London on January 28th.

Fears Students

The powerlessness of the minister to implement the ban on the Queen's Club is evidence of the fear the minister has of student opinion, the nature of which supports the right of Republicans to organise and associate. Student opinion could be decisive in beating this outrageous ban. "A machine can break men or make things, but cannot break men—only slaves." This truth of Pears's finds a parallel in the attempts of the ruling class in Ireland to keep the students in a Unionist orbit away from converting themselves with any

This was seen as a direct challenge to Craig's ban, but no action was taken by the U.C. till almost a week later, the 13th. On that day most of those mentioned in the article were visited and questioned by the police. Members of the Queen's University Republican Club also were questioned.

Lynch and R.U.C.

During the 'lost' six days of December 7th to 13th, a notable personality, Mr. Jack Lynch, visited his northern outpost at Belfast and ran off our famed Mr. Ian Paisley and some of his henchmen who hurled snowballs at An Taoiseach's car. Two of the throwers had their names taken by the police and then, within a matter of hours, republicans are visited by these same upholders of law and order.

Somehow my interpretation of the latter issue is that Craig had to placate the wider members of his party and what better than to challenge the would-be destroyers of 'loyal Ulster'? Mrs. McGlade in a press interview intimated that the members of the various clubs banned by Willie Craig are prepared to challenge his edict in the courts if he attempts to enforce his ban. (One wonders if the ban was discussed by O'Neill and Lynch over their Stormont dinner.)

P.R. and the North

The proposed changes in the P.R. constitution will, with one major exception, be welcomed by all thinking people who have the interests of Irish unity at heart. With one-third of the total population of Ireland not of the Roman Catholic faith, and some who see nothing morally wrong in divorce

and the use of contraception in marriage, it would be utterly hypocritical to deny them these rights, although, as yet, the latter issue has been dodged.

The exception referred to is the desire to abolish the proportional representation system of voting which is, of course, the method used at present in elections within the Twenty-Six Counties area. If the voters allow P.R., which is generally considered to be the fairest means of electing a government, to go, then they will have a purely oligarchical state, the chosen few being the wisecracks of Fianna Fáil with perhaps some little help from Fine Gael, the Republicans and Labourites in a changed system of voting would be relegated to the status of also-rans and the apparent recipient of the protest vote.

Unionist rivaling

Up till the late twenties the North used the P.R. system and was able to return a substantial anti-Unionist opposition. But the current one-man-one-vote elections the Unionists have a walk-over at the elections which was the desired effect in changing from P.R. The lack of unity among opposition forces, the claims to being a deeper threat to the Unionist majority.

Whatever happens within the jurisdiction of Leinster House, Jack Lynch and his cohorts must not be allowed to further sell the people of the Twenty-Six Counties, and the Republic of Ireland, short. His intention of changing the method of voting must be thwarted and it is up to us in the position of providing opposition to do so.

FRANK HEGARTY

THE College Historical Society, T.C.D., recently placed the UNITED IRISHMAN on order for their library. The "Hist" as this society is popularly known, was the society of which Wolfe Tone was a member during his time at Trinity. We welcome this renewed link between a society which has historic associations with the Republic of Ireland and the UNITED IRISHMAN, the tone of which is Wolfe Tone.

ceapadh ag daoine aird nach bhfuil Guth na hEireann (Gael Viet Nam) 'responsible' go leor ce go bhfuil an dream sin threis sar-obair a dheanamh chun coisnas na ndáil a dhuisú faoin tacaíocht atá rialtas na 26 'Gondae ag tabhairt dosna himeiricealagh ag Comhthionól Ginearála na Naisiún Aontaithe.

U Thant

Socraíodh, amh, sa deireadh go ndeanfaí iarracht sinthe a bhailiú i gcoir imir an rialtas atá le déanamh agus agus tacaíocht a thabhairt do U Thant agus don Phapa a d'iarr ar na Meiriceannigh stad a chur leis an bfuil i Viet Nam. Tá an-spéis ag na meiriceannigh agus ag na meiriceannigh Phoblaigh na hEireann a thaispeáin meid an coislaigh dír ar na hEireann agus cas Viet Nam; ta an-daithir roinne mar gheall ar leideach na naimhde agus i Viet Nam beagáin dír amach saoire a dtíre i gcoir aird is oir; ach níl ghlac méir Viet Nam leis an treigean ag na meiriceannigh go dtíre dian in aghaidh na bPoncanach. Tá daoine in Éirinn, freisin, nach bhfuil sasta glacadh sa treigean agus dothu a dtíre.

JARGON OR PEOPLE



DR. E. T. NEVIN

THIS month we publish the concluding part of Mr. F. T. Nevin's article on 'Ireland and the Common Market', the analysis of Irish attitudes towards the Common Market which Sean Lemass considered dangerous enough to suppress.

Small wonder! Many of Sean Lemass's own magic words, words like 'efficiency', 'dynamic', 'growth', 'expansion', and 'free trade' words, which are synonymous with the Sean Lemass image, were exposed in Dr. Nevin's article as slanted, ambiguous and riddled with unexamined half-truths.

Last month's portion of Dr. Nevin's thesis dealt with the basic principles which should govern export and growth policies. This month's portion

world, then it must be possible for the external value of the currency to depreciate. As this happens, the country's exports become cheaper to foreigners until, at some level of the exchange rate, sufficient of the country's production becomes competitive on export markets to finance the import of its remaining needs from abroad.

Each of these assumptions, then, is necessary to the validity of the classical comparative cost doctrine. And not one of them would hold for Ireland. As is well known, the effect of creating unemployment in a particular industry is not in reality the transfer of labour to another industry but unemployment, or migration or both. Between 1951 and 1960, for example, the numbers employed in agriculture, forestry, construction in Ireland fell by 105,000; the numbers employed in other sectors of the economy were virtually unchanged. Wages are nowadays notoriously inflexible—in a downwards direction at any rate—and in Ireland have the added element of inflexibility arising from a close dependence on prevailing British wage-rates. The legal parity between the Irish and U.K. pounds effectively prevents a resort to devaluation as a device whose efficacy has in any case been shown by the experience of 1949 to be, for various reasons, both limited in scope and strictly temporary in effectiveness.

The essential mechanism of the process is this: destruction for a society such as Ireland. In theory, the employment of resources in the domestic production of goods which cannot be made more cheaply abroad imposes a burden, a loss, on the economy. By shifting resources to more suitable activities total output could be increased, the goods previously manufactured at home could be imported at a lower cost, and the economy as a whole could secure a net gain. But if the resources displaced by imports are not employed elsewhere in the economy this ceases to be true.

From the point of view of society as a whole, the real cost of producing a commodity X is the output which the resources concerned could have produced if they had not been engaged in manufacturing X. If the alternative to making X is that the labour would merely be lost to the society because of unemployment or migration, however, then the social cost of the labour used up in the production of X is zero. In whatever the monetary costs involved, therefore, production in such a situation is worthwhile so long as the non-monetary costs, direct and indirect, are less than the total value of the commodities produced. Suppose, for example, that labour costs amount to one-third of the total production cost of a commodity; a tariff of 33 per cent on imports of that commodity would be perfectly consistent in such a situation with the optimum use of resources from the point of view of the economy as a whole. The total cost of the local product is not more than 33 per cent above the price of the imported equivalent.

It is clear, then, that any argument which concludes that 'inefficiency' is necessarily involved wherever a domestic industry survives only with the aid of a tariff is superficial and inconclusive. Inefficiency, in some meaningful sense of the word, may indeed be involved; on the other hand, efficiency, in its widest sense and for the economy as a whole, may be achieved for a particular country only through the application of tariffs.

Conversely, the assertion that the removal of tariffs will automatically eliminate inefficiency and raise income and welfare is invalid as a general proposition; it may indeed be so, but it is not at all a self-evident axiom.

There is a fourth piece of jargon whose inadequately-defined use has hindered intelligent discussion of the Common Market issue. This is the expression 'per capita income'. It is a highly ambiguous phrase, and upon its interpretation a great deal may hinge. It can refer either to the quotient of the income generated in a specified period and the number of income-earners, or it can refer to the quotient of total income and the total population. The distinction has several practical implications of statements such as 'the object of economic policy is to raise per capita income'. Ireland will be entirely different according to the interpretation adopted.

For example, suppose that in the employment of a limited volume of resources at their disposal, the authorities face a choice between constructing, on the one hand, an enterprise which is highly capitalistic (in the technical sense) — such as a chemical plant — employing, say, a hundred men with an annual net output of £10,000 each—or, on the other hand, a series of highly mechanised enterprises in, say, the wood-working trades, which would employ two hundred men with an annual net output of £600 each. Which should be chosen in the best interests of economic policy? The object of 'raising per capita income' is interpreted to refer to output per person at work, the first is clearly preferred since net output per employee would be £10,000 a year compared with £600. The fact that there would be an extra hundred men included in the unemployment returns would be irrelevant. If, on the other hand, per capita income is taken to mean the whole population, then the second project is to be preferred, since it will add £120,000 to the national income rather than £100,000.

discusses economic priorities. What should the aim of the economy be? Prosperity for sections of the population or for the community as a whole? Is the raising of individual incomes to take precedence over reversing the population decline? What, in fact, is the aim of the Irish economy? Are there social objectives, and if so, what are they?

These are the questions that any decision to abolish the tariff structure in favour of 'free trade' bring to the surface. In the answer of these questions will be found the answer to the economic starvation of the western seaboard and the answer to the school of false economics that would have Ireland join any 'free-trade' area.

The distinction is an elementary one; but it is the elementary which is most in danger of being overlooked.

There is one final obscurity in the contemporary debate which is clearly relevant to this last point. The obscurity is simply stated: what is meant by 'Ireland'? (The political question of twenty-six or thirty-two counties is not being referred to, of course.) When it is said that membership of the Common Market will, or will not, raise incomes, productivity, efficiency etc. 'in Ireland', what exactly is meant? The Republic with its present population of 2,842,000? Or with some other defined population? The Republic with a population increasing every year by its natural increase of some 25,000 or 26,000? Or the Republic with whatever population it happens to have at the precise moment when the question is asked?

The connection with the hypothetical problem of resource-allocation just discussed is obvious enough. If the hundred men failing to get a job when the chemical works were simply remain unemployed it will give (in comparison with the alternative project) a higher income per person at work but a lower average income per head of total population. If they had taken the next boat to Liverpool, however, the dilemma would have disappeared. The chemical plant, by giving a higher output per person employed, would also give a higher income per head of total population. In this sort of situation, a society can have a higher income per head of total population with a smaller population, or it can have a lower average income with a larger population. It may be that, faced with such a choice, all would agree with the balance of advantage lies; it is as well to acknowledge the existence of the problem nevertheless.

All this puts the problem in its simplest possible form. In reality things are complicated by the fact that if the average income per person is a minimum level emigration will occur anyway. On the other hand, that minimum level cannot be assumed to be the prevailing United Kingdom average; if it were there would be scarcely anyone left in Ireland by now. It is a range of incomes, in other words, within which the dilemma is encountered and the policy decision required.

Pulling all this together, the really crucial issues posed by the Common Market question begin to emerge. The concentration of so much of the contemporary debate on the relative merits of this form of agricultural price support or that, or on the prospects of some industry as compared with another, has tended to obscure them. The detailed problems of agriculture and industry are, of course, im-

portant and relevant; but they are not fundamental in the sense of the issues discussed here.

What is it, then, that is at stake? Membership of the European Economic Community clearly involves a primary reliance on free market forces (as least so far as industry is concerned) and therefore on a policy of allowing the economic structure of Ireland to be shaped by them. By definition, the use of trade policy—tariffs and quantitative restrictions—to influence the size, nature and location of industry in the pursuit of general economic and social aims must be virtually abandoned. The Treaty of Rome contains provisions whereby protective measures may be retained during a transitional period, of course, but its primary purpose is to ensure that in the long run they disappear.

The purpose of this paper has been to suggest that before any intelligent attempt can be made to assess the relative advantages and disadvantages involved in Ireland's membership of the Community, answers must be defined to questions such as these:

What exactly is meant by 'Ireland'? Over what population, in other words, should the horizons of official economic policy extend? What is Ireland trying to go to?—basically, what sort of society is she trying to establish? How far are population movements determined by the level of income and related economic considerations? Are they determined by changes of a magnitude such as to be within the control of Irish economic policy, now or in the future?

What relative importance should be attached to raising individual incomes, on the one hand, and retarding, or reversing, population decline on the other? Does such a choice really exist? If so, what decline in the average level of income per person at work is equivalent to what gain in population? Is it total income or average income which is thought to be important?

How far is non-economic welfare sacrificed in a process of economic growth of the kind considered likely to follow membership of the E.E.C.? How much growth is worth how much welfare? Or is non-economic welfare best raised only through conventional economic growth?

Whatever the answers given to these questions, it is well to beware of fatalistic indifference, such as that typified by the saying that Ireland is in any case in the grip of inescapable forces outside itself. Fatalism of this sort is commonly encountered, for example, in the doctrine that if Britain enters the Community Ireland will have no option but to follow.

There is a third set of ideas which has found its way into popular discussion without universal appreciation of the qualifications and assumptions which properly go with those ideas, and it is here that the very core of the issue facing Ireland in connection with the Common Market is approached. In contemporary debate, 'tariff' has become an expression of odium; tariffs are said to obstruct and retard the movement towards efficiency (regarded as a self-evident absolute good) and to insulate the economy from the forces of 'free competition' (regarded as a self-evident need).

It is therefore concluded that our economic policy—and specifically our trade policy—should be such as to tend towards a state of affairs in which agriculture and industry operate at a high level of per capita output (implicitly or explicitly defined as the level prevailing in some specified foreign country) and in which per capita incomes in ambiguous expression to which attention will be directed a little later) also attain a specified minimum (usually the level obtaining in the United Kingdom).

The issues at stake here are so fundamental that it is worth considering the theoretical substructure, which (usually implicitly, or even unconsciously) underlies this type of argument. In essence it embodies the 'classical' comparative cost theory, on which the main corpus of modern international trade theory still substantially rests. The doctrine of comparative costs holds that each country must allocate its resources amongst those activities in which its productive efficiency is highest (or inefficiency least), relying on imports to provide goods for which its productive efficiency is relatively low. By adopting this principle, each country (like all productive resources within a country) will occupy itself in the activities for which it is

best suited; output as a whole, over the entire productive world, will be at the highest level possible. Completely free trade is essential to this happy state of affairs, of course, since hindrances to international trade (tariffs or quantitative restrictions) will prevent the fullest possible specialisation and will thus reduce output below the potential maximum. Given free trade, however, specialisation will naturally follow; 'uneconomic' industries in particular countries will find it impossible to compete with low-cost imports coming in from more efficient producers abroad and will be forced to release their productive resources into activities more suited to their talents. The free play of international market forces will thus bring about the optimum distribution of resources, both within individual countries and as between different countries.

Now all this reasoning rests on a number of necessary assumptions, some of which are of no particular relevance here. Of crucial importance, however, are the assumptions of complete mobility of labour within the country and the flexibility of wages (which together imply a continuous state of full employment), and of flexibility in the foreign exchange rate. Mobility of labour is necessary to the process in order to ensure that, when it is displaced from 'inefficient' production by low-cost imports, labour is transferred to activities where its comparative advantage is highest. Wage flexibility is necessary to the same end because, when a shift of labour occurs towards these 'efficient' activities, wages must be driven down until the surplus labour is absorbed into them. Finally, flexibility of the exchange rate is necessary. If at the lowest feasible level of wages and prices a sufficient number of the productive activities of a country are still not able to compete with imports moving in freely from the outside

U.S.S.R. TO TRADE OR NOT?

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND THE E.E.C.

This then should suffice to illustrate what could be done by a people determined to draw on its own spiritual and economic resources by a policy of self-reliance and who refuse to accept a position of inferiority before the Anglo-American and Common Market political and economic power blocs. For the first time in our history we have the basic "know-how" in a nucleus of technologists with experience from abroad and in whose minds the myth of the "foreign expert" has been shattered forever. Since our government cannot grasp this fact primarily as a result of the failure of their policies for scientific development, resulting from the appointment of political nominees without this "know-how" they must be replaced by one with faith in the people. For the fact to be known about "know-how" is "can do"; that is to say that it is a philosophy of systematic thinking and action essentially, rather than an accumulation of facts or technical details. It becomes a revolutionary force when its custodians are imbued with the fervour to share it with others who are in turn willing to relearn and re-orientate what in many cases is already known to them.

What has been written so far has mainly concerned the chemical industry. Other Irish scientists and technologists can tell of other possibilities some of whom have returned with a view to setting up industries in Ireland but failed to receive from the government the necessary grants which are to all intents and purposes reserved only for foreigners ("No Irish need apply"). Mr. Norman Smythe, for example, envisages a group of light industries based on the expansion and diversification of Irish Steel Holdings Ltd. and other packaging machinery, material handling equipment, process equipment and steel office furniture. In addition to these the manufacture of pumps, valves and fittings of corrosion resistant material may be cited. The manufacture of printing ink on a large scale and more paintworks utilising the most modern and economic methods of producing specialist paints and protective coatings demanded by industry are also cited by Mr. Smythe.

Problem of Population

But in all discussion on economic development we must return to the problem of population. Unlike the other developing countries, we suffer from a shortage of people, let alone technical skills, caused by emigration, and to sustain the economic growth consequent on large scale developments will require not only that emigration be halted but that it be reversed so that there is a net influx of people preferentially with large families and the required skills. These must be rehabilitated as in Israel by the provision of guaranteed social welfare benefits, promotional rights on ability, pensions, housing, etc. The too old at 35 police adopted in imitation of management procedures in developed countries must be made illegal on humanitarian as well as National grounds since it militates against the return of large families so vital for our future. At the same time the general policy will be one of disciplined and dedicated National effort, and to maintain our balance of payments the curtailment of luxury imports. Farm co-operatives would be set up on the line of the Israeli Kibbutz or on the basis of the Ralahine Farm of County Clare in the last century or following the lines of development laid down by the patriot priest Father McDyer of Glenconville. These farms could be used as "surge capacity" to absorb large numbers of returning emigrants motivated by a patriotic call to save the nation until the surplus could be relegated to new industrial centres around which

new towns will be built to provide the basis for the future "city states" from which would be generated the Science, Art and Non-Predatory Morality of the future Ireland. The whole question of reintegration of the population of the nation is essentially revolutionary in character and in conformity with Connolly's principle that Ireland as distinct from her people means nothing since the ways and means adopted cannot be reconciled with the laissez-faire or Neo-Manchester school approach to economics which now dominates the thinking of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael.

British Stranglehold

The fiscal policies adopted would include state control of credit, control of investment of Irish savings and capital abroad, which could not be controlled in E.E.C., together with the substantial repatriation of existing Irish Foreign investments to provide part of the capital needed for building up the national industry. Long term credits for plant and equipment are also obtainable and in case of deals with the U.S.S.R. are payable not necessarily in cash but in kind. It is noteworthy that barter deals on an international scale now appear highly feasible with the news in the "Observer" of February 5th that the company Emerson Associated under its Chairman Mr. Henry Klonarides has negotiated deals for such reputable concerns as Dexon and the David Brown Corporation. Klonarides' activities in this regard would stem from the discovery from U.N. sources of nearly 500 bilateral agreements which indicated that over half the world's trade was conducted in this way. On the continent companies such as the Andre Cie of Lausanne, with 5,000 worldwide agents, a fleet of freighters and a vast telex communications network, conduct an extremely lucrative business in this field.

There remains the question of our major industrial export of agricultural produce. The stranglehold, which Britain has on our economic life as our major, and for all practical purposes, only customer, must be broken by seeking markets elsewhere and these are obviously not obtainable in the six E.E.C. countries or for that matter in the E.F.T.A. countries. In the event that Britain should hold our economy to ransom for any reason, by virtue of her commitment to E.E.C. for example, or our insistence on the immediate reintegration of the six counties in the Irish nation, which must necessarily be the policy of a revolutionary government, reliance might well be placed on the U.S.S.R. and the Communist States to absorb the bulk of our agricultural produce. This will involve good-will primarily on our side including the immediate opening up of diplomatic relations. The export of agricultural produce could be on a barter basis for technical assistance. Not only Cuba but Egypt has benefitted from such reciprocal arrangements. It is pertinent to recall that when the U.S. refused to buy sugar from Cuba, which is the largest exporter of this commodity in the world (production 6,000,000 tons per annum) the U.S.S.R. agreed to take the surplus in exchange for technical aid amongst other things. Similarly the U.S.S.R. stepped in to save the Aswan High Dam project for Egypt when that country refused to accept U.S. aid with strings. By showing her independence in this way, although her leaders are anti-Communist, Egypt merited in Soviet eyes this and other assistance.

In order to diversify the marketing of agricultural commodities an Agricultural Produce Marketing Board would be set up. One of the functions of the board would be to obtain worldwide customers for the products of mammoth meat processing plants obtaining all the advantages scale thereby, together with the associated recovery of by-products such as glue, gelatin, bone char and bonemeal together with the use of the glands of specialised cattle for the manufacture of expensive perfumes. Similar considerations would apply in the development of large scale fish processing plants following the establishment of a viable fishing industry. Diversifica-

tion in the production of agricultural commodities would be augmented by the popularisation of more sophisticated cooking methods so as to provide a local market for the absorption of the commodities, thereby compensating for restriction on the imports of "luxury" commodities.

One immediate benefit from reciprocal trade relations with the U.S.S.R. would be the availability of mining engineers and geologists highly skilled and experienced in the exploration for indigenous raw materials. (It may be noted that in the U.S.S.R. computer techniques have been recently successful in disclosing vast new mineral reserves, especially of gold.) It will be recalled that some years ago when U.S. exploration teams failed to find petroleum in India, the Indian government availed of the services of a team of mining engineers from the U.S.S.R. who were successful. It may be noted that U.S. and British experts have claimed that there is no petroleum in Guyana although this country adjoins Venezuela, the third largest producer of petroleum in the West. Big powers have a way of locking up the resources of little powers until their own run dry and so as to suffer no limitation in their markets in the meanwhile. While Tynagh ore is now being exported because the quantities realised are claimed to be too small to support a viable indigenous smelting works we may take note of the slowness of foreign exploration teams in discovering extensive ore seams or natural gas and petroleum. And we may also note, to our advantage if we wish to avail of the indigenous resources of the U.S.S.R. that the economic nationalism the Soviet Union welcomes it on ideological grounds. And it is finally noteworthy that the opening up of diplomatic and trade relationships by small countries with the communist bloc with a view to obtaining economic aid very often elicits the fiercest opposition from the countries of origin of these monopolists.

Towards the Future

This then is a contribution to a policy of a party or parties willing to take the future in its hands in the name of the Irish people and go forward to the august destiny to which we have been called in the 1916 proclamation. No longer must England and English industrial practices serve as the prototype of our endeavours. We must realise as the more progressive English technologists have realised for some time that English industrial management practices are largely redundant and not allow "experts" from this tradition of inefficiency to guide our efforts. Here in Ireland and amongst Irish exiles there is a mine of technological "know-how" awaiting to be tapped by a revolutionary government, i.e. one with a scientific outlook and imbued with scientific ideas and we must realise clearly that the failure to utilise its own human resources by the present and former governments underlies the confession of failure implied by the proposal to enter the E.E.C. Thus "breaking the connection with England" and "Sim Fein" take on a much more urgent significance for this generation than even for the men of 1916, as the necessity to use these slogans now implies the possibility of our subservience to the E.E.C. economic imperialism and the destruction of the Irish nation in a new and more insidious Act of Union. Is it then too much to hope for that miracle from God "to ripen in the hearts of the young men of today the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation"?

This month we print the concluding part of a paper produced by the Science and Technology Sub-Committee of the Wolfe Tone Society on Irish technology and its possible development outside of the Common Market.



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THE CLUBS

Students show the way

Craig dithers while the North laughs

THE cloud that has hung over Republican Clubs throughout the Six Counties since the imposition of the Craig Ban lifted somewhat last month and revealed some of the areas which have come out in open defiance of the Ban. The tide of confusion which the Ban originally generated among clubs has turned against its author and could well engulf him.

In Belfast, representatives of four clubs met and elected a Republican Directorate for the area for the coming year. The three leading officials are: Chairman, Liam Mulholland; Secretary, Patsy Quinn, and Press Officer, Rebecca McGlade. A reporter from Cityweek, a Belfast weekly, attended the meeting and a two page feature on the Republican Clubs appeared on the 7th December. To date, there has been no news of a swoop on the offices or plant of the courageous Cityweek.

Mr. Craig, reeling under the adverse reaction to his ban, generated among all shades of opinion by the Q.U.B. Republican Club, which has no connection with the City clubs, failed to take any action under the Ban apart from attempting a little police intimidation.

The newly elected chairman, Mr. Mulholland, stated that the clubs had never accepted the ban and that they would be willing to fight it in the International Courts because they were sure of victory. He described it as "a blatant denial of the human liberties of free speech and free association which were guaranteed by the United Nations Charter." He claimed that the ban was illegal as Britain was a signatory of the charter and therefore it automatically applied to the Six Counties. He said that the ban was "a sop to extreme Unionist elements."

Mr. Mulholland declared that it was the decision of the central committee to fight the ban and therefore they intended to act openly "like any other political party." He said that he was quite sure that the new

policy would win the Republican Clubs the support of the people. He felt that for too long Sinn Féin, as the Republican body which had asked the people for a mandate, had over-emphasised the unity of Ireland question to the detriment of the social question which had always been a foundation of the Republican movement.

Mr. James McFall, Secretary of the Andersonstown Republican Club stated that it was the feeling within the clubs that the Minister of Home Affairs was unwilling to bring the leaders or members of the clubs to court. The ban was not being enacted. "How could it be when our club has written to and received replies from City Hall even though we are outlawed?"

Press officer for the Central Committee, Rebecca McGlade, said she thought that in the more moderate Loyalist circles public opinion was no longer against Republicans.

Several members had reported that since the clubs had become active in community affairs they had to openly meet people from different political parties and in the majority of cases had been treated with respect. "They might not agree with what we think, but today they seem to be willing to give us a chance to talk. I think this is what the Government is afraid of and this is why they have tried to drive us underground and brand us as militants. Many of our members are completely opposed to force."

She said that most people were getting rid of the idea that "Sinn Féiners" were die-hards who ran around trying to shoot everybody and had horns and tails as suggested by some extremists.

Younger members of the Republican Clubs interviewed dismissed the Government argument about the link between the clubs and the IRA by saying: "It is well known that members of the Unionist party are members of the outlawed UVF and vice-versa but that does not

mean that Craig bans the Unionist party."

In Newry, the Oliver Craven Republican Club, under the energetic leadership of Dan Moore, has openly and successfully defied the Ban. He admitted, however, that the Ban had an inhibiting effect upon older members and prevented successful recruitment of younger people.

Despite this, the new social emphasis in Newry is proving successful and like the Clubs in Belfast, the Oliver Craven Club has got recognition at local level from the Newry Urban and rural area Councils. He produced a letter from Newry U.D.C. complimenting the Republican Club on their interest in local affairs and noting that their recommendations in relation to traffic problems in the town had been accepted. Craig, he thought, had bitten off more than he could chew, and the enlightened attitude of Local Authorities towards the Republican Clubs in many areas proved this.

THE order S.R. & O. No. 42 banning "Republican Clubs and like organisations" however described "was issued on March 7th, 1967, together with an order banning any parades commemorating the Fenian rising of 1867. By sheer coincidence the orders were issued two months before the local elections."

The Unionist alarmists hoped that the suggestion of "subversive activity" would provide the Unionist-brainwashed section of the electorate with the necessary stimulus to flock to the polls and ensure a massive Unionist victory. Moreover, they hoped that by banning this fast growing and perfectly legitimate organisation they would placate the Paisleyite faction and heal the split in the Unionist ranks.

Absurdity and totalitarianism were present almost in equal proportions in both orders. Both were to prove more an embarrassment than an asset to the Unionist Government. The order banning Parades was openly defied. Easter Parade organisers made a point of stating that the Fenians were to be given a place of honour equal to that of the men of 1916 in the parades and far from being intimidated by the illegality of the proceedings the nationally minded populace turned out in numbers exceeding even the splendid display of 1966.

In Newry Dr. Padraic Quinn, in a grave and oration, said that the Minister had issued an order he could not enforce. The organisers in Newry had openly defied the ban and if Craig were to be consistent he should arrest them all. "Being all wind and bluster," said Dr. Quinn, "he

will do nothing" — a forecast which proved only too true.

The issue of the banned Clubs was to prove a much longer affair. In Queens University members of opposition groups within the University formed "The Joint Action Committee Against the Suppression of Liberties." At a meeting of the society on 8th March it was decided to hold a protest march to the city hall protesting against the Ban. It was decided to form a Republican Club in defiance of the ban and a committee was elected under the chairmanship of Pat Fahy. Under the terms of the Order the legal position of the Club was very much in doubt — the order banned "Republican Clubs and like organisations" but made no attempt to define a Republican Club or to state what exactly constituted a like organisation. Craig made his position clear in a statement that "it would not be only unwise but illegal for any organisation even if constitutional in character to call itself a Republican Club. It was now clear that the order was aimed at the very concept of Republicanism and that the Minister had taken it on himself to ban two words in the English language at least when used together.

Friday, March 10th, and in spite of the ban and the fact that it was the last day of term, the march was well attended and gained wide publicity. It was followed next day by another protest march against the Special Powers Act, organised by the young Socialists of South Belfast.

Meanwhile, the University Republican Club applied to the students Representative Council for recognition. This was subsequently granted and the decision referred to the Academic Council for confirmation. In May, a meeting of the Club was held under the auspices of the Marxist Society, which was addressed by Tom Mitchell, Roy Johnson and Eoin O'Murchu. With the advent of the summer vacation the issue of the Queens Club died down somewhat.

right of Republican Clubs to exist.

A meeting of the Joint Action Committee urged students to join the Republican Club. It was also decided to hold a protest march to the Glengall St. headquarters of the Unionist Party. As soon as the decision was announced an organisation purporting to be the "Unionist Trades Union Association" announced their intention of holding a meeting in Glengall Street at the same time as the march with the avowed intention of "educating a little further these so-called intellectuals." Despite this blatant provocation and implied threat of violence the R.U.C. did not ban the proposed meeting. Neither did they object when the "Rev." Ian Paisley announced that he was going to hold a public meeting of the Ulster Protestant Volunteers in Shaftesbury Square on the proposed route of the protest march. At the last moment it was decided to re-route the march to the home of the Minister of Home Affairs and thus avoid the possibility of a sectarian faction fight which Paisley hoped for.

Reaction in the university was immediate and violent. Motions deploring the acquiescence of the University authorities in the face of this flagrant breach of Civil Rights were passed overwhelmingly at the Union Debating Society and the New Ireland Society where all shades of political opinion united to support the

Student Reaction

Preparations for the protest march went on in spite of a last minute ban by the Academic Council of the University. It took place on

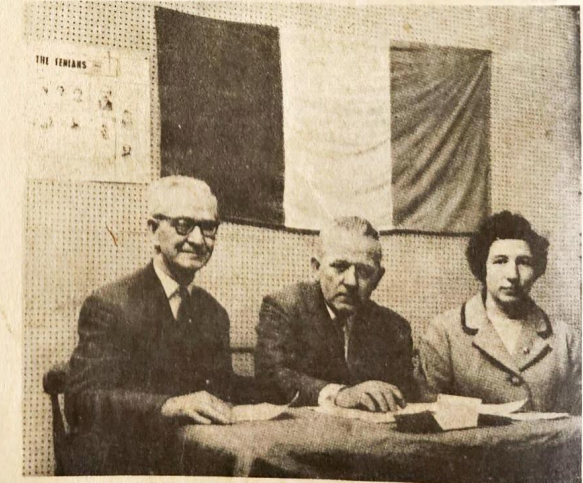
Student Reaction

The issue was revitalized when a letter was received by the president of the S.R.C. stating that their legal advisers had told them that they were prevented from recognising the club because under the terms of S.R. & O. 42 it was an illegal organisation.

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1,500 Protest

1,500 Queen's students and representatives of Stranmillis Training College, St. Joseph's Training College, U.C.D. and Leeds University walked four miles in a bitter November wind to present a letter of protest to the Minister's Private Secretary while



● Re-elected to the Belfast Republican Clubs' directorate at the recent A.G.M. From left: Liam Mulholland, (chairman), Patsy Quinn (secretary) and Rebecca McGlade (Press officer.)

DEFY THE BAN



● Students marching to Belfast City Hall to protest against the ban on Republican Clubs. At the right, carrying the banner is Brian Patterson, Q.U.B. Republican Club secretary.

'Paper-Tiger' Craig encourages Orange provocation and police intimidation . . .

the reverend addressed a meeting of 300 people in Shaftesbury Square and then scuttled off to the City Hall thinking the student march had been rerouted there. Due to the restraint of the students, the day passed without serious incidents despite the efforts of the occupants of a car which drove slowly along the half-mile length of the procession shouting Paisleyite slogans and waving a Union Jack. The Police made no attempt to stop this blatant provocation.

Petition

After the march, arrangements were made to enrol

members and membership cards were printed. Meanwhile a petition was drawn up protesting against the ban and circulated among members of the staff and student body. This will be presented to Parliament in due course.

Mr. Craig was rather perturbed and hoping to placate the mounting tide of resentment, offered to show the students how to organize themselves so as not to come in conflict with the law. The Republican Club at the University was not very enthusiastic; the members had consistently maintained that they sought no special dispensation because they were students. Nevertheless they decided to in-

vestigate the offer and a four-man deputation comprising the chairman of the Club, the President of S.R.C., and two members of the Joint Action Committee paid a visit to the Minister of Home Affairs.

Predictably, the Minister informed them that to become legal they must change their name to the "Republican Society" or the "Republican Association" — the underlying assumption seeming to be that "associations" or "societies" were all right but that "clubs" were somehow pernicious. Further the Minister declared that a list of members must be available to his Ministry and to the police at all times, that the

Club would be under constant police surveillance and could be banned at a moment's notice.

Action Committee

A subsequent meeting of the Joint Action Committee advised the Club not to change its name — it was felt that to change the name would be to facilitate enforcement of an act which the Club and the Joint Action Committee had pledged themselves to oppose in toto. The stipulation that they must submit their activities and their members to be vetted by the Special Branch and the Unionist Government was

rejected outright as a typical police state condition. The absurdity of the order is highlighted by the fact that members of a club which by the Minister's own definition is in no way subversive can be arrested and imprisoned for the crime of using a specific word in the English language. Separate statements on the meeting were issued by the Joint Action Committee and the Republican Club.

Since the announcement, the Chairman and Secretary, Brian Patterson and Patrick Murphy, and the chairman of the Joint Action Committee, Rory McShane, have been questioned by members of the Special Branch. Meanwhile a dossier on

the Order and its effects is being compiled and will be sent to the British Home Secretary. If necessary the validity of the Order may be contested in the Courts. The Club has received a letter of support from the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster and are to send two delegates to one of the Campaign's meetings on January 28th.

By their refusal to acquiesce while basic human rights were being attacked, the students in Q.U.B. have exposed Bill Craig as a paper tiger, have showed up the absurdity and arrogance of S.R. & O. 42 and its ineffectuality. And they have undermined the foundations of the Special Powers Act.

Thursday, July 26th, 1956.

Liberation Square, Cairo, was crammed with tens of thousands of Egyptians celebrating the third anniversary of the Revolution which had brought Gamel Abdel Nasser to power. A month previous the last British troops had scuttled out of Cairo. Powerful searchlights picked out the figure of Nasser waiting to begin his speech.

At No. 10 Downing St., London, the British

Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, was giving a dinner in honour of King Faisal of Iraq, then on a state visit to Britain.

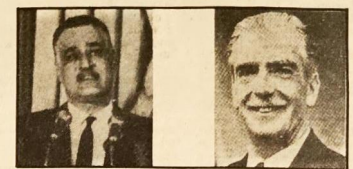
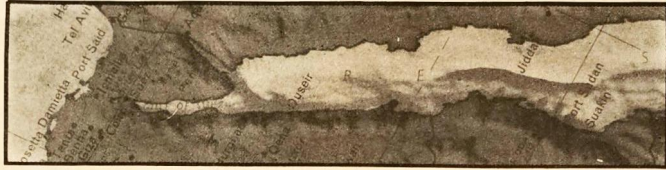
A minute after Nasser began his speech he mentioned the name of Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal. At this pre-arranged signal Egyptian army units waiting at radio control points along the entire length of the Canal

moved forward and the offices and works of the Suez Canal Company were occupied at gunpoint in a matter of minutes.

At Downing Street, Eden's private secretary interrupted the dinner party to give him the news of the nationalisation of the Canal.

An emergency Cabinet meeting was called immediately.

SUEZ



1956

THE Suez Canal is an artificial waterway about a hundred miles long which links the Mediterranean at Port Said with the Red Sea at Suez. Approximately 500 feet wide at the surface with sloping banks it has a width of the bottom of about 200 feet. As the shortest and most economic route to India and the East, it was vital to Britain's trade interests in the Orient. Bismarck once described it as "the spinal column of the British Empire".

To Eden, living in the shadow of Churchill, nationalisation came as the last straw in a series of incidents which since Nasser's first harassing of Arab nationalism had precipitated defeat after defeat for British Colonialism in Arab countries.

On March 1st Cairo Radio backed demonstrations had at last forced King Hussein of Jordan to summarily dismiss Glubb, Commander of the Arab Legion and bundle him out of Jordan in less than 24 hours. Eden's almost fanatical hatred of Nasser dates from this incident. The visit of General Templer, Commander of the Imperial General Staff to Jordan almost resulted in Hussein's overthrow and was only averted by the Generals precipitate retreat.

When nationalisation occurred Eden was driven by the "Suez Group" within his own party numbering about 40 hard core Imperialists to the decision to topple Nasser by any means and restore British prestige as a world power. From that day onwards the British Premier sought any and every excuse to use gunboat diplomacy against Egypt. In a world teetering on the Dulles brink of war, his subsequent actions amounted to lunacy.

The Search for War

The birth of ruthlessness in Eden found sympathetic echoes in two other countries. France, another colonial power fighting Arab-nationalism in Algeria had even more cause than England to hate Nasser's Cairo Radio which maintained a daily propaganda tirade in support of Ben Bella's insurgent force. Guy Mollet, the French Premier whose very political existence depended upon French success in Algeria had knowledge of surplus Russian arms presented to the Algerians by Nasser. It was suspected that the Algerian H.Q. was located in Cairo. A blow against Nasser would be a blow against the Algerian rebels.

Another country with an axe to grind with the Cairo promoter of the East-West aid programmes for Egypt was Israel. Israel's population of one and a half million were ringed around with the hostile Arab's forty million population and now the 80,000 British troops who formerly acted as a buffer between Egypt and herself were no more. Nasser-inspired fedayeen raids emphasised their precarious stance in the Arab maelstrom.

Israel army policy was greatly influenced by Moshe Dayan, forty year old Chief of Staff. His creed, inherited from Wingate, was that of attack reprisal. To kill two Arabs for every Jew killed was the only answer to fedayeen raids according to Dayan.

To Israel the removal of Nasser meant the removal of the informing spirit of pan-Arabism and the induction into the Arab world of the confusion that would improve Israeli security.

American interests at this moment in time were in conflict with that of the Colonial powers. The State Department realised that the string of Strategic Air Command bases stretching across North Africa to Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Pakistan required the best possible diplomatic relations with the national governments involved.

Eden's search for a *casus belli* against Nasser was to prove fruitless. Expropriation, a legal procedure by which a state encroaches upon private property rights in order to place them at the disposal of its public services, is an established sovereign right under international law. Frustrated on this point Eden then fell back on a plan which would place him in the role of defender of the rights of all nations and so cloak an attack in Egypt. The Suez Canal Company with its H.Q. in Paris, had carefully fostered a mystique in regard to the working of the canal. Only their pilots could do the job of navigation properly and in their absence all would be confusion.

A failure on Nasser's behalf to maintain an adequate traffic flow in the canal would justify Anglo-French intervention.

On September 11th, the Suez Canal Company in Paris announced that as all pilots contracts expired at midnight on the 14th, it would withdraw all British and French pilots on the following day. Eden and Mollet eagerly awaited the story of chaos that the world expected to hear as French and British pilots left their jobs en masse.

Nasser trumped this card by passing forty ships through the Canal on the next day with Egyptian and Russian pilots, four more than the normal daily average. He thus demonstrated to the world his ability to run the Canal as efficiently as the former Canal Company and exposed the fallacy of the need for an elite corps of pilots.

Treaty of Sevres

By this time negotiations had taken place between Israel and France and Israel was prepared, subject to certain guarantees from England and France, to attack Egypt and so give an excuse for Anglo-French intervention. Further secret meetings at Chequers with Eden clinched the deal in principle.

On October 21st an outright pro-Nasser victory in the general elections was announced in Amman, capital of Jordan and yet another pro-British regime had collapsed.

On October 22nd at the Villas Coublay, Sevres, in the outskirts of Paris, Selwyn Lloyd for Britain, Guy Mollet of France and Israel's David Ben Gurion finalised the agreements for an attack of Egypt. The agreement was as follows:

The Israelis would attack in the Sinai and reach the canal in the shortest possible time.

The British Air force would attack the Egyptian airforce while it was grounded on its airfields, and continue the bombing daily in order to intimidate other Arab states and prevent them joining Nasser.

The Anglo-French Forces, 100,000 strong with 130 warships and six destroyers, would invade the Canal area on the pretext that they were dividing the two combatants and protecting the waterway for international use.

Previous to the landings an ultimatum would be issued to both sides to desist. Israel would accept but not until they had reached a point ten miles east of the canal.

The ultimatum would be triggered off by an Israeli radio news bulletin saying that its advance units were at the approaches to the canal.

America Cold-shouldered

The plan assumed that if Israel attacked on November 1st it would take four days at least to reach the Canal and the allies would intervene on the sixth, the day of the American Presidential Election, in order to remove any threat of American intervention. This date was subsequently changed to October 29th while Israel made border feints at Jordan in order to put Egypt off its guard. When Israel mobilised on October 27th, it's inhabitants were thinking in terms of war against Jordan. Meanwhile, the ultimatum to two belligerents not yet at war was prepared.

During the last stages of the Anglo-French-Israeli collusion Eisenhower had been sent into a diplomatic deep freeze and had only C.I.A. reports to indicate the current of events.

Dayan unleashed his forces on schedule and that evening Israeli paratroops were dropped within twenty five miles of the Canal. Events were moving too fast and while attempts to speed up the delivery of the ultimatum were successful, the attempt to speed up the British military machine proved unavailing.

On the night of October 31st the first British

bombers appeared over Cairo and for the next five days world opinion was outraged as the bombs rained down incessantly. Pre-prepared leaflets depicting a scared Nasser were dropped by the thousands inviting Egyptians to revolt. "... We are now obliged to bomb you wherever you are. Imagine your villages being bombed; Imagine your wives, children, mothers, fathers, and grandfathers escaping from their homes and leaving their property behind. This will happen to you if you hide behind your women in the villages. ... You have committed a sin ... that is, you have placed your confidence in Abdel Nasser". So much for the maintenance of peace and the protection of the Canal. The insincerity of Britain's actions shone through all the confusion. Condemnation resounded across the world.

At the time the ultimatum was issued calling on the belligerents to withdraw to positions ten miles on each side of the Canal Israeli forces in some points would have to advance a distance of 170 miles to satisfy the ultimatum while Egyptian forces would have to withdraw as much as 135 miles!

Also reaction at the United Nations proved too fast. Eden had wanted to present occupation of the Canal to the assembly as a fait accompli. But Cabot Lodge, on Eisenhower's urging, insisted that the Council rush through a vote on a United States resolution calling on Israel to withdraw its forces from Egypt and on Britain and France not to use force or the threat of it. The Russian delegate was the first to vote for the U.S. resolution while France and Britain were forced into the usual Russian role of veto. The use of the veto for the first time ever was a great humiliation for Eden and a short time later when the U.S. voted for a Soviet resolution, Britain was again forced to veto. Eden was also faced with the collapse of the Commonwealth as India and Canada threatened a break and was forced to tell lies on the floor of the House of Commons in an attempt to confuse a vitriolic Labour opposition. And all this before any troops had landed!

Pound Weakens — Attack Stops

The excuse to land troops in order to protect the Canal and the oil pipelines across the desert was also gone. Nasser had the Canal blocked at both ends and forty block ships, some of them sunk by British bombs, lay at the bottom. Two bridges over the waterway were blown up for good measure. The oil pipelines were also blown up.

With world opinion unanimous in condemning him, criticised by his own party and the opposition, cut adrift by Eisenhower who was aligned with Afro-Asians and Communists against him, Eden's hatred still drove him onwards. France, already at war in Algeria, had no such problems. The entente was crumbling even as the troops prepared to invade.

By Monday, November 5, when the first British assault began on Port Said and Port Faud, a U.N. police force had already been formally established. The British and French objectives were now seen in their true perspectives — the overthrow of Nasser at all costs.

British prestige vanished over night. Confidence in sterling weakened and a run developed on the pound. Eden applied to Eisenhower for dollar support but was refused point-blank. With the Canal now blocked for the foreseeable future and the supply of oil stopped, Eden was at last forced to capitulate and order a cease-fire. Desperate last minute efforts by the French to sustain the attack failed.

In Washington, Eisenhower rebuked the French Ambassador who asked him if the U.S. would support France and Britain against the threat of Soviet attack. "You must stop this war. You must withdraw from Egypt. Our position is that of the United Nations Charter. It is inviolate for all nations, all men. Mr. Ambassador, let me tell you this; life is a ladder which mounts up to Heaven. I am near the top of that ladder, and I wish to present myself with clean hands before my Creator".

Catholicism in Irish history

A HISTORY OF IRISH CATHOLICISM, edited by Patrick J. Corish (Gill). Fascicules I (i), III (ii & iii), V (iv & v) and VI (vii), 7s. 6d. each.

Irish preoccupation with religion makes it remarkable that it is only now that a comprehensive survey of Irish Catholicism written by Catholics is appearing in print. The Reverend Professor Patrick Corish's opus magnum, which begins to appear thirty-four years after the late Professor Alison Phillips' three-volume History of the Church of Ireland, will prove a very useful textbook for the Catholic layman as well as in the seminaries.

An odd feature of A History of Irish Catholicism is that it is being published first of all in a series of fascicules or booklets and ultimately as six bound volumes. The first four fascicules appeared in June.

Professor Ludwig Biele's contribution, St. Patrick and the Coming of Christianity, presents the old controversies surrounding Ireland's first saint in an erudite but concise form. The late Father Canice Mooney (The First Impact of the Reformation) and Father Frederick M. Jones (The Counter-Reformation) deal adequately with the ecclesiastical changes of the Tudors. It is interesting to note that although religion has throughout recent Irish history given rise to social conflict and political upheavals, at the time of the Reformation itself, religion was not a major source of contention. This was because both the 'Old Irish' and the 'Anglo-Irish' retained their allegiance to the Papacy. Protestantism did not significantly affect Ireland until the arrival of Scottish, English and French settlers in the following century.

The third fascicule is the work of John H. Whyte (Political Problems, 1850-60) and of Professor Cushman (Political Problems, 1860-78). The Fenianism of a century ago is accorded special attention and a new understanding is given to the personalities of Cardinal Cullen and Archbishop McHale. A 'rebel priest',

Patrick Lavelle, is the most captivating ecclesiastical figure of the period. He set Pio Nono's condemnation of Fenianism at naught, arguing that the pope was mistaken in thinking the Fenians were anti-clerical like the revolutionaries with whom the Papacy was faced on the Continent.

The variety of contributors makes for an uneven work. The contribution of Father Joseph McGlade is proof. In his Missions: Africa & the Orient he is so naively uncritical and so neglectful in trying to make the best of what is a most interesting phase of Catholic history, that one cannot but wish he had been more judicious in his use of sources. Most of what he has read is highly biased and much of it is written by active missionaries whose patronising attitude he fails to get rid of. "The work of the Church", he pontificates, "is everywhere and at all times fundamentally the same, a struggle of the kingdom of God against the empire of Satan". The trouble is that Father McGlade seems to equate the Kingdom of God with Ireland and the Empire of Satan with Africa and the East. If this attitude is typical of Irish missionaries, no wonder he has to admit that Islam — a non-European religion — is gaining ground in Africa so much more rapidly than Christianity!

The fields of Irish missionary activity have been the English and American spheres of influence. It is interesting to speculate that if Ireland had remained Gaelic-speaking and had never known the British connection, Catholicism may never have penetrated to the extent that Irish missionaries have made possible.

On one point Father McGlade is quite mistaken. The Catholicism of South India does not date back only to the saintly Portuguese adventurer, Francis Xavier. There were Christians on the Malabar coast in the fourth century — when even Holy Ireland was still largely pagan.

C. J. WOODS



● Countess Markievicz in the uniform of the Irish Citizen Army, 1916.

Michael Davitt, Pioneer of the Land Revolution

MICHAEL DAVITT by Francis Sheehy Skeffington. MacGibbon and Kee. 36s.

This is a welcome new edition of Sheehy Skeffington's excellent biography of that key-figure in modern Irish Revolutionary politics, Michael Davitt.

In his useful introduction Professor F. S. L. Lyons says "This is one of those rare biographies which divide the readers' attention almost equally between the subject and the author". "The continuing interest of this biography", he says, "comes from a fundamental affinity between the two men", from two men whose role it was so often for one or other to be a minority of one.

Minorities of one can nonetheless be influential. Davitt showed when he was the only public figure to protest against the Limerick pogrom of 1904. He was alone when he resigned his seat in Westminster in protest against English brutality in the Boer War. He was the only European to examine, re-

port on and condemn the excesses of the Jews of Kishinev in Tsarist Russia. It was his decision to found the Land League. Others had known it but he brought to the foreground of people's awareness the most important four letter word in Ireland, LAND.

For a man of such wide ranging activities, of so much published work, of such skill and enthusiasm in organisation, to be a man of almost no formal education, hypersensitive to criticism, handicapped by the loss of an arm working as a child labourer in industrial England, is quite amazing.

But the memory of the eviction of his family from their small holding in the Mayo Gaeltacht (Davitt's first language was Irish) always remained with him. In England he joined the I.R.B., being one of those involved in the abortive Chester Raid of 1887 and a key figure in the purchase and distribution of arms. He served 7 years in English jails before returning to Ireland to launch the Land League, stage manage the New Departure, be expelled from the I.R.B. (though in many ways those revolutionaries were more tolerant than a later generation: Davitt and O'Leary who opposed him on the Land League issue could meet at ease in the Contemporary Club and elsewhere despite their political split); serve a short stint as an M.P.; launch the Labour World (sounding himself too radical for his time; "progressive labour" — asks for the better and the more democratic organisation of labour — that to the community, not to the landlord, shall accrue that immense annual increment which is due to general industry and enterprise; and it calls for the extension of State and Municipal control and ownership of such monopolies as can be managed by public bodies in the public interest); be a Zionist before it's time; and a humanitarian at the time; and to activate the infant Labour Movement in England.

Davitt's life and work deserve careful study. Sheehy Skeffington's book is the best introduction to them.

"Constance De Markievicz", by Jacqueline Van Voris. \$7.50. The University of Massachusetts Press.

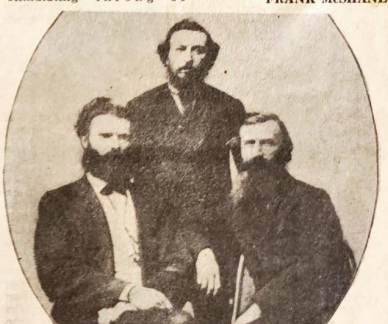
Miss Van Voris is the latest in the field. Anne Marrocco's account came out some months before. Sean O'Faolain was the first to write an account of the Countess, it was described recently as a "potboiler". I read it some years ago and found it a nasty piece of work, like his book on the great O'Neill, it seemed to have been designed for the English market, a trap too many Irish writers willingly fall into. The Countess for a period got a jaundiced reception from sections of Irish males, whose ingrained Puritanism did not make allowance for the intrusion on the Irish scene of a mere female. The Countess never degenerated her feminine instinct during her imprisonment in English jails and her work for the cause of Ireland never degenerated into pomposity — which is a national failing — though she incurred the hostility of Sean O'Casey and the dislike of Yeats which afterwards turned to grudging admiration, James Connolly, a severely practical man, discerned her sterling qualities from the start. Like her companion in arms Maud Gonne she forsook the frivolous activities of her class for the demanding work of militant republicanism.

Miss Van Voris sketches this multifaceted work with a deft brush. Whether as a young art student in Paris at the turn of the century or a young bride of a Polish nobleman, in his estates in the Ukraine or mixing in artistic circles in Dublin, her husband Count Casimir, "Cas" to his friends was a good-hearted Pole and a bosom friend of Gogarty. The Countess threw herself into this stimulating throng of

talkers, artists, playwrights and poets with all the intensity of her passionate nature. She had tremendous enthusiasm which sustained her all too brief life. It was at this period that she made the harsh choice to embrace Irish nationalism and sever her friendships of a lifetime and alienate her class. It was not easy to tear up the roots of a lifetime and identify herself with a struggling obscure band of young idealists. In the initial stages she had to encounter the hostility of Arthur Griffiths and other figures but her evident sincerity soon convinced the doubting that their suspicions were ill-founded.

Madame, as she came to be known affectionately founded the famous Fianna Éireann. She was a crack shot herself and taught the boys how to shoot, how well she carried out this task — there was so much of the untrammelled spirit of youth in her makeup — is signified by the roll call of the Fianna, Andy Dunne, the O'Holohan brothers, Eamon Martin, and their instructors, Con Cobert and Liam Mellows. Madame's work for Ireland came in the smoldering shell-battered College of Surgeons, where as second-in-command to Commandant Michael Mallin of the Citizen Army she did battle with the British army. What a far cry from Sligo, "where we grew up intimate with the soft mist and the coloured mountains, and where each morning you woke to the sound of the wild birds..." to the drab public ward of a Dublin hospital among the poor whom she loved so well and who reciprocated her affection. Truly Madame had given all. "I sculsi na hÉireann". This book is beautifully printed and bound with its fine end papers and full bibliography is what we have come to expect from America.

FRANK McSHANE



● Dennis Dowling Mulcahy, Thomas Clarke Luby and John O'Leary in 1865, when O'Leary was the Fenian newspaper.



● John O'Leary and Max John MacBride (executed in 1916) at Fontenoy in 1905. MacBride had just returned from the Boer War.

John O'Leary a strong link in the great chain of Fenianism

JOHN O'LEARY: A Study in Irish Separatism by Marcus Bourke. Anvil Books. 42s.

A fashionable and recurring theme among commentators is that the radical of today becomes the conservative of tomorrow. Too facile a rule of course and when one looks at the long lived Fenians like Rossa, Ryan, Davitt, Clarke, Daly, Stephens and Dwyer one sees how shallow such a rule is, and how dangerous a face-saver.

John O'Leary is another of the perennial separatists, the link between so many movements. He was a young Irishman, a forty-niner, an early member of the I.R.B., a key figure in the literary revival, a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. as late as 1900, a Director of the United Irishman in 1908, and a founder member of Cumann na nGaedheal which two weeks after his death was to amalgamate with other



● John O'Leary, Mountjoy Jail, December, 1865.

nationalist bodies to become Sinn Féin. A long life, an involved life, a controversial life, an important life, and in Marcus Bourke it has found its first-class recorder. He documents thoroughly, analyses faithfully but never loses the warm character of the man and the importance of his family and friends to him.

O'Leary oddly enough for a thoroughgoing separatist was not a dedicated republican and on this aspect of his thought Mr. Bourke is quite illuminating as he is on the fundamental differences between him and Davitt over the New Departure and the Land League.

One of the few points at which issue might be taken with Mr. Bourke is that he stresses an ambivalence on the part of O'Leary in regard to the Irish language, which I doubt existed. Rooney's Celtic Literary Society in which he was an important figure, and which a dated Conradh na Gaeltige was committed to the restoration of Irish.

One of the best sections in the book deals with the Fenian paper, the Irish People, indeed such is the excellence of this chapter that one hopes the same author and publisher will bring out a selection of the writings of the paper on the lines of The Spirit of The Nation.

P.P.

P.P.

ANY victory in the world of politics is gauged by the opposition it has overcome. A victory for people in need of housing in Ireland today is unusual if not unique. The election of two Sinn Féin councillors to the Bray Urban District Council in June Local Government Election and the allocation of 52 new council built houses in November with provision for a further 70 houses are not unrelated phenomena but arise from the ambition of Bray Sinn Féin to serve the interests of the local people. For Cumann Sheain Mhic Eochaidh of Bray as for James Connolly the well-being of a community is measured by the well-being of its most depressed class.

BRAY SETS THE HOUSING HEADLINE

THE twelve members of Bray Urban District Council are a faithful enough reflection of politics in Bray. The Council is composed of four Labour members, two Sinn Féin, three Fianna Fáil, two Seaford Residents' Association and one Little Bray Residents' Association members. The two members elected by the Seaford Residents' Association reflect the interests of the hotel and guest house belt which caters for Bray's biggest industry—tourism. Councillor McLeavey of Little Bray Residents Association represents mainly private house owners living to the north of the River Dargle which flows through Bray to the sea. It was Chairmanship of this body that catapulted him to prominence during the June local elections.

Fianna Fáil's three seats reflect the complacency of middle class traditionalism in Bray. Indeed, it has been said that had the tourist population been allowed to vote during the local elections in Bray, Fianna Fáil would now hold a majority of the seats on the Council. The large working class population vote divided four to two between Labour and Sinn Féin.

Inter-election growth

Sinn Féin's two seats victory was commented on throughout the country after the June local elections. Six months later the two seats only indicate the support at the time. Because it is estimated that support has more than doubled in the interval and is all the time increasing.

The explanation of this unusual interelection growth in support is the pre-election interest of Cumann Sheain Mhic Eochaidh in housing conditions in Bray and the post election achievements of the two Sinn Féin Councillors towards ending the housing crisis in the town.



Ask Paddy Manly. He'll tell you the attitude. Mr. Manly lives in one of the most run-down houses in the whole of Bray, at Jones' Terrace. He has been told that legal technicalities will prevent him being housed. Married, with a large family of young children, his case is a typical example of the lack of humanity in local government laws which inflict such delays and frustrations on the homeless.

The results of a wide spread survey carried out by the Cumann in the early months of 1967 were digested and classified and helped to form the basis of the election programme issued by the Cumann. Sinn Féin local Government programme is reflected in many of the recommendations cited below:

HOUSING

- A complete clamp-down on all interests concerned with speculation in urban land and buildings, by pressing for legislation establishing Local Authorities as the sole dealers in building land.
- The establishment of a maximum price for building land, based on its current agricultural value.
- The elimination of high interest long-term loans by endeavouring to establish a Co-operative Housing Society in Bray.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Sinn Féin Councillors will advocate that the financing of the health services should be the sole responsibility of the Central Government, and that the administration of these services should remain the responsibility of Local Authorities. Our Councillors will press for the implementation of the present services without a means test with the eventual aim of introducing a comprehensive free health service. Sinn Féin will take steps to rectify certain undesirable aspects of the Bray Dispensary Services.

Sinn Féin will advocate that discussions be held with the appropriate authorities with a view to having a regional hospital built in Bray.

BUILDING SCHEMES

Sinn Féin Councillors will fight for the implementation of an emergency building programme to cater for the needs of Bray and North Wicklow. Our Councillors will advocate greater variety and experimentation in layout and that improved designs for houses should be developed in consultation with housewives nominated by Tenants and Residents' Associations.

Our Councillors will demand the inclusion of all essential amenities such as schools, dispensaries, play ground, shops, libraries and Post Offices in present and future schemes.

FLOODING

The Sinn Féin candidates are fully aware of the distress caused to the residents of the Sea Front and Little Bray areas by recent flooding, and realise that radical steps must be taken to prevent a recurrence of this disaster. Sinn Féin Councillors will demand that a constructive plan be initiated to remove this threat to the lives and property of the people of these areas.

RATES

Sinn Féin advocates the

abolition of the present rates and valuation system and proposes that the revenue for Local Government be raised by a more equitable taxation system based on incomes.

Pending the introduction of this reform we shall press for the provision of a Rates deficiency grant by the Exchequer, to enable all councils to strike a rate at the national average figure. We shall also demand that malicious damage claims be made the responsibility of Central Government and be removed from the rates.

GROUND RENTS

Sinn Féin has always stood for the complete abolition of ground-rents without compensation. We are completely opposed to the exceptionally liberal terms granted to ground landlords under recent legislation, and we can find no justification on social or moral grounds for these terms. Sinn Féin councillors will actively campaign for the repeal of this immoral Act.

MANAGERIAL ACT

Sinn Féin Councillors will press for the repeal of the Managerial Act, as it hinders the exercise of democracy on Local Councils. This Act also stifles initiative on the part of progressive local bodies. This Act gives so much power to local officials that it tends to make some of them regard themselves as the masters rather than the servants of the people.

Four hundred

Opinions varied as to the exact need for housing in Bray. Official U.D.C. records put the figure at 265 families. The activities of the Bray Housing Action Association, established to deal with the crisis, revealed a figure of almost four hundred families in need of housing who were living in overcrowded or substandard accommodation.

Holding executive positions in the Housing Action

Association, and elected as public representatives, Councillors Joe Doyle and Seamus Costello had a heavy responsibility to discharge to the electorate. Election of the Council had only provided an opportunity which they intended to exploit to the utmost in the interests of the homeless.

Their actions since that date have received nationwide publicity. Not content with trying to explain to their constituents the delays and frustrations that beset them in the Council chamber, they encouraged them to attend in person and see for themselves what the obstructions were.

Electrifying

The very presence of two or three hundred homeless people in the chamber had an electrifying effect on councillors who otherwise might be reluctant and tardy. So it goes that Bray became the first town in Ireland to declare a housing emergency.

Not merely that, but under the impetus of the housing demand, details that otherwise would occupy months and even years were dealt with in weeks.

The allocation of fifty-two newly-built houses early last month ended the first phase of the struggle. Seventy further houses are expected to be built early this year. But the two Sinn Féin councillors intend to keep pressing until all the homeless are accommodated and the availability of houses for newly-weds and old couples has been established.

Below: An overcrowded Council chamber, a packed press-bench, pickets behind the Chairman's chair, long heated arguments and the sporadic magnesium flash of cameras marked the end of the first stage of the housing emergency declared on the urging of Councillors Joe Doyle and S. Costello, Bray.



● Councillor Seamus Costello.

● Councillor Joe Doyle.



Two members of the Special Branch came to the Town Hall also. But they were not looking for houses. John Acton and Hugh Hume (standing) are already well housed and well paid for the snooping and intimidation that is the job of all members of the Special Branch.



Above: Town Clerk Dennis McCarthy reads out the list of families allocated houses. Anxious parents gather around to hear the news. Most of them had waited almost an hour in freezing temperatures outside the Town Hall while the Council decided on the allocations.

PATRICK NORTON T.D. DIES IN LABOUR

MR. Patrick Norton, T.D., resigned from the Labour Party. He was not expelled. That is by far the most significant point to be noted in the report of the Party fracas. His charges of "fellow-travelling" colleagues may be dismissed out of hand. They reflect more the colour of his own mind than the level of socialism within the Labour Party.

Indeed, any "fellow-travelling" involved was the fault of his own Labour colleagues who tolerated a man described by one expelled member of the Labour Party as "a right-winger and a reactionary" for three whole years in face of all the embarrassments he inflicted upon them. The great regret of the Labour Party now is that they never summoned up the courage to expel him and so anticipate both his resignation and his Senator McCarthy-like efforts to smear the Party.

Criticism within

Undoubtedly, the greatest contributory factor towards his collapse was the steadily rising tempo of criticism of his actions within the Labour Party. His attitude towards Free Trade, the Common Market and Coalition proved an early indication of his policies. His open defiance of a Party ruling in the Waterford bye-election when he urged Labour supporters to support their second preferences to Fine Gael was yet another indication. All these were tolerable, perhaps, were it not for the extra strain placed on the Labour ideal by his treatment of some tenants of his in Dublin.

If there was criticism of Patrick Norton within the Labour Party in recent



● Patrick Norton, T.D., . . . and some run-down property, since demolished, that is on his conscience.

months, most of it emanated from Dublin. The well-reported court case in which he was portrayed in all the colours of an evicting landlord solidified the opposition to him in Labour's main fortress, Dublin. Retaliated at this year's Annual Labour Party Conference by voting strongly for the return of the aim of the "workers' public" to the constitution of the Party. This negated the work of the late William Norton, whose seat Patrick inherited under the unwritten Sons and Widows Act. William had deleted the worker's republic aim at the urging of the Irish Bishops during a time of Catholic action. Significantly enough, Mr. Patrick Norton was nowhere to be seen during the Annual Conference.

Mr. Corish, predictably enough, produced another elastic definition to meet the situation created by Norton's resignation. In was prepared, he stated, "to

contain Mr. Norton's views within the Labour Party, as was those with opposite and even extreme views. That is what a Labour Party is." In other of Mr. Corish's words, he was prepared to accept a man who "was not prepared to accept the new socialist policy of the Labour Party and never was since he came into the Dail three years ago!" Enough said!

Face-Saving

Mr. Barry Desmond's rebuke to Norton in which he called on him to resign his seat in the Dail would have been in the true socialist tradition had it been given the day before the resignation was announced. Given, as it was, the day after, the only motivation Mr. Desmond can be credited with is the politic one of face saving.

Norton's own future is in doubt. His election in 1964

and his nomination for the bye-election previous to it, was accompanied by a split in Labour in Kildare. Many rank and file members resented his nomination on the grounds that the claim of more worthy and fit candidates were being bypassed. Two of these subsequently resigned from the Labour Party and headed the poll in this year's Local Government Elections in Kildare. One of them, St. Leger, could well be the next Labour candidate in Kildare if he rejoined the Labour Party.

Mr. Norton's only way to overcome the handicap of a split vote would be to join either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. His actions show that his spiritual home is Fine Gael, but whether Mr. Sweetman would relish the company of Mr. Norton's conscience is quite another matter. Or maybe Patrick Norton, T.D., would please everybody and keep his tender conscience off the ballot sheet?



● Roy Johnston

trade unionists to work out tactics."

There must be a report from anyone who was deputised to attend anything; anyone who is a member of something and attends as a matter of course may raise a question relating to his policy in that organisation if he judges it necessary, with the permission of the chair, which must evaluate its relevance.

The *Comhairle Ceannair* delegate's report should be used to explain and illuminate the background of written circular where necessary. Any decisions or instructions which may seem arbitrary in cold print can be brought to life and made seem reasonable with a few well-chosen words of explanation from a good delegate.

The item "delegates reports" is a living link with the outside world and it should form the main bulk of the agenda of an active outward-looking cumann.

7. Educational Talk. This consists of a short talk by a member based on one of the educational handbooks, or on a chapter of one of the republican classics, like James Connolly's "Labour in Irish History" or Padraic Pearse's "The Sovereign People." This job should rotate amongst the members, as it is as much to educate the speaker as to the audience.

This procedure should be alternated with having a socialist speaker either from the cumann or from

Death of Ex-Minister

THE late James Everett, T.D., was Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in the first Coalition Government, 1948-1951, and Minister for Justice in the second Coalition Government, 1954-1957.

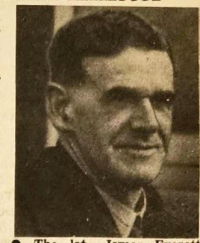
During this time the tide of Republicanism was rising with the Armagh Raid, June 1954, the Omagh raid in October 1954, and the two seats won by Sinn Féin prisoner candidates in the Westminster Elections of May, 1955.

The Offences Against the State Act was invoked in 1955 and editors of all newspapers were warned not to publish any statements from "illegal organisations." Activity against the Republican Movement was directed mainly by Mr. Costello, Taoiseach, Mr. Everett, and Ritchie Ryan, a young Dublin solicitor who was a member of Fine Gael and appointed to be Mr. Everett's secretary; Mr. Ryan is now a T.D.

O. A. S. A.

On the outbreak of the resistance campaign on December 1956, in the Six Counties, the Offences Against the State Act was again invoked. Bitter attacks were made on the Irish Republican Movement by Mr. Costello, army and police units were sent to Border areas; houses were raided and men were jailed on trumped-up charges of "failing to account for their movements," etc. Mr. J. A. Costello spearheaded attacks and announced his moves; following representations from the British Ambassador in Dublin these measures were intensified.

Many asked who was Minister for Justice, Mr. Costello or Mr. Everett? Mr. Everett broke his silence and at a Trade Union meeting in Waterford in January, 1957, made a bitter attack on the Republican Movement, saying that Republicans in the Six Counties had no right to take up arms without getting the sanction of his government in Dublin. Labour rank and file were very disappointed in him and their disapproval showed in the 1957 election returns. This use of a trade union platform was matched later in July, 1957, when the Fianna Fail Government opened the Curragh Concen-



● The late James Everett, T.D.

tration Camp and imprisoned men without charge or trial.

Fintan approved

Mr. Fintan Kennedy of the I.T.G.W.U., speaking at a union meeting gave the government every moral support in its action.

Messrs. Costello and Everett had District Justice Michael Lennon suspended from the District Bench in January, 1957, because he refused to convict Republicans under the Offences Against the State Act. A veteran of the 1916 and the Black and Tan War, and a former Cumann na nGaedheal supporter, Justice Lennon found technical grounds for dismissing charges. He dismissed one charge of "illegal possession of firearms" and ordered the firearms to be returned to their owner. The following day he held the Offences Against the State Act up to public ridicule in the court.

Messrs. Everett and Costello suspended him and nominated a High Court Judge to investigate his conduct. In March a Fianna Fail government was returned to office. When they received the report on Justice Lennon's behaviour they gave him the option of resigning with pension rights or being dismissed. He resigned and devoted most of his time to research on Fenian activities in the United States.

He was one of a very few in human terms made a great personal sacrifice because he resigned with pension rights in sincerity to refuse to work as British agents in Ireland, and had the moral courage to declare this openly. He has since died and will be remembered when Costello and Everett are forgotten.

NOTES FOR THE CUMANN

By Roy Johnston

THE following is a description of an imaginary cumann meeting, abstracted from the experience of some of the more active cummains in Sinn Féin. It may be taken as a model for cumann meetings throughout the country, changing that which needs to be changed, but abiding by the general procedure.

The Chairman, after waiting a short interval (10 minutes) for latecomers, declares the meeting open. He then reads out the agenda and asks for notice of any other business. He allocates approximate times for the various items.

2. The Secretary reads the minutes of the previous meeting. Decisions only are recorded. If correct the Chairman signs; otherwise he amends and signs.

3. Arising From: to the minutes are checked to see if any decisions have to be reported on which fall outside the scope of the declared agenda, so any other business dealt with there and then, or given a special place on the agenda.

Correspondence: all letters to the cumann are read out. They may be allocated to their appropriate place on the declared agenda, or dealt with there and then. 4. For example, a letter is read from the Defence of the Nation League asking for support in the sale of a new issue of the broadsheet in which the developments in relation to the Common Market since the start of the agitation are analysed.

A member, relatively new to the Cumann, asks for information about this body. The secretary informs him that it is a loose federation of ad-hoc committees, consisting principally of repub-

licans, trade unionists and some individual Labour Party members, which was formed to resist the application for E.E.C. membership by the Dublin government.

(This example is imaginary, but it may be clarified in that this may possibly happen in the future).

A member proposes a motion "that the Cumann enter 1960 competition for distribution with the United Irishman", this is seconded, so it becomes a motion.

Another member proposes an amendment that the last five words be deleted and the following substituted: "... for distribution at factory gates."

There is a lively discussion on this, debating whether the agitation should be linked openly with the movement via the United Irishman sales or not. In the end the chairman drafts a compromise motion embodying both methods of distribution. The decision is left inflexible. This then becomes the "substantive motion" and is voted.

A compromise motion from the chair often saves time, but sometimes this is not acceptable. If this had not taken place, the amendment would have been voted on first, and then either the original or the substantive (i.e. amended) motion. There should be two votes, as there is no reason to believe that the amendment and the motion are mutually exclusive.

4.2. A letter is read from the *Comhairle Ceannair* containing a number of items. These are allocated to the agenda where possible, the remainder are allocated to the item "report of *Comhairle Ceannair* Representatives."

5. Finance. This item includes the following sub-items.

5.1. Payments to the treasurer of the U.I. sales money, with an exact rendering of how much is sales money and how much is extra contributions. This can have been done before the start of the meeting and need not take up time; the treasurer, however, should report on results.

5.2. Collection of dues: each member pays his subscription (and arrears if any), the treasurer receipts the members card and marks him up in the dues register. He then totals the dues column and enters the amount on the credit side of the cumann cash-book. (He writes a cheque to cover the U.I. bill when he gets home and sends it off the next day. He also sends off a monthly cheque to the *Comhairle Ceannair* which includes the Ard *Comhairle* and *Comhairle Ceannair* dues, the former being handled regionally in bulk).

N.B.: There is no need for special discussion on fund-raising as between the members subscriptions and the U.I. commission the Cumann has an adequate income for most regular needs.

6. Delegates' reports. This item allows anyone who was deputised to attend any other meeting to report back, say what was decided and if there are unresolved questions he takes the advice of the cumann. This advice can take the form of a motion: for example "that the cumann member who is involved in the XY clause dispute be instructed to make every effort to get the official union support for an organised walk-out, the organising unofficial action" or alternatively "that the member be instructed to contact the *Comhairle Ceannair* Trade Union Specialist with a view to calling a meeting of republican

another cumann nearby, to speak on some subject he knows about, such as "the farmers organisations and their demands" or "Trade Unions and the proposed new laws" or "how the Tenants' Association was founded."

Any such essentially topical talk should lead up to a motion proposing that the cumann take some action, such as "that the cumann organise a survey of housing conditions in Q buildings with a view to encouraging a tenants association to start there."

8. Membership: Potential new members should be discussed. Lapsed members should be seen. Responsibility for seeing lapsed members and contacting particular new members should be allocated. 9. Any other business: By this time it's usually too late, and the Chairman should stress the need to start on time so as to finish by 10.30 p.m.

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Is í An Phoblacht ár gceuspóir.

SCEALA ANIAR

SCEALA aniar an mhí seo gur shocraigh Comhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe go dtógfaí droichead idir an morthúir agus na holléin ar chosta Chonamara da n-ochtadh muintir an cheantair sin fein an coedas uilig.

Measadh go gcosnódh se £30,000 droichead nua a thógáil a ghlacadh aís an tsean droichead go bhfuil cuma air gur fuilollach eile na gaoithe móire é.

Bheadh an droichead seo ag freastal ar suas le míle ocht gcead duine go bhfuil comh orthu ar na holléin.

D'fheadadh muid beart muintir Inis Bearachain a mheabhru do mhuintir na n-olléin seo: mar a rinne Inis Bearachain staille ratal nua ar tugadh aon aird ar a gcead d'fheis a rath de ratal tochtas na h-olléin is gan leictreachas na uisce, caladh na boith ar da chionn.

D'fheadadh muid beart muintir Rath Cairn a mheabhru dhoibh: mar a rinne staille votai amsir an mhoir thoghchain agus mar a bhain siad amach altheantas mar ghaeltacht da bharr.

Ach is fearr go mor a dhéanadh amach sceal muintir Bheil Inse a mheabhru dhoibh. Níl míle duine fein in a gcead olléin Bheil Inse agus breathnadh ar an ndroichead nua gabhail a thógáil ann. Cosnoidh se leathmhilliún punt faoin air ar gcead mbeidh se togha. Roinnfead an costas ar an tir ar fad. Beidh deantas o Rialtas na 26 gContae le fail: beidh ratal chontae Chiarraí ag leic sear, agus ticeadail tuilleadh airdí fós o Chiste na mBothar.

An tríoche míle punt a theastaíonn le haghaidh an droichead thiar, droichead a riaradh ar mhíle ocht gcead duine, dhéanfaí e a ghlánadh go heasca as an meid aird a cuiteadh ar chaimleach le droichead Bheil Inse a thosa. Agus ní bheadh tus curtha go brach leis an droichead sin marach an staille votai a bhagair muintir an olléin sin sa bhfothogchain deirneannach i gCiarraí.

Meabhroigh muintir na n-olléin an meid sin don dream a deir "ní feidir e deannamh" ar Chomhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe.

COLLEY'S IRELAND

(Continued from page 1)

flight from the land. As if these Castlereagh-like creations would make any difference to the west!

It has been estimated that the result of a general election held under the system most likely to be adopted if Fine Gael are to prove willing i.e. a single-seat constituency with the P.R. system as used in by-elections, would be as follows: Fianna Fáil 72 seats, Fine Gael 50-52 seats, Labour 14-12 seats, others 3-2 seats.

Another amusing result of the Committee's work is that the Unionist and British created fiction that "Eire" means twenty-six counties is to be replaced by the George Colley created fiction that the twenty six counties mean "Ireland". Only a De Valera or a man gambling for the De Valera's cloak could produce such a perfect paradox.

Subscriptions (continued)

P. Barlow, Dublin, 5/-; John and Mrs. Brogan, Kerry, 10/-; Patsy McGee, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 10/-; Sean Doyle, Bristol, 5/-; Jim McElhinney, Ballyconnet, 10/-; Ann, Ballyconnet, 10/-; J. M. Boyle, London, 12/-; Peter Bennett, Vauxhall, Co. Dublin, 10/-; Barney Williams, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 14/-; Peter Rogers, Westmeath, 12/-; Sean Mac Seola, Dublin, 5/-; Seamus Brennan, Dublin, 2/-; T. Hackett, Dublin, 1/-; Anna, Dublin, 5/-; Seamus O'Conor, Dublin, 1/-; W. Mitchell, Dublin, 1/-; J. O'Neill, Dublin, 1/-; T. O'Siordain, Dublin, 5/-; Bill Whelan, Dublin, 5/-; Michael Meagher, Dublin, 5/-; J. Drumgoole, Dublin, 5/-; Jim Keaveney, Dublin, 2/-; Liam Ferguson, Dublin, 2/-; Kay Whelan, Dublin, 5/-; K. O'Reilly, Dublin, 10/-; Sean Meagher, Dublin, 2/-; Val Varian, Cork, 2/-; M. J. Fitzgerald, Cork, 2/-; Eamon Mac Liam, Cork, 5/-; Norah Varian, Cork, 2/-; Mrs. Varian, Cork, 4/-; Donald O'Connell, Cork, 5/-; Tom McCarthy, Cork, 2/-; M. Healy, Cork, 5/-; Mrs. J. Varian, Cork, 3/-; James Nagle, Cork, 1/-; South Side Slough, Fianna Eireann, Cork, 5/-; J. O'Hall, Carlow, 2/-; P. Byrne, Carlow, 2/-; J. Murphy, Carlow, 2/-; M. Tracey, Carlow, 2/-; M. Tuite, Carlow, 2/-; G. Quinn, Carlow, 2/-; J. Ryan, Carlow, 2/-; J. Stapleton, Carlow, 2/-; J. G. Corcoran, Carlow, 2/-; J. Tracey, Carlow, 2/-; J. Aylward, Carlow, 2/-; J. C. Dwyer, Carlow, 2/-; J. Gibson, Carlow, 2/-; J. Murphy, Carlow, 2/-; J. Ryan, Carlow, 2/-; L. Murphy, Carlow, 1/-.



POLL RESULTS... UNIONIST MYTHOLOGY SHATTERED

(Continued from page 1)

Belast people favour the status quo while only 36 per cent favour it else where. This is not surprising as Belfast is the centre of Unionist patronage and the outlying areas are increasingly being neglected.

The 2 per cent of Unionists who favour a united independent Ireland are an interesting group; they are possibly the same as the 2 per cent of Protestants, which however splits into 3 per cent Presbyterians and 1 per cent C. of I. The number in the sample is only a handful (about 10) so one should not attach too much weight to these differences. But there is a suggestion here (based on the Presbyterian preponderance) that what they want is not a united independent Ireland under a Protestant ascendancy but a united Ireland in the classical Republican tradition, i.e. without Rome Rule.

Meantime they vote Unionist. This is a logical position and is not self-contradictory as might be thought at first sight. This small group deserves more study. Its existence has long been suspected but not its size (some 20,000 people, if the sample is representative).

There are in addition a number of surprises, all of which Republicans can welcome.

* There is a considerable body of opinion in favour of a united Ireland, with or without some degree of dependence on Britain. The nature of the dependence is not specified in the poll; most people would accept the need for trade, few would accept interference in internal affairs, if this were spelled out. The significant thing is that the majority accept Irishness rather than U.K. provincialism.

* There exists a substantial Catholic conservative bloc which must be based on patronage derived from the present Establishment. Again long suspected, its

extent comes as a surprise: 16 per cent of Nationalists, 20 per cent of Catholics.

* The virtual unanimity of the opinion that the Border will disappear in the relatively near future (i.e. in under a generation). The procedure for getting rid of it is, of course, left vague; in the minds of many no doubt it means re-absorption into the U.K. of the whole country.

* The very small percentage of "don't knows" compared to the typical poll in Britain or the U.S. shows a high level of awareness; anything but apathy.

It is noteworthy that similar polls held recently in Scotland and Wales

Rawsons liquidate

WORKERS GET RAW DEAL

RAWSON'S of Dundalk, the shoe factory that went into voluntary liquidation

following a fire, has declared its liquidation figures. Liabilities amount to £46,129, while assets amounted to £31,066. Profit on liquidation stands at £34,937.

Of this figure £70,000 is the amount of damages recoverable under fire insurance for loss to plant and stock.

The profit margin of £34,937 fully bears out the contention of the workers' committee established by the five hundred unemployed workers that the fire was no excuse for closure.

The shareholders, out of the goodness of their hearts, voted that 5% of the realised assets be distributed among the workers. The Dublin Government, instead of insisting that the factory be re-opened, saved the conscience of the two local workers. This money, added to the £15,000-£20,000 contribution by Rawsons' shareholders, means that the five-hundred workers will get sums varying between one and two hundred pounds each as compensation for the abrupt discontinuance of, in most cases, more than thirty years' service.

Paltry

It is largely due to the efforts of the action committee, headed by Mr. Peter Duffy, Sinn Féin Councillor on Dundalk U.D.C. and Louth Co. Council, that even this paltry recompense was achieved.

Of the five hundred workers left jobless by Rawsons' shareholders, almost two hundred were taken on by another shoe firm in Dundalk. Others were absorbed into other types of employment, and an unknown number emigrated.

Significantly enough, up to the time of going to press, many members of the Action Committee, including Peter Duffy, were still looking for employment in their native town.

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