

THE CASE AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET — 4 & 5

VALENTIA BRIDGE
— 14 & 15

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Valentia Bridge

Demand For Sworn Inquiry

SINN FEIN members of the Kerry Co. Council, Pat O'Callaghan, Redmond Sullivan and Johnny Godley, have swung into action to expose the Valentia Bridge scandal. Having got the support necessary to demand a special meeting of the Kerry Co. Council, they are to demand a sworn enquiry into the whole affair. (See special article pp. 14-15).

UNIONISTS OPPOSE COMMON MARKET

FOUR Unionist M.P.'s, among them their chairman, Capt. L. P. S. Orr, M.P. for South Down, went on record at Westminster in opposition to Britain's application to join the Common Market when the matter was debated there on the 5th May last.

The other three are Mr. George Currie, North Down; Mr. John Maginnis, Armagh, and Mr. Stanley McMaster. (Continued 16)

The main issue to be discussed at the special meeting will be the method in which the tender competition was run. There is absolutely no doubt that the competition was rather odd and that, consequently, the resulting award of the contract is very questionable when the present difference between the tender accepted and the one rejected stands at approximately £98,000, and when it is understood that an undertaking given by the Twenty-Six County Minister of Local Government to have independent adjudication between the two tenders was never proceeded with.

Another issue upon which the Sinn Fein Councillors will insist, is that the enquiry be proceeded with as soon as possible and the shambles cleared up in order that the Valentia Islanders get their bridge without further delay. But they are radically opposed to making the taxpayers of Valentia and of the rest of Kerry pay the unnecessary £98,000 extra cost involved in the award.

Other issues might include the actual siting of the Bridge which entails a 14 mile detour between the two centres of population to be served by it.

A further external element, however, is likely to cause considerable delay. The contractor who was awarded the contract is reported to be considering legal action against the official consultant for the bridge relevant to what he considers extra additional cost not contracted for in his tender.

The possibility is that he may be thinking of withdrawing altogether.

The call for a sworn enquiry is the most unequivocal stand yet taken on the

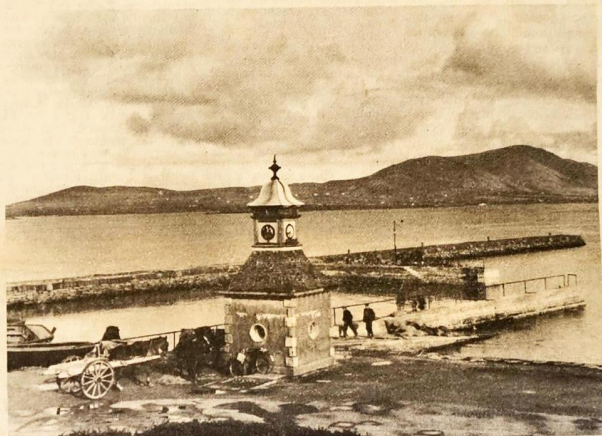
bridge issue and climaxes a long series of questions and expressions of doubt on the part of the Sinn Fein Councillors during the discussion on the tenders. If the sworn enquiry results in a reversal of the contract award or a revolutionary change in the design of the Bridge, the cost would be so reduced that the extra grant now being applied for by the Council would not be needed. Now that the bye-election in Kerry has been fought and won, the economic interests of the people of Valentia and Kerry may take precedence over the political interests inextricably involved in the whole sorry affair.

BATTLE AT CLONTARF

THE fight against the Fianna Fail ground rent law was carried into the front ranks of that party when Mr. Lenihan and Mr. Haughey appeared at a public meeting in an hotel in Clontarf on the 29th May to disarm the growing volume of criticism against the law.

The meeting broke up in disorder after an hour's fierce argument from the floor of the house, where it was pointed out that the "buying-out" of a ground rent landlord which would yield in simple interest each year the equivalent of the ground rent at present payable.

It was further pointed out that the law actually increased the value of the ground-rent by consolidating the robber rights of the conquest and by making a ground rent a realisable asset. The meeting finally broke up in disorder.



VALENTIA

SINN FEIN OBSTRUCTED

WHEN the Sinn Fein Local Election nominees for Bray U.D.C., led by Seamas Costello, arrived to register their names as candidates, they encountered the first big move by the Government to prevent Sinn Fein from electing members to the various Urban and Rural Local Government bodies throughout the Twenty-Six Counties.

The official in charge of nominations produced a document issued to Local Authorities detailing the names of parties registered to appear on voting papers. He explained that as Sinn Fein was not on this list he would not accept their nomination papers as presented with the description Sinn Fein after the candidate's name. Despite the fact that Sinn Fein is a political party since 1905 the Government have decided to deny its existence.



Seamas Costello

I.R.P.B. STATEMENT

The following statement has been received from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau: "We have been asked to state that the Republican Movement was responsible for the action carried out against British military installations in Belfast and Lisburn on Wednesday, 24th May.

"The operations were carried out as a protest against the visits of British Royalty to our country and as a demonstration of hostility towards the British Occupation Forces," the statement ends.

GALLOPING SPECULATION IN DUBLIN

A London press conference on behalf of the "Irish Property Corporation Ltd." announced details of the redevelopment of a seven-acre site in the heart of the Dublin centre city shopping area around Henry St. and Moore St., most of which area is already in the hands of the Company.

The Irish Property Corporation is a consortium of three parties. The important Irish interest is Roches Stores Ltd., and the other two parties are British-owned public property companies — Watney Mann Property Co., Ltd., and Star (Greater London). Another company, Amalgamated Investment, have bought 4½ acres in the George's Street area. One leaseholder has had his lease increased eight times over already.

The intentions of the
(Contd. 16)

Anti-E.E.C. Body Formed

THE formation of an organisation to fight against Irish membership of the Common Market was recently announced in Dublin. The organisation is named The Defence of the Nation League for Action Against the Common Market and is composed of representatives of various Labour and Republican organisations.

The League intends to publish a leaflet in the near future which will set out the case against the proposed membership of Ireland in an association which can do nothing but harm to the common people of this island. Speakers are to be made available for any body in the country which wishes to hear the opposite point of view to that expounded by the establishment and by those very few firms which will benefit from membership.

All those interested in helping the committee through the formation of branches or in raising funds for the activities are asked to contact the secretary, Tony Meade, 25 Cross Street, Skerries, Co. Dublin.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE COMMON MARKET

Dear Sir,

I am glad to see that Sinn Féin is against joining the Common Market. I wonder how many people realise the implications of this step. Politically Ireland would become an insignificant little island with less power in Europe or within her own territory than a small Town Council. Under the projected Political Union with headquarters in the Continent what possible hope could there be for the Gaelic Revival? Ultimately also, young Irishmen could be conscripted to fight on behalf of Imperialist powers so that colonialists can hold on to ill-gotten wealth and power in other lands. Thus the political consequences of joining this group would be disastrous for Ireland.

What of the economic position? Again we would have overwhelming imports into Ireland from highly developed countries which, as the Fianna Fáil Government admits, would annihilate most small Irish industries which are at present just starting up. As for agriculture, if Irish farmers think they have a bad time now, I wonder what their reaction will be when they have to compete with the farmers of Europe?

Can Ireland afford to stay out? The answer is a definite "Yes". Ultimately the "six" or seven Common Market countries will reach the stage where they will have reached satiation in their trade with one another and will look round for further expansion. If Ireland retains her sovereignty (or such as she has at present) she

would become with other countries an object of competition by the Common Market members for trade. Ireland would thus be dealing with these countries as equals economically and politically and for the welfare of the Irish people this matter cannot be treated lightly. It is up to all Irish Republicans to see that as far as possible Ireland's present progress is continued and expanded.

S. O. Gallachair.
28 Silver Birch Road,
Edrington,
Birmingham.

GROUND RENTS

A Chara,

I was very interested to read the background of the Proby estate possessions in last month's edition of the U.I. Later still I saw a feature article on a prominent Sunday newspaper describing the extent of the large estates in Dublin. All of them, without exception, stem from the original 12th Century Conquest era. They seem to own more than 50 per cent. of the urban area within the city boundaries and in the county!

How many active Republicans in this area pay ground rents to such as Pembroke, Strongbow's successor? How many ground rent tenants could be mustered to strike at the golden chain that binds them still to absentee landlords and native speculators? Surely action on this front comes within the ambit of Republican 'economic resistance'?

Sheffield.

Leon O Cuihn,

A Chara,

The article in the May issue of the "United Irishman" concerning ground rents contained a good deal of useful information about this intricate subject. Even so, I believe that there is one aspect of this problem which is in danger of being overlooked. I refer to the question of the landlord's income tax.

One of the main arguments constantly used in defence of the present ground rent system was that it brought revenue to the state. Perhaps it does bring in a little. On the other hand some of us might be more interested to know how much money goes out of the country in the shape of ground rent.

A number of years ago the late Sean T. O'Kelly, at that time a Fianna Fáil Minister, was asked a question about this matter in Leinster House. He replied that the Ministry of Finance kept no record of the total sums paid in and incomes derived from ground rent. Nor had he any idea about the amounts remitted to non-resident landlords.

If we seek further information on this matter, we can find some clues from the evidence of one of the witnesses at the sittings of the former Ground Rents Commission. Patrick Nolan, secretary of Perrystown and Manor Estates Combined Residents Association, Dublin, had this to say:

"A big proportion of our ground landlords reside abroad—in Britain and Northern Ireland. Absentee ground landlords apply each year for a refund of the income tax deducted in this country from the rent on their property. This refund is normally made. This means that the only revenue worth taking into account is that deducted from the ground rent payable to landlords in this country. It also means that much of the time and energy of our civil servants is wasted on assessing, collecting and then refunding income tax on the absentee property." His association was aware, he said, that many of the people in the Six Counties who had acquired ground property in the housing estates developed in Dublin since 1948 were prominent and influential members of the Unionist Party.

"One may suspect," he added, "that some of the heavy ground rents that Dublin householders are compelled to pay, go into the coffers of the Unionist Party and are used towards perpetuating the partition of our country."

The Earl of Pembroke, for instance, lives in Wiltshire. Therefore we may take it that he, as well as a good many other so-called "Irish" Landowners, pays no income tax to the 26-County state. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from all this. The Fianna Fáil Government has brought this state very close to bankruptcy, simply because so much money is going out of the country into the pockets of these alien parasites. Is this supposed to be one of the so-called benefits of "dual citizenship" with Britain that we hear so much about?

Your article tells us that the Landlord and Tenant Act 1967 leaves the situation virtually unchanged. What then can be done about it? In some quarters a suggestion was made that a legislative amendment should be sponsored in favour of a drastic reduction in the rate of compensation. Or do we think in terms of a more radical solution to the problem?

—Is mise,

J. C. Tozer

Dublin

THE FIANNA PREPARE FOR CAMPING

WITH summer drawing near and the weather steadily improving, the thoughts of every Fianna Boy turn to the wonderful world of camping — freedom, sunshine, comradeship and skill—the great outdoors.

Most Sluaithe throughout the country have been camping this year. Some have had quite a number of weekend camps already.

It is hard sloggling for the Fian as he, laden with heavy haversack, makes his way to the campsite. His work only begins when he arrives there. The tents must be pitched, a kitchen set up, with fire, racks for plates, mugs, etc., and pits for refuse. As two Fianna pitch tents others draw water and firewood.

By the time tents are erected the appetising aroma of perhaps soup (a favourite in Fianna), or maybe coffee or bacon frying or indeed anything is heard on the air. After the meal the afternoon and evening are fully taken up in exploring the surrounding area and by the time darkness has crept in everyone is fairly tired. One by one the Fianna drift in and squat around the fire. Then the talk begins — "Do you remember the time we camped in Glendalough, it lashed and the O/C fell into the lake, it was very funny" — and so on and on, memories of happy times in the open air.

FIRESIDE

Sometimes a Fian may think: "It's a long time since I was in Glenmalur — I wonder how it looks right now, the leaves just beginning to come out, scars where the Avonbeg flooded last winter, it must be beautiful!" A Fian's thoughts are his own and very private world as he gazes into the fire, not seeing the flames and embers, a thousand miles away.

The mind is quickly brought back to reality as someone strikes up with "We're off to Dublin in the Green," or "Oro, se do bheath' abhaile." The singing soon resounds throughout the site as all voices join in. As the night wears on the Fianna, one by one, leave the fire and move towards their tents, tired out by the day's activities. Finally the O/C says "Right, lads, all to bed and no talking." Within a few minutes silence prevails.

The next morning the



A Fian in the woods.

camp is active about seven o'clock. While most wash in the cold mountain stream which really wakes the sleepyheads, two Fianna who have risen earlier are busy at the fire preparing breakfast, stirring porridge, boiling eggs or frying.

The fatigue party washes up when everyone has eaten. If it is a Sunday morning the Scouts polish their shoes and tidy themselves before going to church. Otherwise they may have a class in axeman, mapping, or tracking, or perhaps a game in the woods, or maybe they will spend the morning climbing a nearby mountain or making a bridge from logs, "pioneering," it's called. Blankets and sleeping bags are pulled out of the tents and aired on bushes and walls. All equipment comes out and the tents are thereby aired to keep them fresh.

PASTIME

Someone must go to work about eleven o'clock to prepare the dinner. The menu is varied — anything from cool salads to piping hot stews, depending on the weather. A sweet is always appreciated and is sometimes followed by an apple or orange to round off. Nobody feels like running around after a heavy meal. The Fianna stroll about leisurely, not over-exercising themselves.

If the weather is good a swim in the evening is very pleasant. The non-swimmers run up and down along the banks annoying the scouts in

the water by throwing sods or prodding with sticks, veritable demons these. Now and then a cry arises — "O/C, what kinda flower is this?" or "O/C, what's the name of that tree?" An O/C needs to be omniscient.

After the swim the boys go back to camp and devour their tea of cheese sandwiches and biscuits. If it is a normal Saturday/Sunday camp the job of striking camp begins. Haversacks are packed, tents neatly folded, pits filled in and the fire extinguished. Good Fianna leave no signs whatever of a camp having been at their site. When all is ready the scouts move off with their heavy loads, richer in experience of camping and woodlore and richer also in their store of happy memories.

It is hoped that the Fianna who read this will camp even more in the summer months ahead and learn more about the outdoors. It is hoped that for old Fianna it will bring back old memories of warm days, swimming, the cool woods and above all the great comradeship of Na Fianna. — Liam Mac an Ultaigh

The United Irishman

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Notes & Comments

INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT

ONCE upon a time in Ireland to be anything other than neutral as far as world politics was concerned was to invite the vituperation and scorn of the politicians. Mr. de Valera boasted of our neutrality and made a neat political plaything of it during the Emergency.

Later, successive governments made much of our "neutrality" vis-a-vis NATO, while of late Mr. Aiken has been at pains (though methinks he doth protest too much) to stress the necessity for neutral status in the Vietnam conflict.

How shallow all these protestations really are is now fully spotlighted by disclosures about what membership of the Common Market entails—and what it will entail in the future. British Labour Members of Parliament (more than 70 of whom have signed a protest against Britain's entering the E.E.C.) have demonstrated that membership of the Common Market means an end to neutrality. E.E.C. diplomats themselves have also admitted as much in recent speeches.

Political Unity

WE all know that the economic unity of Europe is but a fore-runner to political unity. Mr. Michael O Morain, the Minister for Lands, stressed this in a remarkable speech in Castlebar at the beginning of May—remarkable in that it showed the Government's hand openly on this question of neutrality for probably the first time. Mr. Lynch, a little later in Leinster House, confirmed O Morain's thesis.

Apparently the Fianna Fail administration openly welcomes the political unity of Europe—and the 26 Counties' share in it. Apparently we are now well on the way into the European Nuclear Club, NATO, U.S. bases at Shannon and everything that loss of traditional neutrality means.

Apart altogether from the political dangers inherent in sharing in the sharply divisive Left-Right politics of Europe, with its rampant Masonic Capitalism on the one hand, and its Communist-infiltrated, neo-pagan Socialism on the other, there are numerous other perils existent in alliance with the states of Western Europe. Gone would be our chances of survival (however precarious) in any nuclear war of the future; even in peacetime Bantry or Shannon could suffer a disaster like that which occurred in Palomares, Spain, last year, when U.S. hydrogen bombs accidentally fell on a fishing port and contaminated the inhabitants and the soil.

Way of Life

GONE too would be the chances of survival of our traditional Irish way of life and our culture. Our land, our beaches, our islands, would be thrown open to the highest bidder from Stuttgart, Rotterdam or where-have-you to come to "develop" them.

Ireland would become the playground of the Western world—its people working in the factories of Britain or Germany, its old peasantry and small farmers destroyed, never again to be replaced. It is not yet too late, however, for a valiant struggle to be mounted against this sell-out. Republicans can lead in a new fight for national survival and their banner can read "Neutrality." The Churches, the trade unions, the small farmers, the language and cultural movements, all have a stake in the continuance of our traditional neutrality. Let them all rally now—for as sure as I write these words, this is the last chance which will be afforded to the Irish people to defend their homes and their heritage.

Corruption

CHARGES and counter-charges of corruption fill the air. Their dirty past is catching up with the slick boys in the Fianna Fail and Fine Gael outfits. Here surely is a case of the kettle calling the pot black, and to perpetuate the metaphor, there can be no smoke without fire.

Mr. Colley may have started something which he will be unable to stop when he levelled charges of corruption in high places in a speech at the beginning of May.

All who read the reports of the speech arrived at the same conclusion—that Mr. Colley was indirectly accusing members of his own government of lack of integrity and honesty. In fact it was openly admitted among Fianna Fail backbenchers that Colley had none other in mind than Charlie Haughey, whose business and estate empire in Dublin continues to expand at a remarkable rate, and whose slick handling of "deals" is notorious among the "in" circle in the city.

Inter-Party

SOMEONE (could it have been Charlie himself?) must have pointed this out to Colley for, like a shot, he was back to say that, of course, he had not meant that anyone in Fianna Fail was corrupt. It was the Inter-Party government when in power that was corrupt, and he went dangerously close to libel in hinting at certain Ministers whose actions, we are led to believe by George, were not entirely above reproach.

Naturally Fine Gael (if the cap fits, etc.) could not allow such things to go unanswered. People might REALLY believe that corruption was part and parcel of so-called democratic government in the so-called Republic!

So Mr. Cosgrave stood up and said that Mr. Colley was a bad man to infer that Fine Gael was corrupt and that if he had any evidence that the Inter-Party government fiddled while Ireland burned back in the filthy fifties he should have done something about it and not got up ten years later and made a play about it in 1967.

Bewildered

WHILE the charges and counter-charges flew, the bewildered people of the state wondered why there was such a to-do about it all. Sure didn't everyone know that there was corruption in public life in Ireland and didn't everyone accept that it was part and parcel of the lousy system of politics foisted on them in the name of democracy?

Aren't "jobs for the boys" and political patronage inherent in this system—and hasn't Donogh O'Malley (no tyro as far as the dispensing of patronage is concerned) admitted this in his famous "All other things being equal" speech? What the Irish people are worrying about is the danger that Fianna Fail and Fine Gael will do a deal and hush the whole thing up, now that it has been publicised a little more than they like.

Somehow I don't think that the people are likely to forget these charges and counter-charges of corruption in high places. The allegations comprise one more gigantic black mark against both the major parties. The comment of the ordinary citizen must be: "A plague on both your houses."

Tailpiece

COMING after all that, the addresses given by one Sean Lemass and one Brian Lenihan to Athlone Fianna Fail lackeys must have drawn wry smiles from the readers who noticed the title of the discussion. It was "Democratic government—how it works!"

As I said before Lenihan is always good for a laugh.

MAC DARA

D. Mac Giolla

Phadraig

BOOKSELLER

— and —

STATIONER

12 CATHEDRAL ST.,
DUBLINNORTHERN
LETTERHow Harry West
Got The Best . . .

ALTHOUGH the dust of the Co. Fermanagh lands case is now settling, perhaps a brief resume of the events may still be of interest to our readers.

Some time ago, Mr. Harry West, then Stormont Minister for Agriculture, bought 262 acres of land from his cousin, Mr. Victor West, who at the time was in financial difficulties. The price paid was £34,250, and among the acres was the abandoned St. Angelo airport.

In May 1964 Mr. West urged that an inter-departmental meeting should be held to discuss ways and means of bringing the airport back into regular use. About the same period he offered to sell 99 acres of the land, including the airport strip, to the Government for £37,100, which is almost £3,000 more for less than half the acreage than he paid for the entire land.

This offer was refused and then agreed to sell at involvement with Seenozi. Sir Cecil McKee whilst a member of the Belfast council who were debating the feasibility of making a showpiece out of the city's Bridge at £13,450. Taking everything into consideration this was a fairly generous bid. However, Mr. West refused to sell; and then the bubble burst.

Enraged

On April 26th he was politely asked by Terry O'Neill, Stormont Premier, to resign his Government post. This enraged not only Harry West, but the entire Co. Fermanagh Unionist organisation which included the former Premier, Lord Brookeborough, the Ulster Farmers' Union, and the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Brian Faulkner.

Following an impassioned speech by Mr. West to his colleagues at Stormont deplaining the alleged slur on his reputation and a declaration of victimisation, Captain O'Neill countered with a sermon on morality. He laid stress on the seven point code of conduct to be followed by the members of his Government where there was possible conflict between their private interests and their public duties. This code had come into force in June 1963.

Morally, Captain O'Neill was in the right, but, on looking further into the affair there are some startling revelations. For instance, three years ago O'Neill warned West of the scandal which could arise if the Government bought his land, yet consultations between the interested parties apparently continued. However, in September 1966 came the first real crisis within the Unionist ranks with the attempted overthrow of the leadership, and Harry West was implicated in the rebel side.

It looks then as if O'Neill awaited his chance of "shooting him down" and what better way than to depose him from his £4,500 a year job and at the same time to throw doubts on his integrity? This was the substan-

ce of West's defence. He also declared that he had purchased the land not only as a succour to his relative but to prevent it for deeply felt personal sentimental reasons from leaving the family. But it appears as if his sentimentality was willing to be sacrificed for £37,100 or thereabouts.

Relations Strained

The one thing that emerges from the whole affair is simply this: if the spotlight was not, as it is today, on Stormont, probably everything would have been hushed up. Relations may have been strained for some time to come but birds of a kind will share the same nest, if there is money to be made.

West is, of course, not the first Unionist to have accusations of lining their own pockets levied at him. Patricia McLaughlin had her then agreed to sell at involvement with Seenozi.

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House of Apology

Eddie McAteer, leader of the Nationalist Party, has said that one day per week should be set aside by the Stormont Government to enable members of the Unionist Party to tender all current apologies. As appears as if he could be right.

The apologist-par-excellence has been Bill Craig, now once again Minister for Home Affairs. I've no intention of cataloguing all the blunders which have necessitated his craving the indulgences of various offended people. Suffice to say that oftentimes he is an acute embarrassment to his fellow Unionists. Lately he has been joined by more distinguished company in the persons of the Minister for Commerce, Brian Faulkner, and the Premier himself, Captain O'Neill.

When the West episode broke to the public the former was in Leeds and in answer to the Press he

emphatically declared that "Mr. West was absolutely blameless," or words to that effect. This was interpreted as a challenge to O'Neill and among the uninitiated there were many who forecast as a result the resignation of Faulkner from the Party. More fuel was added to the fire by the plea from Mr. Bertie Porter, Unionist member for Q.U.B., to Faulkner "for the sake of sanity and dignity" to make it clear just where he stood. He also threatened that if O'Neill went down he personally would join with the opposition parties as an Independent Unionist.

The Chief Whip-cum Leader of the House-cum Minister for Agriculture, Major Chichester-Clark, also put in his spoke. Faulkner began hedging on his original statement and finally at a week-end meeting of local Unionists at Ballynahinch he pledged full support for O'Neill. Thus he apologised for his remark at Leeds.

Now to the Premier. During the thrust and parry of debate at Stormont he tried to counter Harry Diamond by reading the following letter:

Dear Sir,

As a loyal Irish Roman Catholic I with others do not want into the Irish Republic. Our Church is always crying discrimination but it was given out from the pulpit the other Sunday that no Catholic was to buy from a Protestant shop unless the shop was run by a Catholic nor no Catholic was to employ a Protestant.

P.S. — Please don't mention my name.
Falls Road.

The letter was addressed to Major Chichester-Clark who passed it on to O'Neill.

Well, apart from the aspect of a man in his position putting any credence in a letter which had not been authenticated, doubts are now been cast on the genuineness of his pleading for "better community spirit" and more toleration among the Northern people.

He has also drawn the ire upon his head of Dr. Philbin, the Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor and of Cardinal Conway, and, of course, the opposition parties and all right-thinking people.

On Tuesday, May 9th, O'Neill made an apology for his behaviour, admitting that the R.U.C. had been unable to trace the writer of the letter. He also claimed that in reading it he had been harried by certain members of the opposition, and was overwrought from the events of the previous week. To this observer tiredness can act in the same fashion as strong drink. It loosens the tongue and often the true feelings of the speaker are revealed.

As it is at the time of writing he is still under fire and there could yet be a further development in this cradle of Unionism.

Frank Hegarty.

On this and the following page we continue with the recently published Wolfe Tone Society statement. We are faced with a choice between

Last month's instalment dealt with the monopoly-inspired motivation of the Common Market idea, the effects of unleashing the laws of an economic free-for-all on an economy such as Ireland's, and the actual structure of the Council and Commission (the ruling bodies) of the E.E.C. The latter part of the instalment (a) pointed out that the Council and Commission (a body of delegates of member countries) has dictatorial powers in all the vital functions of the E.E.C. which completely nullifies the powers of the Council of Ministers, and (b) pointed out that it would be that of a body of permanent civil servants arrogating to itself all the powers of decision of government and deciding the agenda of any meeting of government, while the government's only power would be that of passing laws to give effect to the decisions of the permanent body by a two-thirds majority.

SOVEREIGNTY: THE EEC AND THE IRISH CONSTITUTION

As is described above, the Rome Treaty brings into being bodies, such as the EEC Council, Commission and Court, which have powers to legislate for States that have hitherto been sovereign. Under Article 187 and 192 of the Treaty decisions of these EEC bodies may be directly enforced in the territory of the member states by

Thus when Ireland signs treaties, what happens is that the Dail surrenders, over a clearly defined area, a part of the country's political sovereignty; but it surrenders none of its own sovereignty. It can reassert its sovereignty if it wishes by repealing the treaty in question.

THE Rome Treaty, however, is unique in that it restricts not only the political sovereignty of member States but also their legal sovereignty. In Ireland the Dail has the right under the Constitution to say what shall be law for the State. There can be no other law superior to the Constitution and to the laws of the Dail under the Constitution. The Irish people, who struggled for generations against laws made by a tyrannical Government, have now to accept laws should rule them. By signing the Rome Treaty an Irish Government would be surrendering that right over substantial and vital areas of our national life; for the Rome Treaty differs from other treaties, and is in fact unique, in that it has no character of a treaty, and its clauses are the character of constitutional law for the States subsisting in it. In effect then, an Irish Government that

[illegible]

*"Full acceptance of the political implications
of the E.E.C."*

proposes to sign this Treaty is proposing that the Irish people—in return for slight and debatable economic advantages—should abrogate their claim to rule themselves. This is not only extraordinary political folly, but is a betrayal of the political aspirations of those who struggled to found an independent Irish State.

There are other political implications of joining the EEC. One is the abandonment of the Irish Government's policy of military neutrality and keeping out of international military alliances. The last and present Taoiseachs have repeatedly said that the "full political implications" of EEC membership. This undoubtedly has been taken to mean that the Irish Government's willingness to abandon its policy of legal neutrality is a condition of an alliance if that is required by the other EEC members. In February, 1967 a member of the EEC Commission, speaking in Dublin, referred pointedly to the fact that all the other EEC members were in NATO, and that the EEC would be a desirable prospective members, Britain, Norway and Denmark, were also in NATO. This was hint enough of what "full acceptance of the political implications of membership" would require, i.e., a military alliance. Many, very likely require conscription. Those who lightly

*The Rome Treaty restricts not only political
but also legal sovereignty.*

Some Common Market propagandists will point out that every country must surrender part of its sovereignty in the modern world and that absolute sovereignty does not and cannot exist. This is, of course, true, but it confuses the distinction between political and legal sovereignty. When Ireland joins the United Nations or the World Health Organisation or any other international body, and when Ireland signs treaties with certain

countries, it voluntarily assumes certain obligations, thereby limiting its political sovereignty. But Ireland and the Dublin Dail acting under the Constitution retains its legal sovereignty. That is, the Dail can freely step back at any later stage and can reclaim the surrendered sovereignty if circumstances change by withdrawing from these organisations or abrogating the treaty in question. It can do this because the Dail retains this power and remains fully legally sovereign under the Constitution.

speak of our abandoning our military neutrality should
 consider more the implications of this.

Also members of the EEC must recognise one another's territorial frontiers. If Ireland joined the Common Market with Britain we would have thus to recognise the territorial frontiers of the United Kingdom. Yet the Constitution lays claim to part of the territorial area of the UK. Is the Dublin Government willing to abandon also its claim for a politically united Ireland? What of the effects of Irish EEC membership on the Border?

The effects of Irish independence on the relationship between Ireland and Britain join, then customs posts would disappear between North and South; but the partition of Ireland is more than a question of customs posts; there were no customs posts within the whole island during the nineteenth century. The fact that the whole island was part of one of the United Kingdom and Britain join the EEC the Six Customs will still remain politically part of the United Kingdom and laws for the area will be made in Brussels, Westminster and Stormont. In Dublin, the market would be free from the rest of South with the British economy which would follow entry to the Common Market would possibly lead to a reduction in the importance of the political barriers in time; but would be withdrawing away of the border control and the Anglo-Irish Agreement and possibly political union similar to that of the nineteenth century, rather than an independent 32-County Ireland. One "solution" to partition that has always been acceptable is the idea of a referendum, as well as the possibility of a referendum, has seen the effectiveness of the whole island to union with the United Kingdom. The "solution" to the Border problem constituted by membership of the EEC would be of the same character, with different political implications. It would be a realisation of the Act of Union period, but with the reality substantially the same.

These then are some of the political implications of Irish membership of the Common Market. We have concentrated on them in this statement because we believe that this is an aspect of the question that has got little public attention in Ireland, even though it is the most important aspect of all. For politics is concerned with the powers and authority of Governments and States; it is concerned with the powers of conscious decision-making

"accepting to the full the political implications of EEC membership" (Mr. Lynch). What has been written above on what these implications are should serve to demonstrate how tendentious and deceitful has been so much of the pro-Common Market propaganda that has poured on the Irish people for almost a decade now. It should also make it plain that the Irish people are quite unaware of the implications of the course on which the present Dublin Government has embarked upon, or of the conditions of political servitude the country will find itself in unless the Government's present course is wisely abandoned. It must also make it plain to every patriotic citizen to whom this article is sent to bring about such an opinion on this issue.

WHILE the political implications of EEC entry have been generally played down or entirely ignored, the rosy and exaggerated view has frequently been taken of its alleged economic benefits. For these benefits to Irish industry and agriculture are anticipated widely to be the result of the Irish being able to participate in the "dynamic" Common Market, even without membership of the Common Market would require the Irish Government to surrender to the EEC numerous and vital planning powers. In the economic position of Ireland can afford to abandon the protection which has been widely supposed in Ireland, there is no magic in a large market to ensure the achievement of such desirable ends as full employment, a cessation of the compulsory emigration of the Irish, or the like. If there were, such a large "common market" as the United States of America would not have large-scale unemployment, and it would not be necessary to subsidise by the agricultural subsidies the production of neglected and underdeveloped areas, covering in some cases tracts of territory several times the size of Ireland, because of the constant need to import large quantities of goods, capital and labour. If Ireland joins the EEC there is no reason why we would not become even more of an undeveloped area than we at present are, together with the high unemployment rate in the Republic, Brittany and northern Norway, peripheral regions of the EEC, starved of industry and capital, which would be the fate of the traditional industrial growth centres of Europe, where the traditional industrial growth centres would be left to make most profit for themselves. An Irish Government which pursues this process—a process whose consequences are easily seen—will be deprived of many of the necessary tools of economic planning wherewith to do as the Rules of the Common Market require.

There is reference in the Rome Treaty to the desirability of "regional economic development" to raise investment and living standards in under-capitalised areas of the Community, and there have been many optimistic forecasts that Ireland will be one of the EEC countries in the country—and possibly the only one in the whole—would be treated as an area requiring special measures. These positions are, however, somewhat inconsistent with the fact that Ireland is a rich country. This again is typical of much of the Irish wishful thinking. The EEC, for the Rome Treaty does not require any special measures for areas of underdevelopment. The only commitment on the part of the EEC or the member-governments is to support regional development projects. Nor are there any specific criteria for the selection of areas. It is the Community should be entitled to indicate what areas are in need of special measures, and to make special considerations on the grounds of their backward economic position.

What the Treaty does contain is a statement of the preamble to the effect that member States will strive to achieve harmonious economic development by reducing the disparities between the various regions and by mitigating the backwardness of the less favoured. It is a splendid sentiment, but it is not the specific commitment by member governments or by the Community organs to take any particular measure of regional development policy. Regional planning at the Community level has in fact amounted to date to little more than the drawing out of the "disadvantages" of various problem areas, which the Council has then asked the member States to effect. The EEC on Ireland would think that the "disadvantages" of Ireland would be regarded as "disadvantages for us, our region," and would be regarded as an "underdeveloped area" in the eyes of the rest of the Community. The Commission itself pointed out that in 1971 the EEC Council

The Case Against the Common Market

Certain agricultural commodities to benefit — perhaps: Farming community to suffer rapid and continuous drop in Population . . .

regions of the Community had become relatively poorer still since the establishment of the Common Market. "Disparities between certain regions of the Community," it says, "have continued to get worse, some getting the full benefit of economic growth, while some of the backward, developed, or the hardest hit, have suffered technological change, leading to a great extent unaffected by that growth." It is a fair and honest warning.

IRISH INDUSTRY AND THE COMMON MARKET

IRISH industry has little to gain from the EEC. What it can expect is intense competition on the Irish home market from EEC exporters who would have free access there once Ireland became a member. There are those who argue (e.g. the N.I.E.C. Report on Full Employment) that the European competition would mainly injure. If this were so, it would be in a situation where foreign imports had displaced the bulk of native manufactures on the Irish home market — not a very bright prospect for those who seek to develop a significant industrial economy in Ireland which could give employment at home to all of the Irish people who want it.

For the fact of the matter is that there is scarcely an industry in Ireland which would have any inherent advantage over those of the other members of a Common Market of ten nations (the Six, Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland). A market of 200-300 million people would suit the needs of the giant firms that dominate the modern boom industries. But most Irish manufacturers, catering primarily for a market of 3-4 million people on the geographical periphery of Europe, would find time put off of business by the competition of cheaper imports; for there are few items of manufacture consumed in Ireland today that could not be produced more cheaply elsewhere, either in the EEC or in the rest of the world. To suppose this is an argument for allowing substantial sections of Irish industry to be sacrificed and accepting that the displaced workers should emigrate abroad where they can find employment. But this is no solution acceptable to those who want to build an independent and prosperous Irish nation. It must be recognised that only in an expanding industry can the numbers who leave the Irish countryside, as well as the natural increase in population, expect to find employment. Importing manufactures from abroad may in many cases be cheaper than producing them in Ireland, but this price differential has to be offset against the social costs in unemployment, emigration, family disruption and regional decay of shutting down on home production. Ireland is a small country, but it has the resources to produce goods and services in quantity and quality enough to satisfy the most important needs of its people. The fact of the country's small size, however, makes it all the more important that the powers, actual and potential, of the State should be used to the full as a means of industrialisation. Hence the wholehearted and indiscriminate embracing of a free trade policy by the Twenty Six County Government in recent years is likely to be seen in time as a serious error in policy, forced on the Government here by external pressures and influences from the United Kingdom, and which the Government lacked sufficient will and political determination to oppose.

No country has ever industrialised itself under free trade, with the exception of Britain itself, which did so through the efforts of its State, which did so through the efforts of its State, which did so through the efforts of its State. It is certainly not possible for a country in the underdeveloped state of Ireland to do so, especially when it is situated next door to flavoured industrial countries who are in an easy mode to annihilate its young industries once protective measures are done away with. Protection has got a bad press in Ireland in recent years, and undoubtedly its indiscriminate and inefficient use has done much to retard the growth of the country. Hence to undertake a commitment to complete free trade in manufactures — as Ireland has done in relation to Britain and as it is proposed to do in relation to the EEC is likely to prove even more inimical to the industrialisation of the country in the long term. It is difficult for a nation contiguous to the monopoly-dominated industrial powers to embark on a substantial industrialisation programme as such a programme is bound to look for assistance at the hands of the powerful industrial powers that it can be done under a regime of complete free trade with those very industrial powers. Hence the vital importance for industrialisation of having an independent government which is strong, determined, nationally minded, able and willing to insist politically on the

economic laws. They are reluctant to admit that it is politics which sets the framework for economic decisions. Not surprisingly then, they would hardly be willing to admit that it is only a socially radical, republican-minded government which could adequately represent the interests of the Irish people to other countries. Yet it is only such a government could expect to be listened to seriously abroad today, and only such a government could realistically insist to the great industrial powers on Ireland's right to use whatever tools and measures were expedient for its industrialisation, even if these conflicted with the free trade policies of those powers. Moreover, with the free trade policies of those powers, moreover, and raise the morale of the people to the extent necessary to enable them sustain the difficulties and meet the problems of such an independent course.

FOREIGN AND STATE INDUSTRY

THERE are those who contend that even if Irish firms are put out of business by competing foreign imports in free trade conditions, whether with Britain or the EEC, this would be compensated for by the tendency of outsiders, particularly American firms, to set up production in Ireland in order to scale the Common Market's external tariff and produce goods for the European market from Ireland. It is difficult, however, to see why firms of any significance should do this. The main attraction of Ireland for such outsiders would presumably be the pool of relatively cheap labour available here; but this would be counterbalanced by Ireland's greater distance from the main European centres of population to which these firms would presumably be exporting. Irish labour would in any case have more to move to these areas as industries declined in Ireland. Why should not outside firms of importance decide to set up in Britain or the continent direct, where they would be near their main markets, and send over recruiting agents to the Irish towns offering guaranteed employment in their continental factories

"An essential economic principle of the E.E.C. . . . it hostility to state aids to Industry."

if they are short of labour? Would not this be a more rational and likely procedure than to set up in Ireland in the first place?

For it must be remembered, of course, that the grants, tax reliefs and other aids which the Irish Government at present offers to attract foreign industry to Ireland would have to go if Ireland were in the EEC. Indeed already they have to go under the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement (by 1975 in general and by 1983 in the case of Shannon). They might have to be dismantled well before these dates if Ireland entered the EEC.

For an essential economic principle of the Common Market, stemming from its laissez-faire basis, is hostility to state aids to industry, even though these are essential for any country trying to industrialise itself. State aids of all kinds — investment grants, adaptation grants, interest-free or low-interest loans, tax remissions, subsidised plants, factories, machinery, power supplies, training allowances etc. — invariably contain some element of subsidy from public funds. They thus interfere with the principles of free competition quite as much as tariffs and quotas do, and as such they are outlawed by the Rome Treaty and have to be dismantled by countries signing the Treaty over a period of years. They may be permitted by the EEC Commission in the case of weak industries, or for purposes of "rationalisation of industry," but no principles are laid down to which the Common Market relies on competition to restructure industry in Europe; and in so far as the EEC organs attempt to restructure industry on a European scale, it will mean so far as is concerned that the relevant decisions will be taken outside the country by people who have interests other than the welfare of Ireland guiding their actions.

The Common Market rules of competition also entail that Government tenders will have to be publicised on a Community basis, thus ruling out the possibility of Government discrimination in this area in favour of nationals and against non-nationals. This would put paid to the hopes of some Irish businessmen that at least the

payments crisis. Such capital, the "surplus" of the Irish economy, must be allowed to move abroad with complete freedom, where it would earn a higher rate of return for its owners, no matter how deleterious this was to the Irish economy. This free movement of Irish capital abroad is the main cause of the low rate of investment in the Irish economy since the establishment of the State, and of the consequent inadequate industrialisation, high unemployment and emigration. The Common Market arrangements would make it impossible to assist this situation; it would in fact make the shortage of capital in Ireland worse by reducing the attractiveness of Ireland as a sphere of investment for non-Irish capital because of the necessity of dismantling the incentives referred to above.

Where there is free movement of goods and capital, there will necessarily be free movement of labour. The C.I.O. survey teams on the impact of free trade on Irish industry found that a drop of 6% in employment would occur in the industries examined — which covered some 78% of Irish industrial employment — even after they had been considerably adapted. Under the Common Market arrangements these workers would be "free" to move to France, Germany, Italy, etc., as they are now free to move to Britain. Some of them might be assisted by the Common Market Social Fund for meeting half the cost of retraining and resettling displaced workers, in connection with which some exaggerated claims have been made in Ireland. But, as mentioned previously, the sums available under this Fund are derisory and unlikely to assist the Irish Government in any significant way in financing the emigration of disemployed Irish workers and their families.

There can be no doubt but that the Common Market would aggravate rather than alleviate the Irish emigration problem. In a market economy labour must follow capital; and where a national government has no power to control the exporting capital, its efforts to eliminate the emigration of labour must be without success.

Among other consequences of Irish Common Market membership are that it would rule out the possibility of an Irish Government using changes in the exchange rate between the Irish and British pounds — similar to that between the Australian and British pounds for example — as an economic planning measure relevant to the aim of obtaining full employment in Ireland. This is because the EEC's common agricultural policy sets farm prices in European dollars rather than in national currencies, that devaluation of the national currency would lead to a corresponding increase in home food prices and hence in the cost of living and production, and so be self-defeating.

Common Market membership would also require Ireland to adopt the so-called "added value tax" which is now being introduced in all the EEC countries. This is a highly regressive form of purchase tax falling most heavily on the poorest classes, and would accentuate even further the already very regressive character of the Irish taxation system. The common external tariff of the EEC would also affect Irish imports of raw materials from countries outside the Common Market. In 1965 Ireland imported raw materials worth about 250 million from countries other than the Six, Britain, Denmark and Norway. By joining the Common Market, Ireland would have to abide by the Common Market's external tariff on many of these raw materials even though this might not be in the interests of our industrialists in various areas. A further effect of membership would be a considerable rise in food prices for consumers in Ireland as a consequence of adopting the Common Market's agricultural policy. The housewife could expect to spend up to 68. 9d. a pound for butter, for example. Higher food prices, together with the effect on price of the added value tax, would significantly curtail the purchasing power of the incomes of Irish housewives and the urban working class.

IRISH AGRICULTURE AND THE COMMON MARKET

IRISH entry to the Common Market offers better prospects for Irish agriculture than to Irish industry; but it does so to an Irish agriculture that will have a rapidly and continuously falling population, as is envisaged for all Common Market countries. For despite the higher agricultural prices offered by the Common Market for some agricultural products, it is envisaged by the EEC Commission that in the period 1965-1971 there will be a drop in the EEC agricultural labour force of 17%. A better deal for Irish farmers in the Common Market would be to ensure that the maintenance of the Irish rural population even at its present level; and the difficulties inevitable for Irish industry would make it impossible for the rural surplus to be absorbed there, indicating a continuance of high rural emigration abroad. The better deal for Irish agriculture in the Common Market has, however, been greatly exaggerated in Ireland. It is based on the fact that the prices for agricultural products in the EEC are related more closely to the costs of production than are agricultural prices in our present main market, Great Britain, where most Irish agricultural products, with the exception of cattle, have now to be sold below their costs of production at home. But not all agricultural prices are higher in the Common Market than in Ireland; prices for wheat and sugar-beet are lower there, for example. Moreover, even though the EEC prices for cattle and milk are considerably higher than those at present prevailing on the British market, it must be remembered that the prospects of greatly enlarged Irish exports of these products to the Six in the event of Ireland and Britain joining are not that strong. For the Six EEC countries are similar in size and climate to Ireland, and will continue our main agricultural exports, being supplied by the highly efficient and low-cost farmers of Holland and France, and they in fact have exportable surpluses of dairy products.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

.... Wedded to the concept of economic, and inevitably, political, integration with Britain.

country's right to maintain for an indefinite period — and certainly until the aim of national full employment is attained — the protective and economic planning measures that would have to be abandoned in a free trade system. The Governments in this part of the country in recent decades have unfortunately not been of this character. Their policies and the predominant attitudes of their members have only too clearly shown a loss of faith in the possibility of winning genuine national independence for Ireland and of constructing an economy able to provide full employment at decent living standards. Our Governments have effectively become wedded to the concept of economic, and inevitably political, integration with Britain and with the EEC. This has been presented to the Irish public with considerable propagandist expertise as a worth-while goal for the nation; but in reality it is tantamount to our political leaders or the civil service, must inevitably be pliant to foreign political and economic pressure; they are certainly not the people who would be taken seriously about their country's interests. Hence the disastrous character of the foreign trade policy the Dublin Government has embarked upon, with its signature of the Free Trade Agreement with Britain, and the ignominious character of its curtailing of the EEC. Our rulers and planners have interpreted the consequences of their political weakness as the expression of immutable

FREE MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR

FREE movement of capital is as basic to the Common Market as free movement of goods. This means that if Ireland entered the Common Market the incentives the Irish Government offers to attract foreign development capital to the country would have to be dismantled over a transition period. It also means that it would not be possible for an Irish Government to curtail the export of Irish capital and savings abroad, except in a balance of

STATE INTIMIDATION CONTINUES

SPECIAL BRANCH THREATEN PRESS MEN

THE month of May saw a considerable increase in the intimidatory activities of the Special Branch. Readers of this paper will be familiar with the tactics of this secret political police force vis-à-vis those whom they consider unfavourable to the Fianna Fáil regime. The qualifications necessary to be distinguished as an enemy of the regime are, to all intents and purposes, elastic and all embracing. They are manufactured to suit any given situation.

Below we give an account of three separate incidents which occurred recently in which members of the Secret Police applied their definition of dissidence to different people on different occasions. One of these was Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, the well-known broadcaster and businessman, one with an established reputation in his various fields of activity and who could be regarded in a general way as a most respectable member of society.

Photographers

In another incident, outlined below, three working photographers were threatened by members of the police force while about their lawful occasions and while on private property at the invitation of the owner of that property.

Finally there is the case of Mr. Mannion, an ordinary member of the public, who was accosted by a member of the Special Branch shortly after leaving the office of The United Irishman and treated in a most humiliating way by this licensed thug.



The dogs are ready.

LAST Saturday afternoon I attended a meeting at the corner of O'Connell Street and Middle Abbey Street in Dublin. It was organised, I understand, by foreign students, mostly African and Asian, who wished to protest against British policy in Aden and to bring the facts to the attention of the people of Dublin. It will be recalled that a war of liberation is in progress in the Aden Protectorate at present and that the methods of the British troops there are very reminiscent of those used in the twenties by the same troops in Ireland. It is right and

proper for students from that area and for fellow students from other places to bring their cause to the attention of the people of Ireland.

The meeting was moderately well attended, especially so when it is realised that it was held at the curious hour of 3 p.m. There were a considerable force of uniformed police present. Among them were two senior officers. I was there purely as a spectator and not in any kind of representative capacity.

It so happens that I am a reasonably enthusiastic amateur cameraman and that I own a number of cameras of different kinds. I emphasise the "amateur" aspect of my camera work! I do not think I would rate very highly in any competition.

But I often carry a small camera at week-ends and sometimes photograph interesting views, statues and other things which I consider interesting or unusual. I had this camera at the meeting last Saturday afternoon.

"Do you want that camera smashed?"

I decided to take some photographs of the meeting and the people at it. I took a general view — or at least what I thought to be a general view. As I focused the camera on a group I noticed one man raising his hand to his face and then moving away quickly. He came over to me.

dangerous to him. He turned around and went back to where he was originally standing. Someone behind me who noticed the incident said: 'He is a Special Branch man.' Wishing to find out whether I had, in fact, been threatened by a member of the police force and whether a policeman would dare behave like a thug in broad daylight in the very centre of the city, I approached the man and said: 'Excuse me, you have threatened to smash my camera. Would you be kind enough to give me your name?' He gruffly said 'No'. He then said 'You took my photograph. I don't want anyone to have my photograph.' I again asked him for his name and he refused to give it.

By then I was reasonably sure that he was a secret political policeman and I asked him if he would show me any card or warrant authorising him to speak to me as he did. He said nothing. I then asked him if he realised that he would hear more of the incident. He replied 'I know that now' and immediately moved away.

And dogs, too

A number of people witnessed the threat of assault and the subsequent refusal of the policeman to identify himself. One of these came to me and said 'Do you know they have the dogs here and are prepared to let them loose on the meeting?' I was slow to accept this. But I was guided down Abbey Street where I was shown a large wagon which contained a number of policemen and dogs. I took some photographs of this wagon, incidentally, and although the police in the wagon waved me away, they took no action of any kind.

On the way towards the dog wagon we passed the man who had threatened me. He was accompanied by another man, who was, it appears, another secret political policeman. I pointed him out to those with me. They both came over to me. The first individual said 'We do not want anyone to take our photographs.' I made no comment on this but again asked him to tell me who he was. He refused to do so and his comrade said to him 'Come on. Let us get out of here.' The individual who threatened to smash my camera then said 'We do not want any trouble.' I replied by once more asking him who he was.

"I would have been intimidated if —"

Now, in one way, these incidents are of no consequence. In another they are highly important, insofar as that somewhat uncouth



"Do you want your camera smashed?"

person was a member of the political Special Branch, which is in fact, the Fianna Fáil Party's private police force, is hardly open to doubt. It is fairly clear that his original attitude to me is his usual manner of behaviour. It cannot be that this is totally unknown to his employers. Therefore there is little point in taking notice of this person as an individual or to blame him personally. He is just carrying out the instructions of his masters as he thinks proper. Clearly, if I were some inexperienced photographer from a newspaper, someone who did not at once realise what was happening, I would have been intimidated by this person and taken no more photographs.



Proinsias Mac Aonghusa

Special Branch intimidation of a Trinity College, Dublin, student last October had a sequel in the May edition of the College magazine TCD where Branch personalities and activities were featured in an extremely well written and illustrated article.

Tracing the history of the Branch since its foundation the article points out that it conforms to no written law, not even the all-embracing Offences Act, but rather to the unwritten political laws of its Fianna Fáil masters. Both the rank and file thug and the unscrupulous leadership of the Branch are subjected to telling scrutiny in this more than readable article. A shilling spent on the May edition of TCD is a shilling well spent.

"I'LL SMASH YOU AND YOUR CAMERA"

THE farm of Thomas Comerford, Kilkenny, was the scene of Special Branch exploits during Mr. Lenihan's politically timed seizure of farm goods. Secret police squads were formed in order to stiffen the not entirely willing Gardai for their unpleasant task; units of the Free State Army hovered in the background.

Citizen Pressured

A Chara,

On Easter Saturday evening between the Gate Theatre and the Town and Country Club in Cavendish Row, Dublin, I was apprehended by a gentleman wearing civilian clothes who instantaneously flashed a card — purportedly an identity card — and remarked, 'I'm a detective Special Branch. Where did you get that?', gesticulating toward an Easter Lily which I was wearing. Not surprisingly I was flabbergasted.

He further remarked that I had come from Gardiner Place and then proceeded to shout questions at me in a most intimidating manner, such as:

"What is your name?"
"Can you identify yourself?"

"Where do you work?"
"What is your occupation?"
"Who was your previous employer?"

"Where do you live?"
As a means of identification I produced a current driving licence but the detective thought this insufficient and asked me for further identification. In view of the fact that I am not and never have been associated with the Republican Movement nor indeed with any political party, I found the entire episode extremely humiliating.

It seems incredible that such practices are allowed in a state expounding the ideals of democratic philosophy in the U.N. and other organisations and that such a thing should occur in Dublin at Easter time with its association with justice, democracy, equality and brotherhood.

Dublin.

F. Mannion,

The Farmer's Journal photographer, Mr. Stephen Treacey, having gained access by a back route to the farmyard was welcomed by the farmer and invited to stay. The right of the Gardai to remove him immediately became questionable, quite apart from the photographers' professional rights. But the Knights of the Branch hesitated not a moment; Mr. Treacey was forcibly removed out of camera range. When Mr. Treacey remonstrated with his manhandlers and attempted to point out that they were abusing their authority and that he was a guest of the owner of the land he was threatened with "trouble" if he didn't move.

Other photographers had a somewhat similar experience later in the day on the same farm. Dermot O'Shea of The Irish Times was approached by a uniformed sergeant while attempting to take a picture and the policeman threatened to break him and his camera. Mr. O'Shea responded by asking his Irish Press colleague, Dick Rowley, to get ready to snap a picture of the sergeant in action. When Mr. Rowley was in turn threatened a third photographer, Colman Doyle of the Irish Press, trained his camera on the scene from a window of the farm-house and the police, both secret and civil, decided to desist.

A statement by one of the victims of these Branch heroics was submitted to the National Union of Journalists and a copy forwarded by the Union to the spiritual and political head of the Secret Police, Mr. Brian Lenihan, so-called Minister for Justice

Local Elections

Message from Mr. Tomás Mac Giolla President of Sinn Féin

THE formulation of a comprehensive policy for Sinn Féin Local Government representatives presented enormous difficulties. There was continual conflict between the policies which could be implemented within the existing state structure and those which Sinn Féin would put into effect in a free nation. Since we wished to give our councillors a realistic programme of action we were confined in many instances to a mere statement of our ultimate objective followed by a "meantime" or "stop gap" policy designed to mitigate some of the disastrous social effects of the existing political and economic system operating in the 26 Counties.

For instance when dealing with that of rates we stated that Sinn Féin advocated "the abolition of rates as a tax and its substitution by a more equitable system based on income". Having said that we proceeded on the assumption that rates will remain and we make certain proposals to alleviate the burden on ratepayers such as removal of health charges from rates and the introduction of a Rates Deficiency grant to enable an average rate to be struck. This type of two-tier thinking operates throughout the document and the result is a local government policy which is less than satisfactory to many Republicans. It is nevertheless the most comprehensive, progressive and realistic programme yet put forward by any party for the forthcoming elections. It pinpoints the most urgent Local Government problems and offers an immediate remedy or at least a palliative. Only a drastic and painful surgical operation can cure the major chronic diseases affecting the country and this is not the job of local authorities.

Finance

Every aspect of both Local and Central Government policy is affected by the Central Government's financial policy. Finance is the lifeblood of the economy and a government which has not got full control over a country's finance is not in a position to govern. It was in this sector that our greatest difficulty arose. Should we confine ourselves to making the best of the present monetary chaos and plan our Local Government policy within those severe limitations or should we set down the Sinn Féin policy for a tightly controlled and planned monetary system and show the effect this would have on various aspects of Local Government? We opted for the former course in order to maintain a consistent attitude throughout.

The decision was a severe handicap, however, particularly in relation to housing. No matter what policies you adopt for housing you are faced with the question of shortage of capital. It is in the face of this question that the Department of Local Government last year instructed local authorities to increase all rents in their areas in order to provide a fund for future building.

But where is the money and who owns it? It is in the Commercial Banks, Finance Houses and Building Societies and it is owned by the Irish people who created it by their labour. Both the 26 County monetary system and its banking system are

Independent Monetary System

If Ireland had an independent monetary system and a banking system under the control of the National Government then we would be in a position to make economic plans rather than economic programmes. Under the present system inflation and deflation hit the economy unexpectedly as a result of forces over which we have no control and are regarded somewhat like a flu epidemic — stimulants and injections are applied to keep the patient alive until the epidemic runs its course.

A Government in control of monetary policy can plan for expansion or plan for contraction of the economy as the need arises. Such a government would be in complete control of interest rate policy and could use the interest rate for social ends. It could, for instance, in a period of National Housing emergency such as exists at the moment



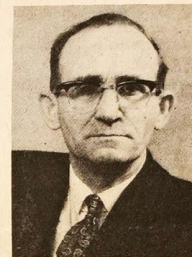
TOMÁS MAC GIOLLA

extend credit at very low and even nominal interest rates to Local Authorities and to private individuals for the building or purchase of Houses. It could do this even while maintaining high interest rates commercially. Such a policy in conjunction with the other points laid down in our programme, would have a dramatic effect on the housing situation, it would lower the cost of houses by more than half the burden of interest repayments. Similarly the socialisation of money would have quite a spectacular effect on the burden of National Debt and the Local Authority Dept. It has been found in some areas that the amount spent on administration and in servicing of the Local Authority debt is greater than that spent on services to the Local Community. If money were the servant of society rather than its master it could be diverted to the uses required by society. At present it goes to the areas which will earn most money for those who control it.

In our policy document we

say that Sinn Féin councillors from their lands and treated will continually emphasise the importance of national issues in relation to Local Government problems. Monetary and financial policies will be one of the chief targets. But an obvious one can only consider financial and economic independence in relation to political independence and sovereignty. Therefore Sinn Féin representatives will on all suitable occasions highlight the vital urgency for the Irish people of National sovereignty. This over-rides all other national and local issues and until the Irish people face up to it rather than run away from it they gach eagraíocht atá ag obair will continue to be driven ar son na teangan.

DUBLIN CANDIDATES



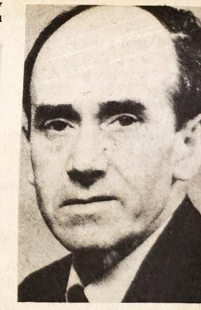
Christopher Dolan, contesting No. 5 area, married, 5 children. Transport employee. Former Runda, Dublin Comhairle Ceannair, Sinn Féin; chairman area Constituency Committee; fluent Irish speaker.



Liam Boylan. Candidate Area No. 1. Active in Sinn Féin. Interested in housing.



Gabriel McLoughlin, Sth. West County, Republican, very active in Sinn Féin; interested in social problems.



Paddy McGlynn, No. 5 Area; in Republican Movement since 1929. Jailed '36-'37, '40-'46. Author of "Economics of Freedom."

ESTIMATED Gross Expenditure and Receipts of County Councils in respect of year ended 31st March, 1966.

County Councils	Gross Expenditure 1965-66	Receipts 1965-66					Total
		Rates	Agricultural Grant	Other State Grants and Subsidies	Other Receipts		
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Carlow	914,484	256,650	196,613	287,032	98,897	839,192	
Cavan	1,647,499	379,000	476,214	624,877	182,605	1,662,696	
Clare	2,010,436	481,878	497,538	658,418	157,513	1,995,347	
Cork	5,740,299	2,174,505	1,425,698	1,333,766	792,904	5,696,873	
Donegal	2,739,153	653,696	558,756	1,251,619	249,238	2,713,308	
Dublin	3,363,400	1,454,440	224,843	522,557	1,093,760	3,295,600	
Galway	3,848,170	821,590	994,944	1,492,026	509,020	3,817,580	
Kerry	2,684,867	597,177	593,294	1,169,496	405,232	2,765,289	
Kildare	1,763,133	524,946	327,854	753,467	170,398	1,776,665	
Kilkenny	1,820,000	454,000	401,393	718,607	240,000	1,814,00	
Laois	1,433,200	376,900	315,942	613,258	103,600	1,409,700	
Leitrim	932,849	201,851	287,553	393,968	26,207	909,639	
Limerick	1,907,661	717,707	624,225	432,986	124,790	1,919,718	
Longford	1,046,806	246,317	283,638	370,961	85,977	986,893	
Louth	1,263,767	317,695	228,533	477,808	264,812	1,288,848	
Mayo	2,771,020	613,431	717,041	1,087,797	215,045	2,697,314	
Meath	1,962,601	541,124	432,976	697,061	219,014	1,910,175	
Monaghan	1,281,218	277,104	349,692	507,746	156,309	1,290,851	
Offaly	1,329,000	308,276	297,015	470,985	174,424	1,250,700	
Roscommon	1,874,300	463,338	571,772	738,228	88,000	1,861,338	
Sligo	1,324,000	260,700	344,203	563,797	158,271	1,303,971	
Tipperary N.R.	1,466,000	400,845	382,596	467,494	156,635	1,437,500	
Tipperary S.R.	2,076,390	559,000	491,225	800,225	229,040	2,079,490	
Waterford	1,111,626	421,844	322,279	273,321	96,000	1,113,444	
Westmeath	1,598,574	438,458	350,898	580,967	163,645	1,533,728	
Wexford	2,011,100	516,530	478,515	490,535	158,670	2,018,500	
Wicklow	1,358,288	316,803	222,167	864,785	215,721	1,245,226	
TOTALS	53,299,841	14,775,805	12,471,517	18,903,427	6,482,837	52,633,586	

DONEGAL



Eamonn O Muineachain, Anagaire Area candidate prominent in Sinn Féin.

LONGFORD



Peter Rogers, merchant. Lifelong Republican.

Local Elections

We give below the areas being contested by Sinn Fein candidates together with the names of the candidates

Mayo

Swinford Area
Kevin Campbell
Castlebar Area
C. Hennelly
Ballina U.D.C.
Sean O Cleirigh
S. Quinn
P. Syron
K. McAndrew
Westport Area
Tadhg Hastings

Longford

Longford Co. Council
Peter Rogers, Multyfarnham

Galway

Loughrea Area
Sean Cunningham, Grouschill, Kilnadeema.
Oughterard Area
Martin Coyne, Mullagh Gloss, Renvyle.
Tuam Area
Frank Glynn, B.Comm., Milltown.
West Galway
Paddy Ruane, Carnmore.
Galway Corporation
Joe D'Arcy, Newcastle, Rahoon.
Ballinasloe U.D.C.
Joe Burke
Ballinasloe Co. C. Area
Luke Nolan, Ardross, Kilconnell.
Sean Kenny

Kerry

Killorglin Area
Paddy O'Callaghan, Killorglin
Sean O'Shea, Cahirciveen
Joe Brennan, Waterville
Killarney Area
Redmond O'Sullivan, Knockahee
Dermot Brosnan, Fossa
Killarney U.D.C.
John Grady

Wexford

Wexford County Council
Michael Treacy, 13 Cathedral St.
N. Boggan, Carne
J. Dunne, 45 Abbey St.
M.L. Conroy, Clonattin Rd., Gorey
Enniscorthy U.D.C.
Michael Treacy
Sean O Dubhghall, 2 Esmond Rd.
Kevin Sheehan, St. Senans
Wexford Corporation
Seamus Mac Ealla, 9 Fisher Row.
Jack Dunne, 45 Abbey St.
Gorey Town Commissioners
Thos. Murphy, 10 Elre St.
Frank Kenny, 14 Clonattin Rd.

Tipperary

Tipperary U.D.C.
Michael Keogh
Tipperary S.R. Co. C.
Mrs. Healy
Michael Brown

Monaghan

Monaghan U.D.C.
Eugene O'Hanlon, Park Street.
Carrickmacross Electoral Area
Francis O'Donoghue
Dan Byrne
Francis Meegan
Castleblayney U.D.C.
George Poyntz, The Crescent.
Clones U.D.C.
Frank McCaughey
Monaghan Co. C.
James McElwaine, Knockatallan.
Frank McCaughey, Clones.
Francis O'Donoghue

Cavan

Cavan County Council
John Duffy, Derravaghan.

Dublin

Dublin Corporation, Area 1
Liam Boylan
Seamus McLoughlin

Area 2

Frank Ross

Area 3

Joe Craig

Area 4

Seamus Johnston
Ned Gargan

Area 5

Paddy McGlynn

Area 6

Mrs. Monica Ryan

Area 7

Flintan Smith

Area 9

Jimmy Fagan

Area 10

Liam Nolan
Christopher Dolan

Dublin County Council

Gabriel McLoughlin

Dun Laoghaire Borough Council

Seosamh O Nuallain

Laois

Portlaoise Area
John Tynan
Tinnahinch Area
Liam O'Mahony
Portlaoise Town Commissioners
Patrick Burne

Offaly

Edenderry Area
Patrick Colgan, Newtown House, Cloghan

Louth

Dundalk U.D.C.
Peter Duffy, Point Road.
Joseph Rogan, St. Nicholas Ave.
Francis Duffy, Mary St.
Frances Brown, Fr. Massey Park.
Drogheda U.D.C.
Mrs. D. Martin
Caitlin, Bean U1 Calbre, North Strand
Joseph Keenan, 10 Windmill Rd.

Donegal

Letterkenny Electoral Area
Ted McGarrigle
Annagry Area
Seamus MacRualri
Eamon O Muineachain, Tantallon.
Ballyshannon Town Commissioners
Seosamh O'Neill

Meath

An Uaimh U.D.C.
Dermot Blake
John L. McCormack
An Uaimh Co. C. Electoral Area
Peter Kane

Limerick

Limerick Corporation
Padraig O Maolcathaigh, Br. Atha Cliath.
Desmond Long, Thomond Gate.
William Gleeson, Parnell St.

Wicklow

Wicklow County Council
Seamus Costello
Joseph Doyle
Bray Urban District Council
Seamus Costello
Joseph Doyle
Tony O'Reilly
John O'Brien

Clare

Ennistymon Electoral Area
Martin Whyte
Milltown Electoral Area
P. J. Burke

Cork

Cork Corporation
Antoin O hAnnrachain, 8 Sr. Maolbhrighde.
John O'Donovan
Edward Williams, 91 Connolly Road.
Michael Fitzgibbon, 40 Fairhill.
Thomas McCarthy
John Varian
Passage West Town Commissioners
Thomas Kelleher
H. McCormack
Mallow U.D.C.
Seosamh O Searlog
Mallow Area Co. C.
Seosamh O Searlog
Fermoy U.D.C.
Michael O'Hickey
East Cork Area Co. C.
Donal Buckley
Midleton U.D.C.
Sean O Seogh
Cornelius Long
Youghal U.D.C.
Sean O Suilleabhain
Padraig O Culleanan
Cobh U.D.C.
Joseph O'Neill

Sligo

Ballymote Area
Seamus Reid
Dromore West
Michael Helly
Sligo North
Bernard Barry
Sligo Corporation
Eamonn Healy
Jim Henry
Norbert Ferguson

Leitrim

Ballinamore Area
J. J. McGirl
Carrick-on-Shannon
J. Reynolds
Jack McCabe
Manorhamilton
Jack McCabe
Drumahaire
Johnny Gallagher

Kilkenny

Kilkenny County Council
R. Walsh, Cloone.
S. Walsh, Slieverua.

Waterford

Dungarvan U.D.C.
Tomás de Freine
Waterford Co. C.
Padraig Breatnach, Ballingown, Killrossanty.

Westmeath

Moate Area
Mr. B. Kelly, Tullyhane, Mt. Temple.

Kildare

Athy Co. C. Electoral Area
Moss Reilly
Newbridge Co. C. Electoral Area
L. Wright

CORK CANDIDATES

Seated left to right: Tom McCarthy, South-Central Ward, stonecutter. John Varian, North West Ward, boot and shoe operative, ex-Curragh Internee, Cork Jail, Mountjoy, Arbour Hill, Glasshouse. John Donovan, South West Ward, glasscutter at Hickey's. Prominent in sport. Michael Hickey, butcher son of well known historian and journalist, Mrs. Mary Hickey. Actively involved in social and national action, Fermoy area.

Standing, back: Mick Fitzgibbon, North East Ward. Railway employee, prominent I.T.G.W.U. Ex Internee (40's). Antoin O'hannrachain, South-East Ward. Bus conductor, member N.A.T.E., prominent in language movement, member Cork Workers Council. Eddie Williams, North Central Ward, plumber by trade.



Seosamh O Searlog, 34, 20 Blackwater Drive, Mallow. Active member local I.T.G.W.U. Vice Chairman of Utility Committee which recently built 21 houses by voluntary Co-op effort. Active in G.A.A. President Kildorrery Branch. Connradh na Gaeilge.

OFFALY

Pat Colgan, 33, married, family, candidate for Co. Council. N.F.A. member, active in farmers' rights campaign.

KERRY CANDIDATES

Paddy O Callaghan, married. Garage proprietor, sitting member of Council, prominently associated with N.C.A.



Dermot Brosnan, 41, Fossa, Cill Airne. Married, two children; publican and grocer; life-long Republican; member of Muinir na Tíre. Former P.O. employee and branch officer in T.U. movement; member of Killarney Trades Council for 3 years.

MONAGHAN

Francis O'Donoghue, 28. Married, family, candidate for Co. Council and Carrickmacross U.D.C. Trade Union official, life-long Republican.



Redmond Sullivan: self-employed, married, hard working and popular member of Co. Council for many years.

KILKENNY

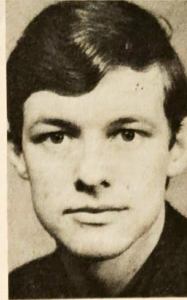
Sean Walsh, 28. Candidate for Kilkenny Co. Council, well-known Republican.

WICKLOW AND BRAY CANDIDATES

John O'Brien, 22, 2 Springmount Cottages, Glenard Ave, Bray; compositor; secretary of Bray Sinn Féin Cumann; shop-steward in Trade Union Movement; nominee for T.U.C. summer school at Ruskin College, Oxford. Attending College of Industrial Relations.



Joseph Doyle, 41, "Tara," Strand Road, Bray; lorry-driver, life-long Republican. Sentenced to life imprisonment, England, 1955. Released 1963. Active in local affairs; member Bray Seafront and Area Residents Associations; Joint Treasurer Bray Cumann Sinn Féin.



Tony O'Reilly, 22, 29 Putland Villas, Bray; compositor; member of Irish Graphical Society, treasurer, Bray Cumann Sinn Féin. Active in Irish revival movement.



Seamus Costello, 28, "Roseville," Dublin Rd., Bray; car salesman, life-long Republican, member of National Executive Sinn Féin. Interned without trial in Curragh 1957-1959. Prominent in Co-operative Movement.

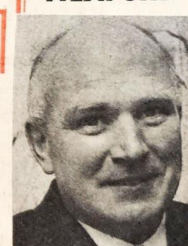
IARRTHÓIRÍ na GAILLIMHE

Seated, left to right: Joe First candidate to contest D'Arcy, 33, married, 3 children; standing in area 1. Wall: candidate in area 6; conversant with local problems; prominently identified with National Commemoration Committee. Mairtin O Cadhain, fishermen, active in Co-operative Movement, well known traditional Cumann. Active in G.A.A.

musician. Sean Cunningham (Co. Council, South Galway). Standing: Sean Kenny, Luke Nolan (Ballinasloe area), Frank Glynn, B.Comm., merchant, former member Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle.

Dun Laoghaire

Seosamh O Nuallain, candidate for Dun Laoghaire Borough Council; well known as champion of Roger Casement and for his interest in Irish culture. Married, self-employed carrier. Founder member of Mountwood Residents' Association.

WEXFORD

Seamus Swan, candidate for Wexford Corporation. Has special interest in the problems of housing and social affairs. Life-long Republican.

DUBLIN CANDIDATES

Seamus McLoughlin, 33, of Howth; standing in area 1. Wall: candidate in area 6; conversant with local problems; prominently identified with National Commemoration Committee.



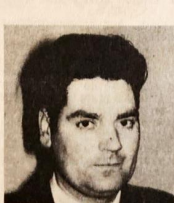
Mrs. Monica Ryan of East Wall: candidate in area 6; conversant with local problems; prominently identified with National Commemoration Committee.



Joseph Craig, 34, married; prominent in N.U.B.; co-founder of Citizens Advice Bureau; member of Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin. Candidate Area 3.

DONEGAL

Seosamh O'Neill, 29, candidate for Ballyshannon Town Commission: Life-long Republican. Interested in Irish language affairs.



Proinsias de Rossa, 27, married. Chairman of Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin; member of Misneach and of the Community Development Movement. Interested in social problems. Candidate Area 2.



Liam Nolan, 33, candidate Dublin Corporation, Area 10. Active in local tenants association. Long associated with Republicanism. Ex-Curragh Internee.



James Fagan, candidate for Dublin Corporation, Area 9. Strong Trade Unionist: long identified with Republican Movement. Imprisoned on many occasions for his national activities.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

Sinn Féin's Comprehensive Policy

THE existing administrative and financial systems in the 26 Counties are based on the 1921 Treaty which Sinn Féin believes should be completely repudiated. Sinn Féin representatives on Local Bodies will, therefore, at all times endeavour to demonstrate the need for a National approach to Local Government problems. They shall continually point out the limitations and restrictions which are impeding our political, economic and cultural development, and shall emphasise the urgency of a complete change in the political philosophy and institutions governing this island. Where the policies of Central or Local Government are loaded in the interests of gnomism or foreign or native speculators, Sinn Féin representatives shall exert maximum pressure inside and outside the Councils to force those responsible to make the necessary changes.

The following policies are, however, based on the existing system and are designed to mitigate to some extent its worst effects. We are quite well aware that far more drastic and revolutionary policies must be put into effect if our people and our nation are to be rescued from decay. We believe, however, that the policies advocated here are positive and realistic and, if adopted, would instill a spirit of determination and self-reliance in our people, thus putting our feet on the first rung of the ladder for the long upward climb.

POLICY APPLICABLE TO ALL LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Structure: The present structure of Local Government, initiated in the horse-drawn transport era, is completely unsuited to modern conditions. It creates inequalities in taxation burden and in the services given and is inefficient, unwieldy, and leads to much overlapping and wasteful expenditure. Sinn Féin advocates the adoption of a regional structure of Local Government which would eliminate many disparities and give more efficient and less costly administration. We shall press for regional development which would reverse the present trends of depopulation in provincial areas.

Rates:

The rating system of taxation is obviously unjust in that it places a heavy tax burden on individuals irrespective of their capacity to pay, while many wealthy people who are not property owners are not taxed. The rates burden also falls heaviest on the counties which are in economic decline. Sinn Féin advocates the abolition of the rates and valuation system and proposes that the revenue required for Local Government be raised by a more equitable taxation system based on incomes.

While the present rates system is maintained, Sinn Féin will press for the provision of a "Rates Deficiency Grant" by the Exchequer. This would enable all councils to strike a rate at the National average figure. In areas where the National average figure would not bring in sufficient revenue to meet the estimated expenditure, the balance would be provided by way of a "Rates Deficiency Grant" from the Exchequer.

Also see number (1) under "Health and Social Services".

Health and Social Services:

- (1) Sinn Féin believes that the financing of the Health services should be a Central Government responsibility and that their administration should remain the responsibility of the Local Authorities.
- (2) Sinn Féin representatives will highlight the urgent need for the provision of a comprehensive free health service.
- (3) Until such time as this is achieved, they will press for the provision of the present benefits without any means test, thus cutting administration costs and eliminating the present widespread abuses and jobbery.
- (4) Our Councillors shall encourage greater development of Home health services, which would reduce hospitalization with its consequent strain and tension on families and its high cost to the taxpayers.
- (5) We believe that Local Authorities could be more active in defending the rights of those entitled to benefits. Old age pensioners are annually being deprived of the small increases which are granted to them in a great glare of publicity. We believe they should not be deprived of these increases by an iniquitous means test nor should they be subjected to an increase in their rents on account of the increased pension they receive.

Housing:

One of the primary causes of the high cost of housing and Local Government services is the high cost of money. In general, the proportion of rates spent on administration costs and loan charges exceeds that spent on services. Little significant impact on these problems is possible without national action and Government control of money and credit. Irishmen have a right to live a full life in their own country and capital must be made to serve this end and no other. The key issue in all social investment is the interest rate on long term loans and the whole housing problem is bedevilled by the crippling rate of 8 per cent charged on long term loans by financial interests, who are using the Irish peoples money for their own private profit.

Sinn Féin representatives will advocate:—

1. That the provision of finance for housing be taken out of the hands of commercial interests.
2. That a National Housing Fund be established to finance housing programmes at nominal interest rates, and to extend loans to citizens wishing to purchase their own houses at an interest rate of not more than 4 per cent. The funds of the Post Office Savings Bank and other local Savings Banks could be used for this purpose.
3. That speculation in Urban building land be stopped by
 - (a) establishing a ceiling price for land; based on its current agricultural value;
 - (b) establishing the Local Authority as the sole dealer in building land.

These steps would have the effect of eliminating speculation, reducing the cost of houses, and enabling the Local Authority to decide where building should take place.

4. Sinn Féin believes that the provision of housing by

Local Authorities is an essential social service. Houses must be provided at reasonable rents which will not cause hardship, even if this means incurring a loss.

5. Efforts to provide finance for new housing by making a profit on rents of existing Local Authority tenants will be opposed by Sinn Féin. This principle of selective levying of one section of the community should not be allowed to go unchallenged. It may soon be the turn of the owner-occupier.
6. Sinn Féin is confident that, with the adoption of a cheap money policy, the suppression of the speculators in land and building, the elimination of corrupt practices, and the cutting of administrative costs, houses could be provided at a low but economic rent by Local Authorities.
7. Sinn Féin rejects utterly the idea that sitting tenants of long standing should be forced to purchase relatively old houses (many of which are substandard) at current market prices. Our representatives will fight for tenant purchase schemes in all Local Authority areas to be related to the original cost of the houses, and that rent payments made to date be taken into account.
8. We are critical of the lack of imaginative design and concern for users which is apparent in both Local Authority and private housing. 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 Associations and Resident Associations.

Education:

- 1) Sinn Féin representatives will propose that Local Authorities should extend the scope of Vocational schools in their area to comprehensive level, and establish new comprehensive schools giving full secondary education to Leaving Certificate standard, including science and languages. This idea is already being pushed by a few vigorous and progressive County Vocational Education Committees, and Sinn Féin representatives will endeavour to make it universal policy.
- 2) Our representatives will also advocate that any one or two teacher schools scheduled for closure should be re-opened as adult training centres for co-operative organisation and agricultural science. Thus communities which are being deserted by the present policies could be revitalised. Urgent methods are required to check the decline in rural areas before it becomes irreversible. The Vocational Education Committees in co-operation with the County Committees of Agriculture have the power to do this, if they care to exercise it.
- 3) Sinn Féin also believes that school buildings in both urban and rural areas should be made available for use by the local community at night and at week-ends. They could be used as community centres and for the promotion of adult education courses.
- 4) Sinn Féin representatives shall encourage the establishment of Irish language courses for adults in such centres. They shall also promote more extensive use of Irish in the local councils and encourage goodwill towards the language among council staffs and the general public.

Planning:

1. Sinn Féin opposes the concept of planning which consists in projecting existing trends and acting accordingly. We shall vigorously resist the wanton destruction of existing amenities and of buildings of historical or cultural value, and shall direct our energies towards reversing trends which are nationally or socially unwise. We shall be alert to ensure that private speculation or ill-considered planning does not deprive citizens of existing amenities of sea or mountain.
2. We are also opposed to the creation of single class, single age group ghetto suburbs. These create class barriers and give rise to social problems, particularly for the old, who are left isolated in old areas.
3. Sinn Féin representatives will actively press for the continuous renewal of centre city areas, to ensure that they are not allowed to become dead.
4. Our representatives shall endeavour to ensure that in planning suburban development, the Local Authorities will include all amenities, such as schools, dispensaries, shops, library, playground, etc., in the housing schemes. They shall press for the provision of these amenities, even as temporary structures, as soon as the people move in. Families must not be pushed to the outskirts of towns and cities and allowed to fend for themselves without proper amenities.
5. It is our belief that the greatest untapped reservoir in Ireland is the voluntary goodwill and enthusiasm of her young people. We believe that Local Authorities can give leadership and direction to our youth in improving local amenities and preserving the beauty of our countryside. Voluntary organisations should be granted to ground landlords under the recent legislation, whereby householders must pay more than thirteen years rent as purchase price. Our councillors will urge householders not to avail of these terms.
6. In our attitude to regional plans, our representatives shall be guided by the foregoing principles.

Ground Rents:

Sinn Féin has for many years advocated the complete abolition of ground rents, which can have no justification whatever on social or moral grounds. We state that ground rents should be abolished right now without any compensation unless very exceptional circumstances exist. We are completely opposed to the exceptionally liberal terms granted to ground landlords under the recent legislation, whereby householders must pay more than thirteen years rent as purchase price. Our councillors will urge householders not to avail of these terms.

Committees:

Sinn Féin representatives shall press for a much higher representation by voluntary bodies on the various Local Authority Sub-Committees. These groups should include our countryside representatives to sit on these committees. This would give the committees more expertise and democracy and make them more independent of the party hacks.

Itinerants:

Itinerants are entitled to equal rights and equal oppor-

tunities with all other Irish citizens. Our representatives on local bodies will urge the provision of clubs, cafes, clubs, water supply and sanitary facilities. They shall also endeavour to ensure that educational facilities are available in all areas for both adults and children. Our aim shall be to give them the facilities and encouragement to enable them to re-integrate into the community. They should be granted citizens rights and not a condescending charity.

Swimming Pools:

Our representatives shall press Local Councils to avail of the grant available for the construction of swimming pools. These should be regarded as an essential amenity, particularly for children, all of whom should be taught to swim.

POLICY SPECIFICALLY FOR COUNTY COUNCILS

Piped Water:

Sinn Féin representatives on County Councils will press for the urgent provision of piped water in all rural homes. We believe that lack of piped water is a vital factor in the low rural marriage rate and in the decline of rural life generally. The problem is now such an urgent one that its solution must not be allowed to wait for the advent of the regional water schemes, many of which will not come to fruition for over twenty years. We, therefore, advocate that group schemes be promoted in a planned manner with the minimum delay. Such group schemes should be adaptable for connection to the proposed regional schemes; they should qualify for 100 per cent grant and their cost should be spread on the county at large. In other words, they should be integrated with and regarded as part of the regional schemes.

Co-operation:

Sinn Féin shall urge the fullest encouragement possible by County Councils to co-operative organisations among the small farming communities. We believe that the success of the Strategic and Pasture Co-ops could be made general with financial and educational encouragement from enlightened Local Authorities.

- Our representatives will advocate:—
- (a) Remission of rates on co-operative buildings.
 - (b) Development of Vocational Education Committees consciously as a generator of regional co-operative economic development.
 - (c) Use of the closed one and two teacher schools as set out in Section (2) under Education.
 - (d) Provision of outright grants towards co-operative projects.

Roads:

- 1) Sinn Féin opposes the present policy of providing facilities for tourists at the expense of the needs of the local inhabitants. We, therefore, advocate a reduction of expenditure on main arterial roads sufficient to provide a 50 per cent maintenance grant for county road systems.
- 2) We also state that there should be Central Government planning, financing, construction and maintenance of arterial roads and arterial drainage.

POLICY SPECIFIC TO COUNTY BOROUGH COUNCILS

Housing:

In addition to the points outlined for other Local Councils, Sinn Féin representatives will advocate a vigorous and militant policy to deal in an emergency with the chronic housing crisis which faces all County Borough Councils. They shall press for the following:—

- 1) A complete clamp down on all interests concerned in speculating in urban land and buildings. The Irish people and not commercial interests or "the free market" must determine the use to which urban property is put.
- 2) While a housing crisis exists, no sound houses must be allowed to be demolished, and no existing housing accommodation be converted to other uses. All building and development must be directed into existing cleared sites.
- 3) Vacant premises in the urban area which are structurally sound, whether owned by private interests, the state, semi-state bodies or local authorities, should be acquired as temporary accommodation for families waiting to be housed.
- 4) The declaration of a housing emergency in Dublin city and the promotion of a special crash programme designed to provide 12,000 housing units in a year.
- 5) Legislation to give tenants of furnished and unfurnished rooms and flats security of tenure and fair rent. At present, young couples are rack-rented by unscrupulous landlords, and evicted as soon as the first child is born.
- 6) That a special points system be used in drawing up priority lists for housing to ensure that those most in need to be housed will be highest on the list. Such a system should include points for the number of years a family has been on the housing list.

Transport:

Our representatives shall advocate the setting up of a single transport authority for Dublin. This authority should have the necessary powers to take unified responsibility for the problems of transport and traffic regulation at present split between C.I.E., the Corporation and the police. The authority would be responsible for providing a cheap high frequency bus service and would be empowered to make regulations restricting the entry of private vehicles to certain areas at certain times and ensure that the city never becomes choked with traffic.

Sinn Féin representatives will co-operate with all other Local representatives who are sincerely endeavouring to improve the interests of the people. They shall fight to the utmost of their ability, within the confines of the present system, to put Republican policies into effect. They shall have no hesitation in carrying their demands outside the Council chamber if they are blocked by red tape or managerial veto from getting satisfaction or justice.

BOOK REVIEWS



History or Hagiography?

Rev. Professor under fire

AN leabhar is déanaí a dhein an tOllamh le Stair na Meán-Aoiseanna i gC. O. A. is bailiúchán de léachtaí Dáibhis é. Foillsithe go cumasach agus crot maith air faoi an teideal **Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising: Dublin 1916, ag Methuen ar 35s.**

Ce hiaid na "leaders and men" a mheastar gur cuí stair na tréimhe a ríomhadh tré iad a linnúchadh? Níl Mellows ortha, féach "Dublin" sa teideal: tá cuma air go bhfuiltear ag glacadh leis ná thárla faic lasmuigh de'n mbórchaitir an tseachtain úd.

Níl aon rud faoi Loch Garman ann. Níl aon rud faoi Mac Súbhne, Mac Curtáin, de Stac nó Colivert ann. Ach tá faoi muintir na tuaiscirt nach raibh "amach" ach oiread. Níl friend ortha d'ain-eoin gur eisean a bhí i mbun na hóbhe ó thaobh Shasana de go dtí gur tháinig Max well leis an gnó a chriciú. Tá an tait is measa sa leabhar tugtha do Maxwell (ó Cyril Falls).

Ach féach cé tá ann. Mahaffy, san dara alt is measa (T. de Vere White a scríobh).

Tá altanna suimiúla ann. Mar shampla "Carson—Unionist and Rebel" le J. C. Beckett mar thaispeáineann sé teip Carson san aidhm bhí aige. Sé an fáth, is dócha, go bhfuil Carson agus Craig san áireamh ná gurbh iad Ogligh Uladh a thapaidh na féidear-achtá, a thug an réamh-shampla agus an deis do Ogligh na hÉireann. (Teideal an mí-chruinn atá ar an leabhar).

Tá sé sean-cruthaithe nár bhunaidh MacNeill na hOgligh, nár chéad-mhol sé (agus nár mhol sé ar aon-chor) go mbunófaí iad. Dain-neoin sin leannan an sean mholais: ón eagarthóir, mar is gnáth; ó K. B. Nowlan ("initial idea") agus ó T. D. Williams fíu (lch. 139).

Is descáir an mholais a chur 'na luf. Ceann eile faoi Mac Neill íseadh gur chéad mhol sé bunú Chonradh na Gaeilge. 'Na alt shuimiúla faoi D. P. Moran agus Dubhghlas de hÍde deireann D. Mac Cartney é seo arís. Mar a luaidh Harry Nicholls cópla bliain ó shoin dob é de hÍde (ag cruinniú i 1892 sa Contemporary Club) a chéad-mhol go mbunófaí an Con-radh.

Is trua go bhfuil earráidí

ing to wound and yet afraid to strike?" Sampla eile. "Each participant in the drama of Easter Week—was acting in what he considered the best interests of Ireland." Maxwell? An gnáth Tommy Atkins in éide an rí? Tá órd i ndílseachtá searb-ónta impireachta ar bith.

Ar na haltanna is doimhne anseo tá "Dillon, Redmond and the Irish Home Rulers" (le F. S. L. Lyons); Arthur Griffith and Sinn Féin" (le Seán Ó Luíng); "Plunkett and MacDonagh" (le Donagh Mac Donagh) agus "Markiewicz and the Women of the Revolution" (le Brian Farrell).

Tá staidéar suimiúil ar Mac Piarais déanta ag David Thorneley agus ceann eile ag Florence O'Donoghue faoin teideal, "Ceannat, Devoy, O'Rahilly and the Military Plan."

Mar adúirt is job maith foillsitheoraicte é. Ach sé seo an tarna sraith de léachtaí Dáibhis foilsithe i Shasana. Is trua san. Ba chóir iad a bheith foilsithe sa dtír seo i dtosach. Pádraig Ó Snodaigh.

O Conaire in Translation

Field and Fair: O Conaire: Mercier Press: 5/-.

TA sé thar am cuid maith de scothlitríocht na nua Ghaeilge a bheith aistriithe go teangaacha éagsúla. Tá roinnt foilsithe san Eabhras agus sa Bhriotáiris cheana féin agus más buan mo chuimhne bhí uimhir amháin de "Irish Writing" (nach mairreann, is trua) tugtha do aistriúcháin go Béarla.

Ach measainn féin gur cóir an scríneoireacht is fearr nó is mó suíme nó is mó tabhachta a aistriú i dtosach: más leannan éileamh mór ar shaothar an té aistriithe is féidir a thuillea a sholáthar leis an dara nó an tríú rogha a dhéanamh i measc a chuid oibreacha.

Sa chás so tá an ceathrú nó an cúigiú rogha á thairiscint dúinn, agus ag smaoineamh ar Seacht mBualadh an Eiríge Amach nó ar an mbailiúchán Scothscéalta is trua nach iad san a cuireadh ar fáil ar dtús le oibreacha Uí Chonaire a chuir ar fáil nó in aithne do Béarlóirí.

Is cuimhin le roinnt mhaithe na spéalta i M'Asal Beag Dubh a léamh ar scoll: tá a mhór cuid san aistriithe ag Cormac Breathnach i Field and Fair agus roinnt aisti agus scéalta eile den chothrom dhéana. B'fáidir gur le leathóil ar an leabhar a bheith in úsáid mar "crib" a roghnúidh an bailiúchán tanáí seo (63 lgh. plus 5 lgh. d'alt de chuid F. R. Higgins, faoin gConair-ech, ar 5s.) agus tá leid don bharúil seo sa réamhrá nuair a deirtear "as the translation, though not strictly literal, is very close to the original, it will be found helpful to students of Padraic's most popular group of stories."

Ní mór é mar aidhm, acht tá an t-aistriúchán déanta go maith, soléir, blasta seachas ích. 64 mar atá alt amháin na phraiseach (bhféidir gur earráidí chlo bhí clontach).

Leis an fhírinn a rádh measaim gur é an rud is fearr sa leabhar an talt le F. R. Higgins a mheabhrúinn dúinn gur sa Bhéarla a thosaigh ó Conaire ag scríobh i dtosach agus gurbh d'aon gnó a thiontaigh sé ar an nGaeilge, gntomh mar adeir-eann O'Higgins "that saved him... from the possibilities of financial success in English letters." Ach is ar éigin is fíú 5s. an cnuasacht. O.S.

Allies of the Revolution

Comhghuaillithe na Réabhlóide 1913-1916, le Pádraig Ó Snodaigh. An Clochomhar, 1966. 17s. 6d.

AN céad rud atá soléir i dtaobh 'Comhghuaillithe na Réabhlóide' ná gur obair léannta é, mar is léir é na 16 leathnail de foin sí ag deire an leabhair. Níos tabhachtach ná cruth buntailghe, teaspáineann Pádraig Ó Snodaigh gur thuig sé an bunábhar. D'inídh sé líon foinsí idir cáipéisí príomháideach, nuachtáin comhalmeasarthach agus leabhair; d'anailísigh se go hacadúil iad, agus b'é toradh a shaothar ná, cabhrú mór lenár tuisceán ar na forsaí a dhear-aigh réabhlóid 1916.

Insan leabhar, deintear léidithe, agus an dream eile mionscrúdaí ar an páirt a glac sé bhráid Eoin Mac Néill—Bráithreachas Phoblacht na na liobrálaithe. Ní deireann an hÉireann, Ogligh na tódar é ach tagann dheilt hÉireann, Arm na Saoránach eacnamaíochta amach: 'men agus na Hibernian Rifles sna of property make poor revolutionaries'! Luann sé pointe himeachtaí a tharla roimh an Eirí Amach, agus go háirithe stumda eile mar: go raibh da am ar bunaidh na 'heag-síolta an aighnis 1922-23 i ríochtáil míleata poiblí', sé gntaht 1913-16.

Tá cuid de 'Comhghuaillithe 1913. Cuireann an tódar solas lithe... mall don gná ar scéal casta; tugann sé léitheoir; shílfeadh sé go eolas dúinn ar gneithe nach bhfuil iolmad fónatáil ann. bhfuair a gceart roimhe seo. Ach cruthaíonn an tódar Ach sílim go dtéann sé ceisteanna conspéideach gur beagáinín ro fhada sa treo fíu bheith cruinn orthu. I eile iógúpla áiteanna sa dtreo deire an scéil—nuair leabhar, ag cuir iolmad thab-ata seasamh na forsaí éagsúla hacht i leith abair na ag soléirí—éiríonn an Hibernian Rifles agus armáil leabhar soléite ar fad. príomhadhach na nOgligh. Is Obair tódarsach é seo. fuirist d'aon scríobhnóir a Beidh míchleinn an tréimhe mblionn sáite in ábhar, treise sin butoch do O Snodaigh i ró-trom a chur a ghéithe goíar a notal ar na bailiú-éagsúla ina bhfuil suim fé cháin pháipéir san Leabhar-lann Náisiúnta. Ceannaigh an léithe aige iontu.

Léiríonn Ó Snodaigh an leabhar tabhachtach gur fíú a easaontas a bhí sna forsaí léimh, ata curtha amach go náisiúnta roimh 1916. Is slachttinhar le grianghrafanna féidir iad do roinnt idir: an neamhoilainta. mionchuid bheag de réabh.

—Brendán Ó Cathaoir.

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THE N.I.E.C. REPORT

DEVALUATION AS A REMEDY NOT CONSIDERED — ROY JOHNSTON

THE main interest of this report is the way it shows up the limits which confine the vision of 26 Co. economic orthodoxy. The report consists of six sections, summarised in the following paragraphs.

Section 1:

An introduction setting out the terms of reference "... to prepare reports on the principles which ought to be applied for the development of the national economy ... (to obtain) full employment at adequate wages with reasonable price stability and reasonable long-term equilibrium in the balance of external payments" and defining the scope of the Report, which, they say, is to be regarded as a basis for discussion rather than a strategy.

Section 2:

A review of past performance since the war. This is strictly "macro-economic": the Gross National Product is the measure of progress; there is no attempt to evaluate the degree of uneven development or regional decline.

Section 3:

A projection of macro-economic indicators forward in such a way as to give full employment at a specified date in the future. For the uninitiated, by the way, a "macro-economic indicator" is jargon for a quantity (such as for example "productivity per worker") averaged over the whole economy.

The conclusion drawn is that full employment, allowing for reasonable growth in standard of living combined with competitive costs, would require sustained increases in productivity and savings and would involve capital inflow.

Thus it appears that "productivity" has been allowed to creep in as an independent variable and by implication this means investment of capital on a scale sufficient to render our industrial products competitive with the giants of Europe under Free Trade conditions. This capital is assumed to be attracted from abroad and by implication the main incentive to attract it must be low wages.

Section 4:

The ideas previously introduced are developed into a long-term strategy of which the main additional element is the encouragement of mobility within the economy and the investment into skills and training.

In this section, at last, the main constraint becomes explicit: "... the rate of return that would call forth the amount of new investment needed in the private sector to realise full employment may not be the same as the rate that would establish a universally acceptable relation between changes in profits and ... wages and salaries. Since much of the finance and enterprise ... must be attracted from abroad there can be little control over the mean rate of return which must be available, for external ... are under no obligation (to invest) in Ireland." This is on page 57 of the report and 't is the key paragraph.

It says: if you want full employment you will have to be content with low wages

and allow greater profits to the foreigner.

It contains the distilled servility of generations of gombeen shoneism for which the "maximum rate of return on investment" is the "sacred cow." It also makes explicit the assumption that any further assertion of the right to make independent economic decisions is unthinkable, whether by restraining the mobility of capital or by altering the exchange rate with sterling. We will return to this.

Section 5:

Full employment and the industrial sector; the main obsession is with price competitiveness. The authors are worried about the increase in building costs, and they pinpoint correctly the increase in site prices as a major factor in this. What do they expect, if they allow unplanned development to concentrate in the capital and free speculation in land? It doesn't take a research institute to see these factors at work.

They also propose machinery for reducing stoppages due to strikes etc: ministerial enquiries ... with sociologists and consultants (for example from Britain) with previous experience ... The slave-mind again. Impartial enquiry, indeed: one trade unionist among four or five Establishment 'experts'. The old Labour Court, for all its limitations, was more democratic.

They talk of the 'weather' and the 'climate' as though the economic forces were as uncontrollable as the former: textbook clichés.

Finally in this section the old canard is brought out that 'membership of EFTA or EEC would undoubtedly make Ireland more attractive as a location for new plants where the parent firms are already established in North America ... Can servility to foreign capital go further? Despite the lessons of the resistance to Britain's entry to EEC on grounds of her being an American 'Trojan Horse'?

The tedious, servile orthodoxy of this document has to be seen to be believed.

Section 6:

The Community and full employment. In among the platitudes ... In our view, there is no recipe for reaching full employment easily, quickly and painlessly ... to be found the 'ifs'. The

major one: "... if as a result of general shortage of capital internationally or of measures taken by other countries to discourage capital outflow, the actual inflows fall short ... etc'. This is the most explicit definition of his 'blinkers' that can be expected from a horse: it is admitted that other countries can restrict capital outflow; yet there is no suggestion that we could do the same!

Welcome criticism of the NIEC Report has come from Wilfred Beckerman, the Oxford economist. In an article in the Spectator on April 9th entitled 'How to Stay Poor' Beckerman points out that due to trade union activity wages in Ireland broadly follow the British levels although there is no mechanism at work to keep productivity in line, so that Irish costs are simply uncompetitive.

'In such a situation' writes Beckerman 'the classic remedy would be to devalue the exchange rate'. The present writer advocated this nearly ten years ago in the Plough and the arguments have strengthened since. This elementary assertion of economic independence would have a number of positive effects, provided it was linked with a conscious departure from the 'free enterprise' system. Some of these would act even without much departure from capitalist principles, though the gain would then be short-lived and uneven.

It would serve as a regulator of the balance of payments, if allowed to drift each year slightly in the light of the previous years' trade figures, but not so much as to make speculation in currency worthwhile:

- credit policy could then be geared to the needs of internal expansion without, as at present, balance of payments being a limiting factor;

- exports would be competitive in foreign markets;

- imports would be dear so that home production would be encouraged; there would in fact be an 'automatic tariff';

- living standards would suffer only insofar as goods consumed had import content. Necessary wage-rises to compensate would not be inflationary as long as unused resources were being brought into production;

- agricultural incomes, expressed in Irish, would increase, as the price of the principal existing agricultural exports would remain stable

at existing sterling prices. Expanded agricultural production at existing Irish prices would sell on an expanded market without subsidy at reduced prices in sterling.

The fact that the NIEC report gives no consideration whatever to this classic factor which is well within the bounds of moderate orthodoxy shows the extent that the economic thinking of the State is dominated by banking and trading interests.

Such a measure would however need to be backed up by a series of internal economic measures, such as:

- expansion of productive government investment, financed if necessary by State credit, directed at obtaining full utilisation of the resources of the depressed areas. There would be less need for large-scale social investment in the east-coast urban areas if the existing social investment in other areas were to be used to the full where it is.

- use State capital to develop grass-roots projects based on local initiative;

- then use State capital to develop regional large-scale centres for the processing of milk, meat and vegetables, with associated ancillary industries, of increasing scientific content (e.g. pharmaceuticals from offal etc.). These should be co-operatively owned.

The dishonesty of the NIEC report in presenting State investment as if it were fundamentally non-productive throws to the winds the positive experience of the state investment that we have to date. It must be remembered that under capitalism there is an unwritten law which says that 'unproductive' investment like housing or public transport may be left to the state, but that it is somehow immoral for a profit-making investment to be in other than private hands. This myth will have to be thrown overboard if the nation is to survive.

The acceptance by the Trade Union movement of this service document, as evidenced by the fact that it has been signed by a number of prominent leaders, is a danger signal which shows that the Irish workers must wake up to their responsibilities, go along to their union meetings, and get this policy changed.

There is a special issue of *Tuairisc*, the bulletin of Muintir Wolfe Tone, *Atha Cliath*, on the Common Market.

Republican Trade unionists should write to the U.I. office for copies, study it, and use it as a basis for resolutions in their unions against the economic sell-out to the British and European monopolists, at the next Annual Conferences. Now is the time to do this; if the workers are not awakened to the dangers threatening them soon it will be too late: the Trade Unions will be absorbed into the State machine and used as a means of keeping wages down and the profits of the foreigner up.

Glúaiseacht na Gaeilge

An Chomhchaidreamh — Stagnant?

THIS is an organisation of University graduates who are interested in the Irish language and in the promotion of Irish nationality through the medium of Irish. It is open to graduates of all the Universities in Ireland.

Its foundation twenty five years ago coincided with what was to a noteworthy extent responsible for the 'modern' movement of Irish writers, such as Máirtín O Direáin and Máire Mac an tSaoi. The magazine "Comhar", which was established by An Chomhchaidreamh in its early days, was at that time a great encouragement to the young generation of Irish writers. Though membership of the parent organisation was and is confined to University graduates, "Comhar" has always been open to all writers, and writers like Brendan Behan, graduate of a different kind of University and one not recognized by An Chomhchaidreamh, found a ready outlet in "Comhar".

"Comhar"

Many of those who took part in the launching of An Chomhchaidreamh and in its early struggles have become prominent since in many walks of life and are a tribute to the genuine love, and integrity of purpose which underlay the organisation — Tomás de Bhaldraithe, Daithí O hUathine, Conor Cruise O'Brien, Máire Mac an tSaoi, Seán Mac Réamoinn and many others.

"Comhar" has not been a purely literary magazine. It has attempted to cover all aspects of Irish life, political, social and economic. This has at times led to some uncertainty about the character of the magazine, such as whether it would arise if it were strictly literary or political or economic.

Financial difficulties

It has had many difficulties, and in recent years those have been mainly financial. Its reliance on a Government grant means that there is a constant tension between what the magazine wants to say and how far the establishment (which is a Fianna Fáil one in recent times) can be pushed. The grant has from time to time been withheld or delayed, or threats and warnings have been issued. Most of its difficulties then are private, and its most notable rows have been the ban imposed on it in U.C.D. by Dr. Tierney nearly twenty years ago, and the reaction to an article "Do na Fíréin" a few years ago, which mercilessly and very accurately attacked the establishment of the Language Movement.

It is not easy to pinpoint the causes of the lack of imagination which has characterised the magazine in recent years. The sensitive eye of the Government; the dominating influence of Gael-Linn in the affairs of An Chomhchaidreamh and "Comhar" in recent times; the difficulty of getting material; the lack of development in An Chomhchaidreamh itself.

The parent organisation is conservative and unimaginative. It has got into the routine of certain annual events — the Universities' Drama Festival, the Annual Congress in a Gaeltacht area etc., — and it requires all the energy of the present organisation to maintain their activities. One wonders if some of these activities are worth maintaining; whether the organisation might not better direct these energies into new fields.

An Chomhchaidreamh has had two outstanding achievements in its thirty years. The first, as already mentioned, was the founding and continuation of "Comhar". The second, nearly fifteen years ago, was the founding of Gael-Linn. While this article does not wish to

concern itself with Gael-Linn, one cannot treat of An Chomhchaidreamh without reference to Gael-Linn. Gael-Linn sprang from An Chomhchaidreamh, and was originally a means of collecting money through pools to be spent on promoting Irish and the Gaeltacht, and to give a modern image to the Language Movement. Suffice it to say that the child has since turned cannibal and swallowed its mother; Gael-Linn has expanded into many fields, and is now a big business, a limited company, one of whose latest acquisitions is a furniture factory in An Uaimh, near Dublin. An Chomhchaidreamh maintains a nominal interest in Gael-Linn; but in fact Gael-Linn has tremendous influence on An Chomhchaidreamh, and would strongly disapprove of any developments or activities on the part of An Chomhchaidreamh which would not fit in with Gael-Linn policy.

The most notable failure of An Chomhchaidreamh is its failure to make any impact on University life outside of those who are already interested in or committed to the language. The organisation is being strangled by attitudes which it has accumulated, and if it is to break out of its present rut, it must cut off some of its ties at least, and consider afresh what it should be doing in this post-1966 era, regardless of what it did before that. A spirit of adventure and experiment, or irreverence for its first 25 years of work, a seeking for new purposes, new horizons, new attitudes, coupled with somewhat less respectability might re-charge a battery which seems to be running down.

F.R.

THE CASE AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET

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Can We Break The Crisis?

In this article VINCENT McDOWELL continues his thesis on Labour and the Republican Movement

Take them in turn. The Trade Unions—are they an effective form of organisation at the moment? Can they be a weapon of political change? In "The Re-Conquest of Ireland" Connolly refers to this possibility:

"A system of society in which the workshops, factories, docks and railway, etc., shall be owned by the Nation, but administered by the Industrial Unions of the respective industries organised as above seems best calculated to secure the highest form of industrial efficiency, combined with the greatest amount of individual freedom from state despotism. Such a system would, we believe, realise for Ireland the most radiant hopes of all her heroes and martyrs . . ."

Concurrently with the gradual shaping of our industrial activities towards the end of industrial unionism, Labour must necessarily attack the political and municipal citadels of power.

Every effort should be made to extend the scope of public ownership. As democracy invades and captures public powers, public ownership will of necessity be transformed and infused with a new spirit. As Democracy enters, Bureaucracy will take flight. But without the power of the industrial union behind it, Democracy can only enter the State as the victim enters the gullet of the serpent.

With Labour properly organised on the industrial and political fields, each extension of the principle of public ownership brings us nearer to the re-conquest of Ireland by its people; it means the gradual resumption of the common ownership of all Ireland by all the Irish—the realisation of Freedom.

This is the National question in the present era. To bring the Trade Unions and the other arms of the struggle into line of battle is the task of the socialist Republican to-day. It is necessary to reshape the structure of many of the unions, to bring about greater participation by the members in the life of the organisation, to ensure that the present multiplicity of competing unions is rationalised to serve the workers more efficiently.

(To be continued)

The Sovereign People and Neutrality — George Gilmore

THE "Irish Times" the other day, commenting editorially on the governmental ban on the R.T.E. plan to seek first-hand news of the war in Vietnam, remarked that "Mr. Aiken's statement and its placid reception by the House marks the end of something, and we are not sure what."

Whatever doubts we may have about that editorial innocence, we can, I think, agree that that ban may be taken as marking the end of something — of marking the end, it would seem, of the attempt that the Minister for External Affairs has been making to maintain, on the shaky basis of the Twenty-Six County State, an attitude of independence in world affairs. It can hardly be doubted now that we are being marched straight into a position of involvement in the political and military plans of the Anglo-American power bloc and its allies, as well as into a more total acceptance than has yet been acknowledged of the subject status of the economy of this State.

That surrender has not been made willingly by the Old Guard of the Fianna Fail Party. However much they may protest now that it is not a surrender—that it is, in fact, the happy culmination of the struggle for national independence in which most of them were involved — we need only jog our memories a bit to see that the dropping of the attempt to play an independent role has been forced on them by economic pressures against which they had built no defence in Irish life.

In this strange democracy of ours we are not told very much about what is being done with us, but bits of information do leak out from time to time that help to show — like straws in the wind — what way the wind is blowing.

It is common knowledge, I think, that there has been, for a considerable number of years, a sharp difference of views on the question of entanglement with foreign powers between Mr. Aiken as

Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Lemass as Minister for Industry and Commerce, and later as Taoiseach, but Mr. Lemass himself did not accept the present position willingly.

In January of 1952 a very noticeable straw appeared in the wind. Mr. Lemass, in his talks to Chambers of Commerce in different parts of the country, was seen to be making particularly urgent appeals to the business community to make it possible for him to preserve to the State such independence as it had. In Clonmel he spoke of "the danger inherent in the international situation and the necessity of meeting it by greater investment and greater production. In Wexford he spoke so plainly that he let the cat peep out of the bag. There followed, next day, a news item in the "Irish Independent" that really did give the "Sovereign people" a glimpse of what was going on behind the scenes. It was a long article by that paper's political correspondent. Here are a few of the most relevant passages.

Aid may cease

"United States Aid to Ireland by way of loan or grant or both, may have ceased as from January 8 last because of the inability, so far, of the Irish Government to sign a new agreement with the United States under the recently established Mutual Security Agency service.

M.S.A. has taken the place of E.C.A., but the aim of the new body, it is stated, is, unlike E.C.A., to assist European rearmament rather than normal, industrial or agricultural activity. The act establishing the new agency stresses defence preparation . . . Ireland benefitted under Marshall Aid to the extent of about £45,000,000 in loans and about £8,000,000 in gifts. Practically the whole of the loans, save about £700,000, have been

used. Goods which had been earmarked are now held up because E.C.A. has ceased to function. Technical assistance projects valued at about £300,000 are also held up and may not be proceeded with. It would, of course, be possible for the Government to pay for such assistance if it should deem it desirable.

The former E.C.A. office in Dublin, and now the Mutual Security Agency office, could make no comment on the situation yesterday and simply referred inquiries to the Irish Government . . . A misunderstanding in Irish-American relations appears to have arisen, but the hope is that a way out may shortly be found. The American Ambassador, Mr. F. P. Matthews, is now in Washington, and it is understood that he was aware of the situation that had developed before he left.

Addressing the Wexford Chamber of Commerce on Monday last, Mr. Lemass used words which have created special interest. He said that questions of economic and financial policy which must be decided this year would divide the people between those who were willing to see the nation "kept as a pet by somebody dependent on foreign aid" and those who wanted to see it able to stand alone and maintain its freedom.

Those words were generally interpreted as an oblique reference to the U.S. Aid, and the fact that it is now known that an agreement under the Mutual Security Agency has not been signed has given them added significance in the eyes of many people.

The question being asked yesterday in the political and business centres was what were the terms of the agreement which the Government were expected to sign?

An early statement from the Government would be welcomed.

Every effort should be made to extend the scope of public ownership. As democracy invades and captures public powers, public ownership will of necessity be transformed and infused with a new spirit. As Democracy enters, Bureaucracy will take flight. But without the power of the industrial union behind it, Democracy can only enter the State as the victim enters the gullet of the serpent.

In October, 1962, Mr. De Valera stated in Dublin

(continued on 16)

LET us now don the mantle of prophet and examine the probable trends of the next ten years in Ireland.

It seems clear that far-reaching changes are coming in the economy. The inexorable march of time will mute French objections to British entry into the Common Market, and it is clear that the 26-County Government will follow suit. It is of no avail to wring our hands and propose alternatives, of varying degrees of credibility. The decisions will be made by the men with Governmental and economic power, and there is no shortage of signposts to that decision.

This will be a reversal of the traditional policy by which Fianna Fáil have maintained their commanding position for thirty years. The careful nurturing of a native industry, supported by tariff barriers and generous dollops of public money will come to an end. The period of foreign investment in domestic Irish industry is almost over already. There will be no significant advances in the private sector of the Irish economy in the next decade. There will be certainly no dramatic bonanzas, like the French entrepreneur who received £1,300,000 to build an aircraft factory that has not produced a toy kite, or the Dutch shipyard at Cork which acts as a funnel for orders for the parent yard in Holland. There will be instead a steady shrinkage of production.

Fianna Fáil are in effect chipping away at the ground under their own feet. The feeble attempts of the main opposition, Fine Gael, to live down their past and insist that they have reformed and are really operating in the Twentieth Century will not avail them greatly.

But nature abhors a vacuum. Despite the crisis scale of the coming wave of unemployment, despite the panic emigration which will be a feature of the early seventies, despite the steady rise in the cost of living, which will make the worker run a little faster each month to stay in the same place—despite these there will and must be some government in power. What are the alternatives?

Economic Blizzard

Consider the situation that will ensue. The rural population will feel the full blast of the economic blizzard from Europe, for in general the EEC policy on agriculture is to allow foodstuffs to reach their economic price, without government subsidies, hidden or open. The city workers will lose their jobs by the thousands, and the level of internal taxation will be totally inadequate even to maintain the present miserable scale of social services. The gap between rich and poor, already comparable with the gap in Portugal, will grow wider.

There will be no diminution of the cocktail parties, there will be no lessening in the number of glass and concrete palaces that mushroom on the Dublin skyline. The frenetic advertisement man's image of the "New Ireland" will still obtain in high places. The wheel will have turned full circle, and the conditions will resemble 1931 in stark clarity.

Can the long dormant Republican and Labour rebels, the authentic heirs to Tone and Connolly, break the crisis? Is it possible even at the eleventh hour to waken the Nation from the trance of the de Valera years and create the alliance of city and country, of radical trade unionism and Republican labour that alone can strike out into new areas of social and political experiment? The necessary programme can be seen.

There will of necessity be immense public investment in productive industry. There must be democratic control, there must be a readiness to step in and re-open the factories as fast as private industry fails, there must be central economic planning to use the nation's resources for national ends—but how may this all be brought about?

What are the human resources, in the political field, with which we may work?

The Trade Unions

The peoples movement must be woven from many strands, but the backbone will always be the power of the Trade Unions. Its second greatest weapon will be the mighty and often overlooked weapon of co-operation, and this is the field of greatest and most significant growth. The growth of consumer and producer co-operatives can be the most enduring asset to emerge from the coming crisis.

What will be the political arms of the struggle? Will the mistakes of the past be repeated, again and again in a cycle of tragedy and farce. Will the people languish in apathy, whilst the Labour movement obsesses itself with personal disputes and the Republican movement, once potent, stiffen in what Peadar O'Donnell calls "a rigid pose before history".

From these four elements, the Trade Unions, the co-operative movement, the Labour movement, and the Republican movement, must be forged the defense of the Irish people—the hammer that will ring on the anvil of European conservatism.

VALENTIA BRIDGE

Fianna Fail Party Calls The Tune— but Kerry Pays The Piper

Valentia Bridge— Bungle or Swindle?

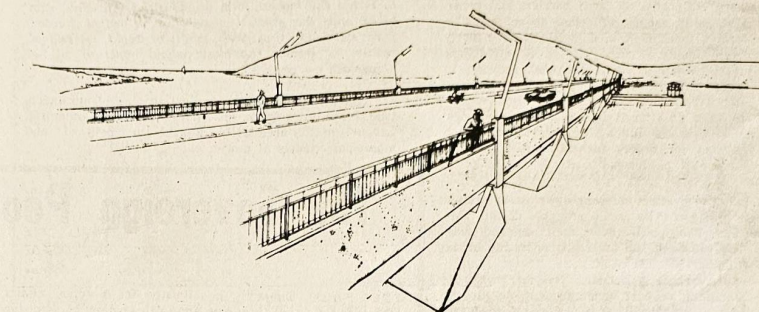
THE Valentia Bridge when built will be a monument to the agitation conducted with varying intensity by the islanders since 1908, when the idea was first mooted, up to the recent bye-election in South Kerry. A permanent addition to the Valentia skyline, it will straddle the tide that divides the island from the mainland, a physical reminder of political promises renewed and forgotten as election after election washed over the Atlantic outpost famous for its historic cable station. In this respect the Valentia project is in no way remarkable. It conforms to what has come to be the accepted pattern for the provision of all badly needed services; many other coastal amenities mark similar long-drawn out agitations brought to successful issue.

The last bye-election threat at that time for Kerry, to the Fianna Fail Party in South Kerry clinched the issue of building the Bridge. But, as this report and accompanying illustrations entailed the drawing up of a clearly indicate, not only has the decision to build the bridge failed to remove it from the realm of political interest in Kerry, but has all the appearance of making the Valentia Bridge a national landmark to a unique compound of official incompetence, political favouritism, a face-saving campaign involving open misuse of public funds, and a contempt for public opinion and the rules of honesty in public competitions hard to credit. The profiles of most of the Personae Dramatis at Local Government level are anything but profiles of courage and, with few exceptions, the contrasting degrees of political astuteness and political naivety displayed by the members of Kerry County Council is difficult to believe. We are bringing the story before the bar of public opinion in an effort to ensure that the bridge, which should be a monument to the efforts of the deserving islanders, doesn't become a monument to the triumph of blatant political corruption.

The saga of the actual construction of the Bridge began almost 14 years ago when Claude Warner, Co. Engineer had now cast Mr. Ryan in the new role of Bridge Engineer with responsibility for the Valentia project. The results of the site investigation carried out by Cementation Ltd. to the specifications of Mr. Ryan at a cost of about £7,000 to the taxpayer proved to be misleading for those Contractors submitting their own design and led to a revision, after the contest was closed, of designs submitted by some of the contractors. Mr. Ryan's specifications calling for "wash borings" to determine subsoil conditions resulted in the site investigation being faulty. But this fault was only made known to the independent designers much later when the competition was over.

Faulty Instructions for Contractors

The people of Kerry were already familiar with some of the works of Mr. Ryan, specialising in various fields at one time. Originally an electrical engineer, he graduated into Civil Engineering where he took a qualification, and in the fifties became a water and sewerage consultant and designed a number of rural schemes in Kerry. Mr. Ryan later emerged as a Heating Engineer who installed the central heating in County Hospitals. Consequently, many of the inhabitants of Kerry have first hand knowledge of Mr. Ryan's prowess in these specialised fields of engineering. The choice of the Co. Engineer had now cast Mr.



Ryan's bridge design cost £366,000 (reduced from £423,000) excluding designer's fees . . . "false pier-caps to attract Tourists . . ."

Ryan in the new role of Bridge Engineer with responsibility for the Valentia project.

The results of the site investigation carried out by Cementation Ltd. to the specifications of Mr. Ryan at a cost of about £7,000 to the taxpayer proved to be misleading for those Contractors submitting their own design and led to a revision, after the contest was closed, of designs submitted by some of the contractors. Mr. Ryan's specifications calling for "wash borings" to determine subsoil conditions resulted in the site investigation being faulty. But this fault was only made known to the independent designers much later when the competition was over.

In 1957, subsequent to the selection of site, and its investigation, the Department of Local Government gave the green light to Mr. Ryan to design the bridge and draw up contract documents. Eight years later, in 1965, the design was ready and tenders were invited from interested contractors. Mr. Ryan as official consultant, was now to adjudicate on the merits of the various tenders sub-

mitted, despite the fact that he had made unreliable information available to those tendering.

It is of particular interest to note at this stage that Mr. Ryan's contract documents included an invitation to all Contractors to submit alternative designs for the bridge in the eight weeks provided by him for tendering. The standards to which any such designs should comply were stated by him. The calculations were also to be submitted to him—he himself being the adjudicator between his own design and that of an independent designer! The Department of Local Government approved of these conditions before tenders were invited.

The design was the subject of interest and awards by the Institution of Civil Engineers. It was this designer who also perfected the synchrolift device for John Tyrell & Son which lifts ships of up to 600 tons out of the sea for repair. The simpler opening span suggested at the time by the designer, envisaged the use of this principle, i.e. allowing a small section of the bridge deck to descend to the sea bottom to allow fishing boats through. The span would then be raised into position by the push of an electric button.

The proposal was to come to prominence again when the discovery of the faulty site investigation made it necessary to modify the foundation design. But the proposal was ignored by Mr. Ryan and by the Department.

The £115,000 Difference

Five contractors tendered for the bridge, namely The Cementation Co., John Paul & Co., Irish Engineering & Harbour Construction Ltd., Ascon Ltd. and P. J. Hegarty. The first two submitted independent designs; John Paul & Co. retained the services of the well known Consulting Engineer, Peter McCabe, to prepare a design.

When the competition closed in August 1965, the two lowest tenders were as follows:

- (1) P. J. Hegarty—£423,000.
- (2)—John Paul & Co. —£308,000.

A recommendation mooted at the time by John Paul's consultant included the provision of a simpler opening span than Mr. Ryan's swing bridge proposal in the official design. The additional saving would have been a further £40,000.

Apart from training in England and Germany, Mr. McCabe has designed, amongst other well known structures, the Roadstone Jetty, Arklow Rock, which runs 700 ft. into the open sea and carries the heaviest commercial vehicles in use on

In December 1965 a report appeared in various newspapers that the Kerry County Council had accepted Mr. Ryan's recommendations in favour of P. J. Hegarty's tender in the value of £423,000. It was reported that insufficient information was supplied with John Paul's tender to enable Mr. Ryan to consider it in competition with his own design; moreover, he did not approve of some levels shown for John Paul's bridge, and that he had no alternative, therefore, but to pass over the lowest tender in preference to his own design and P. J. Hegarty's price. But Hegarty's price was £115,000 above John Paul's, taking no account of Mr. McCabe's recommendation for a lift-span which would affect a further saving of £40,000. It appears that John Paul's designer had refused earlier to submit calculations to Mr. Ryan until such time as Mr. Ryan declared, in principle, who won; a final decision could be made subject to calculations being correct. If agreement could not be reached, the obvious solution was to obtain an independent engineer of international repute to adjudicate.

It is now known that John Paul had their designs checked by an expert of international repute at a cost of £500 and the findings were that the design was satisfactory on all counts subject to the site investigations as stated by Mr. Ryan being correct. The site investigation (carried out to Mr. Ryan's specifications) proved later to be inaccurate and misleading. But the fact that the site investigation was unreliable only came to light in December 1966.

However, three months before that discovery the 26 County Minister for Local Government (Mr. Blaney then) recalled the John Paul

(Continued next page)

VALENTIA CHRONOLOGY

- 1957: Mr. Ryan commissioned to design bridge.
- 1965: Design declared open to tender; alternative designs allowed for Hegarty tender of £423,000 accepted. John Paul tender of £308,000 passed over on Ryan's advice.
- Sept., 1966: Minister for Local Government recalls Paul tender for consideration—states he is not satisfied with the grounds on which it was rejected. Hegarty tender reduced in price from £423,000 to £366,000 after competition closed.
- Dec. 1966: Site investigations (to Ryan's specifications shown to be incorrect).
- Feb., 1967: John Paul submits revised tender of £298,000. 26-Co. Minister for Local Government promises independent adjudication—and breaks his promise.
- May, 1967: Dept. of Local Government refuse to further consider Paul tender on the excuse that it would involve "time consuming" discussion with two other Government Depts.
- May, 1967: It is reported that Hegarty, the successful tenderer for the contract, is considering legal proceedings against Ryan to determine liability for costly extra testing of Ryan's designs.

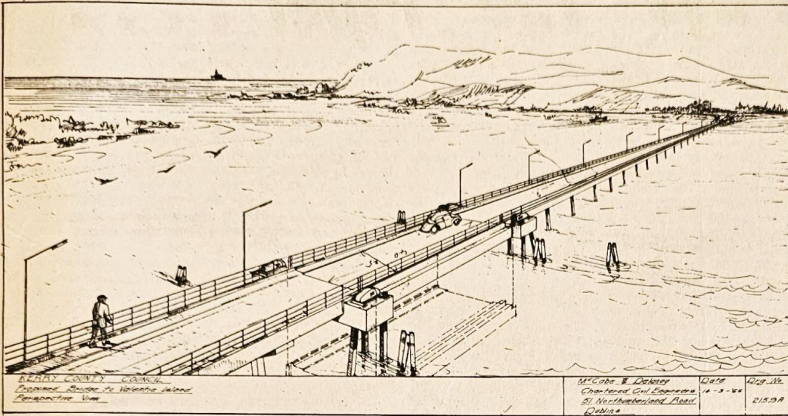


Knightstown, Valentia Island, Co. Kerry.

VALENTIA BRIDGE

"Go cuan Bhéil Inse casadh mé,

Cois Góilín aobhúnn Dairbhre..." Amhrán le Tomas Ruadh O Suilleabhain



John Paul bridge designed by P. McCabe: cost £298,000 (includes designer's fees).

tender in a letter dated Sept. 8th, 1966, after his attention had been called to the grounds on which it had been disqualified and the very considerable disparity in cost between the two tenders. "The tender documents submitted to the Department have been examined. I am to state that on the basis of the information before him, the Minister is not satisfied that Messrs. Pauls' tender should be passed over, particularly having regard to the considerable saving in the cost which will result in the event of the design on which the tender is based proving acceptable. "The letter further suggested that the engineers concerned be contacted and the matter cleared up and that if the official consultant and the Department's advisers were satisfied as to the accuracy of the calculations that John Paul's tender should be accepted. Paul's designer then allowed his calculation to be examined by all. They were found to be correct. Mr. Ryan and his associate began a long meaningless exchange of correspondence with John Paul's. His letters grew longer and longer and were continued until Paul's designer was convinced that they lacked sincerity but merely comprised a campaign of studied vagueness and irrelevancy on the part of the official consultant to save a desperate situation. What Paul's designer did not know at the time was that the Department had already approved of the Ryan design and the Hegarty tender and that the Minister's action in re-opening the examination had placed the Department in a most embarrassing position and hence the prolonged technical correspondence intended apparently, to further obstruct acceptance of Paul's tender. In fact the Department was also engaged in a face-saving campaign. It was backed by Mr. Ryan to the hilt for obvious reasons. Paul's designer refused to continue the correspondence.

In December 1966, when the site investigation findings were known to be utterly unreliable Paul's designer advised the company that the

foundation design of the bridge would have to be revised only. This would involve an increase in their tender. Keeping to the official design with its swing bridge section, the original tender of £308,000 would have to be increased to £336,000 (using concrete cylinder piles) or, alternatively, up to £341,000 (using steel cylinder piles). However, Paul's designer on this occasion further expanded his proposal and strongly urged that a synchro lift opening span be adopted instead of the official design swing opening section which he considered cumbersome and costly. This revolutionary opening span concept was frowned upon by the official consultant Mr. Ryan and by the Department's advisers on the matter. Nevertheless, when John Paul submitted their revised tender on the 7th February, 1967, they insisted on including the synchro lift recommendations as well. The saving made by the use of the 40' synchro lift section would reduce the revised tender to £298,000 had the principle involved been accepted.

Paul's revised tender with alternatives then read:

A—£241,000 (steel cylinder piles—swing opening span)
B—£236,000 (concrete cylinder piles—swing opening span)

C—£299,000 (steel cylinder piles—synchro lift span)
D—£298,000 (concrete cylinder piles—synchro lift span)

Either alternative continued to be a vast improvement on the £423,000 Hegarty tender

and the principle involved in the latter (synchro lift) is in daily use in a ship repair yard in Arklow, lifting loads at least ten times greater than the maximum load the proposed bridge span might ever be expected to bear. But the end of the story was not yet.

After the alternative tender was recalled by the Minister and the supporting calculations found correct, i.e. after the competition was officially closed, modifications were made by Mr. Ryan in the official design and Mr. McCabe's design copied in principle and Hegarty's tender reduced to £366,000.

The explanation given by Mr. Ryan, and echoed by the Co. Council engineer, for this reprehensible act was one of economy—the features included in Mr. Ryan's design "to attract tourism" were quietly removed. But economics was not an issue when Mr. Ryan made his first recommendations to the Council, it only became one when the bye-election loomed and Fianna Fail saw a way of politically scoring off Mr. Ryan's plight. However, the fact that Mr. Ryan's plight was shared by the Minister's Department was to save Mr. Ryan in the aftermath.

£423,000—Value of tender originally recommended by Mr. Ryan.

£366,000—Value of tender subsequently revised by Mr. Ryan.

Difference — £57,000. The £57,000 saving was a direct result of Paul's tender being brought to bear on Hegarty's pricing and Ryan's

design and Bill of Quantities would be approximately
£21,050
5,490

Total £26,540

This saving has now also been dissipated. Therefore the total saving involved had the lowest tender, originally wrongly disqualified on a minor technical quibble, been accepted would have been as follows:

£57,000 (saving after revision of J. Hegarty tender after competition closed)

£68,000 (present difference in tenders)

£26,000 (engineer's fees)

TOTAL—£151,000

The present situation is a saving of £57,000 and a loss of £94,500 to the taxpayer. And, as Paul's designer pointed out in a letter to the national newspapers, "It is hardly within the principles of justice that those who originally recommended the acceptance of Hegarty's price of £423,000, who approved the official design, and who reconsidered John Paul's tender only on the insistence of the Minister, were given the power to advise finally on that tender." The fact that Mr. Ryan was allowed to revise his own design after the competition was officially closed sapped whatever element of competitiveness intended by the competition.

Mr. Boland was now in Local Government and it was put to him by the aggrieved party that the two designs be submitted to an independent adjudicator of world repute in this field for a decision on the merits or otherwise of the two designs which differed fundamentally in structural

concept and cost. Mr. Boland agreed to do this and signified his intention to do so. But he reckoned apparently without his Department. Mr. Boland did not keep his promise and the question was never submitted to independent arbitration. Mr. Boland, whether he intended to or not, could not overcome his Department's vested interest in justifying acceptance of the original Hegarty tender. Was it Mr. Boland's discovery of the political alignments involved that stayed his hand? When challenged upon the matter, Mr. Boland gave the following gem among his vague excuses for rejecting consideration of the simpler opening span, "that this would involve time consuming discussions with the Department of Transport and Power and Agriculture and Fisheries." This from the Department that spent eight years preparing the official design!

The reaction of the engineers and officials of the Kerry County Council to this fantastic campaign are also worthy of note. Their sincerity bears watching in the future.

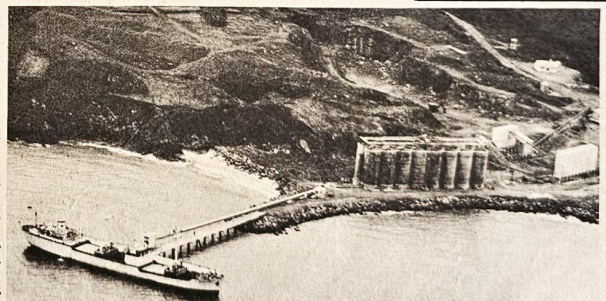
KERRY BYE-ELECTION RESULTS

Quota 13,612.

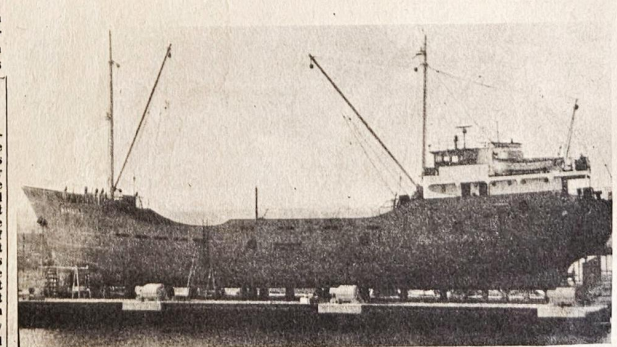
Final Count:
O'Leary (Fianna Fail),
13,590.
Begley (Fine Gael),
12,807.

O'Leary elected without reaching quota by majority of 683 votes.

Valentia Islanders block vote for Fianna Fail estimated at 595 votes.



Roadstone Jetty at Arklow, designed by P. McCabe: runs 700 feet into exposed ocean.



Synchro lift in operation at Tyrells, Arklow... lift's ships up to 600 tn. weight out of sea.

Tyrells Show The Way

TYRELLS of Arklow are a long established ship-building and repair company in Arklow. Last year in order to increase the capacity of their yard and to enable them to tender for contract and repair work that would otherwise go abroad, they installed a Synchro lift. With a platform of 170'30" and a maximum lifting capacity of 60 tons, this synchro lift is operated by eight hoists each powered by a 7½ H.P. motor. It is very economical on power.

The procedure when a ship has to be lifted out of the water is as follows. The

synchro lift platform is depressed and sinks to the desired level: the ship is manoeuvred into position over the sunken platform and the platform is then raised until the ship's keel is almost resting upon it. Checks are then inserted on each side of the ship in order to keep it upright when the platform is brought to the surface. The platform takes the full weight of the ship and raises it out of the water onto a level with the docks. The ship may then be winched onto land along specially laid rail tracks.

The United Irishman

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JUNE, 1967

Is An Phoblacht le scríobh.

SELF-DESTRUCTION

THE Lemming is an animal not unlike a rat and is an inhabitant of the Arctic region. Naturalists are at a loss to explain the periodic mania which affects this species causing them to migrate in their millions to the coast and fling themselves into the sea. They swim out into the sea where they drown, every one.

In the case of the Common Market hysteria at present affecting Twenty-Six County politicians no such doubt as to the motivating factors can exist. Their acceptance of Britain's economic hegemony over Ireland as the basis of their political philosophies made the Dublin Government's application inevitable and unavoidable: the hysteria being manufactured in support of the move is intended to make it acceptable to the people of Ireland. The victims of the move will emigrate to the various industrial Valhallas reserved for them by the monopolists of Europe; and emigrants do not vote—not that the post-E.E.C.-entry vote will have any effective say in the affairs of this country.

It is clear that in applying to join the Common Market the Dublin Government is motivated by the fear, based on manifold past experience, that the British Government will fail to honour its trade commitments to Ireland in negotiating for Common Market membership. They have anticipated the pressure of this British economic conscription, and instead of resisting it, have sought to hide the nature of it from the public by prior consent and "simultaneous" negotiations.

If the British pressure forces a weak Twenty-Six County Government to enter the Common Market, then this will open a further bitter chapter of conflict between Ireland and Britain, in the course of which the Irish people both at home and in England will inevitably come to repudiate the policies that have led to this.

Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. The less free Ireland of the Common Market shall be ever less at peace.

SINN FEIN ALTERNATIVE TO E.E.C.

THE question is asked what the alternative to E.E.C. membership is," states a recent statement from Sinn Féin. "One possible alternative," continues the statement, "for the 26-County state is to negotiate associate membership as the other neutral European states are proposing to do.

"The real alternative is the Sinn Féin programme for national freedom and unity, including real financial and economic independence; repatriation of Irish capital invested abroad; promotion of co-operative control of the means of production, distribution and exchange; the use

of physical controls on imports and exports; and the pursuit of trade links with countries other than Britain and the E.E.C. Only last week the Czechoslovak Prime Minister told us that there was a market for our agricultural produce in his country. In these days of fast transport we should be busy building up trade links with the newly independent countries of Africa where there is much goodwill for Ireland.

Sinn Féin will continue to oppose the idea of E.E.C. membership and will seek the support of the Trade Unions and other groups in opposing it and in educating our people to a full realisation of its dangers. The spectacle of the Leinster House government's following England's every move is most disfiguring and a salient reminder of the sham "freedom we now enjoy." We are told that the cost of living will increase in the Common Market, that we will have to tighten our belts in a period of austerity and that many sacrifices will be called for. Sinn Féin proposes that instead of sinking our national identity in a bloc of powerful nations we should instead make sacrifices in an effort to end for all time the control of our country by a foreign government.

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P.R. IN DANGER ESTABLISHMENT ATTACKS

THE Leinster House Constitution Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Colley, is beginning to cause anxiety among the political parties. Various issues such as the amalgamation of U.C.D. and T.C.D., E.E.C. membership and P.R., come within the ambit of this Committee.

The fate of proportional representation is the cause of much unease among the slumbering backbenchers of the two main political parties as well as those of the Labour Party. Inspired rumour suggests that Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil are close to agreement on proposals to change from the present system of multi-seat constituencies. The change would mean that there would be about 140 constituencies instead of the present 38. Dublin would have about 35. Instead of 3-5 seats per constituency as at present, there would be one seat for each constituency, but electors could give their preferences, the first to secure the quota would be elected, but there would be the only one.

The single seat idea seems to be gaining strong support in Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, particularly since Labour, in recent by-elections, urged their supporters to vote Labour only. This was the policy followed by all Labour speakers in Kerry and Waterford during the recent bye-election with the notable exception of Patrick Norton, T.D., business man and tenement owner, who urged his hearers to give their second preference to Fine Gael.

LABOUR TO SUFFER

The demand of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael for the new system might have been made more urgent by the I.T.G.W.U. decision to affiliate to Labour. Labour have nothing to gain and all to lose—the vast majority of Labour T.D.s are elected in second or third counts—by this arrangement. Labour with the help of the Trade Unions movement can be counted on to launch a counter-offensive as they did before in 1959 when they defeated the proposal by 20,000 votes. But then, it must be remembered, Fine Gael were also opposed to the idea.

UNIONISTS and E.E.C.

(Continued from page 1)

East Belfast. Mr. George Forrest, Mid Ulster, is also a definite opponent of Common Market entry and Sir Knox Cunningham, South Antrim, a frequent contributor to the "Protestant Telegraph" is known to have reservations about the possible effect of Common Market entry on Ulster's interests, particularly in the constitutional field. On the other hand, Mr. Stratton Mills, North Belfast, and Mr. Henry Clarke, North Antrim, are believed to favour British entry, subject to adequate Ulster safeguards.

While Knox Cunningham's opposition is based mainly on Unionist constitutionalism, that of Captain Orr and his three colleagues is based on economic as well as constitutional reasons. Orr's statement, when compared with the confused and incoherent public reasoning of the Leinster House dissenters from unconditional entry to the Common Market, is worth studying. "When Mr. Heath was negotiating in Brussels I was hoping that Europe could be unified economically with the U.K. in a position of strength, and with transitional arrangements to protect the interests of agriculture and of the Commonwealth and E.F.T.A."

"I am now satisfied that the kind of terms I then hoped for are impossible."

"I believe that signing the Treaty of Rome as it now stands, which appears to be inevitable if we are to enter, would diminish British sovereignty to an unacceptable extent."

"I believe also that the

effects, both on food prices at home, and on the farming community, particularly the small farmer in Ulster, could be so adverse that I cannot support the present application."

The "interests of agriculture" mentioned by Orr in the case of Ulster farmers is an interest shared with the British Farmers Union, an association which is the counterpart of the Ulster Farmers' Union in Ulster and the N.F.A. in the Twenty-Six Counties, and which, in common with the Ulster Farmers Union is opposed to British entry. Their reasons are simple. Entry would mean the elimination or drastic reduction of the large variety of grants available to the "U.K." farming community and would effectively wipe out large sectors of it including, inevitably, the highly subsidised Ulster community.

Britain's Common Market drive is opening unwelcome vistas to Unionists' eyes. Home Rule drove them to arms against a British Government in the past. What of the Common Market? At the moment, though for radically conflicting reasons, only the Republican Movement and a half a dozen Unionist M.P.s have taken an unequivocal Anti-Common Market stand in Ireland. Will the Common Market prove to be the great political catalyst of the age in Unionist-Republican philosophies?

The Sovereign People

(From page 13)
that "Neutrality remains constant national policy. We would never allow any foreign State to use our country as a base," while Mr. Lemass, just a few days later, negotiating in Bonn for admission to E.E.C., said (I quote from the "Irish Press" of October 24, 1962): "The reason was primarily political," but he hoped to help in building up unity of Western Europe in economic and every other sense. Our relations with Britain were of primary importance. In the East-West conflict we are not neutral, and we wish to remove any misunderstanding about Ireland's position in the world. It is true that for reasons that would take rather long to elaborate we are not in NATO, but that did not mean that we should be regarded as neutral. On the contrary we have emphasised over and over again that we are on the side of the Western democracies. We have made it quite clear that our desire is to participate in whatever political union may ultimately develop in Europe. We are making no reservations of any sort, including defence."

We are not told very much about what is being done with us, but those statements in New York and in Bonn make it pretty clear in what manner the money-lenders' pressure has been met. The business community to whom Mr. Lemass had appealed had, not for the first time in history, shown little enthusiasm for 'maintaining the nation's freedom' and Mr. Lemass had surrendered. It would appear now that the Minister for External Affairs has, after a longer resistance, also surrendered.

SPECULATORS MOVE ON MOUNTJOY SQUARE



IN Mountjoy Square the purchase of 15 more houses of the Company was to demand a sum eight times Bewley's Oriental Cafe premises greater than the previous lessee.

In the Stephen's Green area, the Green Property Company, which has already demolished four houses in the cause of speculation, has bought four more houses on the Green and have applied to Dublin Corporation for permission to build offices. On the south side of the Liffey, Amalgamated Investment and Property Co. Ltd. have acquired the Dublin (South) City Market Co. Ltd. for a figure of about £600,000. The properties extend over 41 acres and includes sections of St. George's Street, Exchequer Street, and Drury

Street. One of the first acts of the Company was to demolish a 21 year old expired lease on a sum eight times Bewley's Oriental Cafe premises greater than the previous lessee.

Sinn Féin Obstructed

(Continued from page 1)

Twenty-Six County Government in this respect are obvious. The absence of the name Sinn Féin from the ballot sheet will undoubtedly result in a loss of some votes and the difficulties in priming the public to expect a blank on the ballot paper where the name Sinn Féin should appear is obvious. Nevertheless Sinn Féin are expected to increase their representation on many of the bodies contested. Bray, where the obstruction described above was first met, is an area to watch in this respect.