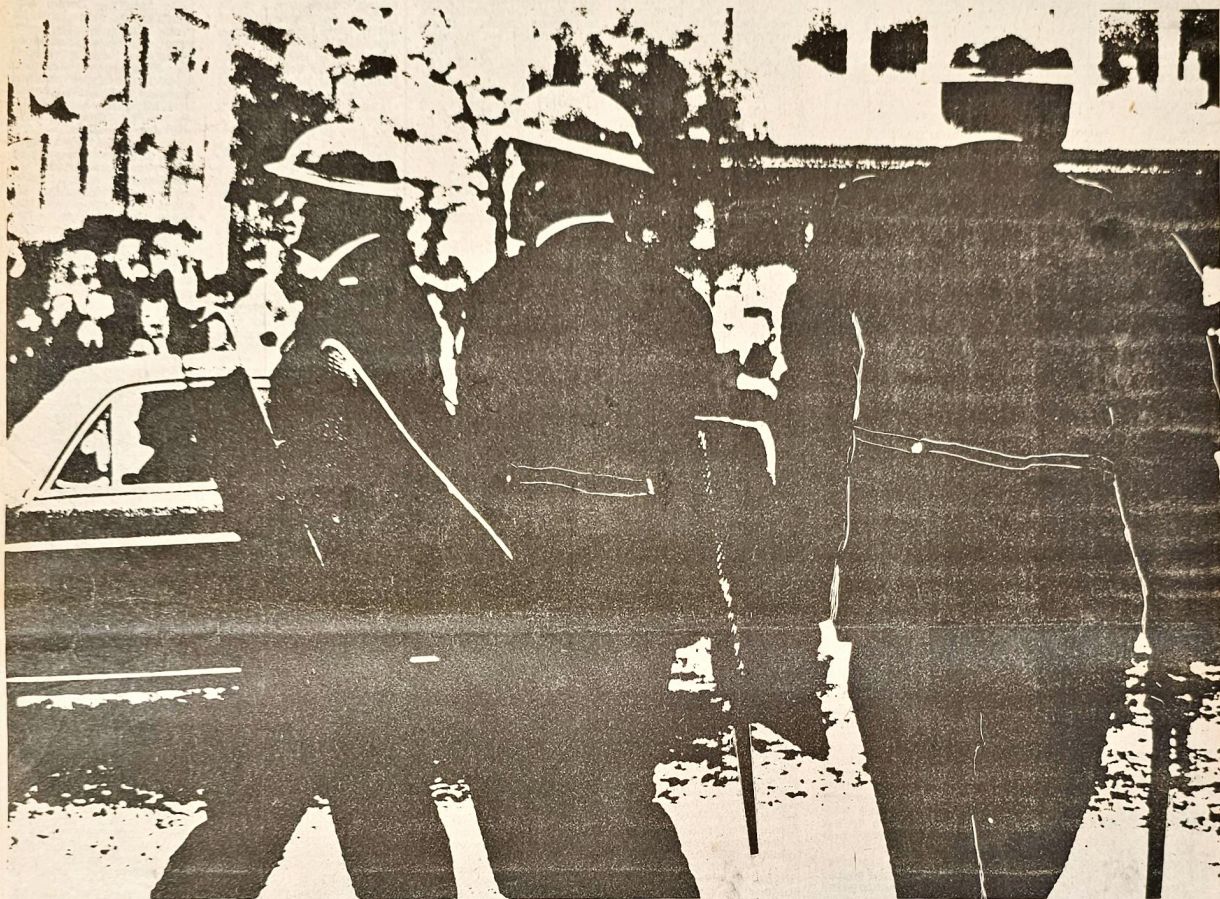


THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Samhain (Nov.) 1968. Iml.XXII. Uimhir 11. Luach 9p. (US and Canada 15c.)



Mr. Craig will have to think hard before the Civil Rights massed demonstration at Armagh on November 16.

Will he attempt another Derry? In Derry, Craig's policy of exterminating protest at the denial of basic democratic rights was tried to the full. Co. Inspector Megharg, Head Constable McGimpsey, and Special Branch Chief Rossaird decided the strategy. The Reserve Squad of the R.U.C., an anti-riot squad of tough committed Orangemen from Belfast, and a number of B Specials in police uniform, blocked each end of Duke St. They then batoned, kicked and hosed the trapped Civil Rights marchers. This was the squads' first taste of action since the Divis Street riots of 1965.

The actions of the Orange Riot Squad had the full approval of William Craig and the obvious intention was to injure as many people as possible so that support for Civil Rights marches would not be forthcoming in the future.

This happened in Derry where, in the last Local Elections 9,000 Unionist votes elected twelve Councillors and 14,000 Nationalist votes elected eight Councillors.

Mr. Craig justifies the batons and the brutality. Afterwards, he even sent his special police to intimidate people who had participated. He lied over and over again and fell back on the "red scare" and allegations that the I.R.A. had manufactured the Civil Rights programme—a job that Unionists of Mr. Craig's ilk have been doing over a period of fifty years.

In a statement announcing the Armagh march the Civil Rights Association said: "As

THINK AGAIN CRAIG

organisers of the Derry march the council holds itself solely and morally responsible for the march and condemns the selective intimidation of private citizens, be they Nationalist, Republican or Socialist, who individually and freely lent their support to the citizens of Derry and whose sole aim was to protest with them against the injustice of second-class citizenship."

The Armagh march was to be held because there was no sign, since the Derry happenings, that the Six County Government was prepared to admit to reforms.

The statement continued: "The council has repeatedly affirmed that it is non-political and non-sectarian; that it is not infiltrated nor will it allow itself to be influenced by the I.R.A., the Communist Party or indeed by the Orange Order."

Earlier in the month an I.R.A. statement on Derry outlined that organisation's policy towards Civil Rights: "The policy of the I.R.A. in relation to the demands for civil rights in the Six Counties is that we fully support the campaign of the Nationalist Population for their rights in Voting, Jobs and Housing. Contrary to statements of police, and press reports, the I.R.A. as an organisation has had no part in the campaign for civil rights. Republicans, being a part of the population in the Six Counties who are being discriminated against, are naturally playing their part in this struggle and this participation we encourage and will continue to do so. If the I.R.A. had been present in Derry, as stated by Mr. Craig, the people would have been protected from the brutal attacks of Craig's police."

Letters

For God and Ulster

I would like to thank the unknown person who sends me a copy of the United Irishman each month. I enjoy reading the opposition view point. As most people know by the correspondence I enter into in the press I am a Protestant Unionist and a supporter of the Rev. Ian Paisley. Because of this I suffer as much persecution as do Republicans and perhaps more. I know what it is to have the Special Branch following me and taking note of what I say and do. Your paper talks about discrimination: the real discrimination in Ulster is against the Free Presbyterians and Protestant Unionists, better known as "extremists".

We do not hate Roman Catholics: we attack those so-called Unionists who follow Captain O'Neill and who run with the hounds and we attack those church leaders who do the same. I would disagree with your paper on discrimination against Roman Catholics. In my home town, Lisburn, Catholics get as many houses as Protestants and as many jobs; all over Ulster it is the same. I would dare to say that the majority of Roman Catholics would not want a United Ireland as social benefits are better here than in the South. Protestants do not want an all-Ireland Government as the old fear is "Home Rule means Rome Rule". Would this not be correct?

William Belslaw,
Ulster Constitution Defence Committee,
1st South Antrim
Ulster Protestant
Volunteers, Warren
Park Drive, Lisburn,
Co. Antrim.

Civil Rights for Police?

As one who protested bitterly and strongly against the violence of the R.U.C. in Derry and also came to the Bridewell and backed you when I felt that you had been brutal after your protest outside the Gresham, I now feel I must protest equally strongly about the behaviour of the Civil Rights march last Saturday. Civil rights means civil rights for EVERYONE, and smashing glass at the German Institute and what Spillbourne is a denying of this basic principle. As for those people who took and threw "Molotov Cocktails" I can find no word to express my disgust.

To march protesting about the brutal behaviour of the R.U.C. in Derry was right and proper. To indulge in exhibitionist violence your selves was wrong and improper. On the Sunday I spoke with 13 people who had been on the march, ten ordinary citizens who had been witnesses, and three Garda of this total of 26, 25 expressed themselves horrified and utterly revolted by the behaviour of that small section of the marchers who threw stones, bombs, etc about. Also, all but the one spoke with, highly indeed of the restraint and good behaviour and lack of violence on the part of the Garda. The photos on the Sunday Press certainly confirmed this. The Garda were merely using their arms and hands to hold back hostile people. I know for an absolute fact three young men who were on the point of joining you have now turned away in

repugnance. You cannot cast out Satan by Satan, and being violent needlessly merely antagonises normally minded citizens.

I have been on innumerable protest marches in Dublin myself, and it is only fair to state I have found our police tolerant and kindly even helpful, as when picketing their club in Harrington Street against their entertainment on the Chicago police, they allowed me and another woman to go into their club and use the Ban Garda's lavatory, carrying our provocative posters under our arms! If you wish to turn our police into thugs as they have in Chicago just go on behaving as you are doing, and chuck "Molotov Cocktails" about, also stones and bricks.

You were permitted to let your delegates hand in your proper letter of protest. Having been allowed to do that you should have been content. Likewise to protest about the air-force officers wearing uniform in our country was right and proper, to throw eggs was wrong and improper, and to burn the Union Jack merely childish. I was in India during their fight for freedom, and saw what Ghandi (as we who knew and loved him called him) accomplished with a completely non-violent action.

Hilary C. J. Boyle,
86 Pembroke Road,
Dublin 4.
● See COCKTAILS AT THE EMBASSY special feature inside—Ed.

The Pill and Madame

I would like to carry a bit further the point made by Madame Terence Mhic Subhine in the October edition of the United Irishman.

The glossing over of the Pope's Encyclical on birth control by the paper would seemingly show the United Irishman to be at least pandering to readers with Catholic convictions if not indeed being positively pro-Catholic.

Surely foreign interference with the lives of people is every bit as repugnant when it is foisted upon us by Rome as when it comes from London or anywhere else.

There seems to be a close parallel between the Unionist link with London and the Catholic hierarchy link with Rome. Our church leaders whether Catholic or Protestant should be subject to God, not foreign interference.

Leslie Joseph Burnett,
Belfast.

An Taisce and St. Lawrence

Your article dated September 1968, under the heading "St. Lawrence makes good", states that Mr. Gaisford St. Lawrence, by purporting to present some of his property at Howth to the nation, would in fact have this property developed for him at considerable cost to the public, and that the rates to be paid by An Taisce could be considerable.

At no time did Mr. Gaisford St. Lawrence offer this property to the nation. He has leased it at a nominal rent to An Taisce, at their request. Those in An Taisce who know anything about the details will know that rates and maintenance charges are not likely to be considerable and, indeed, cannot be, since An

Taisce can rely only on membership subscriptions for such costs. Despite the informed press comments, no major developments are planned for these unsightly properties and the grant has been sought from the Dept. of Finance, although An Taisce would welcome financial assistance for the minor improvements which they plan there in the public interest.

It is to be hoped that you will publish this letter in your next issue and thereby go some way towards mitigating the slur on the good name of Mr. Gaisford St. Lawrence, who has not sought to gain, and who is most unlikely to gain, any advantage in this matter.

Alan Carson,
Joint Hon. Secretary,
An Taisce,
Baggot St., Bridge House,
Dublin 4.

Our news item on the AN TAISSCE acquisition at Howth was specifically aimed at informing the public of the exact nature of what had been presented in the national press as an act of munificent generosity "a gift to the nation". These statements were allowed to go unchallenged by AN TAISSCE. Why pick on the UNITED IRISHMAN for exposing the true lease underlying the false public image of the transactions? Why were the inaccurate press reports not challenged at the time by AN TAISSCE?

As to rates and maintenance costs, it is not likely to be considerable because the money might not be there to meet them.

And when the twenty year lease expires and the land reverts to Captain Gaisford Lawrence, what then? Please write and inform us how St. Lawrence is not likely to gain from a twenty year relief of rates on land developed for him by AN TAISSCE?

Have you any guarantee that the hold Captain will not act in similar fashion to his colleague in the Irish Landowners' Convention Mr. Peter Proby? Like the members of the Proby family, Mr. St. Lawrence has a considerable ground rent landlord in Dublin, owning an estate that extends from Howth to Clontarf.

Millions have come from this immoral rent and the profits of land speculation. Irish taxpayers' money should be spent not in supporting his ilk but in exterminating it.—EDITOR.

Cumann na bPiarsach

In uimhir D. Fomhair de "An tEireannach Aontaithe" tugadh fogha faoi Chumann na bPiarsach de bharr an mheid Bearla sa usaidh le linn an chruitha ag Teach an Pharsaigh i Rosmuc i mbiliana. Ach dubhradh san alt gur laibair an tAthair Mac Eoin i mBearla ar an ocaid sin. Ni fior sin. Bli sa i laibair ach nior dhulne do na cainteoiri ar an ardan e. Fa aithne agam ar an agant sin agus is agam gur fear e a bhfuil meas as cuimne aige ar an Pharsach, agus ar an teagla Ghaelige. Is cruithaithe aige, ni anhuin sa tir seo, ach fosta i Sasain agus i Meiricea. Ba cheart leide aice a ghabhail leis as an disbhair a rinnadh ar san alt.

O thaobh Chumann na bPiarsach de, nil ann ach gae eile den Tannan Hall, ata cruithaithe ag Flanna Fall sa stat seo. Ta greim faighte aca ar oidhre na bPiarsach agus coinneair greim dainse agus iad iad doine "contabhairteacha" (— Poblachtanacha) a

choinneal amach. De reir mar a gheibh Flanna Fall greim ar an rud gheibh na naitianachas bas ann agus teighnean an Bearla i dteir sin. Sampla eile an Cumann Naistunta Thionascail agus Tainmhachta. Ta an dream ceanna i mbun an chuimain sin Chumann na bPiarsach. Nach bhfuil ainm Chathail Brugha ag Flanna Fall anois a fuair a bhaintreach bas? Traillion F.F. gach a bhfaghad stad greim air. Gach seall frid na seachoiri, deir Foclair an Duinmigh go giallailonn TAOA "an item of rigging" is leor nod don eola.

Bli buidh,
P. Mac Cormac.

Shell fish industry

The September issue of your paper contains three articles on the Irish shell-fishing industry and the action taken by the I.R.A. against the Galway Bay Company at Ros Sbi, which do not accurately reflect the true picture in Connemara.

The attempts by the Galway Bay Company to develop the shellfishing industry comprehensively in this country on a profit-sharing basis, cutting out the middlemen, with recent competitive marketing have given Irish lobster fishermen improved conditions and returns, including an additional income from crabs, with free improved-type pots and gear. Enlightened American investment by the Galway Bay Company has in fact given the fishermen the first fair deal he has ever had.

It is not true to state as you did in your paper that "shellfish stocks in America are running out". In America, in fact, State control, with research, conservation, and cultivation of stocks, has developed potential and preserved supplies. Americans do not then, as you stated, "come here to fish".

The operations of the Galway Bay Company compare more than favourably with those of the newly formed Irish Enterprise in which Gaeltarra Eireann has a substantial holding. This new company also operates from Ros a Mhíl, with a difference; it has no profit-sharing scheme, no improved marketing, no free supply of pots and gear to the fishermen.

In addition this company owns very much bigger boats which are now quietly operating without hindrance from any patriotic organisation.

Eileen Swift.

MAJOR MOVE FOR FREE TRADE

Watch for it folks! This month the 26 Co. Government are going to tell you to get a move on. Not in the direction of the Republic—bug into the Common Market. Under the slogan "Let's Get a Move On" a Government sponsored press and television campaign has been on its way to you for the past year. It is scheduled to burst about your ears and eyes in the current month.

Ostensibly the idea is to improve productivity but the real aims of the campaign were outlined at a private meeting of the Irish National Productivity Committee held at the Intercontinental Hotel, Dublin on September 27. There, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ruaidhri Roberts, Secretary of I.C.T.U., a number of speakers outlined the principal aims as—adaptation to meet Free Trade conditions and the removal of both the worker's and the public's lack of confidence in Irish management. Participating in the campaign are the Federated Union of Employers and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

One young "whiz kid" who addressed those present posed the question: "What is the carrot we can hold out to the public?" Sean

Lemass, father of the "carrot philosophy" nodded this approval. Other speakers outlined the policy strategy of the publicity campaign which is to sell the idea to the public.

To foist the theme successfully on the public a press and television campaign has been planned in which the "critics" would be debunked by placing them in the false position of being opposed to industrialisation and national development. Thus in the television programme the "cynic" would be portrayed as a dirty unkempt driver of a ramshackle truck. In conversation with a hitchhiker this individual deplores everything national while holding up the traffic behind his truck by refusing to give way. Eventually, his truck breaks down and he is forced to give way. Then all the shining and resplendent trucks symbolising the new Ireland (no doubt working for TACA and International Capitalism) stream past.

The newspaper advertising campaign will pose the challenge: "We are trying to trade down the traffic people because discovering them is greater than discovering a new oilfield".

So keep that wheel a turning and the ad boys are after you.

Republican CLUBS Demonstration EXECUTIVE in Cork

One of the greatest parades of Irish Republicans ever was staged in Cork last month, against the R.U.C. bashing of Civil Rights demonstrators and innocent women and children in Derry on October 5.

The Garda who bashed peaceful Republican picketers at the R.A.F. dinner in Dublin on September 14 and the Flanna Fall attempt to impose a Six-County "Straight" vote on the Twenty-Six were also targets for attack. A torchlight procession of more than six hundred people led by the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band marched from the National Monument to Patrick St.

where a huge meeting was addressed by Malachy McBurney, from the six counties, Antoine O hAmmrachain, from the Gaelic League, Pat Magner of the Cork Wolf Tone Society with Tom McCarthy, Sinn Féin as chairman.

Effigies of "Adolf" Craig and of "Cork's favourite son", Jack Lynch, together with the Union Jack were publicly burned during the meeting.

"We condemn the brutal and unwarranted attacks made upon defenceless people in Derry by the armed thugs of the R.U.C. acting to a set plan" says a recent statement issued by the Six County Regional Executive of Republican Clubs.

The statement goes on to pledge support for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association: "We sincerely hope that people will not allow themselves to be frightened or beaten into submission and that the support for the objects of the N.I.C.R.A. will grow daily until full equality, social justice and fair play are enjoyed by all citizens irrespective of class or creed".

The following officers and committee were elected to the Regional Executive for 1968/69: M. McGarran, chairman (Lurgan); P. McDonnell, secretary (Omagh); D. Moore, treasurer (Newry); Committee: P. Quinn (Belfast); C. McMillan (Belfast); D. Cassin (Armagh); B. Quinn, (Lyone); P. Coyne (Derry); L. O. Connell (Derry).



** NOTES & COMMENTS

WHAT price now a policy of collaboration with the Stormont junta? You may recall the occasion of the Nationalist (sic) Party conference in Belfast last June when horrified hands were held up at the mere mention of the word "violence." The "violence" hinted at was to come, of course, from the suppressed nationalist minority in the Six Counties. There was no suggestion that it might come from the other side—from the police, for instance.

Now all is changed utterly. The pious hopes and aspirations of the Nationalist Party members have been dispelled rather rudely under the batons of the R.U.C. Not only the Nationalist Party must be rethinking its policy but there must also be some rapid reassessments among the high priests of the Flanna Fail party.

If you recall again that conference in Belfast in June when, as the "Irish Independent" reporter put it, "endorsement for a policy of continued co-operation with Stormont came from Senator John Brennan, fraternal delegate from Flanna Fail," Senator Brennan must have performed some mental gymnastics at the beginning of last month when the batons were falling and falling upon the defenceless heads of the people of Derry. What price "continued co-operation" now, Senator? It will be illuminating—not to mention amusing—to watch the gyrations of Mr. Brennan and his friends for the next few months.

Ryan's tilt

THE nine days' wonder of Dermot Ryan's tilt at Mayor Daley of Chicago has faded. We hear little nowadays about a lawsuit, or police brutality, or telling the world all about it. Would you like to get behind the wall of silence? Mr. Ryan, get-rich-quick operator and Taca supporter, was recently made richer by about \$300,000 when Aer Lingus, the State company, bought up 20 per cent of his hotel holdings. When the build Dermot started to kick up a fuss in Chicago and particularly when U.S. police started to boycott his hotels, well, there was consternation among the elite of Aer Lingus. You see, Mr. Ryan's outspokenness was seen as likely to harm the takings at Ryan (plus Aer Lingus) hotels in respect of precious U.S. dollars.

So the word was passed down the line and soon reached Dermot — play it cool, boy, play it cool. On Dermot's return from the U.S. earlier he had already been told that — in rather heated manner by the Boston college, none other than Sean Lemass, who as you know is a director of Ryan's and who happened to be mirroring the shop for Dermot while the latter was over being entertained by Mayor Daley and his merry men.

Not so nice

ANYWAY, the fact is that Dermot has been playing it cool ever since then and doing his bit to live down the tags of "Communist, hippie and anarchist" which were applied to him by the not-so-nice policemen. (Incidentally, that's one thing the police of Chicago and Derry have in common — they're not so nice.)

So anxious was Dermot to prove that he was none of these things that he considered asking John Charles himself for a reference, having been recommended by the Holy Ghost Fathers.

He also approached the Dublin newspapers in rather worried fashion and suggested that foreign correspondents might be able in some way to refurbish his tarnished image for him.

You see, the night image is all-important if you want to share in those lovely American dollars — not to mention if you want to keep in with THE PARTY.

The Gallaghers

ANOTHER crowd apparently extremely worried about their image are the Gallaghers — James the Flanna Fail T.D., Matt the big-time property developer, and company. For the Gallagher Group have appointed a £250,000-a-year Public Relations cum Information Officer, giving him also a free car, a non-contributory pension and "other fringe benefits" (membership of Taca?).

The poor fella, he'll have his work cut out for him if he wishes to use the Gallaghers a good image. Not that the Gallaghers themselves have been backward about trying to project the old image in recent years—though if truth is to be told, I fear the luck has been running against them.

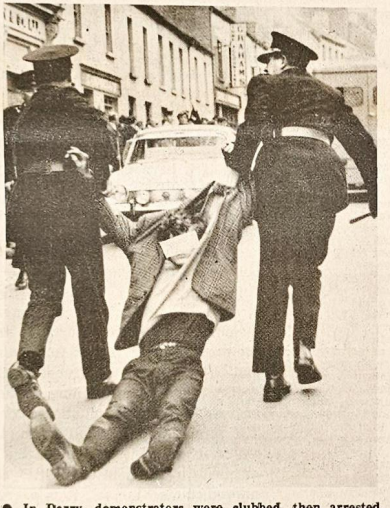
Developers

AND it's very easy to overlook the fact that the same Gallagher Group were the developers of the aforementioned estates in Coolock and Dundrum being handed over free to the local clergy—in full view of newspaper and television reporters and cameras, of course! Sure nobody would know about the great munificence of the Gallagher Group if you didn't tip off the papers and TV about these things!

Oh, it's easy to be flathesamhlach under those circumstances. We won't spoil the picture by asking who will build the church and school on those "free" sites.

As I said, the poor Public Relations cum Information Officer will have his work cut out for him.

MAC DARA.



● In Derry, demonstrators were clubbed, then arrested.

** CLUB na bPOBLACHTÁNACH

N.U.I. ban

THE unofficial ban on Republican Clubs in the N.U.I. will be defied by all Republican Clubs this year. Despite repeated attempts last year to reach a settlement with the authorities in the N.U.I. nothing was conceded. The situation in the N.U.I. illustrates a denial of Civil Rights much nearer home than Derry. The U.C.D. club has started well this year with a stand at Freshers' Congress, an openly recruited membership and a full programme of events. It has received the moral support of the majority of undergraduate opinion in the college. We congratulate the Labour Party branch in U.C.D. for openly sponsoring the "bedding club" and in thus enabling it to function properly within the University. We once again ask all

readers and sympathisers to give the U.C.D. club every possible support and thus frustrate any attempts by Professor Murphy to stop the dissemination of ideas.

U.S.I.

During the period of Howard Kinlay's presidential term, the Irish Union of Students has led progressive trends in Irish student thinking. Kinlay is to retire shortly and victory for an openly recruited membership and a full programme of events. It has received the moral support of the majority of undergraduate opinion in the college. We congratulate the Labour Party branch in U.C.D. for openly sponsoring the "bedding club" and in thus enabling it to function properly within the University. We once again ask all

** NORTHERN LETTER



● Armoured water cannon, seen at work in Derry, is the latest instrument of Unionist rule in the North.

THE people of Derry, and indeed, the people of the whole of the North, have been lifted off their knees, not by the politicians, nor by the political parties, but by the non-politically aligned Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. By their organising of the protest march at Dunganstown in August, and their long-to-be-remembered demonstration at Derry on October 5th they gave heart to a people who quite rightly felt that the politicians had let them down.

Housing Action

Except for a small militant group known as the Derry Housing Action Committee, the average man and woman in the Maiden City had lost faith in themselves. Discriminated against, and victimised in jobs, housing and voting rights by the Unionists, and ignored by the Nationalists, it appeared as if nothing short of a miracle could shake them from their apathy. Bill Craig, the Northern Minister of Home Affairs, provided that miracle. Not intentionally, but through his own stupid, bigoted attitude towards the minority in the North.

Queen's

In the Six Counties members of Queens University Republican Club have been active in support of the Civil Rights Movement. Club chairman, Brian Patterson, has addressed a number of meetings and it is only fitting that Republicans standing in the non-sectarian tradition should lend their support in ensuring equal treatment for all.

Cork and Galway

A determined effort is being made this term to launch the clubs in U.C.C. and U.C.G. on a more secure basis. Much interest has been expressed in Cork in the foundation of a club as the students there seek to relate the findings of the "Teach in" to a political philosophy.

Abernethy

And the excuse given was simply ludicrous; a bunch of Liverpool Apprentice Boys were due in Derry the same afternoon and there could, or would, be clashes between them and the Civil Rights marchers. When the Governor of the Apprentice Boys, a Dr. Abernethy, was questioned on television about the possibility of strife he denied having knowledge of the Liverpool Boys intended arrival, and in answer to a direct question said that he saw no reason for trouble.

I believe him to be honest in his replies, and in doing so he certainly put the Minister of Home Affairs on the spot. Craig had to think up some plausible excuse to prevent the Civil Rights march and the Apprentice Boys dodge was the best he had. The fact that in the resultant trouble in Derry not one stone was thrown by Catholic against Protestant, or vice versa, shows the liar that he was. In the disturbances of Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, it was the young people, who suffer most the frustration of unemployment and bad housing, versus the police. With the looting of shops it became a class struggle, the little riots against the haves. The reason for Craig's ban was twofold. First, the possibility of people of varying political and religious affiliations joining together in protest had to be eliminated; and secondly, there could be no violation of the sacredness (to Unionists) of Derry. To permit Catholics to march from the Waterside, over Craigavon Bridge and through the historical walls was like letting an infidel desecrate Mecca. He had to act.

English press

The English papers have hammered him, from the sensationalist "Sunday People" to the more serious "Times" and "Guardian." Special articles and editorials have been printed denouncing the Unionist regime. Harold Wilson at long last, has been forced to take some action: American

and Australian television have shown the brutal scenes in Derry; and on the Continent, French and German press have been among those to spotlight Derry.

In the North itself, trade unionists, political and non-political groups and parties have called for an inquiry into the affair. After years wasted in opposition to each other, there now seems to be some measure of unity among anti-Unionists. In Derry this is shown by the formation of an Action Committee comprised of left wingers, right wingers, business people, Communists and unemployed. The students at Queen's University, Belfast, with the active support of many of the staff, demonstrated in the streets. And Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien in a lecture in the University compared the Orangemen with the Africans.

Republican lesson

But what can we of the Republican Movement learn from these happenings. The obvious thing is to leave the Civil Rights people alone. Craig and Faulkner and O'Neill are trying to discredit them with allegations of Republican and/or Communist control. It won't stick, for although there are Republicans and Communists in its membership, the Association also claims allegiance from Labourites, Liberals, Democrats, non-political people, Protestants, Catholics and those of no particular religious persuasion. This is its strength.

For Republicans or any other group to attempt a takeover would bring about its downfall. It would lose the wide and popular support it now enjoys and would in time, become just another opposition party tied by its own limitations to a limited role. With the aid of Republicans and others who believe in democracy, it can show up Unionism for what it is. Craig and company realise the danger, and that is why they tried to baton it into submission in Derry, and when that failed, they are trying to frighten support away by accusations of militant Republicanism and Communism.

Another danger to the Civil Rights movement comes from the career politicians who want to jump on the bandwagon of every popular agitation.

The next twelve months will tell the story of the Civil Rights movement. Can it be gained through non-violence or through the use of stronger weapons.

Frank Hegarty.

THE DILEMMA OF SINN FEIN

Every politician in the 26 Counties has by now misrepresented the result of the Referendum on October 16th so as to suit his party's needs. This massacre, by a majority of almost a quarter of a million votes, has so upset the usually predictable political apocryph of the 26th Co. politics that all parties have to find a safe explanation for it. After all, a 70-30 vote against the Government in Dublin and a 60-40 vote in most areas outside Dublin indicates such a degree of instability that it frightens the opposition as much as the Government. If the people could do this to Fianna Fail, could they not do likewise to other parties?

Was it a purely constitutional decision without political implications, as Fianna Fail claim? Was it a vote of no confidence in Fianna Fail and a vote of confidence in themselves as Fine Gael and Labour claim? No one knows better than the politicians that these claims are false.

One should not overestimate this defeat of Fianna Fail, as Fine Gael in particular have done. When O'Higgins came within a fraction of defeating De Valera in the Presidential election of 1966, they chose to regard his large vote as a Fine Gael vote, and still speak of it in such terms. This self-deception works only on themselves. The vote was clearly a gang-up of votes of no confidence in Fianna Fail. Any other political nonentity could have amassed a similar vote. Yet they have continued the same pretence in regard to the Referendum vote.

The facts prove that they are fooling themselves. The Local Elections of 1967 saw them pushed into third place in Dublin by Labour. In the Limerick bye-election, the same happened. Finally, and again this is a fact that is in flat contradiction to claims made by Fine Gael, especially by Richie Ryan, the main brunt of the P.R. campaign in Dublin was not borne by Fine Gael, but by Labour. In the poster campaign Fine Gael were not even in the same league as the other two. Furthermore, and most important, they clearly hadn't the manpower beforehand to carry the main fight in Dublin; nor (on Polling day) to adequately man the election booths. In fact, they were almost completely absent in many areas.

In the dangerous matter of forecasting, is it not in fact

possible that not Fianna Fail but Fine Gael will in fact prove the long-term losers? Labour seem to be moving towards a position of great strength in the urban industrialised areas, but have as yet found nothing to offer to rural areas. Fine Gael, due to power organisation and a very weak ideological image, seem most likely to lose ground to F.F. in the rural areas.

The campaign indicated too that the machinery of politics has changed in important respects. Public meetings are a thing of the past. Door to door campaigning is a much less important weapon than it was ten years ago. Television is now the key factor and will undoubtedly become increasingly important in the future. This makes it very obvious why politicians have been trying every means, open and underground, to control political programmes on Television during the last few years. The efforts, partly successful, to restrict the freedom of the "7 Days" programme is but one effort at control which happened to come into the open.

An indication of the over-riding power of television in politics is the manner in which the Chubb/Thornley prediction (of nearly 100 seats for Fianna Fail, under the straight-vote/single seat system) remained in the public memory; subsequent efforts by the Government to counter the prediction only served to convince the public of its accuracy and to embed it still deeper in their minds. No amount of speech making, campaigning, writing or advertising could have sold this idea to the public as convincingly as that one short T.V. programme did. Politicians (on all sides) got the message — T.V. is dangerous; it gives the public ideas which do not originate in the political parties; it is difficult to control, it is unpredictable. In fact, it is everything that a politician dislikes.

And the old certainties of political life are slipping away fast; major shifts in the political structure have clearly been getting under way during the past few years, and are gathering momentum.

One must ask where Sinn Fein stand in this situation. The organisation has grown and developed in the past few years. Yet its impact is still marginal. The radical position which it has been carving out for itself will not be easily established in face of the growth of Labour, backed by the Trade Union Movement. This in fact is the core of Sinn Fein's present dilemma. It is not F.F. or F.G. which need worry Sinn Fein, but the fact that Labour has a ready-made broad base in the Trade Union Movement.

It is the lack of a corresponding base that is Sinn Fein's major problem. Two radical movements are not feasible in a small island. The relationship of Sinn Fein to the Trade Union Movement and also to the Labour Party is the hitherto unsolved problem for Sinn Fein. So far, it is not a problem for the Trade Union or Labour; they are big enough to use Sinn Fein and to ostracise them according as it suits them. Campaigns such as that on Housing are only of limited value if the political advantages are going to be picked up by Labour.

Change is under way, and this is the big message of the Referendum. It remains to be seen who can ride the changes and who will be swept away by them. It will be no time for the uncertain, the disorganised or the politically half-committed.

Sean Russell bore a name revered and admired by the I.R.A. and his ex-comrades of Fianna Fail alike, both as a patriot and as a fighter. A veteran of 1916 and the Tan War he had risen by 1921 to the rank of Director of Munitions, a position which he filled with great success. Working in close contact with him was Seamus O'Donovan, Director of Chemicals. Both took the Republican side in the Civil War and continued to function, for the most part in their old positions.

After the cease fire, Russell remained active in the leadership of the I.R.A. For him there was no compromise; his aim was a 32 County Republic and his means were force of arms. It was natural also that he should turn to explosives as his choice of weapons.

Physically Russell was of medium height, stockily built, with determined eyes and mouth and a stub nose. At this time his hair was white, thinning and brushed back. He was a non-drinker and very religious in a Catholic Calvinistic way and his judgment on any subordinate who stepped out of line was often harsh. This, in spite of the fact that he was not very amenable to discipline himself.

Letitia Fairfield, barrister at law and author of "The I.R.A., Coventry Explosion," writes in her book "Sean Russell's assets as a leader were not only his unique experience in the supply of munitions for an underground but his gift for inspiring men to astonishing sacrifice in the shape of austere and dangerous living."

Yet he could make amazing blunders. When Moss Twomey, having helped Russell to steer the I.R.A. safely through the first few months of its new departure, decided to retire, he was astonished to find that Russell intended to replace him with Stephen Hayes. Stephen was a one time member of the Westford Hurling Team, Secretary to the County Board and the County Council and a very popular person. He was also regarded by many of his I.R.A. comrades as a weak character and habitual drunkard. When Moss questioned Russell's decision he said, "Stephen promised to give up the drink."

Another disadvantage of Russell was his complete lack of interest in social revolution. For him the political freedom of the 32 Counties was enough. This caused grave disquiet among some of the other leaders and the rank and file, the lack of social content in the proposed declaration of war causing dissent even in the Army Council. It also caused at least one O.C. in England to resign.

Moss Twomey retired not only from H.Q. Staff but also from active membership for two reasons — failing health, and disagreement with the English Campaign. It is an error,

however, to regard any I.R.A. man who resigns or retires as out of the game, as the 26 County Government has often found to its cost. Most of those who resigned were soon giving practical support to the English Campaign, some like Con Leahane and Tomas Mac Curtain being actively engaged, and others like Moss Twomey supplying aid and advice whenever it was asked.

Russell's Q.M.G. was Larry Grogan, a tall quiet spoken man, with a ready smile and gentle manner. He muddled, however, concealed a resolute character and a highly intelligent mind. He was fully aware of the need for social as well as political revolution. Larry was O.C. of the Drogheda Battalion, and a member of the Army Council, a Meathman from Murrington at the mouth of the Boyne, he came of a family with an unrivalled record of service and unwavering loyalty to the Republic from Tan times on.

Russell now called in two old comrades who had long been inactive — Seamus O'Donovan and Paddy McGrath. As Director of Chemicals for the I.R.A. during the pre and post Treaty fighting O'Donovan had been considered so important and influential that the Free State Government had ranked him in 1923 as one of the 16 top leaders from whom they required individual signatures of surrender. Although he was by profession a chemist he was at this time working in an executive capacity in the E.S.P. offices in Merrion Square. He was about forty years of age, of slim build and sharp features. His right hand had three fingers missing as a result of an explosion during the Civil War. Paddy McGrath was also a veteran of 1916, the Tan War, and the Civil War. An English bullet was lodged in his chest, so close to his heart that it could not be extracted, and his left arm was useless as a result of a grenade burst during the Civil War.

O'Donovan and McGrath immediately set about drawing up instructions for the manufacture of explosive and incendiary bombs from readily available materials. Two camps were set up for the training of volunteers in techniques of sabotage, one behind a shop in Stephen's Green and another in Killiney Castle under Lanty Hannigan of Limerick and Jerry Cronin of Cork. Subsequently other camps were set up, the Chief of which was at Silver Springs Hotel on the Sugar Loaf in Co. Wicklow. There was no shortage of volunteers for the English Campaign, especially from Belfast, Cork and Dublin. Other Counties also sent a goodly quota. Among the first to volunteer in Offaly, was Peter Barnes of Banagher, who was hanged along with Jimmy McCormack of Mullamore for the accidental explosion of a bomb in Broadgate, Coventry, on August 25th, 1939.

The I.R.A. Story...

Russell as Chief- of-Staff



WHO OWNS IRELAND?

The central nervous system of capitalism in Ireland, as in all private enterprise economies, is the banking and finance apparatus. In Ireland, both north and south, finance and banking is subversive to the major banking areas of Europe and America.

Our FINANCIAL CORRESPONDENT follows up last month's article on Ireland's industries by tracing the main arteries of banking and finance in our economy. Another trail blazing article in the "WHO OWNS IRELAND?" series.

The real wealth of Ireland resides in the resources and skill of her people. The measure of that wealth is money. The control of the investment decisions, whereby resources are allocated and labour and skills organised is the basic directing force for economic development.

The function of the financial system is therefore of key importance to the understanding of the working of monopoly capitalism in Ireland. It may be regarded as the central nervous system of the organism which is sucking the wealth from the nation and manipulating the puppet government in the interests of property.

£ Financial System

The financial system consists of the insurance companies, financial houses and investment trusts of various kinds. In the October issue, where the ownership of industry was analysed, it was pointed out that there were groupings of firms some of which were more successful than others. This same type of grouping can be seen in the financial system: THE BANK OF IRELAND (assets £331 million) includes amongst its Governors a very representative selection of Irish and foreign monopoly capitalist interests of all sizes, while ALLIED IRISH BANK GROUP (A.I.B.), comprising the PROVINCIAL (assets £75 million), THE MUNSTER AND LEINSTER (assets £163 million) and THE ROYAL BANK (assets £38 million) on the whole appears to be under the control of the smaller and less successful Irish based firms.

£ 132 Directorships

The BANK OF IRELAND wholly owns the HIBERNIAN BANK, the NATIONAL BANK and FOSTER FINANCE (the hire purchase firm). It shares with the CHASE MANHATTAN BANK the ownership of the old NATIONAL CITY BANK, which was descended from the LAND BANK of the War of Independence period. The NATIONAL LAND BANK was founded by MICHAEL COLLINS, ROBERT BARTON and others, originally as an underground body for the purpose of channelling the finances of sympathisers towards giving loans to farmers wanting land. It was thus at first an Irish capitalists' directed at drawing the teeth of the agrarian struggle: a nice illustration of national radicalism combined with social conservatism.

This small effort at establishing an independent national bank was swallowed up in the thirties by the Ascendancy dominated BANK OF IRELAND and has now been further absorbed by CHASE MANHATTAN, giving the really big-time international financiers a toe-hold.

The twenty-one governors of the BANK OF IRELAND between them hold one hundred and thirty-two directorships—mostly of Irish based firms—between them. They exercise some control over most sections of Irish industry, including the Six Counties; they are also linked with imperial interests via the NATIONAL BANK takeover.

The NATIONAL BANK was founded in 1832 by DANIEL O'CONNELL and was in the period prior to its takeover the most strongly imperially connected of all the Irish banks, having ramifica-

tion into South Africa and the Middle East. It traded in the United Kingdom as the NATIONAL BANK OF ENGLAND AND WALES and had an equal number of Irish and British directors.

The directors chosen to represent the NATIONAL BANK interests on the board of the BANK OF IRELAND are W. A. ACTON, of LONDON S.W.1, (other interests—BANK OF LONDON AND SOUTH AMERICA, BANK OF LONDON AND WEST AFRICA, COMMERCIAL BANK OF SCOTLAND, etc.); QUINKE of DONNYBROOK (PATRIOTIC ASSURANCE COMPANY, PROPERTY LOAN and INVESTMENT COMPANY); R. LEWIS CROSBY (nine small firms); J. LEYDEN (CHAIRMAN of the NATIONAL BANK, NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CEMENT LTD., THE CENTRAL BANK, etc.).

£ Donal S. A. Carroll

The other BANK OF IRELAND governors include DONAL S. A. CARROLL (interests include numerous international monopoly tobacco and a number of Irish firms which includes UNITED DISTILLERS); JOHN RYAN (CENTRAL BANK, E.E.B., TULLAMORE DEW, etc.); R. IAN MORRISON (HIBERNIAN BANK, FOSTER FINANCE, etc.); H. F. CAMPBELL (McLAUGHLIN and HARVEY, Contractors, Belfast, INDUSTRIAL FINANCE COMPANY, NORTHERN IRELAND, LTD.); A. C. CRICHTON (JAMESONS UNITED DISTILLERS, etc.); J. H. GUINNESS (GUINNESS and MAHON, the CITY OF LONDON MERCHANT BANKERS, the financial end of the GUINNESS interests); H. W. KENNEDY (KENNEDYS, THE BAKERS, GOODBODYS, CARROLLS, DUBLIN PORT MILLING COMPANY, DUBLIN SILO COMPANY); F. CYRIL MARTIN (T. C. MARTINS); JAMES MEENAN (U.C.D. ECONOMICS PROFESSOR, interests include two small firms); J. J. DAVY (interests include thirteen small to medium firms, of which four are subsidiaries of foreign companies. The list includes the HAMMOND LANE FOUNDRY); J. F. DEMPSEY (AER LINGUS, BORD FAILTE, HIBERNIAN INSURANCE, HEINZ ERIN).

£ Allied Irish Banks

It is evident that the BANK OF IRELAND, while having links with imperialism, represents a financial power-centre in its own right. The Governors are not puppets manipulated from abroad but represent large-scale Irish property that has opted to link itself with English monopoly capital. It is noteworthy that in the NATIONAL BANK takeover the relative weight of the English interest in the latter appears to have been reduced.

Noteworthy also are the links with the State bodies, E.B. AER LINGUS, BORD FAILTE, the CENTRAL BANK. The latter is really a facade in that it has no banking function. It exists to convey the false impression that the State plays a positive role in the banking system.

The ALLIED IRISH BANKS GROUP is dominated by the MUNSTER AND LEINSTER GROUP. The thirteen directors of this group between them hold twenty directorships (other than their interests in the group itself of which the largest is SEAFIELD GENTEX,

DECLAN DWYER), SAMUEL F. THOMPSON, WILLIAM S. HARRINGTON and DAVID COYLE, are possibly the weightiest directors, apart from DWYER (HARRINGTON PAINTS, ARKLOW POTTERY, KILLEEN PAPER MILLS, PHILIP PEECE & COMPANY LTD, CORK CHEMICAL & DRUG COMPANY, etc.). Clearly this group is relatively minor when contrasted with the BANK OF IRELAND, even if the forty odd directorships, held outside the banks by the directors of the two smaller banks, are added in. They are mostly small fry, about twenty per cent of them are subsidiaries of foreign monopolies.

At the time of the bank mergers it was widely said in financial circles that the job was not completed simply because a banking monopoly would not 'look good'; it might suggest the need to nationalise. Thus clearly the ALLIED GROUP exists by courtesy of the BANK OF IRELAND GROUP in order to convey an impression of competition in a monopolised situation and avoid pressure to democratisise.

The insurance world is dominated by the English subsidiaries; the two Irish firms (IRISH LIFE, State owned, and the NEW IRELAND ASSURANCE COMPANY, privately) control between them a relatively small share of the market (possibly twenty per cent). The NEW IRELAND directors have between them about twenty-nine other interests, mainly small firms with a trend towards real estate.

£ New Ireland Analysed

The assets of the New Ireland in 1967 amounted to £28.6 million. It is instructive to examine the New Ireland directors' other interests in some detail, as they give some insight into the way in which the national capitalism of Griffith, Collins and de Valera has evolved.

The New Ireland Assurance Co. has a subsidiary, the Irish National Insurance Co. Liam O'Reilly and Patrick Campbell sit on the N.I.A.C. board and have their other interests confined to the Irish National.

Senator Eoin Ryan sits also on the board of Jefferson Smurfit, the paper and packaging people. L. S. O. Riordan is concerned only with the N.I.A.C. The more significant directors are F. J. Campbell, the late Martin McCullough and Pádraig O Nuallain.

F. J. Campbell lives in Foxrock and also directs the Brightside Engineering (Leixlip) Ltd., Clonmel Estates, Dinan Dowdell & Co., the builders' providers, the Housing Investment Trust

Ltd., Lillmar Pharmaceuticals, the National Credit Co., the O'Connell Building Trust Ltd., of which he is chairman, Thermal (Ireland) Ltd., Trim-proof Fabrics and the Torc Manufacturing Co. of Trim (carton, paper, etc.).

£ Pádraig Directs

Pádraig O Nuallain also directs the Dickens Leather Co., the Eblana Tanneries, Eblan Ltd., Forbarta Investments, the General Investment Trust, the Irish National Insurance Co., The Mercury Press, Products Finance, Setanta Investments Ltd., and the Three Candies Ltd. Martin McCullough directed the Irish National Insurance, Bolands, Grain Storage Ltd., McCullagh's Ltd., Palmerstown Investments Park Trust Ltd., and Weatex Ltd.

This firm is of considerable interest since it contains all the threads of Irish propertied nationalism, from the early days (McCullough) through the twenties (Senator Eoin Ryan of Fianna Fáil) and the thirties (the small firm) and the "Ireland, limited" firms in which Campbell is interested also possibly the productive interests of O Nuallain. The forties are represented in that Pádraig O Nuallain served his time in the Curragh and when he came out was in the leadership of Clann na Poblacht. Then there is finally the overlay of the fifties and sixties represented by the trend into real estate and city property development, culminating in the Setanta project which plans to replace the whole block just north-east of Leinster House by a shop-office flat complex, at a cost of some millions of pounds.

This is Irish Capitalism in microcosm. Despite the most idealistic motives the working of the inexorable economic laws of private enterprise force even well-intentioned people into organising the allocation of scarce resources in such a way that basically sound central city property is kneaded and repiped while working people go unheeded. The tragic thing is that within the present rules of the game this development is inevitable; otherwise the N.I.A.C. goes out of business. To change the rules, (by, for example, abolishing the Free Market in urban land) requires the exercise of state power under the control of a radical democratic government elected by the primary producers.

£ Essential Identity

This if anything illustrates the essential identity of Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil and Clann na Poblacht; the only difference is the decade in which their leadership comes to terms with the laws of private property as expressed in the single market which exists in Ireland and the United Kingdom.

Comparing the scale and assets of the operation of the N.I.A.C. with those of the Bank of Ireland it is evident that the Irish capitalists of Griffith and de Valera is very small fry indeed and that it has long since given up trying to swim against the tide of London-originated neo-colonialism.

To summarise, it is evident that many of the big national decisions are likely to originate in the BANK OF IRELAND board-room and that this body is, in essence, the executive committee of the ruling propertied class, of which the cabinet is a mere agent; thus works democracy when subverted by property.



Despite extreme provocation, they conducted themselves in a most admirable manner and were a credit to their superiors and to their country.

26 Co. Minister for Justice, Mr. O Morain, (Louthburgh, 15/10/68), praising the Garda for their obedience to orders during the Civil Rights protest march to the British Embassy last month.

COCKTAILS AT THE EMBASSY

"Why us?" was the reaction of dazed Gardai at the British Embassy as missiles showered at them from out the night sky. An exploded Molotov cocktail burned on the roadway lighting up the angry, threatening face of the mob.

Why indeed? Why did the Civil Rights march of last month to the British Embassy suddenly turn on the Gardai? Frustration at being prevented from approaching the Embassy en masse? Not really.

If the Gardai were amazed at the hostility shown by the marchers, the marchers were doubly amazed at the passiveness shown by the Gardai who hardly attempted to protect themselves.

Where were the Gardai who had showed such brutality to defenceless prisoners a few weeks earlier at the Shelbourne Hotel? Why was there no baton charge as at the homeless march to City Hall where much less provocation triggered off an attack?

The truth is that neither at the Shelbourne Hotel incidents or at the British Embassy did the Gardai do justice to themselves as keepers of the peace. On both occasions they were prevented from doing so by the orders of their superior officers.

The arrests at the Shelbourne R.A.F. celebration had been ordered by the Department of Justice before the picket had even been placed on the building. Blind obedience by Senior Garda Officers acting on such politically motivated instructions without reference to the Garda code of ethics communicated itself down the line. Inevitably, some of the Gardai involved in the arrests felt they were dealing with inferior human beings, drew their batons, and acted accordingly. They had the inflammatory language of the Minister for Justice, Mickey O Morain, to inspire their batons against the "political queers".

Public opinion was so outraged by the details of police brutality, however, that a police inquiry was ordered by the very people who had led the Gardai to acting the way they did.

A Referendum was in the offing and, presumably, the Gardai got their orders not to disgrace themselves again before polling day. Hence the scene at the British Embassy where the Gardai were confronted by the results of a year's political peace-keeping that had destroyed public respect for them as keepers of the peace.

By doing what the politicians wanted at Sarah Place, City Hall, and the Shelbourne Hotel, etc., the Garda have identified themselves to such an extent with the current political regime that it is becoming impossible for the citizen to credit the force with integrity and independence in carrying out its functions in society.

Who is to blame? The rank and file of the Gardai cannot be faulted for the image of the force in public life. The Constitution of the Force leaves the decision making with the top echelons; the Gardai merely enforce orders transmitted to them.

The Gardai are betrayed by their senior officers. Of late, police policy has too strongly

identified with the policies of a certain government and not with law enforcement as such.

Top brass attending the R.A.F. ceremonies in full military regalia did so in defiance of laws prohibiting the wearing of foreign uniforms without written permission. This breach of the law was ignored while a picket line, long a permitted custom respected by the law, was arrested and given the third degree for no reason. Political motivation is the only explanation—motivation similar to that which drove the R.U.C. in Derry and Mayor Daley's Irish police force in Chicago.

Iris an Gharda, a powerful influence in moulding rank and file attitudes, has enthusiastically exposed political causes near to the heart of Government Ministers. Demonstrations, if we are to believe a recent editorial of the Iris, are almost entirely due to "red infiltration." The same editorial justified the police action on the T.C.D. campus at the time of the Belgian Royal visit on the grounds it prevented students "engaging in outrageous antics calculated to embarrass this country and damage as much as possible our relations with Belgium." Continuing, the hysterical editorial stated: "One of the consequences of such antics might have been damaging of our relations with E.E.C. countries..."

Any Garda accepting the message of the Iris would have to shoulder current foreign policies as a part of his duty and relate it to his other duty of maintaining the Law. This is what superior Garda officers from the Commissioner down are doing—trying to serve two masters—Fianna Fail and the Law—a manifestly impossible task. Contradictions such as these at the policy-making level militates against proper attitudes in the Force and public co-operation and leads to scenes such as took place at the British Embassy during the Civil Rights march. As Claud Cockburn commented in the "Irish Times": "If you can excite the police to believe that evil men are about to attack them with abominable savagery, you have a situation in which savagery may occur."

Government orientated thinking in the Force

is clearly revealed in the Garda voting during the recent Referendum on the 26 Co. Constitution. The public as a whole voted 60/40 against the Fianna Fail proposals. The Garda, on the other hand, voted 2/1 in favour! As in the question of public co-operation with the Garda, the question must be asked—who is out of step, the public or the Garda? This revealing difference can only be explained by the attitudes imposed on the Garda by their superior officers.

What is the solution? The voting on the Referendum shows that there are independent thinkers among the Gardai. Conceivably also, some of those who voted yes could have done so from conviction. This section is the hope of the Garda. It is no use attempting reform at the top. Old dogs don't learn too easily.

The Gardai have many grievances; pay and conditions would come prior to abuse of their office for political reasons. However, at the dawn of industrial democracy, the rank and file can make certain demands if they are so minded.

One demand should be that they are represented at policy-making levels. A Representative with a mandate to demand a complete re-definition of the Garda role and the enforcing of standards of professional integrity could do much to counter the present sewer arrangements with the Department of Justice. A complete severance with the ubiquitous Special Branch would help remove the taint of politics. A P.R.O. to issue statements explaining certain Garda actions would remove public misunderstanding and abate occasions of hostility. A crackdown on the minority whose acts of brutality blacken the image of the Force would help. Above all, what is needed is a code of ethics and standards of professional conduct lived up to by each individual Garda and known to and respected by the community at large.



Section of the attendance at the Civil Rights meeting in Dublin last month.

DEFIANT DERRY

TENS of millions of people saw the Royal Ulster Constabulary in action in the intimacy of their parlours and dining rooms on the night of October 5th, 1968. The television set can be abused, but its potential for teaching lessons more vividly than countless books or exhortations was clearly shown by the events of Derry. This was even acknowledged by Harold Wilson when he pointed out in the House of Commons that a more accurate picture of community relations in the North was conveyed to the English public by T.V. than by the Unionist M.P.s at Westminster.

At last the Derry situation, and the Civil Rights situation generally in the North has become a fireside topic throughout Britain and Ireland. We in the South were reminded of what happens in the North of our country, about which we care generally so little. The people of Britain learned what happens in that part of the United Kingdom known as Northern Ireland, even though their Government at Westminster says it has transferred all relevant responsibility to the Government in Stormont.

The police who charged the civil rights march at the behest of William Craig were mostly imported to Derry City from outside. A riot squad of tough committed Orangemen, they tore into that peacefully demonstrating crowd with relish. Many of them wore no numbers on their tunics, clear evidence of premeditation. The batons flailed on heads and shoulders, jabbed upwards from below at groin and kidneys, all for no good reason, not rational justification. The irrational justification, of course, was that William Craig and his Unionist henchmen had decided to teach these Civil Rights marchers a lesson, to baton them into submission before the Civil Rights movement could get a stronger hold in Ulster.

In the event, the batons and the water-cannons have helped Craig's enemies far more than they have helped Craig. As he appeared on television to justify his minions' work, with twitching lips denying any violence had taken place, seconds after we all had seen it with our own very eyes, the world got a glimpse of the real face of Unionism. It has come as a revelation to many.

Things will never again be the same in Ulster. Significant sections of the Protestant people, and particularly the young and the students, are calling for some justice and democracy for the Catholics of the North. The student

march from Queen's to the City Hall, with many hundreds of Protestant students taking part, so alarmed Captain O'Neill that he sent his top civil servants down to the Student Union to receive the young people's demands for civil rights. An unprecedented action of a Government badly rattled.

An event like this throws new light on everybody and shows up the real from the unreal. The spurious liberalism of O'Neill is shown to be merely a varnish on the true blue Unionism of a man like Craig. Did not the Captain after all fully back up his Minister and stand over the actions of the police?

Jack Lynch down south said it was all due to bad community relations, implying that this was something as natural as daylight, which time and taking tea with the Captain would set right. When protests from the public showed that this was not enough he went so far as to say that the root cause of it all was Partition. Partition, mind you, a word it has been very bad form to refer to in Dublin Government circles for some time now. Pained comments from Jack Lynch's opposite numbers in Stormont greeted this unfortunate reminder. It was a spanner in North-South relations, said the Unionists, to start talking again about Partition. It is probable that Jack Lynch thought so too, for how can he go ahead integrating the Twenty Six Counties closer and closer with the U.K. when the U.K. Government allows what is happening in the North? So the less said about the North the better Jack and Flanna Fail (The Republican Party) likes it.

Eddie MacAteer too was in a dither, not knowing whether he should support the civil rights movement or stand aloof from it. He came down to Jack Lynch for instructions and then said he thought it should all be settled between Irishmen, good Irishmen such as Jack Lynch and the Captain, and he thought this demand for Harold Wilson to intervene was very unseemly.

The demand for Harold Wilson and the British Government to intervene is of course the real nub of the question. There is no doubt they have the power to intervene — they garrison the area, don't they, and they provide the annual subsidy to keep it going. They also have

the legal right, for the Government of Ireland Act 1920 makes clear the sovereignty and total responsibility of the British Parliament for the Six Counties. They haven't got the will, of course, for the present arrangement whereby Britain keeps the North within the United Kingdom while the local Unionists do all the dirty work and incur the odium of repression suits Britain down to the ground.

If enough pressure is put upon the British Government, however, they may be forced to intervene, and the Government of Ireland Act, which established the Unionists in power, may be turned into a weapon against them. For such intervention is what O'Neill and his men fear above all else. Yet such intervention is what numerous and powerful voices are now demanding — not only in the North but in Britain itself.

Jack Lynch and Flanna Fail can demand that too. He did not raise a word of protest to Captain O'Neill over the Derry brutalities. One can hardly imagine even De Valera in his day being similarly silent.

Yet Jack Lynch and his Government are in a very good position to protest and kick up hell with the British Government — if they are forced to do so. Jack Lynch and Flanna Fail can raise the whole Northern question and the issue of civil rights in Derry and elsewhere in the United Nations — if they are forced to do so. They can raise it in several important international bodies and make international publicity so bad and embarrassing for Britain that she has to intervene — if they are forced to do so.

To force these policies on the Dublin Government, to demand more than verbal gestures of support for our fellow countrymen in Ulster, is the policy which all Republicans and patriotic Irishmen in the Twenty Six Counties should urge in the period ahead. This can be done at meetings of solidarity and support for the Civil Rights cause. It can be done through resolutions at public bodies and local authorities. It can be done and it must be done, in a campaign of solidarity and support for the Civil Rights movement that should be fostered through the length and breadth of Ireland in the year of many opportunities opening up ahead.





POACHERS' GUIDE

● THE POACHERS' GUIDE TO RIVERS AND LAKES will return to the UNITED IRISHMAN during the next open season for fishing. Readers interested in the national use of Ireland's freshwater should continue, in season and out, to demand public ownership and operation of nature's gift to the whole Irish people.

THE results of the fishery inquiries at Carna and Lettir Fraic into the Victorian law prohibiting drift-net fishing in the Galway fishery area have not yet been published. Whatever the result, the inquiries showed the net fishermen of Connemara who their friends were. Two State Bodies, Bord Fáilte Éireann and the E.S.B. came down solidly in favour of the owners.

Mr. Davin of Bord Fáilte would prefer the fishermen to desert his net and act as guides to the tourist. Mr. Davin said he believed that fish taken by rod and line were worth ten times those caught commercially. He thought permission for drifting should be withdrawn along the Donegal and Mayo coast. Mr. Davin was paid by Bord Fáilte to exalt the golden calf of tourism at the expense of the people of Connemara.

Mr. John Williams, Manager of the E.S.B. Shannon Fishery, came north to compound the front against the fishermen. He acted the false friend saying that if there was any increased exploitation of salmon by drifting, it would be at the expense of people south of Galway, from Limerick down to Cork and Kerry. There was a danger of reducing the livelihood of the small fishermen in these areas. Any persons intending to spend money on conservation and development work in the rivers, would "think twice about it."

Lord Islyn Davis, owner of the Scrib Fishery, Herbert Potez Buckley, owner of the Spiddal river; Mr. Donal O'Neill-Flanagan, owner of the Crumlin fishery, and two of the Guinness executive also gave evidence for the owners.

An tAth. Tadhg O Morain, giving evidence for the fishermen, would not blame the present Government for emigration. The Mayor of Galway, Robert Molloy, Planna Fáil, also there for the fishermen, might not have liked it.

Eagras na Gaeltachta prefaced their remarks by saying they did not come there to attack anybody.

The best submission on the fishermen's side was made by a man who had come there to attack the vested interests and lackeys who had lined up against the fishermen. All the way from Howth came Seamas Mac Riocard, representing the Comhar Iascairi Éireann Co.-op., to state the issue in its sharpest terms. Seamas' statement, given below, brings the Poachers' Guide, 1968, to an end where it began in February—in Connemara. It sums up, in the language of Connemara and Ireland, the case of the people versus the profits of private fisheries—the only issue at stake.

"Se a bhfuil de shuin agam-sa a ra faoi'n fhiosrachain go bhfuilim i labhairt anseo chun cheann Chomhar Iascairi Éireann anseo chomhar Iascairi a suite i mBinn Éadair, 200 míle on at seo. Thagaim me chun dille le muintir Chonamara le seandhlíthe Sasanacha a chur ar neamh; dille a cuireadh i bhfeidhm aimsir Bhanríon Victoria.

"Ba mhor an t-ionadh dhom a fhail amach cuig bhliain deireadh ag me shéidheimu mar Stiúrthoir ar Chomhlachas go raibh a leithéid de dhí i bhfeidhm in Éirinn. Ní dhearna Comhlachas na linne ud faic leis a leithéid amach ag me leatrom seo a leigheas ach chuir me fein romham na leigheas go bhfeidhm an la go mbeadh deir leas an leatrom seo agus sin an fath go bhfuilim anseo i gCarna inniu d'fhonn deire a chur le claoindhlíthe Sasanacha.

"Ni ga dhom tagairt a dheanamh do cuid mhór a duradh anseo inniu. Is ionnda dhúine anseo a leirigh go cruinn an leathcheal ta deanta le breis agus ceud bliain ach níor dhúirt an dhúine a ndeachaigh romham leathcheal a uair an uir go bhfuilim anseo. Shanas a bheith beo beathuile mar neasc go fóill. Ta eagras amháin i.e. Eagras na Gaeltachta anseo inniu a ra nar thanadar anseo le dhúine ar bith a ionsaí. Is atíom a ra gceannas na bhfiosrachain a ra ionad i gConnamara le fada de bhílianta. Fear na eagras ar bith ata in ainm is bheith a labhairt ar son na ndaoine, ní ceart do a ra nar thainig se chun ionsaithe.

"Níl in aghaidh Eagras na Gaeltachta ach is coart doibh an raiteachas seo an ionsaithe a shoilleirí. Ta suil agiom cur ndeanfaid siad amhlaidh. Is ail liom cur in iúl don chruinnu seo go bhfuil iascairi na hÉireann chomh nasctha le cheile na cuanta agus se 'n fath go bhfuilim anseo le cur in iúl doibh siad go mbeainnean seo leo; go bhfuil suil iascairi Éireann dírithe ar Charra inniu agus i gcas nach mbeidh cithorm na feinne le fail on bhfiosrachain seo aca go gcaithfidh iascairi uile Éireann coirúithe catha i ndairíre a chur orthu fein amháin N.F.A. na bhfeilmearaí. I deantana a cheile is fear sin. Agus mar sin a bheas se na la seo amach.

"Ni bheadh se coir agus eiriochnu gan focal motta a thabhairt do Chumann Athghabhála na nUisce Naisiunta, dream a bhi i dtús cadhnaithe aca a dtarla i gConnamara le suim muintir na hÉireann a mbuiscat sa bhfiosrachain seo".

book reviews

CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY: PATRIOT AND STATESMAN. León O Broin (Dublin, Jas. Duffy & Co.) pp. 160, 20s.

The immortality of Tone, Emmet, Davis, Parnell and Pearse was ensured by their dying in their prime. Perhaps this is why the public has largely forgotten Sir Charles Gavan Duffy who, with Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon, founded The Nation in 1842 and led the Young Ireland movement in the eighteen-forties, afterwards living on to 1903 thereby surviving not only his own generation but the next one too.

Duffy was remarkable also in that, out of sheer disgust for certain figures, he withdrew from the Irish political scene no fewer than forty-eight years before his death, voluntarily going to Australia in 1886 where he made a new political career in the State of Victoria, rising eventually to become premier and finally speaker in the state assembly.

The last twenty years of Duffy's long life were spent mainly in the south of France where he completed his prodigious reminiscences which are still a useful source of Irish political history for the middle of the last century. Once or twice he did contribute ideas to the home-rule debate but as a non-party man, revered as an elder statesman.

León O Broin's short biography is intended not as an academic study in depth (though it contains original material) but as a tribute to this Young Irelander on the 150th anniversary of his birth.

C. J. WOODS.

IRISH FOLK WAYS by E.E. Evans. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 16/-.

Dr. Evans is a Welshman, Professor of Geography at Queen's University, Belfast. His book is already well known — this is its fourth impression and now appearing in paperback (hardcover 40/-) it is sure to sell more widely, as indeed it deserves to.

His range is wide, ranging from social customs at weddings, wakes and festivals, through the morphology of house and furniture types to the tools and artifacts of the people, based in the main on the land.

A Dutch designer, who worked for a time at the Kilkenny Design Centre, once pointed out to me how efficient and pleasing to

the eye were so many of the traditional implements we are so accustomed to seeing. She indicated that we would be well advised to look more to our own past for lessons in design than to the modern international conventions. That there is much truth in her observations will be borne out by a study of Professor Evans' well illustrated book.

P. O. S.

AMERICA AND EAST ASIA: A NEW 30 YEARS WAR? by Richard Harris. The Times, 3/6.

Richard Harris is the Far Eastern Specialist of the London Times. There is no doubt but that this pamphlet is a significant contribution to our understanding of Vietnam and the war there. He adds a new dimension to discussion. He sees the war not so much as a nationalist rising or in a Marxist context but as a clash of civilisations.

His brief analysis of history shows him the existence of a separate East Asian civilisation and shows how erroneous the concepts of Asia and South East Asia can be. The East Asian civilisation, which until recently escaped being colonised in a major way by European forces, consists of the cultural entity of China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. In southern Vietnam the influence and extent of Catholicism is seen by him as a factor modifying some general conclusions about East Asia. Japan nowadays falls outside the pattern of an old doctrine of the state and society being refurbished and in many ways replaced by Communism. Mr. Harris comments "But in taking this step of renewal, there was no change in the old habits. Communism in China, Korea and Vietnam carries on the old sense of self-righteousness while reforming the doctrine into forms adapted to national needs."

He finds a parallel in the U.S.A. where "it has assumed that those who did not share its enlightenment were unfortunate, that those

who came to live within its society must be instructed in the doctrine and live by its rules, and that those who questioned the doctrine were evil or misguided."

The present war he sees as an almost inevitable clash between these two civilisations. He cannot foresee success for the American on this ground. This is a really useful and thought provoking pamphlet.

P.P.

"GOD IS NO MORE." Werner & Lotte Pelz. Pelican at 4/-.

"God is no more because he has become an idea—a mere word; and this has confined him within neat and tidy systems. He is found at the end of an argument; his nature is formally stated; he is conventionalised, made familiar and respectable—and so he dies."—Canon Carpenter in his foreword to this book.

The authors reject the traditional concept of God as "an idol, an idea, an ideology," something that justifies our desire to justify ourselves before it. "He will usually find it convenient to bestow upon that something the name of whatever god there happens to be. Once upon a time that name was Yahweh, and it was in that name that Jesus was crucified. Later on the name was Jesus, and in that name the heretics were burned, the various pharisaical wars were blessed, the various 'unbelievers' are stigmatised. The pharisaical god is always 'our god,' my god, who is called upon to defend 'our' way of life, 'our' country, 'our' heritage, 'our' church, because it is taken for granted that fundamentally he has justified us in our ways: the pharisaical god is a useless dogma with that of the Pharisees towards the 'Law'; the dead letter of the law becomes in practice more important than its spirit.

Their philosophy is not easy to classify; indeed to do so would be a contradiction of the basis of their

philosophy; for they see systematisation as the enemy of life. It is a kind of humanism, an existentialism, based on the belief that in the words and life of Jesus is the way to a full and free life for ourselves; and they clearly indicate that Christianity and the lives of professing Christians have in practice usually run counter to the life of Jesus — whom we nevertheless use as a justification for our unchristian-like actions!

The author's concern with living life is reflected again in a fine chapter on marriage, indicating how our concern with an impossible security kills our desire for life; "most of us have more than we need and do more than is good for us. We are so much encumbered by many things that we have no time for that 'good part', the living of our lives."

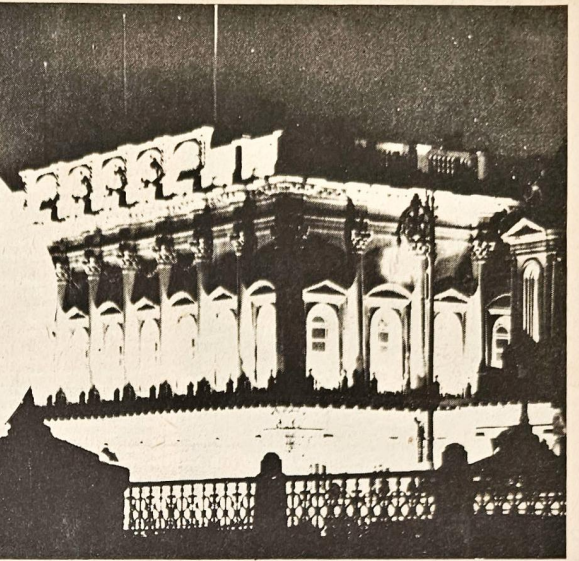
The book as a whole is an invitation to revolution. And the revolution (as Chairman Mao requires) must be endless, since each effort of revolution will fossilise and systematise itself if given the chance. This book, and the life of Jesus on which it draws, sees life as being full of living; sees a living life as something spontaneous, uncertain, imaginative, creative, full of initiative and fresh beginnings, unconventional, unfossilised, uninstitutionalised—the very reverse of our "Christian" part of the world, devoted in fact if not in theory to fossilised materialism.

The book (first published as a hard back five years ago) will not please many orthodox Christians, if they feel that their orthodoxy is more important than their Christianity. Though there are many points with which one may differ, and though one would wish to see a fuller development of some of its sections, yet it is an exciting book on a religious subject; though it is exciting precisely because it does seek to contain life within abstract, preconceived and often highly unreasonable limits. Whatever the orthodox may say, there is probably more of Jesus Christ in this book than in a thousand learned scholarly works. It is to be recommended to all that they might be disturbed and excited and driven to think; that they might revalue their own lives and ideas in the light of this disturbance and excitement and thinking.

F.O.R.



THE BEGINNING OF THE END? CIE



● Sean Heuston Station

Shortly after the September issue of the United Irishman appeared, containing the article in Railways in the Dublin area, C.I.E. held a Press conference to announce a programme of development for the Dublin suburban railways. Under this programme, which has already begun, the Northern and South-Eastern lines in Dublin will get extra trains and improved station facilities. The stations at Howth and Lansdowne Road will be completely re-built and a new station will be built at Kilbarrack, near Raheny, to serve a new housing estate there.

A publicity campaign will be launched with the object of persuading motorists to leave their cars at home and travel to and from work by train. Unfortunately the programme makes no mention of providing services on the line from Ballyfermot to North Wall. It appears that C.I.E. are not yet ready to contemplate any extension of suburban rail services to the western areas of Dublin. This is a matter in which Tenants' Associations in these areas could interest themselves.

Increased fares

Because of increasing traffic congestion in the City, the operating costs of the bus services will continue to rise and, of course, this will lead to further increases in bus fares, a source of many complaints from Tenants' Organisations to C.I.E. Cheaper, safer transport could be provided by rail for the areas mentioned.

However, strong opposition exists in the person of Mr. Higgins, manager of Dublin City Services of C.I.E., who earlier this year declared that C.I.E. were committed to the double-decker bus for the provision of public transport in Dublin. This is in complete contrast to the world trend towards suburban railways as outlined in the previous article (Sept. issue).

Operating loss . . . £2,185,337

"All of the services provided by C.I.E., with one main exception, were profitable". "The only exception (apart from the minor activities of maintaining a canal system, which is not used commercially, and operating a ship to the Aran Islands which is entirely social in character) is the Railway which, in common with all other European Railways, incurred a loss." Thus states the C.I.E. annual report for 1967/68. It goes on to say that the Board had intended to raise charges in 1967 but deferred doing so until January, 1968, at the request of the Government. "The result for the year would have been better by an estimated £900,000 had the increases in charges been introduced as planned," it states.

Raising charges is all very well but there comes a time when charges are so high that traffic begins to disappear. This has been happening to C.I.E.'s rail services. But when fares are reduced, as at certain week-

ends, more people use the trains. A new feature introduced recently, the "15/-" Saturday excursion to Belfast, attracts large numbers of travellers. If this "cheap fares" policy extended to more rail services, including Dublin suburban, a dramatic increase in traffic could, no doubt, be achieved.

Where has all the money gone

The possibilities of developing an important industry at the Railway Engineering Works at Inchicore were referred to in the previous article, but the staggering wastage of materials and planning dept. inefficiency which holds away there at present may destroy any chance of this. In the foundry, for instance, a sandplant complete with extractor was purchased in England despite the fact that the existing sandplant was working satisfactorily. The new extractor plant was never used and was consigned to the scrap-heap. Since the introduction of this sandplant and "work study" methods the quality of the work produced has greatly deteriorated and the number of rejects has increased beyond the bounds of reason, due to the fact that men are human and this "stop-watch" mentality adopted by the management does away with the pride and craftsmanship of the workers, who, before the introduction of suspect plant and "stop-watch" production turned out first rate work. The foundry now faces closure and consequent unemployment. The Component Shop was renovated, the walls plastered and the floors tiled. The plastering of the walls had to be repeated because the first plastering was done on plain lime washed walls. The Sawmill was renovated, and new machinery purchased. The floor in this dept. was resurfaced. Dry filling for the new floor consisted of all the sawmill machinery (in working order) including power-saws and welding machinery, knocked into the ground. An office safe was thrown in for good measure and in that same week £80 was paid for a new safe for Dry station. Also when Hammond Lane called looking for scrap they were told that none was available. The grand plans for coach building also seem to have gone astray. Diesel 2 shop was to turn out one railcar every six weeks according to the planners but the actual output is one coach every six months. The Carriage shop was to build 14 Craven coaches a year but the output so far has been 15 coaches in 4 years. A visiting group from British Railways who came to view C.I.E.'s planning office were heard to remark that B.R. could not afford the expense in money or mistakes which have been produced by C.I.E. planners having a free hand.

Mistakes paid for

Of course, the mistakes can be paid for out of the non-repayable grant of £2,000,000 which C.I.E. receives each year from the tax-payers pocket. There is no doubt that with proper management appointed on merit and not on political affiliation this works can become self sufficient and an asset to the country.

BEARDING THE BURSAR

"I am a landlord in Ireland and I don't mind what you Irish do in Ireland as long as you are good to landlords." Why don't you stay in Ireland and work to pay your rent and not waste the money coming over here to picket?" "Who is Rachmann?" "Proby is a beast!" The above are some of the remarks made by the students of Eton College, Windsor, to the ten strong picket line parading outside protesting about the activities in Dublin, Ireland, of the Scholar Landlord who is Bursar of their college. Mr. Proby's sins had come to roost on his doorstep.

"He's Bursar in Eton—Bogeyman in Dublin!" "Does Her Majesty know?" "Rachmannism in London—Probyism in

Dublin!" "Give me back my £3,000" and a variety of other slogans moved up and down agitating the autumn leaves outside the college gates. Leaflets distributed by the picket were snatched up enthusiastically by the students coming out after class.

Leaflets

The leaflet explained the purpose of the picket. Mr. Peter Proby is a major ground rent landlord in Dublin who exploited his tenants by using a flaw in the ground rent Acts. Because of this, one of the people on the picket, Mr. Boland, 5 Ballygibbin Ave., Sandycove, was forced to pay £3,000 for the freehold of a house space which should have cost him less than £250.

Another member of the picket, Mr. V. Pentony, was forced to agree to pay £1,800 by next Christmas or face eviction.

An agitation conducted by the 300 strong Proby Estate Ground Rent Tenants' Association caused an Irish Government Commission to urge that the law be amended in favour of the tenants. Excluded from benefit, however, were those tenants forced to settle under threat of eviction before the Commission sat. Proby had refused to reimburse these tenants despite the proof of his moral guilt provided by the Commission.

Approaches by the Association for block negotiation of all outstanding claims have been rebuffed by the Bursar, the modern Shylock of the age.

Challenge

The leaflet expressed the hope that the Bursar's employer, the Queen of England, might succeed with Mr. Proby where the Irish Minister for Justice failed. Mr. Proby did not show his face throughout the evening. A challenge by the picketers to Mr. Proby to debate his actions before the "Pop" (Popular Debating Society) at Eton has not yet been replied to by that worthy. The picketers promised that in the event of Mr. Proby agreeing to the debate a representative would be flown out at their expense to put the tenant's case.

● Mr. Boland, Sandycove, Dublin, explaining the Bursar's exploits there to Eton students.

The Billy Bunter type character, second from left, said he was a landlord in Ireland but refused to give his name.





● Fr. Michael Sweetman, S.J., addressing a "teach-in" on housing at U.C.D. At right is Seamas Rattigan of the Dublin Citizens Advice Bureau.

Clerics tackle housing

SELL CHURCH LAND!

"Church property should be sold for building sites to relieve the housing problem in Dublin", urges the Rev. Michael Sweetman S.J. "It is not Dublin Corporation that is under fire in the housing problem", he said, speaking at the Institute of Adult Education, "but society generally".

Speaking at a meeting in Kildare last month the Bishop of Ossory, Most Rev. P. Birch echoed Father Sweetman's words: "We must ensure that never again in the history of this country will be tolerated the terraces of red brick houses with drab exteriors and gardens which have been so characteristic of the lower income group".

Little sign of effort

Members of the Protestant churches have supported their opposite numbers. Canon R. J. Kerr, rector of St. Georges and St. Thomas, speaking at the Church of Ireland Synod last month said: "although we could have a national organised effort for the Referendum, there was little sign of a national effort to end the housing shortage in Dublin". Canon Kerr defended what he

termed "our Roman Catholic clerical brethren", whom he said were "attacked by Ministers in the Dail, who did not seem to be aware of the fact that the Christian faith was concerned with the bodies of men as well as their souls".

Father Sweetman said that the time had come to review Church property with a view to selling strips of land at reduced prices for building houses which would be sold at low prices. "It is now no longer

necessary for the religious to have parks at their disposal for their own use unless they are dealing specifically with handicapped children", he said. Father Sweetman outlined five points where he felt the housing situation was in need of reorganisation; (1) the high cost of houses and sites, inflated by speculation and profiteering; (2) the appalling state of substandard accommodation; (3) exorbitant rents in some flats; (4) the destruction of perfectly

sound houses; (5) a neglect of human element in planning.

A spokesman for the Dublin Housing Action Committee commented: "Father Sweetman has supported our previous campaigns and has spoken from our platforms. It is not coincidental, therefore, that his plan bears close resemblance to our own demands and to our own ten point plan circulated to all the Dublin Councillors. We endorse his remarks entirely".

BOYCOTT THE DERRY PARASITES—REALITY

"Boycott the parasites" demands a leaflet distributed by the Derry homeless in a novel campaign begun last month by the Derry Housing Action Committee. 5,000 copies of a document (Reality) indicting the system which thrives on exploiting Derry's ill-housed poorer citizens and two landlords in particular, Major Gerald Glover (Unionist and Protestant) and Mr. Marcus Toland (Catholic) were distributed.

The leaflet challenges the two gentlemen named to initiate libel proceedings. "We would welcome the opportunity to have these cases exposed in the glare of court publicity", states the leaflet. Reality continues "what we are stressing is not a religious thing at all; it is a case of one class living off another. The continued ascendancy of that class depends on their success in fooling working people into thinking that it's all a matter of Catholic versus Protestant".

The leaflet explains that the root cause of the complaint against the two landlords is an immoral use of capital: "the landlords invest in slum houses, which, because of their dilapidated

condition, can be purchased relatively cheaply; then they pack families into them, charge exorbitant rates and sit back to receive a good steady income". The leaflet points out that if there were no homeless there would be no market for slum-flats and states that both Major Glover and Mr. Toland have a vested interest in preventing the building of houses by Derry Corporation.

Major Glover is well-known in Derry as one of that city's Unionist hierarchy and is perhaps the chief object for criticism. Mr. Toland, on the other hand, has not, as far as it is known, a great deal of influence over the Corporation and is attacked by the leaflet as "just one of the many who have taken vicious advantage of the situation".

Major Glover owns property all over Derry and operates through "Ballentines Ltd.". Amongst his "prize possessions" are houses in St. James St., South End Pk., Deane St., and Baronet St. Ballentines Ltd. owns No. 2 West End Park. This property is divided into five flats, the

tenants paying a total of £16 10/- per week.

Mr. Toland of Windy Ridge, Maybrook, bought No. 40 Foyles Road a few years ago for about £200. (It was even at that time structurally unsound). There were eight families living in the house until July of this year, when the sanitary authorities declared one of the flats "unfit for habitation"; the seven remaining families pay a total of £20 10/- per week in rents.

Reality concludes: "by picking on two landlords, one a Catholic, and one a Protestant we show that the problem is one of class and not of creed. These men are interested not in the religion of their tenants but in rent; granted there are more Protestant landlords than Catholic landlords in Derry but to deduce from this — as the Nationalists seem to — that our situation is simply one in which the Protestants are exploiting the Catholics, is entirely wrong. The vast majority of Protestants in Derry are ordinary working people who will never in their lives have the means or the opportunity of exploiting anyone".

Real life drama in Rural Ireland

ET TU, BRUTE ?

Dramatis personae

John Egan — The defendant, a poacher.
Christy Bradley — A neighbour and Under-Bailiff.

John Mitchell — Head Bailiff.
Justice Barry — A Judge. Act one scene one; Sligo courtroom; time the present.



Garda E. J. Carmondy, Union Quay Station, Cork and a native of Moyane, Co. Kerry, has resigned after six years in the force to take a post in Ian Smith's Rhodesia.

CURTAIN RISES

Justice: I have no sympathy in the wide world for poachers. If these fellows want to fish, they will have to fish properly like everybody else.

Head Bailiff: Your Honour, Sir, I concealed myself in company with Christy Bradley in bushes near Drumcliffe bridge where we had a clear view of the favourite resting place for salmon. At about 9.30 p.m. the defendant approached the pool where the salmon were lying and threw something from his rod into the pool.

Justice: Then what did the defendant do?

Head Bailiff: He gave the rod a big chuck and there was a fish splashing in the water — (pause)

Justice: Carry on.

Head Bailiff: I then approached the defendant and said "good man John, you got him".

Justice: What happened next?

Head Bailiff: Egan threw the fish back into the water and said: "Now where is your proof . . . get it".

Justice: And then?

Head Bailiff: Well, your Honour, Sir, I told him I had another man with me, Bradley, his neighbour, who witnessed what happened. Egan spoke to Bradley and said: "Will you prove that against me Christy?" Bradley told him that he would have no option.

Justice: Well Mr. Bradley? Under Bailiff: I can vouch for that, your Honour.

Justice: Fisheries are so important for tourism at the present time and tourism is so important in the life of the country that illegal fishing will have to be put down ruthlessly. I fine the defendant £26 and £5 5/- and bind him over to keep the peace for the next twelve months.

CURTAIN FALLS

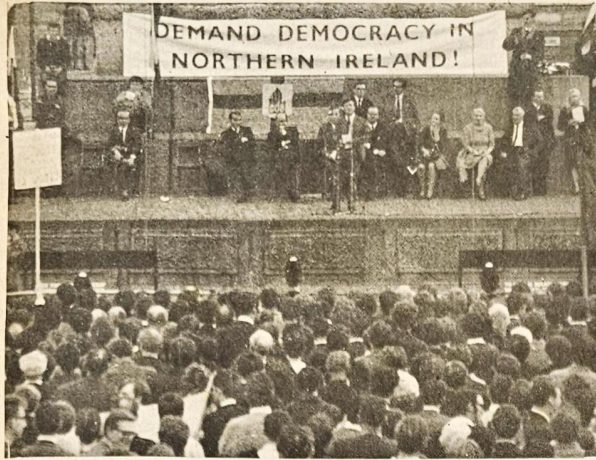
Review by our Drama Critic.

It all happened on Friday, Sept. 13, at the Sligo District Court. Neighbour is turned against neighbour and Christy Bradley portrays the type of character so well captured in Boucicault's Harvey Duff. Was Justice Barry thinking of the

stretch of river owned by his colleague, Justice Barry O'Brien, on the Owenduff river when passing sentence? The Drumcliffe river right are owned by absentee landlords, G. E. Williams and Syndicate, with an address in Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim. Will these two neighbours ever speak to each other again?



● Civil Rights marchers in Derry demonstrating against conditions outlined in the report above were ruthlessly attacked by Craig's Orange Riot Squad. Protestants and Catholics alike were batoned, kicked and hosed because they protested against the Unionist regime.



● Irish exiles rally in Trafalgar Square to demand Civil Rights for the North.

Exiles rally in support of Derry

Clann members have brought the events in Derry to the attention of the British public during the past month. In Birmingham, a civil rights and public protest meeting was held on Saturday 12 last. A large crowd of members and sympathisers were addressed by Donal Murphy, Organising Secretary of Clann, and P. Yates.

Three proposals were put to the meeting and passed unanimously: (1) That Mr. Wilson be asked to intervene immediately in Derry and to extend the Rave Relations Act to the Six Counties; (2) That Mr.

Wilson introduce legislation to force the Stormont regime to withdraw the Special Powers Act; (3) That an immediate and thorough examination be carried out in connection with jobs, housing and voting power to ensure parity with existing standards in England, Scotland and Wales.

In London, also, Clann has been focussing attention on the Six Counties in company with the Connolly Association. P. O. Sullivan, President of Clann, and Sean Redmond of the Connolly Association handed in a letter to No. 10 Downing

Street and Mr. O. Sullivan in an interview with British television pledged the support of Clann and its members to the downtrodden people of the Six Counties in their quest for social justice.

Clann proposes to set up action committees in various areas to get Irish voters active in lobbying their Labour MPs in support of Gerry Fitt.

Supporters in the Derby area should contact us as it is intended to form a new branch in Newcastle-on-Tyne within the coming month.

Public slating for Mickey's bill

Public opinion is mounting against the Criminal Justice Bill; never before has such protest been made by all shades of public opinion at proposed legislation.

The United Irishman was first in the field with a two part article "Its you there after/Suicide yes, heckle no" (back issues available) and the tone of its complaint has been taken up by Sinn Féin cum ainn, Labour Party branches, debating societies, public meetings and trade union branches.

The latest protest has come from a body of thirty seven prominent citizens representative of clerics, artists academics, politicians and students. This body issued a circular letter condemning certain sections of the Bill as it stood after its first reading in Leinster House before the Summer recess.

"We are variously of the opinion," say the signatories, "that certain provisions of the Criminal Justice Bill are against the public interest and are a serious threat to civil liberties. We contend that there is no need or public demand for them and that they should be withdrawn or dropped by the Minister in order not to mar a Bill which contains some excellent provisions".

Public indignation against the Bill has worried its authors. The morose Minister for Justice took time off in the P.R. campaign to rail against

those who dared to complain of his prized legislative measures. "All the subversive organisations in the country," he stormed, "have been directed by their headquarters to embark on a letter writing campaign in opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill. I am warning the people to watch these political queers and long haired anarchists".

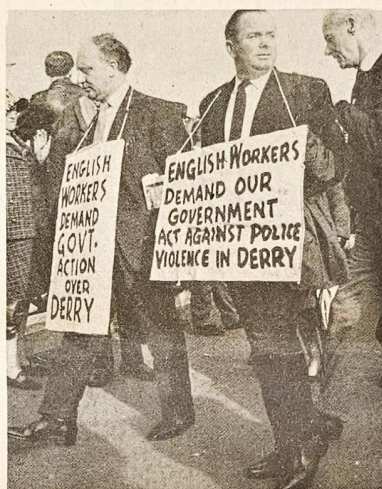
At the Inaugural meeting of the Trinity Historical Society, last month, the Auditors remarks about the Criminal Justice Bill were greeted by a prolonged ovation. "This Bill must not be passed," said Mr. Ford, "and must be interpreted as a panic-stricken reaction to the challenge of unorthodox methods in politics".

Mr. Moran's reds under the bed attitude is perhaps better described as a head under the sands attitude; opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill is snowballing and is not likely to be melted by a Mickey Moran in heat.

ABSTENTION?

"The argument that Republicans cannot take seats in the Leinster House parliament because it is not the lawful Dail Éireann can be immediately dismissed," says a leading article in this week's issue of Republican News, organ of the P.O.D. (People's Organisation).

"Power," continues the writer, "is a fact and not an abstraction. Even those who refuse to recognise the Leinster House parliament pay their taxes and license their cars."



● English workers show their solidarity with fellow Irish workers.

Bron ar an mbas

Is cuis mor bron duinn bas Bean Uí Annluain, mathair Fheargail, a deag i rith na míosa. Ta comhbhrón na Gluaisceachta ag gabhail da clann uilig.

I rith a saoil ar fad bhí an naisiúnachas go laidir in a croi aici. Bhí gra mor aici da tír, teanga agus cultúr, agus thuit a tianchar go mor ar a clann. Go raibh misneach aici ní feidir a sheanadh.

Basamí

Nuair a thainig seol bas a mic d'ghlac sí o le croi crodha calma. Chonaic sí a mac ag dul amach chun troid i gcoinne sean-namhad na hÉirinn. Mhóil sí do an roid a bhí roimhe mar a bhí roimh Padraig Mac Piarais agus a comraidhe "sa shean laethe. D'loipair sí a bron le morgacht a croi misniúil.

Bhí sí fíal, fíaitiúil agus bhí doras a tí ar oscailt i gcomhaid do gach einne a bhí ag obair ar son saoirse na h-Éireann. Go mor mhor bhí faillte roimh comraidhe Fheargail agus is ionas uair a thug sí cabhair agus spreagadh doibh.

I gcogadh na saoirse in Éirinn ta a hainm in airde ag mna na Éireann. Bhí

an dearcacht acu — Faire agus Fulaint; ta a h-ait bainte amach in a measc ag Bean Uí h-Annluain. Ta sí imithe ar shli na firinne anois agus taimid bocht bronach da bhar. Beidh cuitime go deo uirthi.

Solas siorrai da bhanam usail naofa.

Cogadh fuilteach faoi oideachas

Cogadh fuilteach gan trua gan geilleadh — sin seala an Oideachais ar ala na huair. Na ní he an tsaraíocht phoiblí faoi'n loisíochailt i Maíle Atha Clíath is udar an seil ach an strachadh agus an saitheadh fíochmhar ata ar bun maidir le todhchaí na Meanscoileachta, na Ceard-scoileachta, agus na Bun-scoileachta. Thug "Studies" blas den níní ata a usaid nuair a d'fhoilsigh an iris san eagran iomlán ar iarbhuídeachas le deanaí.

Clairfblathas

Ta chuide dream ata ag ple le scoláiocht ag cur ar a son feis sa gcogadh. Ta an Roinn Oideachais ag iarraidh smacht iomlán a fhail ar an iarbhuídeachas: coláiocht na hOid Rialta (ar leo fínmhor na Meanscoileanna) ag iarraidh aird oideachais a rheilleadh don Rialtas na do na tuath-mhuinteoirí: Clairfhlathas na hÉireann ag imirt an chluiche mar is feidir leo agus suil acu a ngreim a choinneail: tuath-mhuinteoirí sna Meanscoileanna (A.S.T.I.) ag troid leis an Roinn le ardu pa a fhail agus ag troid freisin leis na hOid d'fhonn ardu

ceime a fhail (postanna mar leas-blainisteoir, mar shampla); agus na muinteoirí (Gairmeoirí V.T.A.) ata ag lorg ardu pa freisin agus athraithe bunúsacha sna meachanna ceapachain ata a bhífidh fe láthair. Mar bhar ar an iomlán ta na muinteoirí naisiúnta (I.N.T.O.) ag iarraidh seala pa ar aon leibhéal leis an chineál muinteoirí eile. Breathnaíonn an da eagraíocht eile, an A.S.T.I. agus an V.T.A., ar seo mar iarracht ag muinteoirí nach bhfuil na ceithicéit ceanna acu is ata acu feid deireadh a chur le neamhspleachas a goid eagraíochailt feid agus leis an ion mor ball ata acu, ceannas na páirce a bhaint amach doibh féin. Le cois sin, ta an I.N.T.O. a n-éirí freisin leis an Bainteachoirí Scúile, ar sagairt pharoiste iden chuid is mo, faoi cursaí cumhaigh agus ceapachain sna scoileanna eisistint.

Ta dha dhais le baint ag na hionaitheoirí sa gcomhlínt seo — (a) cumhaigh, agus (b) abair. Is iomán sin covadh roimhe seo a troideadh do na dhuiseanna ceanna Measgar nach fada anois go n-éiríonn ar raic istigh den seol mor. Gach seans gur i bhfuil stailce is tuise a bhífidh an seol agus gur mo an raic a leaifaidh de na saoirse na hAibh is a Breataine Bie in éineacht.

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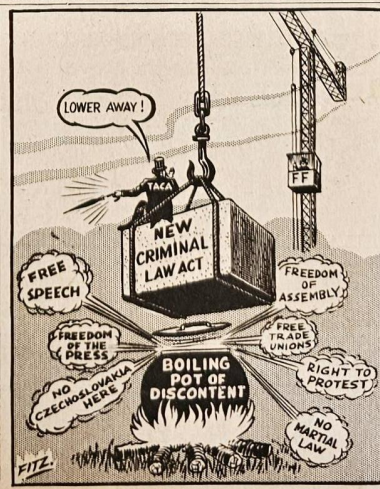
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SAMHAIN, 1968
Is í An Phoblacht ár gceuspóir.**R.U.C. appeal club decision**

...P. ACT TO GO?

Advice and consent

In 1966, Sean Lemass, with paternal wisdom, set up a Committee to recommend changes in De Valera's 1937 Constitution. In 1968, Jack Lynch, acting with his renowned "integrity", shelved that Committee's recommendations.

With George "Republican" Colley, leading the attack the Committee unanimously reported in favour of changing clauses concerning the position of the Catholic Church (Art. 44.1.2.3.) and on Provisions relating to Marriage (Art. 41.3.2.3.).

The Committee explained its stand: "The Catholic Church does not seek any special recognition or privilege as compared with other religions, her primary interest is to see that all citizens enjoy equal freedom in the practice of their religion whatever it may be"; "the provisions relating to divorce cannot only be regarded as coercive on Protestants but as more rigid than those required by the law of the Catholic Church itself".

The report speaks for itself: who, today, speaks for its implementation? We have just had a Referendum in the 26 Counties on a matter considered by the Committee, disagreed upon by the Committee, and most certainly not recommended by that Committee.

The Fianna Fáil party represented their stand vis a vis the P.R. Referendum as one of courage. Will they now follow the logic of their statements and act in the real interests of a thirty two county Ireland and implement the unanimous recommendations of the Constitutional Committee? And when they fail, what of the other two assenting parties to the report?

Recognising that religious divisions are strongly pronounced both north and south of the artificial border dividing our country it is now imperative that Republicans demand legislation to implement non-sectarian Constitutional provisions.

Olympic traitors

Another Olympic parade to show the world how Irishmen care little about their nation and less about sport: athletes and officials taking part who bow to England in accepting her policy of mutilating our nation. Imagine that there is some concern at the absence of gold-silver-bronze by men who have shamelessly sold their birthright.

Irishmen who joined 26 County sports associations in order to get into the Olympic parade and commercialised themselves as athletic scholars for American Universities must have felt that all they paraded for was most suitably personified in their officials—two former heads of the 26 County Special Branch (O'Carroll and McElahon), plus a British Aristocrat (Lord Killanin).

And it has come to this. Partisanist Athletic and Cycling bodies that have sullied sport and contrived to assassinate the All-Ireland athletic and cycling associations which refuse to bow to English rule.

A Boxing Association that has all but destroyed the sport and finds ecumenism through "friendly matches" with the British Occupation Forces in the Six Counties.

A Government that spends thousands of pounds of the taxpayers' money to finance the parade every four years but spends not a penny to finance sport in the years between.

A sad state of affairs.

God be with the time when Irishmen were proud to represent their nation and when gold, silver and bronze was a poor price for honour and integrity.

Long live Nationalism! Long live Sport.

Long live the National Sports Associations!

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Kadar Asmal — "Imper-

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The annual Edentubber Parade will leave

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oration; Chairman Peter Duffy.

Ceili will be held the same evening.

(full details at commemoration)

GRAND CHRISTMAS DRAW

Ard Comhairle — Sinn Féin Finance Committee

First Prize:

Turkey, Bottle of Whiskey, Christmas Cake, Ham

Second Prize:

Turkey, Christmas Cake, Bottle of Wine

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Bottle of Whiskey, 2 dozen Stout, 2 dozen Ale

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DRAW WILL TAKE PLACE ON 10th DEC., 1968

Cash and counterfoils to be returned to: Secretary,

Finance Committee, Sinn Féin Office, 30 Gardiner

Place, Dublin 2, on or before 6th December, 1968.

The R.U.C., appealing the dismissal of a summons against John McDermott, Slough, Neil Republican Club member, in the Belfast High Court may well find themselves tied in legal knots within the next fortnight.

There is a strong possibility that Mr. Craig's order (S.R. & O. 42 Northern Ireland 1967) banning Republican Clubs will be declared "ultra vires" and void as against the Special Powers Act 1922, being an unreasonable use of Ministerial power.

Mr. J. P. Higgins, counsel for Mr. McDermott, appearing before Lord Chief Justice, argued "in banning

all Republican Clubs the Minister was going beyond the necessary action for the preservation of law". After complicated legal debate Lord McDermott, who has sentenced many Republicans in the past, adjourning his decision said that the crux of the matter was that "the Minister can make any body an unlawful association at his pleasure and it is more startling that this can apply to something which might come into existence years afterwards".

In a report issued in 1936 by the British Council of National Civil Liberties it was argued that the very Special Powers Act 1922

(the parent Act under which subsequent Regulations are made) was in itself ultra vires "the Government of Ireland Act 1920".

Any impartial examination would reveal that the whole basis of Special Powers provisions in the

Six Counties is both legally and morally unfounded. The Six County judiciary have not been without political bias in the past. Lord McDermott will state where he stands in a fortnight. His decision could mark a new departure.

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