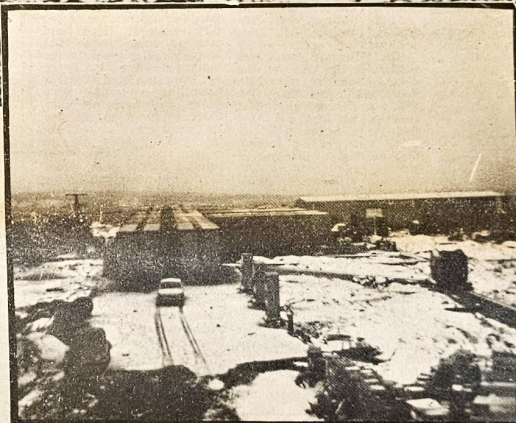
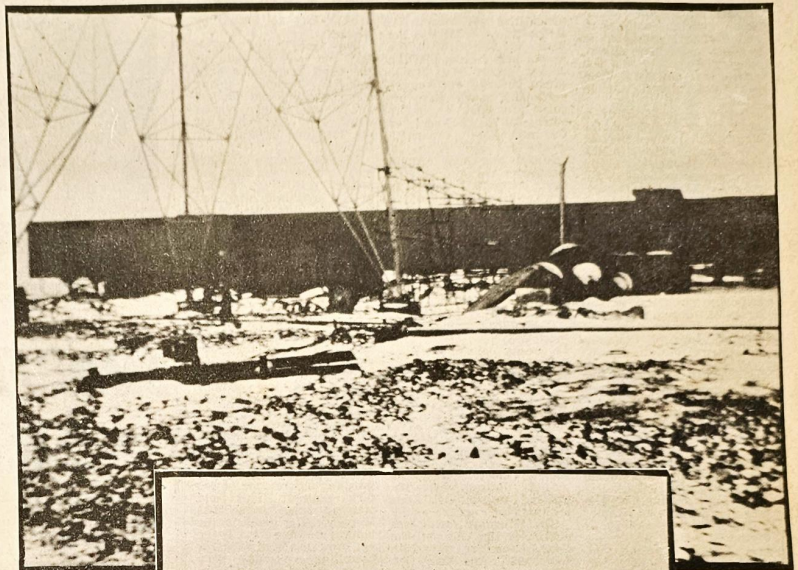


# THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Mean Fomhair (Sept.) 1968. ImI.XXII Uimhir 9. Luach 9p. (US and Canada 15c.)

## MUST HE RULE?



## NEW AMERICAN BASE BUILT IN DERRY

THE people of the North have taken heart again after the historic Civil Rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon on August 25. More than 3,000 people from all over the 6 Counties converged on the small town of Coalisland for the start of the five mile march which ended some two hours later almost a mile short of its destination in Dungannon face to face with a double cordon of armed truncheon carrying police. The road behind the police was blocked by four large police vans. Radio contact was maintained with squads of helmeted riot police nearby while a water cannon was parked up behind the police barracks in Dungannon town. Mr. Craig had put the boot in again.

Before the march set out high spirits mingled with hope as the marchers compared banners. An eight year old girl carried the legend "I have a dream". "Women fight for your rights" said the banner carried by a middle aged woman. "Republican Clubs must stay" and "Currie for the workers" jostled with the huge banner carried by the Derry Housing Action Committee. Even the sullen face of the most reluctant marcher, Eddie McAteer, couldn't dull the spirits of Gerry Fitt as he cracked, "When they hand me the prohibition order I'm sayin' I'm not having none of them pornographic literature." The prohibition order was served and the feet of three thousand marchers trampled it into the dust.

Betty Sinclair of the Belfast Trades Council chaired the meeting which was held in front of Craig's cordon. Gerry Fitt speaking first said that what they saw before their eyes in Dungannon was no different to what was happening in Prague. He said the light would not go out until they had civil rights and a 32 County Republic. He would have led a charge on the cordon "were it not for the women and children".

Councillor Jack Hassard of Dungannon said he was there as a Councillor and as a Protestant to tell the marchers that other Protestants despised the Unionist administration and respected civil rights as much as they did. To shouts of "Pope Hassard" from a crowd of about 200 Unionists behind the police barrier, he went on to state that he was well aware of the injustices and the discrimination in housing and was determined to do all in his power to end them.

(Continued on page 12)

A new American Naval Base will be in full operation in County Derry by the 16th of this month. The base is located on a mountain top in the Sperrin Mountains above the Glenshane Pass near Maghera.

Built during the past year in an atmosphere of hush-hush, the well guarded site is out of bounds to civilians not directly concerned with construction work. The opening of the base is expected to coincide with a visit to the north of the American Military Attache from the U.S. Embassy in Dublin.

The building of the base represents a significant extension of U.S. strategic interest in the 6 Counties where another base, in Derry City, has been functioning since the last war.

No consultations took place between the U.S. Defence Department and the 26 County authorities prior to the building of the base. Nor is it expected that any representations or protest will be made. It is even possible, in the light of recent events, that General Sean McEoin of the 26-County Army will attend the opening.

The exact nature of the work to be carried out by the new base is difficult to ascertain. A spokesman for the American Navy in Derry stated that the base was being built "in case we have another one of those World War Two fights." It is variously described as a "communications centre" and as a "transmitter."

(Continued on page 7)



# LETTERS

## Chagrin

A Chára,

The United Irishman has greatly improved of late in content and style. All the greater was my chagrin at coming on a most deplorable article, anonymous and obviously presented as a grand middle-page splash, in your August issue. The article was entitled "When the I.R.A. waged war in Britain".

There is undoubtedly a need for a history of the Republican Movement in the period 1939-45, including developments within the various prisons, as indeed in the period 1923-39. This calls for a work based on scholarly study, respect for facts and objective analysis. The aims, methods, predominant ideas and significant actions of each phase of the movement need to be critically evaluated in the light of the private and public struggle for freedom and the teachings of Connolly and Pearse.

Of these qualities not a trace in "Pear Dommamh" first instalment. Instead we have old-fashioned and highly emotional political hagiology (most of the "saints" being still alive) that puts the whole emphasis on the achievements of individuals rather than on the aspirations and strivings of the working people as a whole.

The whole period is viewed through highly-magnifying rose-coloured spectacles, one lens of which is "high romance" and the other "fantasy". The writer of the article is apparently incapable of answering the one really vital question: did the activities of those years advance or retard the struggle for the complete freedom and unity of Ireland and the full emancipation of its people?

The article is incorrectly illustrated with a photo of Frank Ryan, a great Socialist leader who broke with the I.R.A. in 1934 because of the kind of mentality reflected in this article.

The second paragraph contains a gratuitous reference to a great writer of the people, Brendan Behan.

And in the third paragraph we have a piece of ludicrous bombast: "these men might have become masters of Ireland".

There follows a list of 1939-45 Republicans. Some of these were political nonentities and nonactivists at the time. What was the basis of selection? One should help feeling that the author picked out people whom he knew (or knows) personally or who have become prominent or highly successful in business or the professions. Otherwise where are the names of labourers and small farmers (and who are still such or have emigrated) and who, one knows, were very active during this period? But why mention any names other than those of people who made a very special contribution?

This article is full of woolly generalisations, exaggerations, futilities and plain distortions. Give me Behan's "inaccurate vapourings" any day.

Le meas,

Seán O Maolbhríde, Birmingham.

## Cobb Row

A Chára,

Concerning the Cobb land grabbing by K. Beazley we the undersigned small-holders involved desire you, Mr. Editor, to publish our position.

The Murphy farm was published for sale in the Cork Examiner on 30th Sept. 1967. Sale date Oct. 17th and not the 31st October as stated by Beazley in August U.I.

We know of an intending purchaser offering a bid on this farm on the morning the sale was advertised approximately at 9 a.m. He was informed he was too late, the farm was sold.

This proves the sale was fixed and as far as we were concerned a farce, or a rigged sale. Further, Mr. Sheehan, a Land Commission official from the Cork office visited Miss Murphy directly after the sale publication, the body of his conversation with her amounted to that she had no authority to advertise the sale, that the

auctioneer, McCarthy and McGrath was not on the Land Commission's panel and the final decision for disposal of this farm rested with the Land Commission. Therefore this clearly illustrates it was not a normal sale as alleged by Beazley.

We agree there was a stay put on the Sale by the Land Commission until it was decided among whom it should be divided, and we know the stay was dated 15th June and not the 1st June as stated by Beazley.

Despite Beazley's statement that he had no political affiliations or need to fix anything" why had he to be introduced to a local T.D. to arrange a meeting with the Minister for Lands. How then can Beazley call this a normal sale?

We are well aware that the local N.F.A. were not asked by Beazley to condemn the agitation but we do know that head-quarters were asked to intervene and failing to do so Beazley threatened to withdraw his support and join another farmers' organisation in conflict with the N.F.A.

Beazley insinuates that he has no ill will towards us. Why then, did he plough in a field of grass depriving our horses of grazing before the lease term expired? This field was on lease from Miss Murphy. Her land is the holding in dispute. Is he not the cause of the Guards patrolling outside our doors, and were not they there in force on the day he commenced ploughing this field? Why did he deprive our children from using a School path across the disputed holding, a path always travelled by local people? Also, the wife of one of us was obstructed and physically assaulted by Beazley as she was on business with Miss Murphy.

Enough said about ill-will. To us this portion of land in dispute is the only final answer to our present uneconomic existence. Signed: Maurice Wilson, Gerard O'Connor, Thomas O'Connor, Patrick Trohlich, Dated August 22nd, 1968.



● FRIENDS AGAIN? Alexander Dubcek (left), First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia greets Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany, at the airport of Karlory Vary on August 12. Nine days later Warsaw Pact troops entered Czechoslovakia.

## SINN FEIN COMMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and the presence of troops from four other Warsaw Pact countries in that country was condemned in a statement from Sinn Féin day following the invasion.

"Sinn Féin re-iterates that Socialism, namely the ownership and democratic control of the economy of the nation by the people who work it, can only flourish under conditions of National Independence. "Sinn Féin has already declared support for the attempt made by Mr. Dubcek to build a form of Socialism suitable to the needs of the Czech and Slovak people.

Sinn Féin wishes also to declare that it is resolutely opposed to foreign intervention in the international affairs of any country and therefore wishes to dissociate itself from the hypocritical protests of the English, who occupy part of the vast majority of the Irish Nation, and the United States, who similarly are intervening in Vietnam against the Vietnamese people.

"We therefore call on the Irish People to press for the withdrawal of the U.S.S.R. from Czechoslovakia, the U.S. from Vietnam and the English from the occupied part of Ireland".

## ...and what about Ireland?

"They mourn the body, who the spirit slay, And they who stab the living, weep the dead."

"The invasion of Czechoslovakia is a clear case of the use of force against her territorial integrity and political independence in breach of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is the duty of the Security Council to call upon the aggressors to withdraw their armed forces at once from the territory of Czechoslovakia and cease interference in her internal affairs".

—Mr. Frank Aiken, 26 Co. Minister for External Affairs.

"Ireland at the United Nations should strongly condemn this violation by the Russians of a small country, and we should insist strongly as we can that the terms of the Charter of the United Nations be observed in practice as well as in theory".

—Mr. Liam Cosgrave Leader of the Opposition.

"The invasion of Czechoslovakia was a deliberate and calculated decision by the Soviet Government which represented a flagrant

violation of the U.N. Charter and all accepted standards of international behaviour".

—Mr. Harold Wilson, British Prime Minister, and Socialist Extraordinary.

"Take your forces out of Czechoslovakia now, while you can still do so without irreparable damage to yourselves and to your allies and to world peace".

—Richard Crossman, British Labour Party.

"The Russians must end the occupation and let us all renew the search for peace and co-operative existence".

—George Brown, British Labour Party.

"Let it be made clear spontaneously, by every individual, that they consider the behaviour of the Soviet Union as the behaviour of uncivilised barbarians. They are sensitive in some respects to world opinion and this will hurt".

—Lord Hume, one of the Suez gang.

## Casement monument unveiled

On Sunday, the 28th July, 1968, at Banna Strand, Co. Kerry, a memorial of polished granite was unveiled to Roger Casement, the 16th executed leader of the 1916 Rising and Capt. Robert Monteith, his Military Adviser and comrade. There was also a third man, Sergeant Bailey, who landed with them from the U19 Submarine on Good Friday, 1916.

Captain Monteith, on his visit to Ireland in 1948, asked that a marker be placed on the spot where Casement landed on his native soil. It was very fitting therefore, that the sod should have been cut in 1966 by his daughter Mrs. Florence Monteith Lynch, and this sod was later placed on the Captain's grave in Michigan.

The completed memorial was unveiled by Jack Magher, better known as "Pitchfork", who joined the I.R.B. in 1915, and earned the title of "Pitchfork" in an encounter with the R.I.C. under D. J. Hunt who was later shot in Thurles. Jack, unnamed



● VISITING IN DUBLIN (Left to right, front row): Tomas MacGiolla, Uachtaran Sinn Féin, Mrs. Florence Monteith Lynch, Maire Bean Mhic Ghlóla. At back, Jack Magher, who unveiled the Banna Strand memorial, Eamonn Griffin, and a nephew of Mrs. Monteith Lynch.

except for the pitchfork from which he got his nickname forced an R.I.C. man to retreat from his house in Anfield, Co. Tipperary, and by so doing gave his comrades and fellow republicans a chance to escape.

Jack is well known in his own native Tipperary for

his republican ideals and activities from 1915 to the present day, having been arrested for selling Easter Lilies in his 73rd year. He was sentenced to one month or a fine of £2. He refused to pay the fine.

## Lenihan's Land League

A 56-acre site at Woodville, Athlone, has been sold by Athlone Industrial Estates Co. Ltd. to the Office of Public Works for the new Department of Education offices. The site is two miles from the town on the Longford Road.

One of the businessmen directors of the Athlone Industrial Estates Co. Ltd., is Mr. P. Lenihan, Hudson Bay, Athlone. Mr. Lenihan, father of the Minister for Education, Mr. Brian Lenihan, is a T.D. in the Fianna Fáil interest. There is no necessary connection between Mr. Lenihan's political allegiance and his business occupation. Mr. Lenihan, Snr., is also a director of the Prince of Wales Hotel, Athlone.

## BIT — OF — ERIN BAR

45 — 52 — 46 ST. WOODSIDE

UNOCCUPIED U.S.A.

CEAD MILE FAILTE

when you are in the neighbourhood



## \*\* NOTES & COMMENTS

I WILL, I trust, be forgiven for returning this month to the nasty subject of Potez. By a strange coincidence (intuition?) I had penned last month's few comments about Potez (Galway et Baldonnell) just before the shock announcement that the Baldonnell white elephant-house was to be closed down.

Thus, while my remarks had pertinence they lacked the punch which I would have liked to give them—not to mention, Monsieur Henri et fils. Therefore, let us this month put Potez in perspective—by mentioning the other major failures in recent years.

According to a survey carried out by the Industrial Development Authority recently, about 10 per cent of the grant-aided industrial projects in this state had failed by March 31, 1967. This, of course, does not include the Dundalk works, which £1,318,000 of the taxpayers' money had been poured over the years.

### Costly Failures

THE survey does include the costly failures of the Dundalk Engineering Company and the Avoca Mines. The total state investment in the Dundalk works employed about 700 people.

About £2,250,000 of state money (which means taxpayers' money) went into the Avoca Mines, which employed about 450 men. Another failure in recent years, albeit one which was hushed up and covered up in the Dail, was that of Sony at Shannon Industrial Estate.

There, as in the Potez case, we had Ministerial statements that all was right and that no closure was imminent. We also had statements by Unionist representatives that the factory would re-open. This, of course, was also eye-wash.

### Money loss

NOW, the I.D.A. survey says that the failure rate for such industrial projects was but ten per cent. This I accept, on the understanding that the survey refers to the numbers of industries that failed. But how does the failure rate compare percentage-wise in regard to the amount of money lost?

The project which I have listed were the biggest as far as state investment was concerned. Other, more numerous factories, were only trotting after them, financially speaking. I venture to state that the investment loss rate was considerably more than ten per cent. Would you believe 30 per cent?

Up to March, 1967, state grant commitments to industry were about £27,000,000, spread over 308 projects. The I.D.A. survey says that about two-thirds of the grant-aided firms appeared to reach profitability by 1966 (the emphasis is mine).

In other words, one-third of the projects were still losing money in 1966. Add to that the £6 million odd lost on the projects mentioned above. And, most important of all, add the total number of people thrown out of their jobs through this official ineptitude and inefficiency—a figure which can never be measured in terms of £s.d.

If ever a situation called for a public inquiry this is it. But will such an inquiry ever be held? Not bloody likely. The top boys in the I.D.A., their foreign advisers and consultants, and the faceless men in the Department of Industry and Commerce will lie low for a while, wait for the hullabaloo to blow over, and hold on to their cushy jobs as if nothing ever happened.

### Aiding emigration

WITH all these workers being flung out of their jobs, is it any wonder that we find the Minister for Labour, Dr. Hillery, hinting at a state scheme to aid emigrants. Not to help them stay in this country, or to return thereto, I must hasten to add. But to aid them in their endeavours to find suitable work and living abroad, particularly abroad. In other words, let's subsidise emigration, boys; it's a great safety valve for getting rid of surplus people, especially people whom we don't want or like to have at home.

The 26-County statelet has, of course, been subsidising emigration and emigrants—after a fashion—since it was founded. The whole set-up has been allowed to continue turning

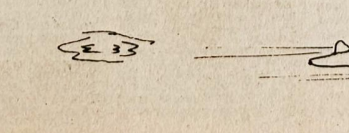
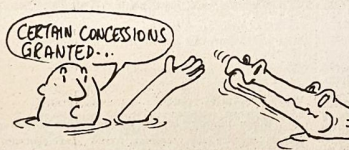
out hundreds of thousands of badly educated young people, failing to provide them with work at home and then sending them, ill equipped, to the ghettos of England.

### Irreparable loss

CONSIDER the millions of pounds expended on the education of countless doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers and others, all of whom must then leave Ireland to find a living abroad. Consider the irreparable loss to the nation of all these talented young people, whose energy and earning capacity will never benefit the country.

Now ask yourself what measures consecutive governments here have taken to stem this flow of the nation's life-blood. It could be done, you know, but it would upset the apple cart to have too many thinking young people knocking around the country and criticising things. For one thing they might disturb that marvellous institution in Leinster House, the Old Boys' Club, and some of the old fogies might be shunted out of power. And where would we be then? Where indeed!

### MAC DARA.



## \*\* NORTHERN LETTER

FOR what must be the first time in the history of Partition, the Stormont Government is considering an appeal to the High Courts in an attempt to reverse verdicts given against it in a six-county courthouse. The first was the successful defence of Republican Club members on a charge of belonging to 'an illegal organisation' which was kicked out of hearing at Magherafelt in Co. Derry. The other was the Judge's decision when trying Austin Currie, Pat Gildernew and Joseph Campbell for squatting in a house at Caledon, Co. Tyrone.

So palpably weak was the charge, and so obvious were the reasons which forced Currie, Gildernew and Campbell into taking the action which they did, that the Resident Magistrate, Mr. T. D. Elliot, decided the action in the defendants' favour and granted them costs of £30. To recap: on June 20th last, the day following the brutal eviction from a house in Kinnaird Terrace, Caledon, of the Goodfellow family, Currie and his companions occupied the dwelling for some hours until removed by Constable Samuel Beattie, brother of Emily Beattie, the 19 years old unmarried girl, who had been granted the house by the local housing lords.

During the trial, which lasted three hours, the whole discriminatory structure of housing allocations in the Dunganannon area, and other parts of 'Ulster' was laid bare.

In her application for a house, Miss Beattie, then not 18 years of age, claimed that she was being married in April of this year. Her fiancé, Bill Crawford, is from Monaghan, and no mention was made on the application form about members of the Beattie family residing with them. When in June she callously accepted the house from which a family with three young children were turned out by bailiffs and police, the storm broke.

The Goodfellow family are Catholics and the Beatties Protestants. Emily Beattie works in the Armagh office of Brian McRoberts, prospective Unionist M.P. for West Belfast. Her brother, Samuel, as already stated, is a member of the R.U.C., and another brother is a public health inspector in Armagh. With the proven discrimination in housing which is so blatant in Dunganannon, the reason why she was allocated the house is obvious. But this time the consciences of the people were aroused.

At an outdoor meeting in Dunganannon, over 600 people stood in torrential rain to listen to a platform of speakers condemn most vehemently this latest action of the local housing authorities. A policy of civil disobedience was then voiced and since that time has been gaining adherents in the North, even though the Quislings within the Nationalist Party refuse to endorse the policy at their annual conference. ('Annual' is not the right word here—it's only their third in some 40 years of attendance at Stormont.)

To try and justify their allocating a house to a single woman the Dunganannon housing authorities roped in other members of the Beattie family to take the bad look off things. No one was deceived by this move, and the farce was exposed during the court session. Beattie the policeman, Beattie the public health inspector, who are earning £160 per month between them, and a younger sister, are all living—or so we are expected to believe—rent free, through the generosity of Emily.

In open court, Constable Beattie said that he paid no money to his sister for his lodging, and the same applied to her other brother. Now, either Constable Beattie is a miserably so-and-so or a damned liar. And in court, telling lies is perjury. His reason for making such a statement is simple—the occupier of a council dwelling is not permitted to sub-let, and if such was happening in the Beattie household it would only make matters worse for the bigots on the council.

To make matters more complicated it transpires that poor love-sick Emily has been obliged to postpone her nuptials till September, and as one of her expected wedding presents is a cooker, has, in the meantime, refused to have had one installed. This must mean that they all perforce have to eat cold dinners or cook over an open fire till the happy event is celebrated. A comedy of errors or a commission of liars?

And where in all this blackmail and jobbery has the Unionist Party executive and its leader, Captain Terence O'Neill, spoken in condemnation? Nowhere. For they cannot. Unionism is built on discrimination

and privilege; it is the very bulwark of its strength, but it may be its undoing.

A certain article in a local newspaper prompts me to say something about the 'Scots-Irish' balderdash which is being promulgated by certain people in the North. The writer quotes from a book by Shane Leslie in which the principal character exclaims: 'I tell you, there is no such thing as Scots-Irish, man or material. You might as well speak of a Scots-Irish potato. What comes to Ireland becomes Irish.' And with those sentiments I heartily concur.

This propagation of a separate nationality for the people of Ireland's six north-eastern counties is a deliberate preparation for the Unionists to divide still further the Irish nation. Much is made of the dozen or so American presidents who are reputed to be of this mythical 'Scots-Irish' race, but little is told of what sent these gentlemen, or their ancestors, fleeing from this supposed land of milk and honey. Was it not victimisation in religion—Established Church versus Presbyterianism—and the unjust trade laws being enacted against the interests of the Irish people which made them emigrate? And were they not in the forefront of America's fight for independence? And against the common enemy—England and English rule!

Perhaps the most ridiculous figure of all is Captain O'Neill. An Irish name of English descent, education and accent, he is one of the militant advocates of the 'Scots-Irish' mythology, and God help him, as far as I can trace he hasn't even a drop of Scots whisky in him!

But if O'Neill and his ilk can rant about the Ulstermen with Scots blood who fought the good fight overseas, they very conveniently omit to mention the Ulstermen with the same strain who fought at home. We must remind them of Jimmy Hope, Henry Joy McCracken, John Mitchell, and their comrades. And we cannot forget James Connolly, born in Scotland of Irish parents. Or in his case, is he Irish-Scott?

At the time of the Caledon eviction, the Mellon farmstead, only a handful of miles away, was preserved as a tribute to Yanks of 'Scots-Irish' background. The Mellon family flew in, and there to greet them was the Captain. It was announced that they had donated almost a quarter-million dollars to the 'Scots-Irish' Society (or whatever they call themselves) to preserve the old family homestead. The owner of the property received some 45,000 dollars as her share, so what happened to the rest? You can bet it went to help finance O'Neill's separate race cult.

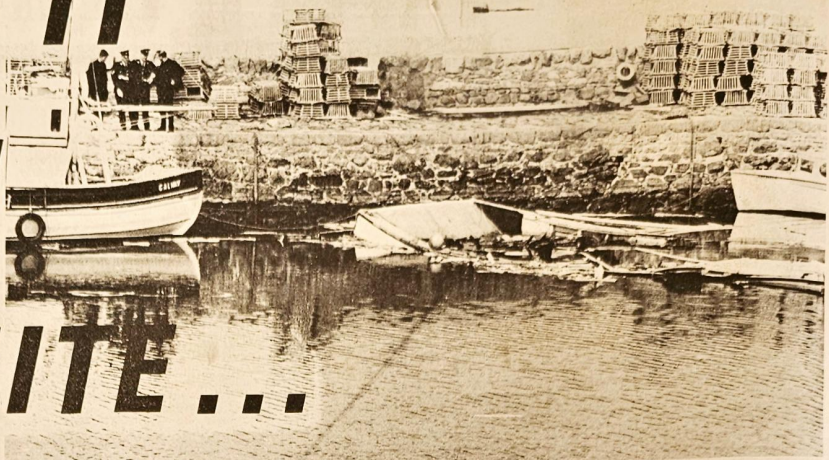
In Ireland very few, if any, can claim pure racial background. We are a mixture of Dan, Norman, Saxon, Celtic, French and countless other strains, but if our hearts and our minds accept the land of Ireland as our land, we are all Irish and no one can say otherwise. Can anyone claim General de Gaulle as other than a Frenchman? And he has Irish and German blood coursing through his veins. And what of Tone and Davis, and Pearse, and Brugha? Were they English because one or perhaps both, parents were English or of English blood?

Frank Hegarty.

doll



# SAYING IT WITH GELIGNITE....



Na dein nos agus na bris nos adeir an seanfhoceal. Bhíris Oglagha na hEireann nos nuair a scrios siad busannai a d'iompair lucht briste stailce chuig monaracha E.L. na Sionnaine. B'ia e an chead ghniomh da leithid a rinne na hOglagha le cuimhne na ndoine. Ba gniomh e a bhain le cursai eacnamaíochta — ní le cursai míleata le cursai polaitíochta teibi. Nuairacht abea an meid sin.

Brieadh an nos don dara uair nuair a ghabh buion d'Oglagha na hEireann boithrini Ros a Mhíl oiche i dtus mí Lúnasa. An turas seo seideadh bad glomach go haer. Arís ba chursai geilleaghair a spreag an ghniomh. Ní fhaca na nuchstair laethula ach gur dearnadh damaiste de luach \$60,000 i Luimneach. An dara uair chonaic siad gur dearnadh damaiste de luach \$6,000. Bhí eisceacht amháin ann an babhta seo

—an Irish Times. "A new force has arisen in Irish life," duirt an Times faoi'n ghniomh. "Hitherto the organisation confined itself to strictly political measures. Now it has entered the economic life of the country." Lan mharc don Times a lean ar aghaidh leis an gcur isteach a bhráith se a dhánuu as eadán.

"Se a chosulacht go bhfuil an ceart ag an Times agus go bhfuil fúadar nua faoi Oglagha na hEireann, is leir o na raitis a cuireadh amach san da chas go bhfuil se i gceist acu feasta buille a bhuailadh ar son na gnathdhaoiné nuair is ga agus nuair is feidir. Fianaise iad seo freisin go bhfuil athru polasai ann i leith gniomhaíocht sna 26 Co.

Polasai ar bith de chuid na hOglagha a bhaineadh le saol polaitíochta no geilleagair an tSaor Stait agus a ndeanfaí iarracht a chur

i bhfeidhm, ba imeacht e lan chomh tabachtach le Plean S an Ruisealagha agus leis an Irish Times—dala cuig mhaith eile—narbh amhlaidh a bheadh. Seard a fheiceann siad an chursa nua seo fealsúnacht geilleagair na Guaiseachta, fealsúnacht a glan conraithe le polasai Rialtais na 26go Co. a chur i bhfeidhm le lamh laidir. Ba chomhlacht a tugadh faoi le cuig mí anuas. Tá Fianna Fáil le fada ag iarraidh a leithid a thabhairt isteach sa tír. Thiofadh Fine Gael leis an bpolasai os aird agus an Lucht Obras os iséal. Tá an tír imithe i dtaithí air o thús re Lemass.

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suntais do shaoirse eacnamaíochta is a thugann se do shaoirse tíre. B'fhearr leis an Irish Times—dala cuig mhaith eile—narbh amhlaidh a bheadh. Seard a fheiceann siad an chursa nua seo fealsúnacht geilleagair na Guaiseachta, fealsúnacht a glan conraithe le polasai Rialtais na 26go Co. a chur i bhfeidhm le lamh laidir.

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Ní fheictear do dhaoine go bhfuil a mhalairt le fail mar pholaitíon scálaíochta. Na daoine a deir go bhfuil ní aon gheis bolsaireachta agus leis an seail a chur abhaile

ar na daoine na tabhairt orthu a leithid a lorg. Mar sin ní eireoidh le Oglagha na hEireann polasai geilleagair de dhineal ar bith a bhru ar Rialtas na 26go Co. mas e sin a futhu a dheanadh.

Ach ainneoin nach neireoidh leo polasai ar bith a chur i bhfeidhm thiofadh leo veto a bheith acu i bpolasai laithreach an Rialtais. Ní feidir nar tugadh aird eisean thar lear ar an da tharlú is deireannai san Oileán Iathghas. Ba leannan eacnamaíochta a rinne Ambasadóir Shasana ag an am, Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, a thug ar De Valera na campai geibhinn a oscail le linn an Fheachtais

deireannai. Chaillfi votai de bharr pionóis eacnamaíochta. Tharlódh an rud ceannann ceannna ar maidin de bharr cur isteach ar bith a dheanfaí ar pholasai na tionscalíochta iasachta. Ní ga do De Valera sin a inseacht do Lynch Cad i gceist ag na hOglagha a dheanadh? An leanfadh siad ar aghaidh a ra le seilgnit? Agus ceard a dheanfaid Rialtas Jack Lynch? Ní bhrisfidh siad sin nos gan udar mhaith a bheith acu.

Bheadh se aibheilleach a ra go bhfuil feachtas eile faoi bhealach. Ach is feidir a ra go bhfuil polasai nua i gceist. Tá cuma taighde. b'fheidir, ar an da eachta. Bhrathfeadh go leor ar bheirte an phobail. Cathfear na horaidí a tugadh ag Baile Uí Bhúadain le cuig bliain anuas a scrudu le bri ceart na nimeachaí a thuiscint. Beidh meas ar an gConghailéach fos.

## Ireland and France

By Dr. John De Courcay Ireland

D. W. Brogan, the well-known historian, has written of the great turning-point in history when, at Valmy in 1792, the French soldiers resisting the invasion of their country by the royalist armies of Prussia sent to destroy the Revolution, cried, not "Long Live the King," but "Long Live the Nation."

It was in the intoxicating atmosphere of the "Age of Enlightenment" in the second half of the 18th century, and the great Revolution that sprang from it in France in 1789, that modern Irish nationalism was born. Great Irish thinkers like Swift had heralded by their words and deeds both the enlightenment and the rise of nationalism.

"It would be hard to find in modern Socialist literature," wrote James Connolly in *Labour in Irish History*, anything more broadly international in its scope and aims, more definitely of a class character in its methods, or more avowedly democratic in its nature" than the first manifesto of the first Irish Republican organisation, the Society of United Irishmen.

To Connolly, in other words, Irish nationalism was a democratic, socially radical, and internationalist movement. So it must still be. So were all the great nationalist movements thrown up by the events and ideas of the late 18th century, in France, in Poland, in Italy, in the New World. Nationalism

was a progressive force then. True nationalism, which has nothing to do with chauvinism, jingoism or imperialism, still is a progressive force. It is significant, and suspicious, that we are being asked to discard nationalism at this crisis in our history. Nationalism has been the Irish people's inspiration, as it was the inspiration of the French soldiers who saved democracy at Valmy. To discard it now would be to submit to a new imperialism. The nation, as Tone saw, and Davitt and Stephens, and Davitt, and Connolly, is the only framework within which a people can achieve self-rule, or democracy, and social progress.

Irish people were struggling towards this belief throughout the 18th century. They were slowly becoming conscious of the rottenness of the royal and feudal world in which, whether at home or in exile, they had to pass their days.

The kind of royalism ridiculed by Swift in "Gulliver's Travels" was eventually seen through by most of the world. Almost the only crowned head left in the world to-day are to be found in the famous Common Market and at the head of states like Britain and Norway clamouring to enter it.

To-day we know that the people who live handsomely by keeping others poor have, in many lands, found other figureheads than monarchs to hide behind and manipulate. But it is no less true that monarchy, with its nauseating sycophancy, false mystique and

When antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty as Irishmen to come forward and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy."

—from the resolution passed by the Dublin Volunteer Corps, October 23, 1791.

unjustifiable expense budget, is an outdated form of government, superbly adapted to suit the most reactionary policies. For two centuries, forward-looking Irishmen have been damning monarchs and monarchies.

As early as 1756, Daniel O'Connell, of the illustrious house of Belinagare, an officer of the Irish Brigade in the French army, can be found writing to his brother Charles to express his intense dislike of the corruption round Louis XV, King of France.

Twenty years later it was an Irishman in French service, Thomas Conway from Kerry, who reached the rebellious English colonies in North America and joined their armies even before the great Lafayette.

Eugene McCarthy, a lieutenant of French marines, Daniel McCarthy, an ordinary seaman and Thomas McCarthy, gunner, were three volunteers who served with distinction in the Bonhomme Richard, the ship with which the famous John Paul Jones harried the shores and trade of

Britain during the American revolutionary war.

While John Barry of Wexford, aided by several other Irish emigrants, was organising a revolutionary navy for the rebel democrats of North America, other Irishmen, such as Luke Ryan of Rush, were playing havoc with King George's shipping from Dunkirk and other French ports. Irish and naval men of Irish birth or descent in the French service, such as Jean-Baptiste MacCarthy, captain of the 74-gun *La Clémence*, and Ambrose Sutton of Clonard, Co. Wexford, later a leader of a celebrated scientific voyage of discovery, were engaged in the great campaigns on the oceans that destroyed the first British Empire.

Irish volunteer soldiers, above all from the North, formed the backbone of the American revolutionary armies that helped to create the first great republic of modern times, so long the hope of a world till it substituted itself for the collapsing second British Empire as humanity's special constable.

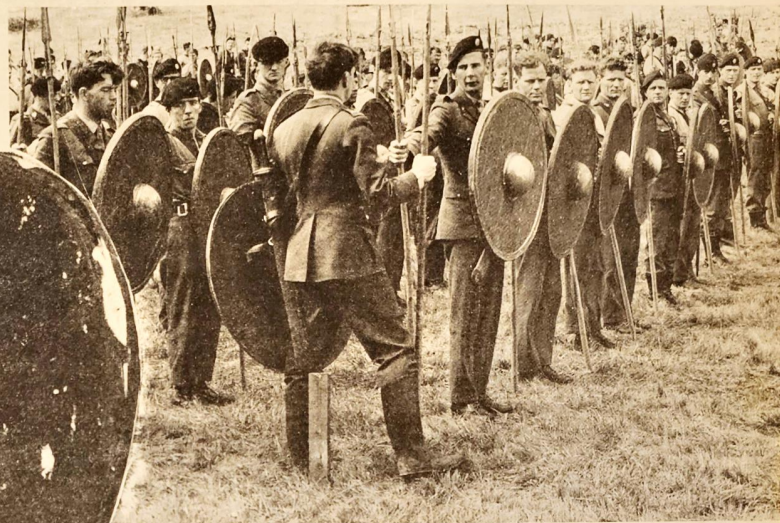
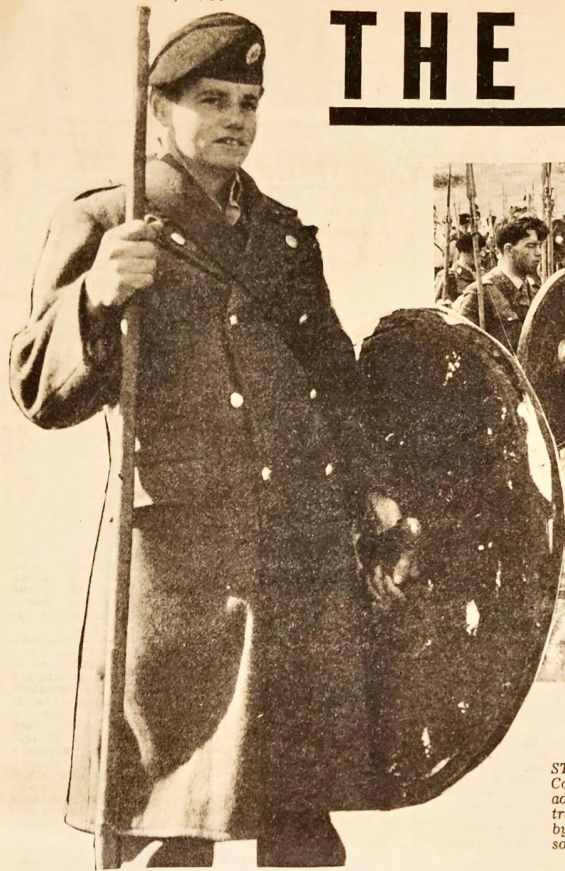
Meanwhile, the Volunteers in Ireland and Grattan's party had, by their firmness, secured a semblance of independence from the temporarily weakened government of Britain; and Irishmen in Ireland and on the Continent began boldly to discuss the Rights of Men and of Nations. Such were the brothers Meade from Limerick, resident in the French city of Nantes, eager participants in the activities of democratic literary circles that had sprung up there, as elsewhere in France, to study the possibilities of changing society. Both later became ardent Jacobins, when the new French Revolution was endangered by foreign intervention. Such was their fellow-citizen Nugent, the first of the prominent men of Nantes who in 1791 issued a proclamation to the people, urging them to rally round the new liberal constitution just promulgated.

For in 1789, Louis XVI, whose government was as bankrupt as the social system on which it rested, had been compelled to call a parliament. This had refused to find money until reforms were introduced that began to cut at the roots of the antiquated privileges of landowning aristocrats and absolute monarchy. And when the alarmed ruling class began to react, so as to overawe and then disperse the parliament, the people of Paris, with admirable commonsense, stormed their equivalent of Dublin Castle, the great Bastille fortress more notorious as a prison from which their city could be dominated.

(To be continued)



# THE LOST ARMY



STAND YE NOW FOR ERIN'S GLORY . . . ? Troops of the Western and Southern Commands of the 26 Co. Army on location at Castle Hackett, Co. Galway, being addressed by an officer. Their use as film-extras represents the extent of the betrayal by the politicians of these young idealistic Irishmen. The accompanying article by our film critic traces the various roles imposed on the ordinary rank-and-file soldiers over the years . . . executioners, gaolers, strike-breakers, film-extras . . . Everything, in fact, except what they enlisted for.

All day long the noise of battle roiled. The battle of White Horse Hill, fought in Wexsex on January 8, 871 A.D. between a ragged army of Christian farmers headed by King Alfred against a vastly superior force of invading Vikings lasted a whole day. The dreaded black raven flag of the invaders flew proudly above their disciplined ranks. On the shore behind lay their dragon-beaked longboats. They were fighting with the frenzy of those who fight for a dream.

On a little knoll to the left of the scene of action stood the 26 Counties' Minister for Defence, Mr. Michael Hilliard, and high ranking officers of the 26. County Army. The "Vikings" they were watching were soldiers of the Southern and Western commands of the regular Army on hire to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, for a film on the life of Alfred the Great at Castle Hackett, 20 miles north-east of Galway city. The dream the soldiers were fighting for was not that of Connolly or Pearse but that of Hollywood film-director Clive Donner.

## VETERAN FILM-EXTRAS

The 26 County Army has become an important adjunct of film making in Ireland and abroad. Some of the soldiers currently hired out to the "Alfred the Great" props department are veterans of the "Blue Max", a film shot in County Wicklow some years ago. There they played the part of First World War soldiers. Obsolete and surplus supplies of Army small-arms and rifles have been snapped up by Hollywood producers seeking quantities of the right vintage for historical films.

The image of the Army has hardened of late in the public mind. It is now the all-weather general factotum of Irish society. When the busmen strike the Army strikes back—with lorries. When the farmers march, the Army goes on manoeuvres. Pumping stations, ambulances and fire stations are all manned by Army personnel during strikes.

And all this is being done in the name of "duty". The concept of "duty", however, derives not from the Army itself but from the Ministry of Defence. The Army has no say whatsoever.

It was in the name of "duty" that soldiers of the 26 County Army shot

Republicans in '22 and '23. Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barret, Joe McKeivney and the Martyrs of Drumboe were victims of this sense of "duty" when the Free State Army was in its infancy. The infant army was well blooded—in the blood of fellow countrymen—by the end of its first decade.

The next generation of soldiers, in their obedience to "duty" shot Dick Goss, Paddy McGrath, Tommy Harte, George Plant and Maurice O'Neill. At the same time on the Continent, the same sense of "duty" was carrying out the genocide of the Jewish communities. Gerald Boland, the then Minister for Defence, had visited Joe Stalin and became a firm admirer, if not of his philosophy, of his methods.

The Army's role as prison-keepers should not be overlooked. Republicans were imprisoned during the twenties, thirties, forties and fifties; during the sixties they were joined by farmers and industrial workers. The Army's reward — more prison work — is to come soon. Under Section 45 of the Criminal Justice Bill, civilian criminals whom the Minister for Justice considers too troublesome or disruptive for ordinary prisons are to be handed over to the Army.

The recent use of the Army in maintaining "essential" services during strikes had had a deleterious effect on the men's morale and social consciousness. Instinct tells the men that they are being abused for political ends but "duty" is the magic word that is again evoked to conjure away feelings of guilt. Few, if any, of the rank and file like their interference in civilian spheres.

The few who do soon go the whole hog. In Cork, in 1967, a picket was placed on Collins' barracks by Cork city taxi-men. Their complaint? Troops, some of them sergeants, during their off-duty periods were driving taxis in the Cork area and depriving the regular taxi men of a living. The Gardaí obligingly arrested the pickets. The Army men desisted for a while but today they are reported to be back again plying for hire

in the streets of Cork. Their excuse is that they must somehow supplement their meagre pay.

The army is well disciplined. Public silence is maintained at the poor pay and conditions inflicted on it by the civilians who run the Defence Department and gobble up half a million pounds of Army money annually in salaries alone. Salary-wise the Army Chief-of-Staff is only tenth on the Department's top-10 scale. Public silence is maintained when the Chief-of-Staff scuttles North to toast 50 more years of British occupation of Irish soil.

The Minister for Defence, a cattle-jobber in private life, does not seem to care a jot. Easy-going Mick Hilliard, given the Defence Ministry because of

his friendship with Seán Lemass and his general unfitness for any serious Cabinet post, takes a patronising view.

"In some quarters, it seems to be thought that an alternative to punishment in the Law Courts is to join the Army. I have had occasion to make it clear that this is not so".

The Criminal Justice Bill will confuse the issue. The Minister, as Mr. P. J. Burke, T.D., would say, is an old soldier. Myles na gCopaleen felt that snagging turnips and not Defence was the Minister's forte.

But if genial Mick has difficulty preventing the judiciary flooding the ranks with repenting criminals his Coalition shadow, P. A. O'Donnell, has even less ambition for the Army.

"I understand that most of the catering staff in Irish Shipping are coloured. There, surely, is an ideal opportunity to provide employment for the well-known catering staffs of the Army and Navy".

A nonentity like Hilliard might be preferable to a racist like "Pa".

Besides the Curragh H.Q. the Army guards 13 barracks scattered throughout the 26 Counties. With 1,168 Officers, 69 Cadets and 7,500 men, the Officer-soldier ratio works out at roughly one to six. If the civil-servants who supervise the

whole were included, the ratio would show one Chief to every five Indians. Other civilians attached to Units account for £1,124,000 of the £15,300,000 to be spent this year on the Army.

Agus sin e seal an Airm go nuige seo, as a member of the formerly all-Irish-speaking First Battalion of the Western Command would say. Nothing is whole that could be broke. The real tragedy is the life of occupational idleness the 7,500 rank and file must endure. Few useful trades may be learned and retired soldiers are becoming an increasing social problem. Sports facilities are minimal and an Army that should be setting records in almost all fields is rarely heard of in the sports arena. In far-off Cyprus their "more-fortunate" comrades are setting records in crop-harvesting as part of their U.N. duties.

## THE BETRAYAL

The idealism of the ordinary soldier cannot be doubted: neither can their betrayal by the politicians and Top Brass be denied. Wages, conditions and uniform have been the standard complaint for years. Stores who specialise in retailing British Army surplus in Ireland say that even if Irish Army surplus were available for sale the style and fabric quality of the uniform are so poor as to make sale virtually impossible.

The public are sympathetic to the Army but the effort must come from within as it did from within the Garda Síochána if conditions and pay are to improve. The newspapers described the conduct of the young Gardaí at the time as "mutinous" — a word more often associated with armies and navies than with policemen.

A victory on this front organised by the rank and file themselves might lead on to more important aspects of soldiering — like what are the aims of the lost Army? Like where were Sean Sabhat's farmer comrades of the Forsa Cosanta Aitídl when he died at Brookborough on a new year's eve some twelve years ago?





# BARRY CALLS OFF RA ON



Sean Russell, Irish Republican Army leader, addressing the Anti-Partition Day meeting held by the Irish American National Alliance in Chicago.

**P.R.**

## WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE NO, TWICE OVER

Let us recognise the fact that for good or ill Leinster House has the objective power to pass laws which can have the effect of crippling the democratic rights of workers and farmers and restricting their demands as expressed through their own organisations.

In the July and August issues the provisions of the so-called Criminal Justice Bill were outlined and criticised. If passed in the present form, this Bill would seriously curtail the right of the people's organisation to engage in peaceful protest marches and demonstrations. Fortunately the composition of the present Dail is such that with a relatively small change different personnel would constitute that facade for imperialist rule by cheque-book known as the 'Government'.

Some of the members of the opposition parties appear to think that if they were in the 'government' they would have power to make changes. Those of us who know this to be an illusion, and who hold that the structure must be dismantled and rebuilt in such a way as to give the ownership and control of the nation's wealth to those who produce it, should respect the illusions of the parliamentarists, because while they have little chance of doing good they have endless opportunities for doing harm. Also, they enjoy the fruits of office.

We should therefore defend with our last breath that electoral system which enables us to put the maximum pressure on them not to do harm, by threatening to deny them the fruits of office.

At present, with three parties of which one has only a slender majority, every T.D. is amenable to pressure.

With a single-member constituency, politics must settle into the English pattern, with the

THE roots of the 1939 campaign go back to the Fianna Fail accession in 1926 and their entry into the Free State Dail in 1927. Many of the ex-I.R.A. men who had followed De Valera into acceptance of the Free State had done so only on the understanding that he would, when he has obtained a majority in that Parliament, lead the country back to its allegiance to the second Republican Dail and the Republic established by the free vote of the people of all Ireland in 1918. Even the faithful members of the Irish Republican Army and Sinn Féin were strongly inclined to give him a chance. Had he not himself declared, when speaking in the Free State Dail against Cosgrave's 17th Constitutional Amendment Bill, otherwise known as the Coercion Act, that "the true authority lies outside this house". And Frank Aiken's advice to the I.R.A. on the same occasion was "Hold on to your arms".

As the years passed by, however, the Fianna Fail Party and the I.R.A. became more and more estranged. In 1934 also the expulsion of Peadar O'Donnell, the Gilmores, Frank Ryan, and others of the Saor Eire group, further depleted the numbers and brain power of the I.R.A., but this was offset to a great extent by the many new recruits, mainly sons of Tan and Civil War veterans anxious to finish off the job their fathers had begun. One bad result of this break was that republicans were until late 1939 afraid to discuss social revolution for fear of being dubbed communists. Also the loss of literary talent was very noticeable in the republican paper "An Phoblacht".

The rift between the Republicans and Fianna Fail was halted temporarily by the necessity of facing a common enemy — the Blueshirts; but De Valera made the break final and irreparable in 1936 by banning Bodenstown and outlawing the I.R.A. The inevitable result was that the I.R.A. leaders faced with the extinction of their organisation, and urged on by the younger Volunteers, were forced to prepare for fight. Many of the Tan and Civil War veterans were now torn between two loyalties — a personal one to self interest, and the man known as the 'Chief', and a patriotic one to the Army and lawful Government of the 32 Counties.

Some decided for the Republic, like Paddy McGrath, afterwards executed along with Tommy Harte by order of the Special Military Court. Others lingered on with a foot in both camps until faced with the moment of truth. They proved a double edged sword, both useful and dangerous to both sides. The head of De Valera's personal bodyguard resigned from the special branch, giving as the reasons that he was not prepared to arrest or shoot his former comrades.

In 1936, the Special Branch, otherwise known as the Brov Harriers carried out a number of

wiping out of one of the smaller parties, and the emergence of two large parties playing at 'ins and outs' without any real challenge on the basic questions of the 26 County neo-colonial status. Most observers of the Irish scene are agreed that a Fianna Fail majority of 20 to 30 T.D.s is the likely outcome of a switch to the single seat constituency.

In this changed situation, what little influence the organised people now have between elections to prevent the T.D.s doing untold harm would vanish into the mist. Machine politics and patronage would work at five-yearly intervals to keep in power a large majority for the party of wealth and privilege. Between elections, the trade unions and the farmers' organisations would wield so little influence by organised pressure, that the apathy of the people, already bad enough, would become abysmal. No significant social changes can be brought about without the conscious effort of the organised working people.

If the organised working people are unable to achieve some sort of result for their work in the short run, they become discouraged and their organisations lapse.

A single member system, by making it difficult for people to pressure the T.D.s would discourage them from organising. Pressures would build up towards disorganised violence, without reason or leadership. This benefits nobody; violence on its own achieves nothing, indeed it usually makes difficult or impossible for the people's organisation to function, as the police usually attack and isolate the latter.

Suspension of democracy does not strengthen the peoples revolutionary potential; it weakens it by crippling the people's organisations. This is the distilled experience of several decades of European history.

### PART 2 OF THE STORY OF THE 1938 CAMPAIGN

round ups. After the shooting of Egan, 29 Republicans were arrested in Cork, and one in Waterford and brought to Arbour Hill. A further wave of arrests occurred throughout the country on July 11th. In all an estimated 400 were arrested. They were tried before the Civil Courts and lodged in Arbour Hill Military prison and other jails. The 'Coercion Act' under which they were tried was the 'Coercion Act' passed by the Cosgrave Government in 1929 and used by De Valera against the Blueshirts in 1934, who he said "had as a rod to beat them selves". In 1932 the Fianna Fail Government had cleared the jails of all republicans imprisoned under this Act. It now proceeded to jail them under the same Act, and attempted to break their spirit with the devilish instinct of the poacher turned gamekeeper.

The following is a brief description of the treatment of political prisoners in Arbour Hill given by Leo Duignan of Leitrim, who afterwards was sentenced to ten years in England and Joe Collins of Dunmurry who replaced Mick O'Leary as operations Officer for London in April 1939, and was sentenced to twenty years penal servitude for his part in the bombing campaign. "Political prisoners were treated as criminals", we were brought out to exercise three at a time and forced to march round in a single line five yards apart and in silence; our letters were so cut to pieces as to be worthless.

In protest against this treatment the prisoners refused to leave their cells, and military policemen who guarded them used sneak up in rubber soled boots and peep in at them through the spy-hole at all hours of the day and night. On the slightest excuse prisoners were kicked and beaten. Mick O'Leary had his eye damaged by a kick when he was knocked on the floor. He lost the sight of this eye and eventually because totally blind. Prisoners were deprived of all amenities including cigarettes, as a refinement of torture, the P.As used smoke on duty and also fill the lavatories with cigarette smoke before letting prisoners in. This treatment and solitary confinement continued for thirteen weeks. Eventually two prisoners went mad, and on Sunday, September 13th 1936, Sean Glynn was found hanged in his cell.

One of those arrested in the 1936 round up was Moses Twomey, I.R.A. Chief of Staff, who was sentenced to three years imprisonment. He was succeeded by Sean McBride, with Peadar O'Flaherty

THE Irish shell-fish industry, worth £5½ million export on paper, is at present totally undeveloped, thanks to a foreign monopoly of twenty years standing.

The Irish Western coastal waters are potential gold-mines, richer in shell-fish, seaweeds, and other marine products than any other in Europe. The French, who are traditionally the most skilful lobster fishermen in Europe, have denuded their home waters, and are now making a very profitable business cleaning out the Irish supplies, in and out of the water.

This foreign monopoly has been operating for over twenty years, and is a very well organised business. In addition to wholesale poaching, carried on by night without much interference from the Irish navy or anyone else, supplies are obtained legitimately from middle-men and agents in the West, and collected by a French transport boat which calls regularly up the coast to Irish ports, and transports lobster direct to France, or via a holding pond in Crookhaven, Co. Cork, and may be able to dodge the E.R.C. Customs duty as the poachers certainly do.

The man behind this organisation is a multi-millionaire, M. Oulhen, the lobster king of Europe, and thought the French merchant, who built a storage pond at Cleigan in Connemara, was in opposition originally. French interests are now united in control of the Irish shell-fish industry middle-men, in keeping the price down to the fishermen.

It is this middle-man marketing system that has impoverished the West, and the men, and with the French control, has plied together with the Irish lobster fisherstocks, encouraging the fishermen to catch and supply the berried female lobsters and crabs for sale and cultivation in France.

M. Oulhen maintains huge storage ponds at Roscoff in Brittany, and has a virtual monopoly of the continental shell-fish market, as he has of the Irish supply, and especially of the high-priced winter market, when lobsters bought last summer at as much as £5 a piece, when Connemara fishermen were working on Beet schemes and building sites in the U.K. to keep their families at home.



# ARMAGH

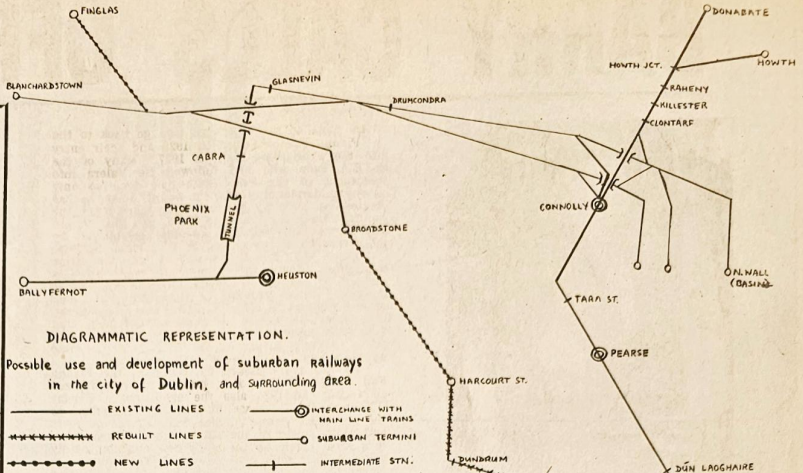
as Adjutant General and Sean Russell as Q.M.G. This arrangement spelt trouble for both McBride, who was toying with the idea of a new political venture, and Russell who was inclined to do things without reference to higher authority. The personality clash between the two men came to a head when Russell went to America without the permission of the Chief of Staff or the Army Council. On his return, he was suspended from his office by McBride and charged with various infringements of Army rules. The most serious of these was that he went to America without permission and that he represented himself there as a duly accredited spokesman of the I.R.A.

Before Russell could be brought to trial, however, McBride's own policies failed to find acceptance and he resigned. Tom Barry was the new Chief of Staff, with O'Flaherty as Adjutant General and Mick Fitzpatrick as Q.M.G., and deputy C.S. However it became clear that Barry intended to pursue the courtmartial of Russell and Thomas McGill, Peadar O'Flaherty relinquished his position and was replaced by Tadgh Lynch. Russell and McGill. Peadar O'Flaherty relinquished his position against them by prosecutor, Sean McBride, and were dismissed from the Army.

But Russell was by no means finished. He had returned from Joseph McGarrity, the Clan na Gael leader in the U.S., with a plan for a bombing campaign in England. Barry was dead against this, which he likened to the dynamite campaign of the Fenians, and reckoned was doomed to failure. At an extraordinary general convention in the Workers Union Hall, Marlborough St., at the end of 1936, Russell's supporters put forward the idea of a bombing campaign in England.

Barry successfully countered this with a plan for a raid on Armagh Barracks. The plan was to bring up two battalions of highly trained and fully armed men into Armagh under the guise of playing a football match. Once in the town the volunteers would take over the town and barracks according to a pre-arranged plan. Thomas McCurtain was to lead this attack which Barry expected to be hot and bloody. He himself would go into the town and Mick Fitzpatrick was to wait on the outskirts to pick up the survivors and organise the retreat in case of failure. Active service units of picked men were organised in Cork, Dublin and other centres. Tom Barry, Mick Fitzpatrick and Tadgh Lynch went to a rendezvous in Cavan, in January 1937. The following day was Sunday they proceeded to Armagh to reconnoitre the position and the time of the attack was fixed for Easter Sunday. Surprise was the element of success.

But it was Tom Barry who was surprised and chagrined when the top brass of Cumann na Bana, headed by Ethna Coyle demanded a share in the enterprise. He called the whole thing off.



# RAILS AROUND DUBLIN

RECENT traffic congestion in Dublin streets has given city-dwellers a glimpse of what the situation will be like in the 1970's if present trends continue. An ever-increasing horde of private vehicles competing for space on our eighteenth century streets, with larger buses and larger lorries. The ghost of Nelson will look down on the O'Connell St. of the '70s and

observe a sea of vehicles moving ever so slowly and finally coming to a complete standstill. This situation will come about unless a transport policy involving restriction on the use of private vehicles in certain areas is adopted.

What is to be done? First, a look at developments a broad. City authorities in many countries are turning to Railway development as a solution to their transport problems. London Transport, with one of the world's greatest underground railway systems, has constructed a new cross-city line which will be opened to traffic in 1969 and has plans for constructing a new central city line. Manchester Corporation and Ministry of Transport investigators found that the conventional twin track railway would provide the most economical system of rapid-transit for the City. The Glasgow Transport study has recommended a £16m. investment in rail electrification and recommitment of several closed lines. In a plan for future transport organisation in the Glasgow area.

In the U.S.A., where the automobile is king, Washington D.C. has provided with a £10,000m. railway system for the city (underground) and suburbs (surface). In Canada the Government of Ontario has introduced a rapid-transit system for railways in the Toronto area. The Transport Study Group there decided that an extension of the existing rail commuter service could take cars off the roads, especially in rush hours, and thus a large reduction in road construction and maintenance costs would be achieved.

Dublin, of course, cannot compare either in size or population with the aforementioned cities but many comparable cities are developing their railway systems.

Oslo, (pop. 500,000) opened its Underground Railway in May, 1966. Stockholm, (Pop. 750,000) has 36 miles of route working at present and is adding about 2 miles a year to the system which is expected to total 80 miles by 1980. Helsinki, (pop. 500,000) seems likely to follow the example of Oslo. Lisbon's (pop. 750,000) 25 mile railway system carries 20,000,000 passengers a year and several extensions are planned. Other cities planning extensions of their rail systems or building new lines are Milan, Turin, Venice, Düsseldorf, Brussels, Mexico City, Madrid and Barcelona.

The Brussels effort is particularly interesting since the planners there, about ten years ago spent £10,000,000 on building an inner-ring road in an effort to solve the traffic problem. The result was that the problem was aggravated, the improved roads encouraging increased automobile traffic. In 1962, therefore, it was decided to concentrate more effort on Public Transport culminating in the Brussels Metro which opens to traffic in 1969. This first line of the system will be capable of carrying 14,000 passengers an hour. Whither Dublin?

Despite these developments in the outside world the Dublin Authorities seem to be going in the opposite direction completely. The much-vaunted Professor

Wright plan for Dublin ignored railway development entirely.

But these ideas have not gone unopposed. In the local elections of 1967, Sinn Féin advocated the setting up of a single Transport Authority for Dublin. This authority would have the necessary powers to take unified responsibility for the problems of transport and traffic at present split between C.I.E., the Corporation, and the Police. The authority would be responsible for providing a cheap high frequency bus service and would be empowered to make regulations restricting the entry of private vehicles to certain areas and at certain times and ensure that the city never becomes choked with traffic.

Last month a group of business and professional people in Dublin produced an alternative plan to that of Professor Wright. This plan suggests that any expansion of Dublin should be towards the North and not Westwards as suggested by Wright. This Northward expansion would be on the existing Railway which would be developed to provide a modern rapid transit system. This plan is obviously superior to Wrightomania and road bias and deserves serious study by Republicans.

The accompanying diagram shows the layout of the Dublin suburban railways and also some suggestions for their development. At present only the coastal section, Donabate to Bray, is used for suburban services. As can be seen a rail connection exists between Ballyfermot, Cabra and Drumeenah to Nth. Wall. This connection is used only for Goods Trains and as access for conveying workers from West Dublin, many of whom work on the docks, to Nth. Wall, an extension could be built to Finglas which has a large commuter population. If the line from Bray to Harcourt St. were rebuilt (and related to residential development since this line was closed in 1959) and extended to Brackin, a second North/South city line would be provided.

# FRENCH GRIP ON THE SHELLFISH INDUSTRY

It is only the strong 'blue' lobster that will live in storage ponds over the winter, so it is mainly from the West of Ireland that the merchants ponds are stocked at the low summer prices, but this year an Irish American Company have started competitive marketing outside the ring, Irish and foreign, cutting out the middle-men and buying direct from the fishermen, and the price of lobsters this month has gone up to 10/- a lb. to the fishermen, so the Frenchmen cannot stock up so cheaply.

The effects of competition among two outside firms on the price paid to fishermen demonstrates the value of a strong marketing outlet. Either the fishermen's co-operatives themselves. The co-operatives exist but both the will to market their own catch and the capitalisation needed to make a start are markedly absent. Either the co-operative leadership is overcome by the mystique of marketing or have too much interest in the old order to do more than ransom the produce of their respective co-operatives to the highest bidder. A co-operative leadership that does this is selling out on both members and principles. The capital to launch such a home-based co-operative controlled marketing system could be raised by the membership itself independent of Government aid. Such a system is as vital to the fisherman as his boat and pots.

The requirements for the development of the Irish shellfish industry are:

1. Improved type boats and gear for curragh fishermen for improved conditions and production, including crab and winter fishing.
2. Improved direct marketing with market research and improved markets.
3. Storage ponds for all the year round supply and high winter prices.

4. Survey and Research, with conservation and cultivation of stocks.

5. Processing plant for crabs and crabs, providing additional income to fishermen and employment for their families with profit sharing scheme.

Co-operative development and marketing is the long-term economic basis for the Irish Shellfish Industry, as it is to the Wool Industry Development and the economic revival of the West, but shellfish marketing and development requires not only large capital resources, but Research and Know-how, and if foreign know-how, minus the foreign capital, American or other, can be employed in this country on a profit sharing basis in an approved comprehensive development scheme, with improved direct competitive or co-operative marketing and co-operative supply, that is satisfactory co-operation; and with co-operation public enterprise can be utilised for the public benefit.

(Continued from page 1)

According to the spokesman the work of the installation will consist entirely of relaying messages to American Naval vessels in the North Sea, the Norwegian Sea, and the North Atlantic. The base, according to the same spokesman, has no connection either with the E.W.S. (Early Warning System) or N.A.T.O. (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation).

The Sperrin location will not replace the naval transmitter at Rosdowney which has been causing interference with television reception in the area. Part of its function is to supplement it.

Whatever the exact work of the base, its existence will be the name of Derry and Ireland that little bit firmer on the nuclear map of Europe. An atomic bomb is one international agent that would not recognise the Border.



G.D.R. Double-deck train.





# the poachers' guide

**"POPULAR** Seamus MacRuairi, Sinn Féin Councillor in Donegal, can be counted on to ask Donegal to declare for the right. Let the fishermen of Mayo see to it that Mayo is not wanting in this respect". That quotation is from last month's poachers' guide. It is now out of date. Donegal Co. Council, on a motion from Councillor Mac Ruairi, unanimously demanded the nationalisation of Ireland's rivers and lakes last month.

Cork and Galway have already passed similar demands. Mayo, the last major area affected by the campaign of private fishing interests against driftnet fishing at sea, has to date made no declaration.

Other exciting news from last month is that the campaign has now spread to urban areas and that the people most involved in the question of nationalisation, the taxpayers, are having their say at last. Malloy U.D.C. passed a nationalisation demand. Malloy is situated on the Munster Blackwater, where the Duke of Devonshire has just added another year to his centuries-old seizure of that region's natural resource.

As the campaign gains ground and nationalisation becomes more and more a reality, it becomes all the more necessary to emphasise the reasoning behind the demand.

Quite apart from the truism that a natural resource belongs to the whole people of the nation and should, therefore, be in their possession, the failure of the present system of ownership to realise the true potential of Ireland's finny underworld is all too apparent. The present situation in the commercial fishing of salmon, in conservation and restocking, in development of waterways for native as well as visiting anglers, in attitudes towards river-drainage schemes, presents a picture of chaos and anarchy.

First there are the owners of the best salmon rivers in the 26 Counties. With the exception of the Shannon system, controlled by the E.S.B., all these important rivers are owned by private individuals or companies, many of them heirs of the conquest. Most of them operate profit-making fisheries and take as many salmon from the water as possible within the limits laid down by law. The profits, on both salmon and eel, goes into their pockets.

Out of the pockets of the taxpayer comes the annual grant of £200,000 to the Inland Fisheries Trust. The Trust, a state body for the development, stocking and cleaning of rivers, does an excellent job with meagre resources. But the waters it controls are mainly second and third-class fishing areas where coarse-fishing for angling purposes is the main aim. It also develops the waters in the ownership of the Dept. of Agriculture.

The Trust, the natural nucleus of a nationalised fisheries industry depends entirely on taxpayers' money to carry out its valuable research and stocking programmes because the million pounds needed annually to undertake a balanced development of the national potential goes into the pockets of private owners. A national programme for the inland fishing industry would include commercial fishing, research, large-scale stocking, conservation, and development of all waters available for angling to the highest possible degree.

In the years to come fisheries will increase in importance as a source of food and pleasure. Who is conserving what in Ireland? The owners who make the most profit from commercial fishing do little or no restocking. The Inland Fisheries Trust put a total of 1,479,000 fry into Irish rivers and lakes in 1966. Angling Associations made the second largest contribution at 167,000, while State supported Fishery Boards came third with 55,000.

On the Boyne, a consortium of owners headed by Major Coddington have taken legal action to prevent a drainage

scheme which would drain 90,000 acres of land. They claim that drainage would affect the salmon in the Boyne and they are right. But the effects are only felt in the year of drainage and in the third year after the drainage has been carried out. This has been the result of a detailed analysis of the effects of arterial drainage on a tributary of the River Moy. The Bunree River contains roughly 25 per cent of the spawning potential of the Moy. Salmon counting made at the end of the drainage year compared favourably with the average for the previous six years. Details of this analysis and its results are given in full in "Irish Fisheries Investigations No. 1" issued by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. So much for Major Coddington's attempt to hold the Boyne Valley community to ransom for a year's profit. But then the Major and his friend and fellow-owner, the Earl of Mount Charles, are descendants of the class who starved two million Irish people to death in the

1840's less their rentrolls diminish — even for a year.

The E.S.B. have been busy rebuilding the potential of the five salmon rivers affected by hydro-electric schemes. The rivers Shannon, Lee, Erne, Clady and Liffey are all now managed by the E.S.B. Again, because of heavy investment in conservation needed to compensate for disturbance of river beds etc., the income from sales of fish has lagged behind outgoings. Losses for 1966, '67 and '68 respectively amounted to £21,742, £38,589, and £20,054. Last year the major portion of £54,000 was expended on conservation while the breakdown on revenue shows the growing significance of eel. Sales of salmon realised £26,000 and eel realised a similar amount.

That the damage done to these rivers by their harnessing for electricity should be borne entirely by the E.S.B. were an acceptable proposition were it not also known that the monies that would accelerate the recovery of these rivers

and make them economically viable in half the time was lining the pockets of lordly parasites. The taxpayers pay while these people, who, in Lalors' words, "know Ireland only in their rent books and pensions" allow the peoples right and exploit the fisheries to the top of their bent.

Could the State operate a nationalised fishing industry with success? Mr. P. A. O'Donnell, T.D. thinks not. Referring to Councillor Seamus Mac Ruairi's nationalisation motion at Donegal County Council he felt that the Minister for Lands might be a worse landlord than those they have at present. However, Deputy O'Donnell supplements his meagre Land salary by working as a solicitor for the landlords on the Letterkenny Board of Conservators. Dishonest pleading comes easy to over-employed lawyers of the Deputy's ilk.

The fact is that the State are in receipt of some of the profits of the Foyle Fishery. Since the Foyle Commission was established in 1952, jointly owned by the Six and Twenty Six County Governments, it has never shown a loss on the balance sheet. The problems experienced by the Foyle Commission are in the microcosm the problems that would face a nationwide industry administered by a single authority, i.e. the striking of a balance between the needs of anglers and netmen, and the provision of a satisfactory spawning stock.

So it is evident that scattered around the country, among the over-exploited fisheries and the neglected weed-grown stretches lie the bones of a nationalised industry that would raise the productivity of rivers in terms of catch and amenity services five times over.

Thanks to the activities of the poachers' guide and to the campaign of the National Waters' Restoration League, many public bodies have come down solidly in favour of nationalisation.

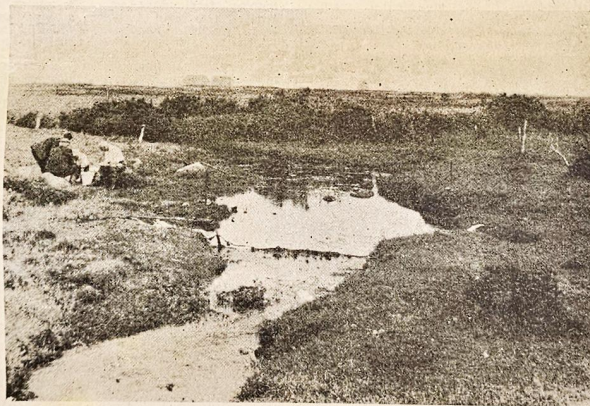
Ireland and Scotland between them contribute over four-fifths of all salmon received on Billingsgate Market in London. Each country sends roughly the same number of boxes to the British market with Scotland having a slight edge on Ireland at times. In Scotland the importance of the fisheries is fully recognised. Both the Scottish Nationalist Party and the Scottish branch of the Labour Party have called for nationalisation.

Galway City will be the epicentre this month as the campaign is further escalated. In a statement announcing a poster demonstration and public demonstration on the Salmon Weir Bridge, on Sunday, September 8, Cumann na nGaedheal, Sinn Féin, Galway, state that they are determined that such an important fishery centre should add its voice to the call for public ownership. The statement continues: "Galway County is one of the richest counties in Ireland both in the number and extent of its rivers and lakes and in the number of salmon and sea trout to be found therein. It is also unique in the number of foreigners and non-residents controlling the 'rights' of these waters and denying the public's right to their natural inheritance.

Beautiful and barren Connemara is dotted all over with "Fishing Private" notices. The names of the owners reads like an extract from DeBrett's Peerage—Col. R. L. Berridge, Col. O'Donovan, Sir Richard Levinge, etc.

The lakes and streams of Rosmuc, famous and beloved for its associations with MacPiarais, are in the hands of outsiders to the exclusion of the local people. Odium and Levinge are names not native to Rosmuc.

The statement concludes with a detailed description of the situation in Galway City itself where the most valuable fisheries in the West is owned by an Englishman, Mr. Barber, famous for his persecution of Lough Neagh fishermen in the 6 Counties.



The picture above shows the Bunree River before drainage began. The picture below shows the same stretch after drainage was completed. Salmon were affected during the year of drainage and in the third year after the work had been completed. The river returned to normal almost immediately. Salmon stocks were not permanently affected.



# civil rights now

HOW long must our fellow countrymen in the Six Counties endure what they are enduring? Is their long night ever to be at an end?

This is not to speak melodramatically. The injustices borne by the Catholic and nationalist people of the North — half a million of them — are terrible. The lack of democracy there is stifling to the political instincts of all decent men. The discrimination they are subjected to on account of their religion by the Unionist Government is becoming harder and harder to bear. They are second-class citizens in their own country and they feel, with only too much truth, that they have been forgotten by their fellow Irishmen in the South.

All Irish people suffer because of the dismemberment of Ireland by Partition. Because of this there has not yet been constructed in our country the united democratic Republic, the beacon-light to the oppressed of every land, of which Pearse spoke and Connolly dreamed. But the minority population of the Six Counties suffers in a special way.

The Northern Catholics and nationalists live under a Unionist Government which ranks with those of Portugal and Greece as among the most backward administrations in Europe. They are systematically denied jobs, denied housing, denied social amenities, for fear they would increase and multiply too much in their own areas and present a threat to the Unionist ascendancy. Jobs and industries are channelled from Catholic and given to Protestant areas in the most blatant way. The religious and political beliefs of the Catholics are insulted daily from platform and pulpit by modern exponents of sixteenth century bigotry. For a Six County man to express openly his desire for a united Republic to be established in this island is to put himself in danger of the criminal law. Republican clubs and associations are banned, republican meetings proscribed and the sale of republican literature and this very newspaper made an offence. The Special Powers Acts still violate two thirds of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, which the British Government, the body ultimately responsible for all matters in the Six County area under the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, is officially pledged to uphold.

Political freedom is the basis of all other freedoms and essential to the right of political freedom is the right to vote. Yet one third of the adult electorate in the Six Counties is disenfranchised in local government elections. Derry City, the second largest in the area, is so gerrymandered that a community overwhelmingly Catholic has a City Council composed two thirds of Unionists. In the city administration scarcely a Catholic is employed by this bigoted Unionist-dominated Council. Similar situations exist in Dungannon, Enniskillen and other important towns.

How long more will it last?

The nationalist people of the Six Counties in general welcomed the advent to office of the Labour Government in Britain in 1964. They recognised that while this Government was in no way anti-partitionist, there would nevertheless be more chance of democratic reforms from Labour than from the Tories, whose traditional commitment to the continued dismemberment of Ireland is embodied in their official title, the

Conservative and Unionist Party. They recognised that there was significant support for reform in the North within the Labour Left and in the anti-imperialist wing of the British Labour Movement, even though that wing was in a minority, on the Irish question as well as on other issues.

And just as the nationalist had some hopes, the Unionists contrariwise had worries. Perhaps the British Government under Labour might disturb the reactionary nest at Stormont? Captain O'Neill began to cultivate a liberal image and the rhetoric of "community relations", hoping to sit out the time undisturbed until his Tory friends would be returned to office in Britain again.

Time is now beginning to run out in the Six Counties. A British General Election will probably occur within two years and Mr. Harold Wilson has a good chance of losing it. Then, whatever slender hope of reform there may be from Labour, there will be none at all left from the Conservatives, as they settle in for a decade or more in office. The people of Derry, Dungannon and Belfast are now fully aware of this. They know they must bear the brunt of the struggle themselves, but for their sakes and that of the whole Irish people a desperate effort is needed during the period immediately ahead to bring the situation in the Six Counties to the attention of Irish, British and world public opinion so that O'Neill and Wilson can no longer be allowed to get away with doing nothing.

What is needed at the present time for the North is a Bill of Rights, an amendment to the Government of Ireland Act, which would guarantee for the people in the Six Counties the same civil liberties, the same electoral system and the same opportunities for political activity as today exist in those parts of the United Kingdom known as England, Scotland and Wales.

For the Unionist and the British cannot be allowed to continue having it both ways. If the North is kept in the United Kingdom against the overwhelming wishes of the Irish

people as a whole, then at least everyone who lives there — including the Catholics and Republicans — should have the same rights and political freedoms as in other parts of the U.K. Yet the Unionists fear above all else that this should happen, for if the people of Derry, for instance, had the same civil liberties as the people of Birmingham, then the Unionist Party would lose political control of the Maiden City which would be a dramatic political blow to their position in the North.

We have neglected the North for far too long. Republicans, socialists and progressive people all over the country have many other problems; but if one examines them closely it will be seen that almost all of them stem in one way or another from the political, economic or cultural effects of British imperialism on the country; and the North is imperialism's strongest bastion in Ireland. Weaken imperialism there and the winning of civil liberties and democratic reforms would be such a weakening — and its hold on Ireland is weakened all over.

If civil disobedience and acts of organised, disciplined flouting of the law can extract concessions and reforms from the racist administration in the southern states of the U.S.A., then they can also be used in Ireland to expose the misdeeds of O'Neill, Craig, Faulker and their minions. If keeping the law gains no redress of grievances, then nothing is left but to break the law. At appropriate times and in appropriate ways, of course. For the secret of effectiveness in acts of civil disobedience is careful planning, well prepared publicity and the avoidance of undisciplined provocative actions which would alienate rather than increase public sympathy and support. The experience of the civil rights movement in the United States needs to be studied and mastered and its lessons applied to the Six Counties with this end in view.

As mentioned above, economic resistance, the struggle for jobs and the campaign against neo-colonialism and free trade, is only one aspect of the struggle against British

imperialism in Ireland, of which Partition is, and remains, the main bastion. Once Partition is weakened, once the hold of the Unionist Party is made even a tiny bit more insecure, then the tasks of Republicans in all other spheres are made that much more easy.

When the people of the North look South at the present time it is any wonder they feel cynicism and despair? Hands across the Border is the political tune being played in Dublin Government circles and criticism of Captain O'Neill is considered wholly infra dig. Mention of discrimination, gerrymandering and the ban on the Republican Clubs would not blend harmoniously with the tinkling of the tea-cups. Mr. Brian Lenihan gives interviews to the British Daily Telegraph where he lectures the Scots and the Welsh on the advantages of membership of the United Kingdom; while Messrs. Lynch, Haughey and Whitaker integrate the Twenty Six County economy closer and closer with Britain under the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. Even Mr. Eddie McAteer, leader of the Nationalist Party which traditionally has seen itself as the northern wing of Fianna Fail, expressed his disillusionment at the indifference of Dublin.

Our countrymen in the North most not give in to this despair. The people of the Twenty Six Counties are not indifferent to the North. They are in ignorance about it — a carefully cultivated and fostered ignorance. The southern newspapers, with few exceptions, and the southern T.V. and Radio, give the Six Counties generally scant and misleading coverage, which totally fails to give a true picture of the situation of the Catholics. All is shown to be rosy in the Northern garden, which is what suits a Dublin Government that has abandoned completely the struggle for national unity and which needs a compliant public opinion while it is engaged in selling the country to Britain.

What is needed — and needed now is a national campaign throughout the whole of Ireland in support of the demand for democracy in the North and to help our oppressed fellow countrymen there. Such a campaign needs to be organised throughout the length and breadth of the Twenty Six Counties as well where it would take the form of urging the Dublin Government to champion the cause of the Six County Catholics as vis-à-vis Britain, in the United Nations, at the Court of Human Rights and in whatever international forum the Twenty Six County State has a voice.

Sceptics may ask what can be expected from the Twenty Six County Government? One must answer that if pressed sufficiently strongly and vigorously by an informed and indignant public, then they may do something — and in a situation such as now exists in the North

Time is running out. The consequences of failing to budge the Unionists in the North and win definite reforms there during the coming period will be grim for the Irish people all over this island. We must bend every effort of our intelligence to this task.

All of us. And now, every little helps.

● County Sheriff Rowntree at Caledon eviction. A 19-year old unmarried girl replaced the evicted family.





# CONDITIONS IN DERRY

By Liam O'Comain

THE appeal by the Derry Housing Association Ltd., against the Derry gerrymandered corporation in refusing them permission to develop 51 acres of land at Pennyburn for housing purposes was dismissed by the Stormont regime official who stated, "There is no immediate solution to the housing problem - the area plan has been unable to solve the immediate problem".

This is typical of all utterances by Unionists, neo-unionists and victims of apathy when they refer to the drastic housing situation in Derry City. Similar are the statements made when referring to the chaotic employment situation in this historic city.

"The Derry people prefer the dole rather than work," has been stated on numerous occasions. But this is far from the truth for Derry people if given the chance can compare with any workers on this planet. However, the gullible will continue to accept untruthful statements about the housing and employment situation. It seems that the housing problem can only be solved in the Six Counties in areas where the Unionists are in the majority. For example, in nearby Limavady, where hundreds of houses have been built in latter years.

Of course, it is the Unionist policy to ensure that house building is kept to a minimum. Thus those opposed to their policy will have to emigrate or seek houses elsewhere and 'elsewhere' is usually in a rural Unionist stronghold where their vote is of no purpose. This runs with the Unionist policy of keeping the employment rate in Derry at four or five thousand. Thus again forced emigration and the eclipse of a potent enemy.

It is when one visits such flats and houses in this 'condemned' city that one becomes aware of the non-existing Christianity of the landlords of the majority and minority religious faiths who let at such high prices dwelling units for pigs or poultry let alone human beings. Those who may be at the crossroads between capitalism and socialism and who find it impossible to choose should visit the homes of Derry City and I assure them that they will become socialists with a burning desire for justice and humanity.

In William Street, Duke Street, and Carlisle Road to state merely three, I am aware of a number of families living in shocking conditions who pay rents at £2 to £3 10/- per week. Here I will state the case of Mr. and Mrs. Shearin whose landlord refuses to do any repairs. (This is the case with the majority of landlords, however). Rent—£3 10/-, No. of Rooms: 1 sittingroom, 1 bedroom, 1 bathroom, 1 kitchen, 1 flat. Husband, wife and two children aged six months and fifteen months. General condition of flat. Walls very damp, no hot water, one toilet between two tenants, no bath, no drying facilities. On corporation housing list without success.

Another tenant pays £2 for one room in William Street. He shares this 'kennel' with a sister and brother. Dwelling in flat for two years, on housing list for four years. General condition of flat: toilet shared with another tenant, no hot water, no bath, no co-cker, no drying facilities. Also in William Street there is one room shared for six years by a father, mother and three children aged between three and six years. Mr. and Mrs. S. have been on the housing list for almost seven years and where they dwell now they share the toilet with eight tenants. No water supply in flat, no bath, staircase unsafe, rat-infested, ceiling falling in, etc.

There are many more cases that I could relate but I will conclude with the following: An old age pensioner pays 10/- per week for one room. She has dwelt twenty-seven years in this flat and has been on the housing list for sixteen years. There is no water supply and she has to carry coal and water up three flights of stairs. No electric light. Tenant at present financing repairs to walls out of her pension. Dampness and staircase unsafe.

What is needed in Derry City is a working class based housing action committee willing to agitate strongly, organise mass protest meetings, etc. They must take matters into their own hands and forget about any member of the capitalist corporation, who have condemned themselves by their record. Such an action committee could co-operate with similar committees in Dublin and elsewhere. Thus a nation-wide housing action movement could evolve and with sustained effort bring about a badly needed housing revolution.

However, for such a movement to evolve there needs to be an end to suspicion among the members who should be mature enough to ignore the shouts of communists, etc. at certain individuals. In unity lies strength and it is precisely the capitalists purpose to divide the people. So come on Derry, Unite. Awake!



## Fianna Camp

Fianna camps were held this summer in Glendalough, Drumshanbo, West Cork, Inistioge and Galway, and Fianna from Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Leitrim, Galway, Laois, Wicklow and some areas in the 6 Cos. attended.

The weather was excellent and judging by reports received the camps were very enjoyable. The Belfast Fianna in Drumshanbo did great work for the tidy towns competition and founded a Slua in the town before they left.

In contrast the scouts at Inistioge were visited by the Special Branch and one young scout was badly frightened. In Galway the Fianna camp was under S.B. surveillance daily. However, in spite of these incidents, the camps went off well with games, swimming, trips to places of interest and hikes.



## I.R.A. SPELL OUT THE MESSAGE

The destruction of the lobster boat, "Mary Catherine" by explosives at the beginning of August at Ros A' Nihil in the heart of the Connemara Gaeltacht was followed by statements from three interested sources.

The first statement came from Colm McDevitt of the Connemara Fishermen's Co-operative.

It said that members of the Co-operative regretted the destruction of the boat and wished to state publicly that "We are against this type of action and that we disassociate ourselves in every way with acts of this nature."

The second statement, acknowledging the explosion as the work of a unit of the I.R.A., came from J. J. McGarrity of the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. The statement gave the reason for the action as follows: "The action was undertaken to protect the Irish shell-fishing industry against exploitation by foreign interests, to protect these natural resources, and to preserve them for our own native fishermen."

The presence of the American company here is easily explained. For the past seven years lobster catches in the U.S. and Canada have shown a steady decrease. The French-coast lobster areas have been virtually fished out while Sweden, Norway and Portugal have imposed restrictions with a view to conserving stocks.

This Company has set up in opposition to the existing fishermen, organised now in co-operatives. It represents a threat to the native fishermen in the fishing and marketing sectors.

The existence of the fishermen's co-operatives provides the opportunity to ensure the responsible use of these resources for the benefit of the people themselves, and not for insensitive foreign interests. The 26-County Government should concentrate on building on this local basis and not undermining it by inviting unrestricted exploitation of the nature employed by Galway Bay Fisheries Ltd.

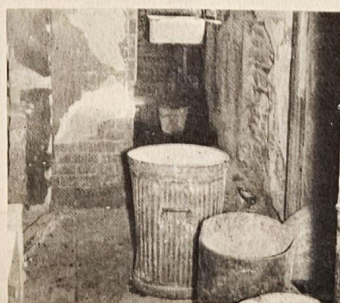
On August 7, The Irish Co-operative Development Trust (formerly Comhar Linn) condemned the action as "senseless and retrograde."



● Severe overcrowding leads to this. The young must suffer for the politics of their elders.



● DERRY HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE will soon eclipse all other similar committees in the country for enterprise and activity. Here members of the committee picket the house of an evicting landlord, one of the Ratchmans who extort money from Derry homeless in the private housing sector.



● A centrally situated wash basin in an average Derry slum.



# GAMBLING GETS BIG PROFIT FOR GARDAI

AT THE HEIGHT of the strike by Dublin municipal workers, firemen and ambulance men in August the Garda Representative Body issued a statement criticising a recommendation by the Labour Court that compared the firemen's wages and conditions with that of the Garda. The Garda, the statement pointed out, wanted parity with clerical officers in the Civil Service and not with firemen. Despite the protestations of solidarity with the firemen contained in the same statement, the complaint smacked strongly of snobishness.

The fact is that both the Garda and the firemen are claiming the same annual wage, i.e. £1,228. However, the Garda want to maintain the march they stole on the firemen as a result of their near mutiny some years ago. The firemen's Union had shown that up to 1888 firemen had a rate slightly higher than that of Garda. Firemen now receive £18 5s. a week as compared with £20 5s. 9d for Garda.

The Labour Court merely recommended that the firemen's wage claim be further reviewed in the light of whatever would be conceded to the Garda. There was no question of "interference" with the Garda claim.

The statement had the effect of drawing attention to the "Representative Body", which many members of the force claim to be anything but representative. The body was set up in order to avoid a repetition of the Garda unrest which preceded the last big pay increase. The fact that one of the Dublin executive officers on the committee is a member of the Special Branch is proof positive to many Garda that this group is misrepresentative. At the time of the Garda unrest, members of the Branch had spied on their meetings and reported the proceedings to the hysteric Commissioner of the day. Since then Garda-Branch relations have been a little strained.

Branchman Tom O'Leary has their problems as well. One of his aims in the wage negotiations will be to maintain the basic inequality in wages and conditions between the ordinary Garda and the Branchman. At the moment, Branchmen work two hours less per spell of duty than the Garda and receive 20s more per week. They also spy on their fellow Garda.

Branchman O'Leary must also strive to prevent members of the Garda taking a leaf out of the Corporation workmen's book and par-

ing down O'Connell Street with placards bearing comparison between their wages and that of Special Branch Chief Fleming. Mr. Fleming, like the Dublin City Manager, rates £90 per week.

The Garda face other difficulties in their wage claim. Dublin City Garda have other substantial interests beyond their weekly wage packets. The firemen have no club: the Garda have.

Last year the Garda Recreation Club at Harrington Street achieved a capital appreciation of about 400 per cent. Gambling at the club premises last year showed a profit of £17,000. Bingo contributed £16,326 and cards, £726 13s. 10d. Profit on dances amounted to £2,428 8s. 4d. Club membership fees yielded £3,880 2s. 0d. The profit on the bar in the club is not disclosed.

Eyebrows might be raised at such unusual Garda activity, but as the report presented to members states, "the formulation of policy and its subsequent expression is a mirror of the mind of ordinary members." Negotiations are in progress for the purchase of premises suitable for restaurant and residential purposes. "continues the good news for the Garda.

The possibility of a profit dividend to members could just affect the claim before the Labour Court. Again, the success of the claim could cause embarrassment—a parity claim by employees of the Harrington Street casino.

## CORK DEMAND

The Cork Board of Fishery Conservators has passed a resolution approving calls for the nationalisation of inland fisheries. Very Rev. T. A. Coffey, P.P., the chairman, said they all agreed with the principle of nationalisation.



● Tom O'Leary

## POINTS OF INTEREST

The annual Liam Lynch Commemoration will take place on Sunday, September 15. The parade will assemble at Goatbridge at 2.30 p.m.

A Commemoration in honour of Patrick Tierney and Sean O'Carroll will take place in Ardara at 3 p.m. on September 29. The parade to the memorial will take place from the Fair Green. Patrick O'Carroll and Michael Rodgers will be in charge.

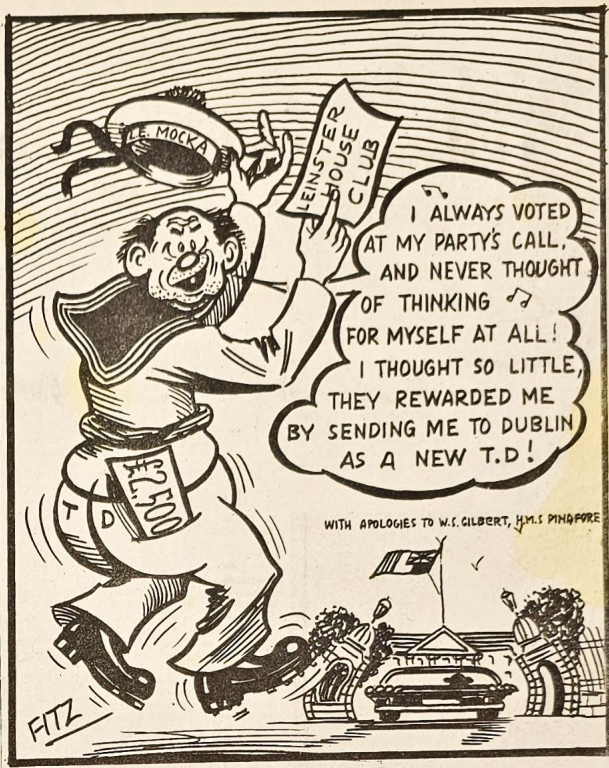
A Wreath was laid at the Sean Russell memorial in Fairview Park on Wednesday, 21st August, on behalf of the members of Cumann Sean Russell of Sinn Fein.

Ar an Domhnach, an 8ú la Meánfómhair, at 10.45 ag Baile na n-Éireann, Baile Átha Cliath, cuirfear Adriann ar son anannacha Sheán Mhic Ghloin, Phadraig Mhic Craite, Thomais Uí hAirt, Thomais Mhic Liam agus Phadraig Mhic Diarmada. A shroind agus a dhéanfaid ar son na hÉireann.

John C. Healy, one of the most active and hardworking leaders in the Clan na Gael organisation on the Pacific Coast, has recently passed away at his Redwood City home in California.

Joining the ranks during his teenage years he was a generous contributor of his time and finances to the cause in San Francisco during the different phases of the militant struggle in Ireland against the forces of foreign occupation. Many representatives of the Irish Republican Movement coming to California, including Liam Mellows and Sean Russell, were welcome guests at his home and his hospitality knew no bounds in making the mission of each of them a success, both morally and financially.

A Branch of the I.T.G.W.U. has been formed by the workers of Waltham Electronics (Ireland) Ltd., Long Leas, Dublin 8. It is hoped that the establishment of the Branch will result in better management-worker relations in the future.



WITH APOLOGUES TO W.S. GILBERT, H.M.S. PINFIRE

## WITH CLANN IN BRITAIN

With only a small working committee Clann members in Wolverhampton have set a headline for all other Craobhs in England. The Craobh called a meeting of all young members of political parties and socialist groups in their area and explained the system of Government operated in the 6 Counties. Pádraig Yeats of the Birmingham Craobh gave a lecture on the notorious Special Powers Act which bans the "UNITED IRISHMAN," the Republican Clubs, free movement of Republicans, and allows jailing without charge or trial.

Great dissatisfaction was

expressed by all attending at the dictatorial methods of Government described and a motion was passed to the effect that the Labour Government be contacted and asked to extend the new Racial Discrimination Act to the 6 Counties in view of the discrimination in housing, schooling, jobs, etc.

Disappointment was expressed by the young members of the British political parties present that most of the other Craobhs of Clann, in cities where Clann is active, have made no effort to date to keep the politicians in their area abreast of the situation in the 6 Counties. They

expressed hope that this would be done and that action committees could be formed in each area to mount the final political onslaught that would break the back of the Unionist regime in the 6 Counties.

### HUDDERSFIELD

Reorganisation is taking place in Huddersfield and it is arranged that a public meeting will be held there on Sunday, September 15, in Sparrow Park (close to St. Patrick's R.C. Church) at 7.30 p.m. The meeting will be addressed by the President and organising Secretary of Clann and members of the Ad-Choiste of Clann in Britain.

## WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN

You may have wondered what has gone wrong with the "freedom" which was won between 1916 and 1921. Why does emigration continue, and why is the wealth of the country still exploited by a few rich men, many of them foreigners and absentees?

The Republican Movement asserts that our freedom has not yet been won, that the 26-County "Republic" declared in 1949 is a sham. Ireland cannot be free until her whole wealth is under the control of the organised working people of the whole country. To achieve this we must sweep aside the present administrators of money-grabbing politicians and their foreign monopolist bosses.

But to do this, it is necessary for those who now understand and accept this to organise into a conscious movement capable of leading and organising the working people so as to achieve finally the freedom envisaged by Connolly and Pearse.

Our brothers in the Six Counties, though hampered by illegality and other disabilities, are building a movement that, when the time comes, will be able to draw on the support of all working people in the North, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter. We will also be able to call on the Irish in Britain, the victims of decades of economic decline, to help us rebuild the nation.

In the meantime, YOU, here and now, can join Sinn Féin and learn about our programme. Tabhair lámh chunta san obair uasal. Lion isteach an fhoirm seo agus cuir i go dtí: An Runai, Sinn Féin, 30 Plas Gardnar, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

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## An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

Published by Republican Publications,  
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.Fon: 41045 MEAN FOMHAIR, 1968  
Is í An Phoblacht ár guspóir.

## MERGER MOST FOUL

WHAT ignorance won't do thickness will be Mr. Brian Lenihan's motto. The setting up of the latest Higher Education Authority to consummate the marriage of T.C.D. and U.C.D. "on the basis that what has been decided has been decided" indicates that marriage is to replace consensus and persuasion in the matter.

There is no evidence to show that either of the prospective partners have signified their willingness to any of the sets of terms laid down for the betrothal. Nor has Mr. Lenihan or his predecessor justified the case for what is euphemistically called a merger. Of late, the business world have taken to putting the same label on takers.

From the beginning, heavily disguised in arguments of economy, the merger proposal has been animated by a spirit of political expediency. Economies are possible, not alone as between U.C.D. and T.C.D. but between the organisations of all institutions of higher education in Ireland. The disappearance of two universities in Dublin and their replacement by one cannot be justified on grounds of economy, the sum of Ministerial arguments to date. The suspicion is, and it is well founded, that only T.C.D. is to disappear — a victim of the political expediency that could think of no other way to get rid of the ban by Catholic Bishops on entry to T.C.D. and its effect, on the tenure of County Council scholarships.

The coercive powers of the New Authority tells us more about Lenihan's character than it does about the state of preparedness of the quarrelling 'lovers'. Mr. Lenihan appointed no student representative to his new Authority. Not one — although University is all about students.

But he did appoint the Governor of the Bank of Ireland, the resident enigma of Zurich. Perhaps Donal O'Carroll is the symbol of the exploitation of Irish youth for commercial gain? Or is it that his experience as a liquidator of T. and C. Martins is to be applied to Trinity? The Chairman of the new body, Dr. Toirleach Ó Ráifeartaigh, a Knight of Columbanus, certainly confirms any fears in Trinity that the merging is really a submerging and that the long feared Catholic night-of-the-long-knives is at hand. Not a good choice for a Government given to persecuting Protestants with kindness.

Indeed, Trinity's Republican Club will be one of the early martyrs of the new university. Only orthodox politics are permitted in U.C.D., Flanna Fail, Fine Gael, and Labour are allowed. The Republican Club is banned. In T.C.D. all form of political expression are allowed. The Republican Club there is not only recognised but is also subsidised.

But why, in an era of decentralisation, create a monster university of 20,000 students in Dublin? The existence of two university presences in Dublin is never more necessary. If the Department of Education is to go to Athlone and Industry and Commerce to Castlebar, and if the destruction of Trinity is an absolute political necessity, why not send it, cobbles and all, to Limerick that is crying out for a university? Why, above all, destroy the traditions, the potential and the uniqueness of Trinity?

The merging of T.C.D. and U.C.D. represents another attempt at "ad hoc" planning by the Flanna Fail Government: when we are dealing with such a vital topic as planning the future of higher education for the children of this country the whole must not become sacrificed to the part, the future to the past. A comprehensive rationalisation of the Irish educational system is called for.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

(From page 1)

Tom O'Connor, on behalf of the Republican Clubs, pointed out that the Special Powers Act was to be applied not only to Republican Clubs but to any group threatening the Unionist stranglehold on political life in the North. Demands for ordinary civil rights such as housing presented such a threat and was being met with the same force and coercion as the existence of the Clubs.

"Currie for the workers" may have been one of the slogans carried on the march but Austin Currie's speech underlined the sectarianism of the Nationalist philosophy as he harangued the Unionists, describing them as 'hooligans', and speaking of "them" and "us". He seemed to forget that the deluded people he was inflaming fifty yards away were also fellow "workers", and neighbours of a large section of the marchers, people used and confused by their Unionist masters.

The meeting finished with Betty Sinclair expressing the marchers' determination to keep marching until civil rights for all became the norm of community relations.

## GALWAY PICKET

Fintan Coogan, T.D., a member of Galway Corporation, and an ex-Lord Mayor, almost went berserk at Galway Docks last month at the sight of a Republican picket on a British Navy vessel, the 'Hecate'. Rushing past the picket he addressed the amused British sailors "Don't mind them fellows" he said, referring to the picket. "I gave them a good telling off". Coogan's "telling off" amounted to a threat to throw the pickets in the water and asking the picketers what they knew about 1916.

Mr. Coogan, according to himself, "was out when it was rough against the Black and Tans". "There's no need for that any longer" said the excited

Fianna Fail Lord Mayor of Galway, Robert Molloy, T.D., scuttled off to the Aran islands for the day. The announcement of the picket by the Republicans banished any intentions of welcoming the British Navy without embarrassment.

After employees of the Harbour Commissioners office had refused to tamper with slogans painted up during the night such as "British Navy get out", the Garda took a hand and altered one slogan to read "Welcome British Navy to Galway", politician.



● Republicans picket the British Naval Vessel, H.M.S. Hecate at Galway.

## ST. LAWRENCE MAKES GOOD

Gasps of admiration were heard all over when it was announced some time ago that Mr. Christopher Gaisford St. Lawrence had presented 220 acres of the Hill of Howth and the 58-acre island Ireland's Eye to the nation. An Taisce (National Trust) officers who accepted the gift at a press conference spoke of the amenity value of the three main areas comprised in the donation: the cliff walk, the centre hill area and Ireland's Eye.

Closer examination of the "gift" to the nation reveals, however, that Mr. St. Lawrence has combined a very good business deal with a good stroke of public relations. The land in question was not presented to the nation. It was merely leased to An Taisce for twenty years. While An Taisce will pay a nominal

rent for the land to St. Lawrence, it will also be responsible for rates and maintenance. Members of An Taisce admitted that the cost could be considerable.

Also, the money to carry out the proposed development would also have to be found—probably as a grant from the Department of

Finance. And when the lease expires in 20 years time, Mr. St. Lawrence will find himself the possessor of a valuable investment developed for him by public money.

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