

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Marta (March) 1969. Iml. XXIII. Uimhir 3. Luach 9d. (US and Canada 15c.)

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR SOUTH?



THIS SUMMER

COME TO FASCIST ULSTER



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THE SPECIAL POWERS ACT, NORTHERN IRELAND

Under the Act, the authorities are empowered to:

- (1) Arrest without warrant;
- (2) Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeas corpus or a court of law;
- (3) Enter and search homes without warrant, and with force, at any hour of day or night;
- (4) Declare a curfew and prohibit meetings, assemblies (including fairs and markets) and processions;
- (5) Permit punishment by flogging;
- (6) Deny claim to a trial by jury;
- (7) Arrest persons if it is desired to examine as witnesses, forcibly detain them and compel them to answer questions, under penalties, even if answers may incriminate them. Such a person is guilty of an offence if he refuses to be sworn or answer a question;
- (8) Do any act involving interference with the rights of private property;
- (9) Prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to a person imprisoned without trial;
- (10) Prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death;
- (11) Arrest a person who "by word of mouth" spreads false reports or makes false statements;
- (12) Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper;
- (13) Prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record;
- (14) Arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations".

The scene of action for civil rights may soon switch from the North to the South if three new Bills at present before Leinster House are passed. The three proposed laws, The Criminal Justice Bill 1967, The Trade Union Bill 1966 and The Industrial Relations Bill 1966 represent Fianna Fail's "grand design" — managed democracy for the 26 County area. Action is needed immediately by the people affected to nip at the dying kick of a discredited Government from placing the rights of public protest, free speech and the withdrawal of labour in the custody of the police. Every citizen is affected. And any or all of these three Bills could be law by the end of this month.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

• The Criminal Justice Bill affects you as tenant, farmer, worker or private citizen. In every instance it enlarges judges' powers, gardai powers and ministerial powers. The most regressive sections affecting Public Order are Sections 28, 30, 31, 45 and Sections 53, 54.

The contradictory and ambiguous amendments proposed for Sections 30, 31 in order to confuse and stifle public opinion are discussed inside. The other Sections stand as first introduced by Mr. O Morain two years ago despite the public outcry. Public opinion must not be duped by O Morain's lightning conversion at the Fianna Fall Ard Fheis: the amendments are ineffectual and the other outstandingly bad parts of the Bill remain as before.

• The maintenance men's strike is being used by Dr. Hillery to pass regressive Trade Union legislation. This prolonged and involved strike has focussed attention on inter-union problems and Dr. Hillery, with the aid of the Burgh Quay press, is selling the public the idea that his bills are a gift "for the improvement of present industrial relations" (see third editorial). Nothing could be further from the truth. The Bills date from 1966. Hillery's current show of benevolence is in fact a three-years-nurtured plan to tame the Unions.

TRADE UNION BILL 1966

• Section 9 of the Trade Union Bill proposes to cripple the sym-

pathetic strike by withdrawing the protection of the 1906 Trades Dispute Act from the picketers involved—a feat which the employers failed to do in 1913.

• Sections 6 and 7 introduce "Group Negotiating Licences". In a trade dispute, once a group is formed, a union having 50 per cent membership amongst the men involved could not go on strike until the other unions in the group were sounded out and approved of the strike action.

• Section 12 proposes that new unions must place a deposit of £5,000 and must keep the membership at 500 for a period of 18 months to obtain a negotiating licence.

• Section 14 provides that to be legal a strike must be approved of

by 51 per cent of those entitled to vote. Even then the Union executive can overrule the men's decision. This is intended to delay strike action and leaves unofficial picketers open to penalisation in court.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BILL 1966

• Section 6 establishes a new type of civil servant to be known as a "Rights Commissioner" to investigate industrial strife. The Commissioners are appointed by the Minister. Any appeal against the Commissioners' recommendation is taken to the Labour Court where the decision will be legally binding!

• Section 21 abolishes the E.S.B. Manual Workers' Tribunal.

AGITATION WINS

The text of the Housing Bill 1968, ordered to be printed by Leinster House on the 10th of July 1968, was released to the general public last month.

The main purpose of the Bill, in the words of the accompanying explanatory memorandum, is to "secure more effective control over the demolition or change of use of houses". It proposes that a person who wishes to demolish or change the use of a habitable house will be required to obtain housing permission from the housing authority (except in certain circumstances). A "habitable" house, according to the Bill, is "one which in the opinion of the housing authority is reasonably fit for human habitation or is capable of being rendered so fit at reasonable expense". In determining an application under the Bill the Housing authority "must have regard to the state of repair of the house and to the adequacy of the supply of housing available in the area". Permission may be refused under the Bill "or may be granted subject to conditions

requiring the provision of alternative accommodation or a contribution towards the cost of providing it".

Section 9 (3) of the Bill provides three exceptions relating to the general rule of obtaining permission which allows developers to proceed if they comply with "conditions prescribed by the Minister" or if they have designs "relating to a house in an area to which the Bill does not apply because of an order describing such area under this section".

It would seem then that contrary to the publicity surrounding the Bill there is to be no absolute control over the demolition of sound houses as demanded by the Dublin Housing Action Committee. While this present Bill may satisfy the wishes of the Catholic Housing Aid Society, whose experience with Ministerial interpretations of sub clauses in housing and planning legislation is limited, it cannot but whet the appetite of the D.H.A.C. as the introduction of the Bill at all shows that the quarry is on the run.

OPATHY ALL IN THE PAST

STUDENT REBELS IN UNIVERSITIES



● Students and Gardai clash at Department of Justice, Stephen's Green, Dublin.

CROKE PARK TO BE MORTGAGED?

CONCERN G.A.A. OVER OFFICE-BLOCK

THE RECENT announcement by the Central Council that the Policy Committee's recommendation for developing the frontage of Croke Park with the view to providing the Association with an increased income by erecting an office block has caused considerable amazement at G.A.A. club level throughout the country.

It must be accepted that the Policy Committee composed of intelligent, trustworthy men had carefully carried out a study of their proposal, and they were satisfied that an office block with a restaurant would provide the Association with a substantial annual income. It was stated that no expense on the part of the Association was required and that

money for such developments was available and the development would be financially self contained. Anybody closely connected to the Association could readily appreciate the need for revenue from sources other than games. The Association's own accounts disclosed last year that the Bank was owed £109,000. The sale of five-year tickets during 1968/

1969 should clear this liability. In doing so it will have mortgaged part of the revenue income from the gates over the next five years.

Over £150,000

It is known too, that a number of County Boards in the Country owe in all approximately £150,000 for commitments in connection with the erection of stands, etc. Therefore, it is true to say that the G.A.A. has no high salaries for administrative staff and general overheads. However, very many people with wide knowledge of finance and some in particular with very vast experience in the field of office development are not so sure that the G.A.A. think it will be.

It is known that Directors of various Banks from time to time studied such proposals and rejected them as the overall net result on invested money was too low.

14,000 offices

Furthermore it is known that there are at least 6,000 offices at an average 80 ft. by 140 ft. presently only in the process of being let out in Dublin. It is known that some 14,000 similar offices have been approved for planning and erection over the next two years. Many investors in this field have all come to the conclusion that there will soon be an excess supply of offices in the needs of businesses in Dublin city.

Surely when the Banks have not entered in this field of investment, the G.A.A. should take this as their guideline. It is absurd to imagine that no expenditure on the part of the Association will be required. Nobody doubts but that money is available for such development, but these office erectors will require an 8% return on their £15,000. It has been somewhere mentioned that the cost of this structure will be in the order of £300,000. If that is so those who invest the £300,000 will require to be backed by way of interest alone over the next 20 years the sum of £150,000. It is not possible to invest in a profitable manner unless an investor will put

Irish students have traditionally been a conservative and apathetic bunch. The average student, if he thought of politics at all, thought of it merely as a stepping stone towards getting business contacts and favouring his only political action very often was to make himself available on polling day to give out leaflets for his father's party; he was not encouraged to think — he didn't.

Today, however, this image is shattered. From Cork to Belfast they have taken to the streets on such issues as the banning of Republican Clubs, housing

speculation, press misrepresentation, and police brutality. During the past month students have been engaged internally in the Universities and this form of protest has taken the form of occupying faculty buildings and the holding of mass meetings to discuss their problems.

Political

U.C.D. has been the centre of this activity. There students are forced to study under appalling conditions, very poor library facilities, over-crowded classrooms, inadequate eating and recreational facilities, part-time and poor quality lecturers. The failure rate for first year students as a result of all these factors is extraordinarily high. U.C.D. students are frustrated. They are demanding greater participation in decision making for both themselves and junior staff. One student puts their case thus: "We have a governing body in U.C.D. over which we have no control — no student representatives. There are 33 members: 14 are purely political appointments, three are appointed by the Senate and are also political appointments. The governing body is a power structure: Education is not their prime interest."

This then is the kernel of the matter — students are contesting the nature and structure of their educational system. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the University is not interested in educating them, but rather in training them to be the new technicians of Fianna Fail economic "planning". This is why Mr. Lenihan was booed in Trinity; students were showing their contempt for the Fianna Fail as inflexible. Many student radicals carry with them middle class ideas and habits, and a

socialism culled from books not experience. Power cannot be contested exclusively from University. A liberated area may exist for at least a day, a week even, but the ruling class remains unshaken and will be only more determined in its opposition. They can silence Mr. Lenihan for a half-hour in Trinity, but this is a short-lived "victory" in the overall struggle to uproot Fianna Fail.

Students can only effectively challenge State power in Ireland, details of outside working class forces. Political discipline is hard to learn, but essential for success.

Exiles honour Barnes, McCormack

Irish exiles in Birmingham gathered outside Windmill Green Prison in the bitter cold on Sunday, February 9th to pay tribute to the memory of Peter Barnes and James McCormack.

At 3 p.m. a wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Mrs. Branigan at the gate of the Prison. The Prison authorities had refused to allow the wreath to be laid on the graves.

The oration was given by Seamus Collins of Clann na hEireann who spoke of the bravery of the martyrs, and their service to the cause of Irish freedom. He expressed the desire of all present, when he said he hoped very soon to see the remains of these gallant Volunteers returned to their native land.

The oration was followed by a decade of the rosary in Irish. The police observed the commemoration from patrol cars, but made no attempt to interfere.

Failure in three political court cases

No less than three unsuccessful Gardaí prosecutions were recorded for the month of February, a record which is certain to go unchronicled in the current issue of the Garda Review. The three cases in question were (a) charges against eight men and women following a "sit-in" in the Customs House on January 21; (b) two charges brought against Máirín de Burca, Sinn Féin Secretary, arising out of an incident in the Pro-Cathedral also on January 21 and (c) a charge against Eamon Collins of Youghal of unlawfully and maliciously causing damage to buses in Limerick, May 29, 1968, and with wilfully obstructing Garda Thomas Kieley in the execution of his duty.

The charges arising out of incidents on January 21 occurred during the "Release the Southern Africa Campaign" and the accused were arraigned before Mr. Justice Donnelly in the Dublin District Court and were dismissed by the Justice in each instance because "the Gardaí did not establish that the defendants' behaviour amounted to the offences as charged".

In fact it was revealed at

the two trials that if anybody should have been prosecuted, it was the Gardaí themselves. In the case of Miss de Burca she was practically strangled by Sgt. Michael McGuire while being forcibly dragged down the steps of the Pro-Cathedral. In the case of the Customs House incidents while one of the defendants, Sean Edwards, was being removed from the building he was taken down stone steps in such a manner that his head was bounced off the steps in the process and he was seen to scream and spit out blood by newspaper reporters.

Judge warns

The charges against Eamon Collins arose following the demolition of buses conveying "blacks" workers to the E.I. Factory during the course of a trade dispute with the American owned concern. The Collins trial lasted three days but it took the jury roughly an hour to reach their verdict of not guilty. Before the jury retired to consider their verdict case was thus instructed by Mr. Justice Butler: "I think in the general interests of justice you should approach the identification in the present circumstances, which were less than perfect, with great caution indeed".

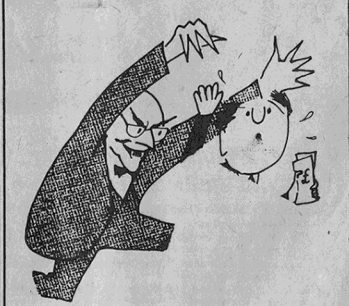
Justice Butler's warning to the jury in the Collins case could well be applied to all political prosecutions instituted at Micky Moran's behest in the name of (Fianna Fail) "law and order". For once Republicans have some judicial precedent on their side; it will be interesting to see just how long it lasts.

Frelino Guerrilla's Success Meeting
Four Courts Hotel, Dublin
Friday, 21st March, 8 p.m.
Southern Africa Sings
Sharpeville

Speakers: KADAR ASMAL (Chairman), Basil Davidson, Malcolm Hayes, Sean Mac Reamoinn.

Sponsored by Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement
173 Barton Rd., East, Dublin 14

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IRISH PREDATOR BUILDING SOCIETY

** NOTES & COMMENTS

** NORTHERN LETTER

THE inevitable confrontation between worker and employer in the 26 Counties is taking place. The strike of craftsmen at the beginning of February was unavoidable, in view of the reactionary attitude of the Federation of Unions of Employers towards wage adjustments. The maintenance men's courageous stand may be the forerunner of many others.

As far back as last December the lines of battle were being drawn up. At that time the attitude of the F.U.E. became evident in their Bulletin which said that any attempt by trade unions to open wages and conditions agreements, because of the recent Budget and cost-of-living increases, would result in industrial conflict. How right the F.U.E. then were—but how wrong in the stand they took.

It is obvious that the craftsmen of the F.U.E. do not care a hang about their workers' fate. What do they know about the difficulties of making a living, rearing a family and keeping a house going on, say, £14 a week, or even £17? What do they know about meeting rates, bills, the rent, the instalments on essentials?

Big jobs

MR. Guy Jackson, President of the Federation of Irish Industries, the hard-core elite of the F.U.E., the big shots of the capitalist sector, you know, is so superciliously cocksure of the righteousness of the capitalist cause that he has even come out strongly against worker participation on management boards, a democratic and progressive system which has been in operation in many sectors of industry in West Germany for some time and which is gradually being adopted by other western states.

And in Ireland, no! We are not yet prepared for that sort of thing. In other words, the Irish worker is still to be regarded as a small fry. We will do Mr. Jackson and his Mercedes-driving friends a good turn by warning them that the time has now arrived when the Irish worker is no longer content to be regarded as a small fry, to be exploited for the benefit of the employers. The Irish worker is now going to stand up to demand a just share of the profits of industry and the industrialists will be better advised to listen to his demands. It may be the last time that the industrialists will get the chance to listen.

Appalling

SUFFICIENT has been said elsewhere, including in these pages, about the appalling housing situation in Dublin and other parts of the 26 Counties. I begin to get the impression that the people who are homeless and their friends is paying off. Never in recent history has so much been done to alleviate the housing problem as has been done since the housing agitation started. At least it has been good to sink into people's minds that there is a problem and that something must be done about it.

But that something must be done quickly, while the window of opportunity is open. Conditions arise which will increase the need for more houses in Dublin and elsewhere and which will be beyond remedying by normal means. The whole problem will deteriorate so much that it will be beyond the puny efforts of Dublin Corporation and others, using present methods to cope with it. God knows what will happen then. But, while we have headlines in the papers which say, "Homeless over 100,000 heads," (this over a report which said that Dublin Corporation

workmen started knocking down buildings in Keogh Square while there were still two families with small children living inside), while we have this sort of thing going on, people have every right to agitate and protest to draw attention to their plight.

Dirty game

FIANNA Fail has chosen a candidate for the by-election in Wexford. He is Phil Kennedy, nephew of the late Jimmy Kennedy, Fianna Fail T.D., whose death caused the Wexford vacancy. He is a young man, as yet inexperienced in the dirty game of politics. Before he is much older I suggest that he tries to find out all about the heart-searching done by his late uncle some years ago when he began to see through the shabbiness of Fianna Fail ideology and when he thought seriously about resigning from the party. Jimmy Kennedy went as

far as writing a letter of resignation. News of his projected move reached the ears of those higher up. Next thing we knew Jimmy was appointed a director of the Agricultural Institute—and we heard no more about resignations, naturally. Not so long after that he was chosen as Fianna Fail candidate in Wexford. A decent man, Gois rest him, but a puppet in politics. Let's hope his nephew takes the lesson to heart.

Incidentally, I note that another nomination for the F.F. candidature in Wexford was "Big Mick" Ryan, nephew of Senator Dr. Ryan, former F.F. deputy in the Model County. Have they nobody in Fianna Fail these days but nephews, widows, cousins or aunts of former deputies? I suppose it's all in the game we must look after our own, you know.

But boys-o-boys, won't they give a shock in the by-election.

MAC DAR.

Will police tenders and specially recruited riot squads be the answer of the new O'Neill Government to the renewed demand for basic civil rights in the North? Pictured above was the answer given to the second Civil Rights march in Derry.



Imagine me writing this before the Northern election day and whatever transpires from that farce is still anybody's guess. It is, however, obvious that, to use an old cliché, things can never again be the same. The skeletons of Unionism are being retrieved from their cupboards and their rusty odour allowed to assault the nostrils of the electorate. O'Neill's 'liberal' image is being exposed for what it is, a sham, and Faulkner, Craig and company are shown up as intriguers. In Faulkner's resignation letter to O'Neill it was the latter who was accused of holding up the one-man-one-vote grant, an accusation which Terence couldn't deny. Thus his so long held innuendo that he was being stifled in his desire to bring reform into the Northern social scene has, as it so often have claimed, been hypocritical.

Unionist Party for the first time in its history, is split, and into two, but into three or even four factions. We have Terence O'Neill and his cohorts, we have Craig, West, McQuade, Morgan, etc., who are completely opposed to any change which could be of use to

people of nationalistic tendencies; we have Faulkner who resigned because of, or so he says, the refusal to grant one-man-one-vote in local government elections and has since pleaded for Catholic support in his election efforts; and finally we have the militant Protestants who follow Ian Paisley.

It is a confusing situation for on the anti-Unionist front we also have a duplication of candidates. The Republican Labour Party are contesting five constituencies but only Gerry Fitt is opposing a Unionist. His other four party members are in opposition to National Democrats or Nationalists.

N.I.L.P.

The Northern Ireland Labour Party have 16 candidates in the field, eleven of them in Belfast, two in Belfast suburban areas and one in Derry city. In nine constituencies there is a direct challenge to pro- or anti-Unionist.

There are eight Nationalist Party, seven National Democrats, two Liberals and several Independents going forward. But in far too many places where seats could have been stolen from the Government party there has been lack of unity and it is more than possible that the Unionists could in fact be returned with a bigger majority.

To further confuse the election picture we have the People's Democracy, a part of the Civil Rights movement, entering the fray by nominating members to contest eight seats. The P.D. claim is that they wanted all who are entitled to vote to have an opportunity to use it in opposition to Unionism. But here again we have the enigma of groups which profess much the same beliefs fighting each other.

Misrepresented

Foyle in Derry sees three former Civil Rights marchers in opposition with Eddie McCaTeer (Nationalist), Eamonn McCann (N.I. Liberal), and John Breen (Independent). In mid-Derry there is Nationalist, Republican Labour, Unionist and Co-operatives and Civil Rights leader, as an Independent.

It is a pity that there could not have been a joint campaign waged by the other opposition parties to oust from Northern politics, once and for all, the Nationalists. For forty years they have misrepresented the people with their emphasis, deliberately or otherwise, on the Catholic population only. Obviously the most sensible answer would have been for those involved in the Civil Rights campaign to have refrained from putting up candidates at all. Now the C.R. movement is also split and

there is some dismay among its supporters. In Derry a group has been formed to try and unite the citizens once again behind the Civil Rights banner. In Belfast there has been some doubts among its members concerning the wisdom of the People's Democracy becoming active in party politics.

But the one positive thing which has emerged from this election, which, it must never be forgotten, has been caused through the ordinary people taking to the streets demanding their just rights, is the behind-the-scenes exposure of Unionist Party politics.

Capt. O'Neill's hypocrisy has been illuminated, the double-dealing of Craig, Breen and others has been exposed, and the verbal assaults between the various factions make most interesting reading. Craig's handling of the Civil Rights marches in Derry have been called 'insp' by O'Neill, and Craig has counter-charged by pointing out that Terry had backed his handling of these marches. Now Faulkner has brought a class-consciousness into Unionism by accusing O'Neill of bringing in the forces of the landed-gentry as support.

Unemployment

We have at the moment the highest unemployment figures in ten years with over ten per cent of the male population out of work. In some areas such as Derry, Strabane and Newry the figure varies between one in five and one in three. I have little need to point out that in all three places there is a substantial anti-Unionist majority.

With all the skill and once thought to be one of the most stable of government sponsors contributed £3 million to keep their workers and the recent closing of his factories by Cyril Lord, the future seems most interesting. In fact, the Northern Government and the British Government each have had a major disaster. One of the largest employers of labour, Short Bros. & Harland's aircraft industry solvent. It would have been a major disaster if it were not to close being one of the biggest employers of labour, and thousands of unskilled men, in the North.

As I write the results from the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association Annual General Meeting have come to hand. The new council for 1969 is headed by Frank Gogarty, Betty Sinclair, John McAnerney, Fred Heatley, Rebecca McGlade, Kevin Barry, Michael O'Riordan, Con McCuskey, Kevin Agnew, James Quinn, Joe Sherrie, Peter Morris, Frank Campbell and Vincent McDowell. There are only three newcomers on the list. They are Boyle and McDowney from the Peoples Democracy and McDowell from the Irish Labour Party.

FRANK HEGARTY.



LOOK OUT, JACK-THAT TAIL'S TWITCHING!

** CLUB na bPOBLACHTANACH

Ag feachtán timpeall arainn seolaistín na hOileiceáid, agus éachtánach na hOileiceáid sa bhailín, ar ndóigéir a fáth eile ag na leasach amháin an chéad aodúil; beidh muid go léis iárráid post-anna go luath, agus ag feachtán ar gearradh a thag an Oileiceáid anuraidh agus ar feachtaíocht na doigh luath go mbeidh an seol eagsaill diinn.

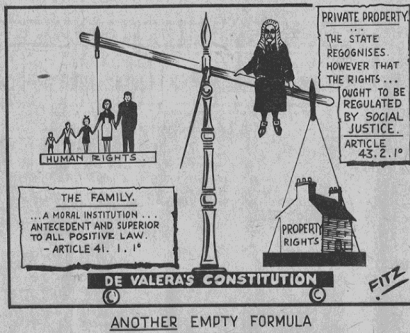
Catbal Goulding

Bhí cruinnú ag Poblachtánach na hOileiceáid ar mhí Feabhra ina raibh Cathal Goulding sa t-áit faoi Oileiceáid na hÉireann. Nuair a cuireadh na fógraí suas i gcoir an cruinnú bhí eagla ar lucht an choláiste faoin teideal, agus bhí argóint ann ar rath se ceadaithe don Chumann Poblachtánach a leithéid de chruinnú a reachtáil nó nach raib; ar son chuma bhí ar na húdairáid gailleadh agus bhí slua mar i laithre lí clus gear a thabhairt do Chathal agus Eirigh ag maith leis an cruinnú. Ní fóir, amh, an raiffa atá ag dul timpeall go bhíil sách-tarann a chloistear ann ina Poblachtánach ann.

Mar fhoceal scoir ní mor dhom díospoiréid i Ma Nuas idir micléinn Oilseice agus abhair saigair a huy Prionsabail agus combreitua a bhí mar abhair chaite ag bhí na saigair. Oileiceáid sin, no an chuid bh mo doibh, an-mhishata leis an gearas atá ann agus ag suil leis an Poblacht feid. Go bhfoire Dia orainn uilg.

News from U.C.C.—after many meetings the Northern Republican Club has been formed. As we go to press the decision of the Academic Council to grant the Club recognition is still being awaited. Since its formation the Club has been mostly involved in the housing agitation in Cork City and three of its members were arrested following the take-over of Cork City Hall by the CHAC.

I Gcoláiste na Trioblóide,



*The lawyers have sat in council,
the men with the keen long faces,
And have said this man is a fool*

P. H. Pearce

KEEN LONG FACES

"I have said here already, and I say again, that I fully appreciate the position and I fully sympathise with Dennehy, but as a judge of the High Court I cannot allow my undertaking given to this Court to be broken, as this undertaking has been broken, and now Dennehy will have to go back to Mountjoy."

In these immortal and charitable words justice was done. Justice according to Free State law. Sympathy and understanding have their place in the pantheon of the legal profession, but the law exists to protect the social system; to protect landlords rather than families, to defend the 'rights' of owners against poachers and local people who have an interest in rivers, to maintain the results of the conquest. Free State law is not law for the people but for the rich.

Since the law is for the rich it is not surprising to find that the legal profession is heavily weighted to maintain the ranks of the privileged for the privileged. Fees for legal education are prohibitively high for ordinary people: a first

year student in King's Inns (the Irish training school for barristers) must pay over £130 to the Inns as well as University fees, suffer compulsory feudal dinners and textbook requirements. The gross inequalities of opportunities in our society are most clearly demonstrated here, as well as in the sanctimonious attitude of well-fed judges who sympathise with and understand 'Dennehy'.

As is well known, the law is written in such terms that only trained people can easily understand its provisions. In 1933 the I.R.A. proposed "that the present elaborate and bewildering system of law be swept away and a codification of laws in non-technical language be carried." The legal profession has successfully resisted any such programme, and has thereby preserved its privileges at the expense of the people of Ireland. Legal fees are high and often mean that 'rights' are not obtained because of lack of money. Defence fees of £150 in a criminal case are common.

Lawyers are always shrill when yelping their opposition to the nationalisation of the legal profession or the provision of free legal advice to all citizens. Jekyll and Hyde combinations like Proby and McFerran, Mackey and Underwood do well out of the private enterprise system which allows the lawyers to make money out of the troubles of families like the Dennehy's.

The expense and partiality of the legal profession are easily discernible, but there is a feudality extant that owes its origin to the conquest of Ireland by a foreign power and the elimination of the native legal system which James Connolly considered as the basis of future legal development in a free Ireland. The Dail courts which flourished before the establishment of the Free State refused to recognise the foreign law with all its pomp and circumstance and gave pride of place to justice and Brehon law—at least in theory. But those courts were rejected by the Free State, and the emine judges delivering oracular sermons from on high returned with all their political prejudice and their pseudo-Christian defence of the 'right of private property', although Pearce, Connolly and the Fenians and the Democratic Programme of an Chead Dail expressly limit any supposed 'right' of private property.

The legal system operative in the Free State is exactly the same as that which the British imposed on Ireland with a few additions. It is not Irish law; it is the law of the imperialist forces and it still serves the same interests. It is not without significance that when the English Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner, visited Ireland last year the whole legal profession rushed sycophantically to kiss their master's rear. These lawyers, except for the few who have given great help to Republicans and poor people in the past and who continue to do so, will only give their advice for a fee. The overwhelming majority of lawyers are leeches who use their knowledge and training not for the benefit of the Irish people but only in their own selfish financial interest.

The insidious idea of 'legality' pervades the whole perspective of law, but legality is not good in itself, nor is 'law and order'. The only criterion of what is good must be what effects are felt by ordinary people; if these effects are beneficial then the law is good but if they are not, then judicial bellows about legality will not prevent the people from ultimately sweeping away the rotten and corrupt system of law, as the I.R.A. proposed in 1933.

A system of law could be developed from the needs of the people; people's courts could administer justice according to Republican principles. The immoralities and harshness of the present penal code would be replaced by an equitable system of reform, instead of the crude and violent punishment that now dominates the feudal thinking of judges. Real democracy needs the full participation of the people in a matter that affects them as much as law; this can only be achieved when the people assume power in their own country and eliminate all foreign influence that are not to their benefit.

Arrests following the first wave of attacks during the 1939 I.R.A. Campaign in Britain continued.

Nick Cleary of Waterford, organiser for Liverpool, under the alias Joe Mason and Patrick Fleming known as Joe Walker were brought from Liverpool to stand trial at Bow St. Nick Cleary received 17 years penal servitude for conspiracy and possession. He had organised the explosions in the Liverpool area and his thumb print had been found on the time clock of an unexploded bomb attached to an electricity pylon at Windle, Lancashire.

According to Inspector Thompson of Scotland Yard he had arrived in England in December, 1938 and taken over the position of O.C. I.R.A. there in succession to Jimmie Joe Reynolds. The accuracy of British Police information may be judged by the fact that Patrick Fleming of Kerry, who as Secretary of the Army Council had signed the Ultimatum and the Declaration of War on England, received only 18 months imprisonment. The police witnesses declared that nothing was known about him and judge and jury concurred that any role he may have played must have been very subordinate. On expiry of his sentence however he was interned in the Isle of Man. He and another I.R.A. man Sean de Barra of Listowel attempted to escape from there in a row-boat, hoping to be picked up by an Irish bound ship. Unfortunately they were spotted by R.A.F. planes and recaptured.

In Manchester Paddy O'Connell and Dennis Dugan of Tipperary, Michael Rory Campbell of Belfast, and Jack Glenn and Patrick Deviney of Mayo, were charged with conspiracy to possess explosives. All were sentenced to twenty years except Paddy Deviney who received 14 years. Paddy who was a taxi-driver was not a member of the I.R.A. and had merely on occasions driven his country men around. He could have escaped with a small sentence or even none if he had invited the judge he had stated this. But he proudly refused to condemn or deny his friends and afterwards became a member of the I.R.A. who in jail Jack Deviney was arrested in Hulme, he had been training officer of the East Mayo Battalion from 1931-35 before emigrating to Manchester. Jack had previously declared 'the fight must go on' and this may have angered the Manchester Police who gave him a severe beating in the Bridewell. He received 20 years on the same counts as his comrades.

Michael Rory Campbell had been sentenced previously in Belfast for illegal drilling. On this latter occasion he was lucky to escape the hangman's rope. At his trial Justice Stable remarked that his might have been the hand which set the bomb in Manchester.

After the second wave of explosions there were more arrests. On February 7th a number

of I.R.A. men appeared in Court in Liverpool on the usual charges. Among them were members of a Belfast family, Sean Hannon, his brother Pat and his father. Pat had been a member of Sean Heuston Slua Fianna Eireann in Liverpool, the only branch of the Fianna at that time in Britain. Also in the dock were Peadar Dowley, Seamus Murphy and Tommy Kelly. The three later along with Pat Hannon were acquitted and afterwards deported to Dublin where Peadar and Seamus Peadar subsequently spent many years in prison and internment.

Two large dumps had been captured by the police in Liverpool. One in a garage in Leley Rd. contained 258 sticks of gelignite, 129 detonators, a quantity of white powder used for explosives, rifle and revolver ammunition and cloth ammunition carriers. In a shop in Dryden St. were found five cans of Potassium Chlorate, gelignite, detonators, documents, and appliances to turn alarm clock into timing devices. A receipt found in these raids connected the Liverpool dumps with Sean Healy, a veteran of the Tan War who owned a dance hall in London. Healy who had a painting and contracting business was used by Russell as a front through which to purchase a large quantity (at least 2 tons) of Potassium Chlorate in preparation for the campaign. He and Sean Hannon were tried on related charges, and sentenced to 10 and 7 years respectively.

There were other losses. Jim Daly arrested in Cardiff got 7 years and Cormac McGarrigue in Greenock 15 months. An 18 year old girl clerk, Molly Gallagher charged on February 10th with possession of explosives received three years Borsal at Bow St.

A fortnight later Jim and Dan McCafferty of Ballycroy, Co. Mayo, James Connolly and Frank McGowan were charged at the same court and subsequently imprisoned for terms ranging from 4 to 7 years.

In Birmingham the expeditionary force was depleted by the arrest of three young Bestmen Hugh McCuskey, Robert McCann and Tom McGill, who each received 7 years for possession of explosives. Two of them had already been in prison in Belfast for I.R.A. activities. They took their sentences with a smile.

Readers of this serial might like to know that it is intended as part of the effort to bring the names of Peter Barnes and James McCormack to produce a fuller history of the campaign in which they gave their lives for Ireland than can be fitted into the narrow confines of a newspaper column. I would therefore appeal to anyone whose name appears in this story, or anyone whose name has been inadvertently omitted and who may have any information or corrections to write to Fear Domhnaigh, c/o United Irishman, 30 Plus Gardner Ath Cluath 1.

The I.R.A. story...

Escape in a row boat

'69 THE GUIDE TO THE RIVERS AND LAKES

● This month the question of compensation for re-possession of inland waters is discussed.

Few can be unaware by now of the campaign for public ownership being waged by Cumann Aithiúchán in its various guises. In 1968, four County Councils and other public bodies including the Cork I. A. of Conservators, gave their support to the demand.

What has been the reply from the Government of the Twenty Six Counties?

While not opposing the demand in principle, the Department of Agriculture has contented itself with pleading the cost of compensation. Speaking to the *Planning* Paul Ard Fheis in January 1969, the Minister himself, Mr. Blaney, showed how superficial official thinking on the matter has proved: "These rights, whoever now hold them are rights that we as a democratic people cannot take from them unless we are prepared to compensate them as we do in regard to any other private property. This would cost many millions of pounds, and that is not so easily obtained when there is pressure on the Exchequer for greater services".

The basic theme of this pronouncement presumes that compensation for disturbance of ownership is both necessary and inevitable. Democracy is invoked in this statement to put the matter beyond question. Two questions nevertheless remain: When did Irish democracy declare these rivers to be the "private property" spoken of by the Minister? To whom is compensation to be paid?

When, Mr. Blaney, did the Irish democracy determine that the rivers and lakes conform to the present definition of private property? When Henry VIII forced a system of surrender and regranting on an unwilling native aristocracy? What Elizabeth I planted Munster? When Mary cleared Laois and Offaly with famine and sword? Were the Dukes of Devonshire voted the rights of the Munster Blackwater — "and our soil preserved, it can be proved, fish that flow therein"—by an Irish democracy?

Who, Mr. Blaney, wrote: "The right to the control of the soil of a nation does not reside in any individual or in any class of individuals; it resides in the whole people and can be exercised only by those to whom it is delegated by the whole people, and in the manner in which the whole people ordains". Would you believe, Pearse? Then, Mr. Blaney, it can be proved that the whole people of Ireland never decided on the present system of ownership, which democracy will not recognise. The words of Pearse's definition or the Royal Charters of Henry VIII?

But Mr. Blaney is afraid to look vested interested in the face. Sir Richard Levinge of Guinness keeps fishing private in Pearse's Rossmac but Guinness tax pays Fianna Fáil's police and Civil Service.

Pearse was echoing to time the definition of private property given by James Finlayn Labour in 1884. "Labour's thinking is of a particular value in any discussion about ownership of public resources. The essence of his teaching is that the right to the ownership of all a nation's resources co-exists with the right to make decisions and that both rights are in the same authority, the whole Irish people.

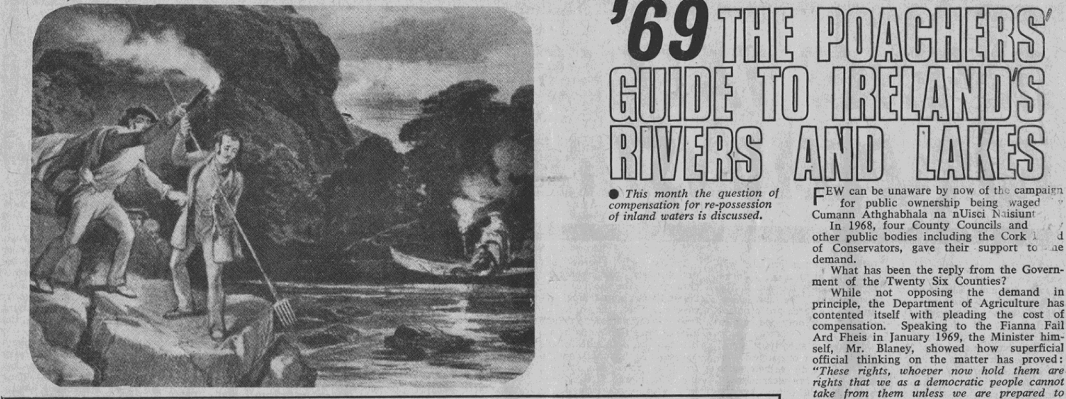
Lalor's definition helps also towards an answer to the second question i.e. to whom compensation should be paid.

"To any plain understanding the right of private property is very simple. It is the right of the man to possess, to enjoy, to dispose of the substance and use of whatever he had himself created. This title is good against the world; and it is the sole and only title by which a man has the right of absolute private property, and possibly vest.

"But no man can plead any such title to a right of property in the soil of the soil. The earth, together with all it spontaneously produces, is the free and common property of mankind; and no man has the right of the grant of God — and all man being equal, no man, therefore, has a right to appropriate exclusively to himself any part or portion thereof, except with and under the common consent and agreement of all other men.

"The sole original right of property in land which I acknowledge to have morally vested is this right of common consent and agreement. Every other I hold to be fabricated, and fictitious, null, void, and of no effect, and null by this republican definition of Lalor's, the present river Lords are disqualified on two counts. Firstly, it is improbable that they created the rivers they claim as private property. Secondly, it is historical fact that the ownership they enjoy was not delegated by the common consent and agreement of the whole community.

Such "private property" as exists in river rights was at some stage appropriated by individuals to the detriment of their superiors and original right of the community at large. These rights are held to this day in the same manner. It is clear therefore that compensation is due to the community as a whole for this long usurpation of their natural right. It is up to the public to decide whether it is due from each of the present day "owners" who have inherited or bought into this communal property. A magnanimous public could decide that a simple termination of the present status quo would suffice. It could also try to forgive Mr. Blaney his obvious ignorance on the question of what constitutes private property.



LABOUR POLICY

Part II By Roy Johnston

References to the structure of the State machine in the labour policy document are on the whole rather poor. By and large it looks as if there is mostly an uncritical acceptance of the possibility of building socialism within the 26 County state making use of the machinery inherited from the Act of Union period, and subsequent accretions in the same tradition.

The references are as follows:

- (1) Under agriculture there is a proposal to down-grade the Department of Agriculture and subject it to the Department responsible for national economic planning. There is also a proposal to scrap the Land Commission and form a Rural Development Corporation, presumably as a sub-department of the down-graded Department of Agriculture, with responsibility for national land policy. This would have power to let out land on long leases, and to curb foreign purchases.
- (2) Under *worker democracy* there is a proposal that the internal organisation of the Civil Service should be re-structured in the interests of that concept, and that all financial institutions should be brought under public control (7 sic) (what about ownership?) under the supervision of the National Planning Authorities.
- (3) Under Health there is a reference to a National Health Authority, which is not specifically distinguished from the present Ministry of Health.
- (4) Under Education there is a proposal to regionalise the Department by setting up a number of offices in suitable centres.
- (5) Under Local Government there is a proposal to elect Regional Councils the scale of South-West, South-East, Dublin and County etc. The existing County Councils would be preserved. It is proposed that the control appointments of County Managers be scrapped.
- (6) Under Maritime policy it is proposed to establish a Department for its promotion.
- (7) Under Industrial Development there is to be a Department of Economic Development and a State Development Corporation. This presumably is the body to which the Department of Agriculture is to be subordinated. Most of the above measures could be argued for convincingly, but their lurks a suspicion that no-one has

looked at the state structure as a whole and its inter-connections with the people and their needs. To patch a structure that is fundamentally based on the need to cover up the deficiencies of our subject national position and the exploitation of our wealth by foreign monopolists is hardly revolutionary.

Despite the lack of published words, the Republican Movement is not without ideas as to how an independent state might be structured, after a successful democratic break with the imperialist system. Such a State would not claim to be socialist, yet it would be more on the road to socialism than that implied by the Labour programme.

The following few paragraphs, though only a rough sketch, gives an idea what is needed for a democratic state machine than in the whole Labour Party programme.

The Dail elects an Executive which elects a Taoiseach. The Executive extends its task by co-optation, subject to ratification, in order to get a set of ministers who know their specialist areas. Co-opted Ministers have voice but no vote. Such men would however know who to listen to and would not be under the thumb of the Civil Service advisers.

The function of the Executive is to allocate long-term resources so as to achieve socially and culturally desirable goals. Short-term control of the Economy within the annual budget is the job of the regional authorities, each of which has all departments, working as co-ordinated whole, at the appropriate level, except External Affairs and Defence. In other words, the term of an idea contained in (4) above is generalised and brought to its logical conclusion. The regional authority in (say) Waterford or Derry (the regions are major cities with extended areas) would have complete power to implement its budget within broadly defined limits.

The Central Government is at Athlone (this idea goes back to the Fenians; it symbolises a departure from East, domination and the supremacy of the link with England and Dublin and hinterland has become a regional unit; this move alone would naturally ease the congestion costs housing problems etc., caused by the present drift from West to East).

The Ministers subdivide into groupings; broadly there are four groupings: (a) Cultural; Education, Arts, Science and language form one natural group; the language ministry being responsible for co-ordinating voluntary revival efforts in all

spheres of life, not only in Education, where of course it remains policy.

(b) Socio-Economic: Social interest, responsible for health, social security, housing, passenger transportation and environmental planning. (Note that there is emphasis on preventive social services rather than emergency efforts to cure the ills caused by neglect elsewhere).

(c) Production sub-dividing into a natural products department covering agriculture, forestry and fisheries, an industry department which sub-divides into the various branches of industrial production, a transportation department responsible for all freight transport by whatever mode, a fuel and power department as a service to all, responsible for obtaining the best fuel use in the national interest, and a technology department responsible for development work. A trade group has departments responsible for internal trade, exports, imports and tourism.

(d) Finance group has departments responsible for revenue, banking, insurance and an external finance department responsible for control of external assets or loans.

(e) Defence and External Affairs.

The groupings are not rigid but flexible; for certain purposes science, technology, and education would be integrated, likewise passenger and freight transport. The system is basically cross-linked in all necessary directions at all levels, rather than rigidly hierarchical.

There is in a sense, however, a natural hierarchy, in that a group (a) helps to raise

the level of understanding of the people and helps create a sense of direction and purpose by encouraging the development of a people's creativity, (b) allocates the resources so as to serve the needs created or recognised by (a), and (c) acts as a service for (b).

This is the very opposite of the current situation, where finance has assumed leadership.

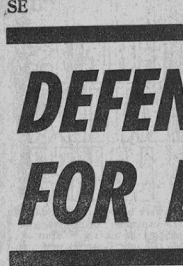
There is scope for a local level, below the regional level, at which the care of the very young and very old could be administered on a community basis, with the maximum voluntary effort professionally serviced.

A structure like this operated according to the following principles, would bring government closer to the needs of the people and materially help the services of a democratic republic attempting to assert its independence of imperialism.

- (1) Specialist committees in any branch of government, called to advise on policy, should be nominated by the democratic organisations of the people concerned.
- (2) If voluntary effort aided by a grant and technical advice can do a job, it should be done that way, rather than by building a machine of paid officials.
- (3) A project should be left under the control of the man who knows the job, rather than an administrator with a trained man to advise him. In other words, the "competent authority" principle.

Clearly there is much thought needed on the question of how to democratise the state machine, and no one has the monopoly of ideas. In this area the Labour Party is decidedly lacking.





The first line of defence of any government is its police force. Its main usefulness is moral rather than physical. It is always on show, day in and day out for twenty-four hours a day; directing traffic; handling crowds; deterring summonses; sticking tickets on parked cars and continuously prowling around in squad cars. In short, no member of the general public is ever allowed to forget that the government, through the police force, is in full command. It has been stated time and time again that the police are the eyes and ears of the government.

In country districts, a stranger to the area is noted and discreet enquiries are made to find out all about him. His name, address, where he hails from, his business and everything down to the size collar he wears. The information that is gained is carefully filed and checked upon if need be. This check is not necessarily about his political affiliations, but this too, is noted. This information is often gained in what appears to be an innocuous conversation with the local shopkeeper, and needless to state, is often culled by the policeman's wife, and even the children. The wife and children of a policeman are, without realising it, part of the police force, and the wife, in passing along this information to her husband, hopes that it will further his promotion.

Blackmail

It is a fact not generally known that policemen are trained not to trust one another. In that way a subtle form of blackmail is encouraged and most members of the force are aware of this and, on odd occasions, will admit it. The reason for this system is obvious, it is to ensure that there must be a watchman to watch the watchman. The police are trained to believe that EVERYBODY is a potential criminal—even his own comrades. By this means blackmail is enmeshed in a system over which no individual policeman has control and he needs must travel along with the system. He can, of course, resign from the force but since policemen are born and not made very few of them adopt this course.

Police and Judge

Apart from a cursory knowledge of law a policeman's duties run along well-defined lines. In court procedure he is known as a witness that the justice or judge is "with him", since the judge or justice and the police force are complementary to one another and are part of the system for enforcing the laws upon the government. As legal systems are geared to work on behalf of the government in power for the time being and are true to say that a policeman will work for any government, of whatever origin, domestic or fascist, pagan or christian which obtains for the time being and will switch sides at will to the monarchy or republican form of government. In Hungary during the 1956 fighting, the spaces between the people was reserved for the native police force, and it should not be forgotten that the East German native police. They are taught to think, but to act, on be-

half of their masters, and will not stop at murder, if need be, to enforce the will of the government. The East German police force are proof of this but it is only one case in point.

Looked at soberly, it seems nothing short of farcical that 100 policemen armed with short sticks can clear a street of people who outnumber the police by sometimes over a hundred to one. The reason for this is to be seen in the system outlined above. The MORAL force of a uniform and the omnipresence of the



Shield-cum-placard, wall-board or plywood, with hole or slot to see through.

police enables them to do this. Strictly speaking, they have seldom failed to break up a disorderly crowd. Panic engendered in women and children helps considerably and a few knocks on the heads of women will help to let the crowd see that the police will molest the innocent as well as the disorderly crowd without distinction. In many cases the innocent will suffer first in order to create the panic that is necessary — and panic is contagious. This, of course, is well known to the police who train on the fact.

Police tactics

Discipline plays its part to a great extent insofar as police are disciplined, and when they get out of hand they invariably degenerate into brute force, and herein lies their weakness. Discipline lasts until the moment the police are charged with a given. After that order is given a policeman is on his own. He will seldom return to his lines until he has trusted that he is not to be trifled with, and the number of men selected in a matter of pride to be discussed when he and his comrades return to barracks.

The tactics employed by the police force determined to clear a street or break up a procession is as follows: The first line formed standing shoulder to shoulder to shoulder a street. The wider the street the better, the larger force can be employed at one opportunity. Behind the first line and at a distance of ten or twelve yards another line forces the front line, and so on depending upon the number of police available. Should the front line run into difficulties the second line is sent in. An individual policeman getting into difficulties will be rescued at all costs by his colleagues. A dozen or more will go to his assistance if needed. Police will, always, if possible, wear heavy overcoats and gloves. The first to pass a policeman is against a tactic and the second item so that no marks will be evident on the hands such as blood marks, and what is even more important, no fingerprints will remain on a baton to be identified in the event of a fatality amongst those attacked.

Points such as crossroads or bridges are generally held by the police when about to bar a marching procession. When the street or bridge is too narrow to deploy a large force the footpaths are occupied on both sides of the approaching marchers and in front as the main defence line. The marchers thus walk into a trap consisting of a line to the front and a forward on both sides. Thus the marchers can be attacked on three sides. Reconnaissance, therefore, of the police formation is of the utmost importance. Scouts or runners should be well in advance of the procession and the strength, formation and deployment of that body, as well as the numbers held in reserve, should be instantly transferred to the commander of the parade. As a rule this can easily be ascertained as walkers are now reasonably priced short wave intercommunication radios which keeps touch with all stages of the march and stewards are informed of its progress. Hence, ignorance cannot be a factor in a well organised march.

Should a report be received from a scout or runner, or by radio, to the effect that there is a large concentration of police lining a particular route then part of the procession should be diverted to the side. Should the police then "cover off" the second route, another section of the marchers should be sent on a different route.

This procedure has a number of advantages. One is that the police are not quite sure as to which particular route the main procession will take, and another advantage is that the police in order to try to be strong everywhere will be strong nowhere. Still another is that the marchers will form a number of compact groups, easy to control and amenable to discipline.

Defence

A route with a number of streets running parallel to one another and using the streets for maintaining communications between the various sections of the march ensure that if the police riot in one particular section or street the remaining sections can aid the tide coming in on a flank. It should be strictly recognised that the aim, in this regard, is PROTECTION or DEFENCE and not defence. It should be the primary aim of those in the march or protest that any attack must originate with the police. Anyone disregarding this should not be allowed to take part.

Covering the rocks

To sum up the foregoing one has but to remember that the tide coming in on a beach does not try to remove the rocks on the beach. It goes around them. So the moral effect, if the tactics outlined are adhered to, would mean that the police would be deflected in front of them, behind them and, in fact, all around them. Not, as they would expect, an undisciplined mob, which would be easy to control, but a firm, compact body, under strict discipline, acting on the firm instructions of the stewards. All pledged to non-violence, but willing to enter the dog-leash for police purposes ever after. Should a police dog,

Should the police commence to riot, the number of violent policemen should be instantly sealed off, their numbers estimated, and the same number of "Defenders", plus 50 per cent should be sufficient to contain them. Any attempt by other policemen to go to their assistance should be blocked off by not less than three lines of "defenders". Women and children should be placed in positions of safety and well protected by men of strong physique. This should be organised in advance.

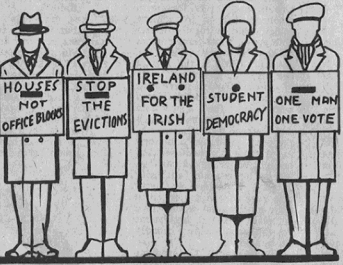
Placards of size of not more than eighteen inches by twenty inches should be carried by ALL members of a march or demonstration even if there are no slogans on them. They should NOT have carrying poles. Instead, handles should be screwed on the back of the placard holder, one handle large enough to pass an arm through and the second to ensure a firm grip with the hand. They can then be used as shields.

Unbroken line

Marchers on the right of the parade should carry their placards on their right arms; those on the left on their left arms. During an attack from the side all marchers on the particular side should turn in that direction; stand shoulder to shoulder and under no circumstances, repeat UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES, allow the line to be broken. Where gaps do occur, they should be filled instantly. The responsibility to protect women and children should outweigh all personal discomfort.

A first aid service should be available and casualties removed to a safe place and there treated.

All marchers should wear headgear of some description. It should be well padded with cloths or newspapers. Overcoats with well padded linings to protect women and children to backs and shoulders. Leather gloves should, if available, be worn.



Squad cars are easily taken care of. A few pounds of one inch flat headed nails such as those used by slaters, scattered in front of the cars or cars, will render them immobile. Water cannons are used in a similar way. A stream of tinfoil cut to the same length, in metres, as the radio aerial, if this can be ascertained, will render the car's radio useless.

Police dogs. A whiff of pepper across the dog's eyes will cause it to enter the dog-leash for police purposes ever after. Should a police dog,

or indeed any other kind of dog, seize you and grip one of its paws at the toes, give them a good sharp squeeze, as in a shake hand and the dog will release its grip. Here, too, the dog is rendered useless, ever after for police purposes. All that is required in this case is that one should keep one's head and not struggle with the dog. Normally, the dog is trained to grip a sleeve of a coat, and generally to terrify people. The remedy is simple and in keeping a cool head proceed as outlined above.

It should be remembered that the number of violent men who appear to carry out a personal vendetta are not all that numerous. The majority are decent enough. It's the overzealous that have to be watched for trouble. Another danger to be guarded against is the reactive in plain clothes who mixes with the marchers, takes no active part in the march, but merely watches the proceedings from a safe distance and points out those who, in his opinion, are "special treatment" later. Normally, this function is allotted to the Special Branch who will form the subject of a special article, all to themselves, later.

Spotters

Policemen who are disarmed and have their batons taken from them have the cost of the baton deducted from their pay. State property must be accounted for — hence the reason for the disarming.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that a strong, determined group of marchers or protesters are their own best defence. Police will not attack a parade unless the chances of success are in their favour. If they do start to riot, special members of the parade should be appointed to the exclusion of all else, to note district letters, known as Divisional areas, and the numbers on their uniforms where carried. At some future time, should there be an inquiry by the present, or better still, a future government, the numbers recorded will be important. The letters and numbers should be taken by more than one marcher, for corroboration purposes. Spotters should operate in pairs, at least.

Cameras are a weapon detested by the police. At the present time, it will be noted that the daily press are carrying more and more reports of press photographers being attacked by the police. The reason for this is that a camera records, visually, the

Pictures should be handed to the press, later, and circulated to press agencies outside the country within the shortest possible space of time. This should be well organised. Albums of pictures should be prepared for a possible inquiry.

It does not have to be pointed out here that, valiant as were the efforts of the people of Derry and Armagh, that without the coverage of press and TV it is unlikely and, more important, outside it, would have reached the heights that it did. The impact created was phenomenal. The press and TV coverage of the Mairin de Burea incident at the Dublin Pro-Cathedral became a national talking point and added momentum to the activity of the protester's cause.

Volunteer photographers should be trained to use their cameras at all marches and demonstrations. They should be distributed among the marchers and be ready with shutters cocked to record attacks. If this were given priority it would be seen to be the most effective

Flankers

ive weapon in the protester's armoury and far more effective than any other offensive weapon. In fact, more often than not, it will be the sole means of ensuring a peaceful march to its destination.

- POINTS TO NOTE:**
1. Careful briefing of all stewards and marchers.
 2. Never to carry anything as well as slogan carriers.
 3. Always allow the police to start the trouble.
 4. Never allow the marchers to start trouble.
 5. AVOID confrontations. Remember the parable of the incoming tide.
 6. Always wear padded headgear and padded shoulders under a topcoat.
 7. Never allow a line of defenders to be broken. To do so is fatal.
 8. Policemen are not, repeat, NOT supermen.
 9. There are only about 5,000 to 6,000 police policemen in the whole country. Many of the Dublin police are taken on night duty and are not available for duty. Others are tied up on odd duties, and the total available for riot duty are less than half of the total. Many are too old for this kind of work and are left to "mind the house".
 10. If you do happen to be pepper on police dogs, or the "shake hands" as outlined above.
 11. Use flat headed nails against squad cars and water cannons, but only to the extent of a matter of defence.
 12. Careful reconnaissance of police barriers, and avoid them if at all possible.
 13. Use as many routes as possible. This conceals the main march.
 14. As many cameras as possible to be used.
 15. "Shake hands" will be organised. To be used in evidence later.
 16. Isolated policemen will be taken care of and are NOT to be molested apart from having their trousers ready to fall down in the best safeguard against further rioting.
 17. A GOOD AND STEADY BODY OF MARCHERS ARE THEIR OWN BEST DEFENCE. A PEACEFUL MARCH OR DEMONSTRATION.

It is understandable that there should be such controversy over the costs of the Eyre Square and Kennedy Park development when the Local Government Auditor released the information that the project which in 1962 was estimated at £22,000 will now cost in the region of £80,000 to complete.

The debate at present rages about wasteful expenditure, dual control and lack of responsibility tends to obscure basic facts of more general significance. The fact that it was the national tourist organisation who were to finance the project and choose the architect would seem to indicate that the square's prime function was to 'cash in' on the growing tourist industry rather than act as a centre of civic pride for the citizens. The changing of the theme to Kennedy Park and the relegation of Padraic O'Connell's monument to an ignominious position on the periphery was entirely consistent with the "sell-the-West" trend of official dogma. The destruction of half of the O'Connell memorial—the stone fence setting—epitomises the thinking that went into the square project. The formless agglomeration of kiosks, telephone kiosks and desert hardly require the "fifteen to twenty years" the Knight Errant who designed it requests to see its defects and inadequacies; good architecture requires deeper motives and a greater integrity. Tourism, it cannot be doubted, is a major industry in the West, with a large proportion of the population directly and indirectly dependent on it. The question that arises in contemplating the expanding trend of tourism is what influence it will have on the character of the citizens and the traditional civic virtues of independence of thought and action. What effects will large-scale adaptation to the desires of strangers produce? How will the development of a servile mentality be checked before Galway reaches the decadence of pre-revolutionary Havana? It is possible to imagine outside factors affecting the nature of tourism in the future. The car ferries carry for a type of visitor who is primarily interested in getting around and seeing the country and its people for himself. He is less attracted to the static tourist-heap comprising big hotels, banal amusements and conspicuous luxury. It is even possible to "imagine" tourism benefiting the country culturally if its active potentialities were developed as well as a greater diffusion of revenue among the people at large.

The concentration of official thought (and capital) on tourism in the West must not blind us to the potentialities of its other industries, though now in the infant stage. Tynagh mines, which extend over half a mile with widths of 400 to 600 feet, have produced a gross value of over £20 million in metal since boring commenced in 1965. In the first year of production alone 545,693 tons of ore were treated comprising principally lead and zinc with a smaller percentage of copper and silver, whose gross value was £5.2 million. After smelting operations abroad the purified metals were worth

some £8 million. One million pounds remained in the country in the form of Government royalties, salaries, supplies and services. After the initial cutting on trial borholes, etc., and smelting costs have been deducted there is still left a handsome return on investment—and secured by the twenty year tax holiday on such ventures granted by Minister House in 1967. The most regrettable fact is however the lack of a smelting plant in the country. As well as being a source of direct revenue to the nation it would boost employment in the region, greatly facilitate the manufacturing industries and provide better consumer value in products such as silver jewellery and plate, lead piping (3/6 per lb), zinc door handles (44/- per lb) and copper tubing (8/- per lb). When it is all worked out the final figure of manufactured goods comes to £150 million. The controversy concerning export of cattle on the hoof versus meat products is a sideshow in comparison to an issue which will grow in importance in the future.

How to gear the country to reap the full benefit from mining? According to M. H. Farmer of U.C.D. engineering faculty, the first step is a survey of the whole problem involving the necessary technological know-how and scientific research. This should be carried out by independent experts under the Department of Industry and Commerce rather than rely, as at present, on the propositions of vested interests (the Pat Hughes/Northgate group of companies). The trouble is that there is at present a complete lack of such expertise in the country. You will search our universities, colleges of technology and Government institutions in vain for a department of metallurgy. Local initiative and imagination could ensure that University College, Galway, give the lead in an exciting new field of study.

To many foreigners the failure of the Irish people to make any effort to develop the untapped resources of the Atlantic ocean is incomprehensible. Professor O'Ceidigh satirises official apathy in recounting his experience on the research vessel in Galway Bay when all hands ceased work at 5.30 p.m. because they were civil servants, and consequently study of marine life under all conditions and particularly at dusk and dawn was seriously impeded. On reflection the situation is rather sad and it seems a project such as a Marine Biology Research Station will have to wait until the shallow waters of tourism have panned out, and the short-sighted hotel-keeper mentality has been superseded before it is taken seriously. In Ireland the pioneering work tends to be left until last and then to foreigners.

Pioneering is not the only thing left to foreigners in the country. The rivers and lakes in Galway must rank in the top four most important natural resources with land, sea, and mineral resources. "All over the West coast", according to Sir Richard Levinge (Guinness), "there is a matter of millions of pounds in riparian rights". Sir

Richard owns the salmon fish Inbhear system in Conamara, the Gabhla system and part of the Ballinahinch system. The American millionaire ex-Potex executive Herbert Buckley, owns Abha an Spideil marked on the map below and also the most valuable part of Abha an Chair which flows into Loch Corrib. Colonel Richard L. Berridge owns the Lettir Mochuda system. Colonel O'Donovan holds rights at Carna. E. L. Hayes and Co., Chartered Accountants, own the Casla system while the most valuable salmon and eel fishery in the Galway area, the Corrib fishery in Galway City, is owned by Englishman Mr. Barber, famous for his hounding of Lough Neagh fishermen in the Six Counties with gun boats and Royal Charters. In fact, any fishing rights of value in the County are owned by private individuals either native or foreign and exploited or neglected according to their whim. Primarily, it is a matter for the people of Galway to look to. The day might come when they will decide to be slaves no longer in their own county.

Landwise, Galway reflects the growing consolidation of farming land and a preference for cattle before people. The clearances of the 1860s, captured so well by Goldsmith in his 'Deserted Village', and the creation of large estates is repeating itself with tragic irony all over the West today under the system of peasant proprietorship established after the Land League struggle of the last century against the landlord system. This time it is not a private landlord class, but a native class of politicians, who are allowing unchecked market forces wreak such havoc on the defenceless small farming community. This is the situation Davitt foresaw when he declared for peasant proprietorship and gave up his intention of agitating for land nationalisation, a decision he lived to regret. There are 206 farms in Galway between 150-200 acres, 167 between 200-300 and 145 over 300 acres. Many of these farms represent the type of progressive and business farmer who have prospered in existing conditions and matched their success with expansion of their farms.

The total area owned by the State for forest units in the county comes to 62,588 acres. Of this acreage, the total planted area comes to 45,332 — a small acreage for a county so badly in need of shelter belts. Undercapitalisation is the main problem as shown by last years afforestation figures for the 26 Counties which chart a drop of 5,000,000 plantings over that for the previous year. Judging from the location of the forest units — only five out of seventeen units in West Galway — shelter belts do not seem to be the policy of the Forestry Department in the West.

An Ghaeltacht

The Gaeltacht, we are constantly reminded by the politicians, is the cultural heritage of our nation, while the statistics tell us that the Gaeltacht is in its death throes as a living entity. There are five Gaeltacht areas in the

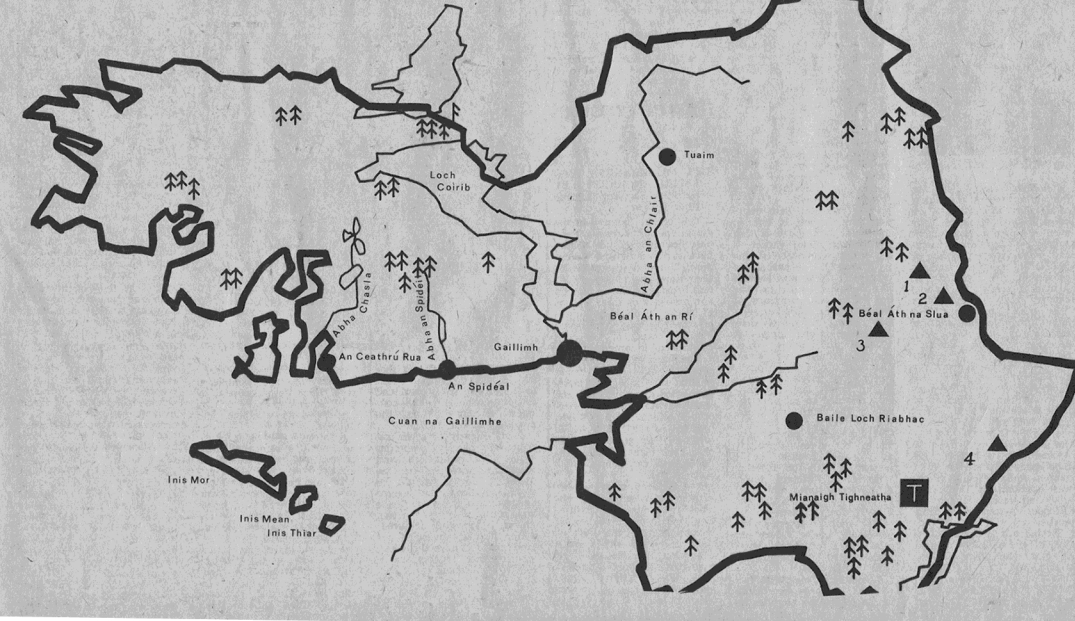
ESTATES OF MORE THAN 400 ACRES

- ▲ 1. Sir Leo Mahon, Castlebar, Ashcragh, Ballinasloe. 557
- ▲ 2. H. Satchwell, Creggan, Creggs. 706
- ▲ 3. Ringling North Estates, Northbrook, Aughrim, Ballinasloe. 531
- ▲ 4. Lisbeg Estate Co., (T. H. Bourne)
- ▲ Lisbeg, Eyrecourt, Ballinasloe. 1,206
- Henry F. Kenny, Fynagh, Eyrecourt, Ballinasloe. 672
- Edward Morris, Clonka, Eyrecourt. 424
- Lydia Kenny, Ballyhows, Laurencetown. 799
- John J. Leonard, Dalysgrove, Ashcragh. 620
- John F. Egan, Tummeriluan, Ashcragh. 487
- Mrs. S. C. Hughes, Annaghbeg. 464
- Kathleen R. D. Johnston, Fohenagh, Ashcragh. 451
- Percy Poley, Castlechackett, Belclare. 767

country, the Cork/Kerry Gaeltacht, the Donegal Gaeltacht, the Mayo Gaeltacht, the Rinn Gaeltacht in Waterford and the Galway Gaeltacht.

The most substantial and embryonically cohesive Gaeltacht is that in Galway, having half the total for all Irish-speaking areas, almost 22,000 people. The land area which comprises the Gaeltacht in Galway is 305,345 acres, 261,360 of this being in West Galway, 27,509 in East Galway, and the remaining 11,496 in the Aran Islands. East Galway and the Aran Islands have approximately 28,000 acres of "improved land"—land which is usable for some form of agricultural development. In the West Galway area only 18.8 per cent of the acreage is improved land, which is only 49,246 acres.

The population of the area is steadily declining, from 26,670 in 1946 to 21,716 in 1966—a decline of 18.6 per cent over 20 years. Of this figure, 11,763 (54 per cent) are males and 9,953 (46 per cent) are females. Of the males of age between 15 and 64, 28 per cent or 1,522 are unemployed—four times the national average. For every 100 males there are 85 females. Of the total persons between the ages of 15 and 44, almost two-thirds are unmarried, only one man in five being married. With such a persistently high emigration rate, it is obvious that the Galway Gaeltacht will die before 1980 because of the absence of a balanced community to foster any form of creative existence.



How politicians use the law

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUDICIAL REVIEW IN IRELAND, 1937-1966. By Prof. Loren P. Beth, Institute of Public Administration (11/6) 1967.

It is just two years ago, this month, that this little published work by the Professor of Government at the University of Massachusetts had a turbulent arrival in the Irish publishing world. On publication it was withheld by the publishers due to impending libel action and was finally released to the general public with the inclusion of an author's note stating that certain remarks by him, on page 50, were made without malice and were unfounded.

Despite this adverse publicity the book has been little appreciated by both lawyers and laymen alike; the reason being that this short book (it is only 65 pages long) the author, a self confessed "one year academic visitor from America", hits the conservatism of the Irish judicial and political "circus" for six.

In introducing his work the author, in such passages as: "Ruling against his fate (The 1965 Free Trade Agreement) the Irishman is being dragged kicking and screaming even closer into the British orbit which seems to be his inevitable future location" (p. 3), or "The British orbit which seems to be his inevitable future location" (p. 2) and yet again: "Violence against the Government had (and has) never entirely ceased in Ireland even in times of peace; partly this is due to the failure of successive Governments to achieve the revolutionary aim of bringing the entire island under a Republic" (p. 4), or "I take the lid off Irish Society as he found it after over forty years of self government."

● "Distrust of lawyers".

"Judicial review", explains the author means the power of a court to inquire, on constitutional grounds, into any act of any government agency "legislative, executive, administrative, police or judicial"; it is the authors contention in regard to judicial review in this country that by and large "the Irish courts in effect have supported the political status quo whenever they acted without question the views of the Oirachtas and without support the party in power". He illustrates this throughout with the many instances of judicial dealing with Emergency legislation both under the 1939 Offences Against the State Act and its 1940 Amendment, and the 1939 Emergency Powers Act (under which General Brien was executed in 1942 after trial and release under the Offences Against the State Act).

However it is on the question of the political content of law and the political nature and role of judges that the author was coerced into conceding a point referred to earlier. This was

BOOK

the offending paragraph: "It is of considerable political interest to note that Mr. Justice Meredith absented himself from this case (in re Offences Against the State Amendment Bill 1940) and was replaced by substitute, the President of the High Court, Conroy McGuire (the former Chief Justice McGuire, a justice in the old Dail Courts who was dismissed from the Dail Courts judiciary by the then Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Hogan) who was known to support the Bill. Since the final ruling in the case was 3-2 this manoeuvre may have created the majority by which the Bill was upheld. At the least, it leaves the unpleasant suspicion that the Government in effect, tampered with the court."

The author deals with the appointment of judges (p. 18): "Fianna Fail has been in power for 24 of the 30 year of the 1937 Constitution with the result that almost all (according to news reports) of the judges in mid-1967 were former adherents of that party" (Professor Beth could not have known it but an important fact today is that the present Chief Justice is a former member of the Irish Press). He goes on to comment: "judges in Ireland as compared with America are either less conscious of their political role or else less willing to reveal their consciousness of it" (p. 64).

Much of Beths work centres around the character of the 1937 Constitution; its provisions relating to family law, the position afforded to religion, the role of the courts in protecting the citizen; censorship and Emergency powers provisions but more particularly as a social scientist he is concerned with the differing attitudes of different judges at different times and their interpretation of the Constitution.

He rightly assesses the personality of De Valera and attributes a lot of the courts' disabilities to De Valera's distrust of lawyers.

Commenting on puritanical attitudes towards censorship in the twenty six counties he

observes that it is largely in keeping with the famous De Valera maxim, "Right is right and there is no right to propagate error."

All in all this book is a masterly insight into the social psychology behind Irish attitudes ("Ions") Protestants are beautifully depicted as being "pathetically eager to keep silent on public issues" likely to offend the "monolithic Catholic Hierarchy" and is a must for all would-be students of our social system. The Public Institute of Administration has made available a relatively cheap refreshing study of ourselves by an "outsider"; they are to be congratulated on having the courage to publish it.

R.B.L.

Muckrakers in U.S.

THE MUCKRAKERS AND AMERICAN SOCIETY. By Herbert Shapiro. Harparr 18/6.

Few of the 'names' in the great era of American expose journalism and writing have survived beyond, I suppose, Upton Sinclair. Yet in their time, and to a great extent because of the dedication and accuracy of these writers of social protest and progressive thinking, there was a real awakening of a social conscience' in America.

Their message and investigations were spread and popularised in cheap mass-circulation magazines — the most important and characteristic of which was McClure's, founded in the '90s by S. S. McClure, the greatest magazine writer of his powers and a founder, a blond, ebullient Co. Antrim man.

The present study is one of a series entitled 'Problems in American Civilization' and is a compilation of selections from the best of the muckrakers with a series of essays in assessment of their significance, importance, effect, literary ability and heritage.

JJ.

THE IRISH REGIMENTS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

By H. E. D. Harris. Mercier, 40/-.

Maor in arm Shasana do ea Henry Harris. Ta ciliú na n-amach agus cheana fein o thaobh stair míléata de, agus mar bheifea ag súil leis, ta leabhar cumasach orthu curtha faoi na n-áige faoi na hÉireannacha a throid i bhforas Shasana sa chead chogadh domhanda.

Einne gur mor leis argoint an straipeáil i gcurais an naisiúin—mar bhí is mar ta—nígfídh se a bhréag ach an leabhar seo a leumh. Ní thrachtann an Maor Harris ar na fathanna a bhí leis na hÉireannigh bheith in arm Shasana, na ar an bheifeas carcaíochta a d'éagraigh Mac Reamann, mar shampla, na ar an gcóiscríobh sacra-maíoch sna monarchain agus sa stat-sheirbhís anseo ag an am sin. Is trua ar shli mar time se a leifídh, ach ta leabhar eile le scrí sío sin agus ní chuíge sin a bhí Harris.

Seard a rinne se, agus is an-so-leite e mar seal, na seal na Rísimint Éireannacha a throid sa chogadh san a thogaint on a geacad slogadh ag tosaigh an chogaidh, tríd na cathanna is na feachtas go leir, gur dtí an scradh ag deideadh an chogaidh.

An tabhacht atá le seo, meassain, na na h-uimhreacha a thugann se diáin. Bhíochas a ta sna laethanna san: 'taisean do Shasana ce chomh fial is carthannach is umhal is ata muid, agus beidh Fein-Rialtas againn mar iocai-ocht da bharr'. Argoint an straipeáil.

Ach feach na h-uimhreacha ata aige. Fuair thart faoi 50,000 Éireannigh—saighdiúit bas in arm Shasana sa chogadh san. Bhí thart faoi

Why should we not forget?

500,000—sea, leathmilliún—Éireannigh in eide an Rí: níos mo na mar a throid sa Bheig de Bheighigh ar son "little Belgium" Is ta fhios ag an saol ce'n chaoi ar thaispeán Rialtas Shasana a bhíochas diáin da mbarr i gcurais polaitíochta.

Ta tabhacht eile leis an seal. Is follas mach in aghaidh a dtola a bhí furbhor na saighdiúit san faoi eide. 'Se sin le ra go raibh an t-únas Aontachtoirí mar measc. Agus ta fos. Cathfear iad san agus a n-aigne a chur san aireamh i gceanal, agus straid na tíre a míleas againn. Mas dílis iad, ní dísceadh don phoblacht e. Ta job mor eideachais, builcáireachta agus eile le deannam fos sara mbéidh linn.



WHO OWNS IRELAND ?

● We interrupt this series on the ownership of industry, economic resources and finance to allow readers deepen their knowledge of the historic struggle in

occupiers began to quit in thousands. Ireland was to be won or lost forever. I felt her slipping from under my feet with all her hopes, and all my own—her lights quenching, her arm withering . . . The opinions I then stated and which I yet stand firm to are these:-

1. That in order to save their lives, the occupying tenants of the soil of Ireland ought, next autumn, to refuse all rents and arrears of rent then due, beyond and except the value of the overplus of the harvested produce remaining on their hands after having deducted and reserved a due and full provision for their own subsistence during the ensuing twelve months.

2. That they ought to refuse and resist being made beggars, landless and homeless, under the English laws of ejection.

3. That they ought further, on principle, to refuse ALL rent to the present usurping proprietors until the people, the true proprietors (or lords paramount in legal parlance) have in national congress or convention, decided that what rents they are to pay, and to whom they are to pay them.

4. And that the people on grounds of policy and economy, ought to decide (as a general rule, admitting of reservations) that those rents shall be paid to themselves, the people, for public purposes, and for behoof and benefit of them, the entire general people.

These are the principles, as clearly and fully stated as limit of time will allow,

the conquering race, or by traitors to the conquered race. They were occupied by the native people or by settlers who had mingled and merged.

I select as the mode of re-conquest, to refuse payment of rent and resist process of ejection.

In that mode I determined to effect the re-conquest and staked on it all my hopes here and hereafter — my hopes of an effective life and an eternal epitaph.

I was hitting my time when the potato failure hurried a crisis. The landlords and the English government took instant advantage of the famine, and the small

Years ago I perceived that the English conquest consisted of two parts combined into one hereafter — the conquest of our liberties, the conquest of our lands.

I saw clearly that the re-conquest of our liberties would be incomplete and worthless without the re-conquest of our lands.

would not necessarily involve or produce that of our lands and could not, on its own means, be possibly achieved; while the re-conquest of our land would involve the other, would at least be complete in itself and adequate to its own purposes; and could, possibly, if not easily, be achieved.

The lands were owned by



THE INDEPENDENT ORANGE ORDER

Ireland for the control of the country's resources. James Fintan Lalor's writings and experiences are of particular value in this respect. The control by the people of the country's resources was the aim of Fintan Lalor. The failure of 1849 leads directly to the demands of 1969 and the principles expounded at that time are most relevant to them. Indeed, the relevance of Lalor's arguments to the modern scene proves how little is the difference between a colonial country, which Ireland then was, and a neo-colonial country, which Ireland now is.

which I advise Ireland to adopt at once and at once to arm for. Should the people accept and adhere to them, the English government will then have to choose whether to surrender the Irish landlords, or to support them with the armed power of the empire.

If I refuse to incur the odium and expense, and to peril the safety of England in a such war of extermination, then the landlords are nobody, the people are the lords of the land, a mighty social revolution is accomplished, and the foundation of a national revolution surely laid. If it should on the other hand determine to come to the rescue and relief of its garrison — elect to force their rents, and enforce their right by infantry, cavalry, and cannon, and attempt to lift and carry the whole harvest of Ireland — a somewhat heavy undertaking which might become a hot one too — then I, at least, for one, am prepared to bow with humble resignation to the dispensations of Providence. Welcome the will of God. We must only try to keep our harvest, to offer a peaceful passive resistance, to barricade the island, to break up the roads, to break down the bridges — and should need be, and the occasions offer surely we may venture to try the steel. Other approved modes of moral force might be gradually added to these, as we become trained to the system; and all combined, I imagine, and well worked, might possibly test the strength and the heart of the empire.

Into artistic details, I need

not, and do not choose, to enter for the present.

It has been said to me that such a war, on the principles I propose, would be looked on with detestation by Europe. I assert the contrary: I say such a war would propagate itself throughout Europe. Mark the words of this prophecy. The principle I propound goes to the foundation of Europe, and sooner or later will cause Europe to oust. Mankind will yet be masters of the earth. The right of the people to make the laws — this produced the first great modern earthquake, whose latest shocks even now are heaving the heart of the world. The right of the people to own the land — this will be the next. Train your hands and your sons' hands, gentlemen of the earth, for you and they will yet have to use them. I want to put Ireland foremost, in the van of the world, at the head of the nations, to set her aloft in the blaze of the sun, and to make her for ever the lode star of history. Will she take the path I pointed out—the path to be free and famed and feared and followed—the path that goes onward? Or, onward to the ends of time will wretched Ireland even come limping and lagging hindmost? Events must answer that. It is a question I almost fear to look full in the face. The soul of this island seems to sink where that of another country would soar. The people sank and surrendered to the Famine, instead of growing savage, as any other people would have done.

to vote for the inclusion of convent orphanages in a Factory Inspection Act. For this Sloan was expelled from the Orange Order.

A few days later William Johnson, M.P. for South Belfast, died. Johnson in his time had been a very controversial figure, having supported the Orange Order when it was unpopular in Unionist circles, and had been put in jail on a number of occasions for his pains. Sloan decided to fight South Belfast. So far nothing very unusual, but here the plot thickens. Sloan's manifesto to the electorate emphasised the fact that the Belfast Orange and Unionist leaders merely treated the Belfast working man as voting fodder, and as such were not worthy of support. The official unionist candidate, Dunbar-Buller, was a Fellow of one of the Oxford Colleges, and during the course of the election he must often have wished that he had stayed there. Sloan's supporters broke up every meeting that Dunbar-Buller attempted to hold in the constituency. Buller's family had money in the drink trade, and Sloan won the support of Temperance Orange Lodges as far afield as Tyrone. The Unionists didn't stand a chance, and Sloan won the seat by 800 votes.

Sloan had been expelled from the Orange Order but the Orange leadership decided to give him a chance. He was invited to a meeting of the Imperial Grand Lodge of Ireland held in Armagh, and asked to apologise to Col. Saunderson. He refused to do so. On his return to Belfast he told a meeting at the G.N.R. station "that the Belfast Lodge had attempted to place its iron heel on the face of democracy of Belfast". A week later a vast meeting was held on the outskirts of Belfast with 8,000 people attending; three resolutions were passed unanimously. (1) That an Independent Orange Institution be formed. (2) That the necessary arrangements for the rival 12th July celebrations be completed. (3) That no apology be given to the Orange leaders.

The most interesting result of the meeting, however, was in the election of Imperial Grand Master of the new Order. Robert Lindsay Crawford, the first Grand Master, was born in Lisburn in 1868. By 1903 he was editor of a Dublin monthly paper, called the Irish Protestant. This paper specialised in attacking Romeward trends in the C. of I. Gradually Crawford came to a position critical of the Unionist party on the grounds that it was anti-democratic and out of touch with the people. As he said in his first speech: "The Prime Minister himself represented a decaying class—out of touch with the people, out of touch with the genius of progress—a class which would not be tolerated in any community of thinking men because it represented the spirit of retrogression."

Crawford rapidly became policy-maker of the new Order and wrote for it the famous Magheramorne Manifesto which was issued at a demonstration on the 12th of July 1905 at Magheramorne, Co. Antrim. This document condemned Dublin Castle government, called for the formation of a patriotic party with a sound constructive programme and declared that "the victory of our forebears at the Boyne was not a victory over creed or even over race, but a victory for human liberty. We stand on the banks of the Boyne not as victors in the fight, not to applaud the noble deeds of our ancestors but to bridge the gulf that has for so long divided Ireland into hostile camps, and to hold out the right hand of fellowship to those who while worshipping other shrines are yet our countrymen—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh. We are sure that in Irish history when thoughtful men on both sides will come to realise that not in the Acts of Parliament, nor in their repeal, lie the hope and salvation of our country, so much as in the mutual inclination of Irish hearts and minds along the common plane of nationality, a nationality that binds the people together in the same school, in the same workshop and in the senate, in the promotion of what has been long neglected—the material interests of our native land and our people". Crawford was obviously moving towards a non-sectarian, nationalist position, and in doing so was bringing the Independent Orange Order with him.

In 1905 there was a bye-election in North Belfast, and William Walker (the same man with whom Connolly had his famous controversy) stood as the official Labour candidate against Sir Daniel Dixon, former Lord Mayor of Belfast, with Ramsay McDonald as his election agent. Walker would most likely have won the seat but for the fact that he was forced to answer a questionnaire about his attitude to Roman Catholics. The answers he gave were highly

(Continued on page 11)

Some political commentators are suggesting that the recent general election in the North, and more especially the split in the Unionist party, is taking on the character of a class war. The recent speech by Mr. Morgan, the ex-Minister of Health in the North, that Capt. O'Neill and his kind believe that the landlords have got a divine right to rule the Six Counties is taken as evidence of this. However this view is grossly oversimplified. The alliance of landlords, industrialists and workers which made up Unionism was always in danger of breaking up if the right kind of pressure were applied. This is what is happening today.

"Moderates" opinion sees the principle enemy to the new O'Neill unionism in the Orange Order and to justify their position they cite the bigotry that we have come to associate with the Order; but this was not always the case. At one stage in Ulster history a section of the Orange Order provided the rallying point for people who like Morgan had begun to tire of landlord domination of the Unionist party. This was the Independent Orange Order.

At the turn of the century, any person who had a message to offer the people of Belfast went down to the Custom House on a Sunday afternoon and gave forth. Arthur Trewe was one such person. At that time the Independent Labour Party was organising in Belfast and friend Trewe made a habit of breaking up their meetings. In his capacity as Chairman of the Belfast Protestant Association, he was also quite adept at breaking up processions of a Romanist nature. But misfortune struck. After breaking up in 1902 a Corpus Christi procession the forces of Satan lodged him like his distinguished successor, Ian Paisley, in the Crumlin Road Jail. Who was to take his place on Sunday afternoons? Into the breach leaped a shipyard worker, Tom Sloan, who carried on the good work with as much gusto as Trewe. But misfortune was to strike him too. Sloan had heckled Colonel Saunderson, Belfast Grand Master of the Orange Order and leader of the Irish Unionist M.P.s, at the 12th Field. He accused Saunderson of being partial to nuns, because he had refused

Mr. Tully and people's cut heads

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL



IMPATIENCE ABOUT INQUIRY IN GALWAY

Impatience is turning to anger on the Co. Galway coast with the delay in publishing the findings following the pursuance of inquiries into the fishing laws at Carna and Leitir Fraic seven months ago.

The delay by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries in publishing the findings is in sharp contrast to their expectation that fishermen be the last word in efficiency and modernity.

Is this the reason for the delay? It is a well-known fact that the private fishery owners, the only beneficiaries from the present status quo, are exerting strong pressure on Mr. Blaney.

JAMES DUNNE AND THE UNIONS

No member of the Federated Union of Employers can claim to have done more to prejudice the strike by maintenance workers than Mr. James Dunne, President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

see control of capital as an essential part of Industrial Democracy. He even challenges the democratic right to strike of underpaid workers.



● JAMES DUNNE

"Who thinks up these Bills?" asked Mr. Desmond McCarthy (Limerick), "has the Government gone stark raving mad?"

Amidst the biggest public outcry ever mounted against proposed legislation (last month the Irish Housewives' Association and Galway bricklayers added their varied voices of protest)

an ordinary prison is "detrimental to the good order of the prison". Sections 51/54 relate to procuring the non-payment of rates, rents or taxes making it an offence for an individual so to act

"Fine Gael subscribed to the Minister's view that there was much unwarranted criticism of the Garda. Mr. Barrett in tones worthy of his colleague, Mr. Hector Legge, or perhaps copied from that worthy, went on to explain: "When the Garda tried to protect the citizens there were cries of brutality"

Our allies

The debate on the Criminal Justice Bill on the second stage took place in Leinster House last month. Fine Gael and Labour both attacked many of the Bill's provisions but if we are to judge by some remarks passed on the issue by party spokesmen we have cause for some trepidation at our "allies" support.

Re-grouping needed

A re-grouping of anti-Criminal Justice Bill forces is called for so as to ensure that the necessary concessions do not dupe the people.

On the 19th of February over 200 bricklayers downed tools in the first political strike in this country for many years in protest against the amended Criminal Justice Bill and called on the 95 unions affiliated to the I.C.T.U. to follow suit.

No appeaser

Two amendments will hardly transform the Minister into an appeaser even of his own Fianna Fail camp followers. No mention was made of Sections 28, 32, 45, 53/54, all of which have been severely criticised in the public press.

Section 28 is the one that proposes to outlaw meetings or processions pertaining to court proceedings. Section 32 proposes tougher measures relating to peaceful political picketing.

E.S.B. WORKERS TO LOSE TRIBUNAL

Quietly and almost unnoticed a short section at the tail end of the Industrial Relations Bill 1966 robs the E.S.B. workers of their tribunal.

representatives is taken away from them. The Tribunal made one mistake in its relationship with the E.S.B. of Directors: it was independent minded and acted accordingly.

Placenames and their hidden lore

Nach aisteach an rud e, ceann den chupa ait a ainmtear go hoifigiúil i nGalige go bhfuil drom beag doine ag arraidh an tainn. Bealaí a bheith air. Se sin dar ndóigh An Uaimh. Ach an bhfuil se aisteach? Nar tharla se arimh i stair na hÉireann go bhfuil saghas airithe dune sasta a nam a dhíol ar stoir airgid. Sa áras seo is lucht go raib m'bhun an fheachtas seo, go hairithe Sasannach a i bhfeighilí Navan Carpets Ltd. Ceapann siad gur mo airgid a dheanfadháid ma ta an t-ainm i nBearla ar an mbuile. Ta suil againn nach ndéanfar Bearla de. Ta an t-ainm airgid. (Gabh nu leithseal, ceud punt na laethanta seo.)

I Meiricea ta suim an-mhor sna haít-ainmeacha Indíacha agus ní athraithar go Bearla iad. Ta loch i Mass. dar ainm Lake Chargogagog. Ma n a ch. auggagochaubanungamagave. Is ainm Indíach e agus ciallaíonn se "Bíodh tuisce ag iscach ar do thaobhsa, beidh mise ag iscach ar mo thaobhsa, agus ní bheidh ceachtar againn ag iscach i ar baire". Nach mór an trua nach bhfuil se againn in Éirinn. Bheadh postanna lan aimsíreacha seasamhacha ag ollúin Bhearlaí dha aistriú do na comharthaí agus dona leabharí raitéil.

Beal: beal abhann. Beal Feirste, Beal an Atha. Baile: baile: Seo e an "bally" ta chomh coitianta againn. Mugh: píosa reidh taluna, Mugh Cromtha, Mugh Ceannain. Uaran: fuaran uisce (spring well) Uaran Mór, Uaran Beag. Druim: loch a thriomáinm suas sa Samhraidh, Turloch Mór. Hoiríoch: loch (Lochannais). Dangean: aít chosanta, an Dangean. Druim: píosa ar talun, Druim Chonrach, Druim. Coann: píosa talun ag goibh amúc sa bhíogáir, Ceann Leime, Iubhar Cinn Tra. Carrach: aít goibh. Carrach, Carrach Mór. Dubhlin: Dubh Linn: poll uisce dubh, Peirc Muir leine, (Merlin Park). Chapelizod: seipeal Ieult. Clochar: aít chlochach. Deán an Chathair. Ta aít i Sasana (Surrey) a dugar Tarpenhow Hill air. Ta ábheith Beagán san áim se. Beagán níos fear na muide fu amháin. Troc: cnoc (Anglo-Saxach) ponn cnoc (Celtic), hoc: cnoc (Lochannais) feach Howth tuisce, agus "hill" dar ndóigh an Chathair. Ruaidhrí O Tuairisg

What is the explanation of the partisan stand adopted so early in the strike by Mr. Dunne? Why did Cardinal Conway rush to the support of Mr. Dunne having watched the unmovable and silent while the striking Arizona workers were being forced back to work in eighteen century conditions after a fifteen week long strike? Is it because Jimmy Dunne is a Knight of Columbus? Statements from Mr. Dunne like "there is absolutely no proper proportion between what is being sought on behalf of a comparatively small number of men and the terrible damage being done to the country and upon our trade union movement" were aimed directly at splitting the unity of general workers who are weak in numbers have less right to the motto that is the concern of all prevailed until recently.

Independent

For the E.S.B. staff the abolition of the Tribunal is the end of democracy; the E.S.B. Special Provisions Bill being in force and now the right to elect their own re-

Racialism

The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement last month protested strongly against the proposals in the national press, of advertisements endeavouring to attract Irish emigrants to Southern Rhodesia. These advertisements are a direct contravention of the Resolutions passed in 1968 by the 26 Co. Government, as Mr. Aiken himself has made clear. Mr. Smith, an I.R.C. member of the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia, is anxious to attract white emigrants in order that he may continue to impose racial segregation in employment—there are already a number of employed Africans but they are not considered fit to be trained to do so.

FIANNA EIREANN GROWING IN STRENGTH

At a meeting of An Ard Choiste, Na Fianna Eireann, held in Dublin, February 15, the following members were ratified to Ard Oifig and Slua O.C. ship: Miss Kathleen McNally, Director, Gírl Scoits; O.C.s, Michael Bairéad, Bairéad, Francis Pearse, Barbara O'Leary, Mrs. P. Shannon, Marie Kenny, Mrs. S. Fitzpatrick and Patricia Brown.

Dublin Battalion

The following members have been appointed to the staff of the Dublin Battalion, O.C. Michael Bairéad, A.D.J., John Boland, Quarter-Master, Colm Timmons. A plan of activity for the Battalion was drawn up following a meeting of the Council early in January. These include the St. Patrick's Day Parade and a major camp in Wicklow over the Whit weekend.

Cork Battalion

Members of G.H.O. will visit the Cork area during March to meet the officers and to discuss a reorganising programme in the South.

Northern Battalion

Slua Oliver Craven have now been attached to the Northern Battalion and this brings the strength of the battalion to six companies. Four Sluaise of Girl Scouts are being organised within the area.

AIFREANN

Mass will be offered on Sunday, March 9, 10.45 a.m. at the Franciscan Church Merchant's Quay, Dublin for the repose of the soul of Desmond Swamy whose anniversary occurs about this time.

REPUBLICAN DINNER - CEILI

Hotel Metropole, SATURDAY, 12th APRIL TICKETS 32/6 will be obtainable from Halla Tomas Ashe, Cork.

SINN FEIN NOTES

The efficiency of any national organisation depends upon rapid communication between its head office and local branches.

The efficiency of the Sinn Féin organisation is seriously hampered by the fact that some cumann and comhairlé ceantair have not far supplied details of their officer boards for 1969. It is vitally important that such information be supplied immediately. Criminal Justice Bill Opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill is gathering momentum. Highly successful lectures and public meetings have been held in such places as Sligo, Ballina, Athlone and Waterford, with more planned for Mullingar, Drogheda, Droichead and Wexford in the immediate future. Every area should play its part in this national campaign. Experienced speakers—specialists in this subject—are available at reasonable notice. Ard-Fheis report. The report of the 1968 Ard-Fheis should now be in the hands of every cumann. The purpose of this report is to inform members of the decisions taken on the resolutions discussed by the Ard-Fheis, and on those referred to the Ard-Chomhairle. Cumann are urged to take note of and implement all decisions.

Máirín de Burca, Michael R. Ryan, Ard-Rúnaítha.

Eight minutes after entering Court No. 1 at the Old Bailey Central Criminal Court on May 3, 1961, Lord Parker, the British Lord Chief Justice, ordered the court to be cleared. The general public and press left. The courtroom doors were locked. Windows were shuttered. Police guards were stationed outside the courtroom doors.

53 minutes later the press and public were re-admitted and the Lord Chief Justice, addressing himself to the bearded figure in the dock, pronounced upon him the longest prison sentence ever received in England—42 years. That bearded prisoner was George Blake. Blake was convicted of five offences under Section 1 (a) of the Official Secrets Act 1911. . . for a purpose prejudicial to the safety of the State he communicated to another person information which might have been directly or indirectly useful to an enemy."

A traitor

On May 4, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, made a formal statement on the Blake affair in the House of Commons informing the members that, from 1961, when Blake was taken to Korois, until arrested some ten years later, George Blake had been a traitor variously employed in British service.

On May 9, five days later, the meeting of the Opposition pressure the Prime Minister was again forced to address the House. On May 15, the Prime Minister announced that he was appointing Lord Radcliffe as chairman of a Royal Commission to investigate Britain's Security Services.

The spying activities of Blake centred around Berlin in 1959 in the interval leading up to the Paris Spring Summit Conference of 1960.

Eight years after the Lord Chief Justice pronounced his judgment both Berlin and George Blake are again in the news.

George Blake escaped from Wormwood Scrubs jail in October, 1966 with the aid of one man—Sean O'Donoghue Bourke, the affable Irishman, Limerick's most notorious citizen.

Sean Bourke returned to this country from Russia in October of last year, almost two years to the day since Blake's escape.

Legal battle

In January the legal battle over the return of Bourke began in earnest in the Dublin High Court, and in February the Present of the High Court, Mr. Justice O'Keefe, gave judgment for Bourke, with costs on the ground that the offence with which he was charged, a summary offence under Section 39 of the Prison Act 1952, was an offence in the words of the 1965 Extradition Act, "connected with a political offence" and therefore a non-extraditable offence.

Not content with this however, 10 days later, on January 13 the Attorney General lodged an appeal to the Supreme Court against the decision of the President of the High Court.

Interested parties

The grounds of appeal are: (a) "That the learned President was wrong in granting the order nisi, and in holding that the offence in the warrant set out in the statement of claim was an offence connected with a political offence"; and (b) "such other grounds as may be further adduced."

The office of Attorney General is a political appointment. There is little doubt that the decision to lodge an appeal was taken in consultation with "interested parties" and is a clear Ministerial decision prompted by either Mr. Moran or Mr. Aiken or by both together.

The United Irishman has constantly espoused Bourke's

case and has put the question—Is Sean Bourke to be a pawn in a good neighbour policy?—to its readers. It is obvious that the affable Mr. Moran has decided to play a passive role in the Bourke affair, passive in the interests of the British Foreign Office.

NEW B.L.E. CONSTITUTION ACCEPTS PARTITION

Still afraid to admit publicly the treachery of their act, Bord Leasra na hEireann excluded the press from Congress called to give the O.K. to Partition.

Constitution

The press duly obliged by not printing a word about the B.L.E. at the Congress and the B.L.E. part of the constitution which embodies Partition: a good destruction of the kind of two-faced dealing that goes on when the men who nearly succeeded in the N.A.C.A. will not open the doors and let everyone hear just how double talk and formulas got them all mixed up.

Double talk

The double talk and formulae of the kind of the young N.A.C.A. men. Within a week of the B.L.E. closed Congress, a meeting held a highly successful All-Ireland Junior cross-country championship in Co. Down. All signs are that the good work will be kept up. Let us be able to report a host of their integrity for his next through the Summer months, while the renegades who sold their integrity for a few tramps abroad are trying to extricate themselves and some innocent parties from their double talk and formulae.

Whoever runs the sports controls athletics and last year the N.A.C.A. held more sports than all other combined. Let this year double that excess!

The Independent Orange Order

(Continued from page 9)

North Belfast passed unnoticed.

But changes were taking place in the Independent Orange Order. Since its election to Parliament, Sloan had begun to wear party suits and to talk the party. He was being wooed by the Unionist leaders and had been to several Orange banquets. Sloan had been expelled from the Independent Orange Order for exposing conditions in the Orange Rules. Sloan became a member of the N.A.C.A. and reverted to sectarianism. His following rapidly diminished more from the north Belfast by 2,500 votes. Gagey, Walker's successor in North Belfast, lost the south Belfast in West Belfast Devlin continued on his own sweet way, winning election after election in the Orange Order. Sanderson in 1966, Carson was elected leader of the Irish Party. A new phase had begun.

The importance of the Independent Orange Order is that they showed that the Unionist monolith was not so monolithic after all. The result of the famous lockout of that year, Lindsay Crawford and Devlin immediately supported the workers' cause; meetings were held throughout Belfast by Independent Orange Order, Labour and Nationalist speakers. At the Independent Orange Order meeting on 12th July collections were taken up for the striking workers. In the excitement Walker's failure to win

offensive to Roman Catholics, and his Unionist opponent had the workers distributed outside the Redemptorist Church at Ardoyne. For this gaffe Walker must have lost many hundred Catholic votes.

Nevertheless he was only beaten by 474 votes in a poll of 8,000. In the general election of 1966, Carson cut Dixon's lead to 300. Sloan won South Belfast against Lord Arthur Hill by 800 votes. East Belfast returned a Unionist unopposed, and West Belfast was won by Wexford Unionist Secretary of the United Irish League and Bigot Extraordinary. Belfast was a popular vote for a Unionist grip; as Joe Devlin said "it was the fight of the workers and toilers against the ruling machines." Devlin from his nationalist stronghold promised co-operation with the Orange Order on Labour matters. Of the 33 Ulster seats the Unionists only took 10.

The first test of the new unionist front of Independent Orange Order and Nationalists came in 1967. Larkin and Connolly had been organising in Belfast, and the result was the famous lockout of that year. Lindsay Crawford and Devlin immediately supported the workers' cause; meetings were held throughout Belfast by Independent Orange Order, Labour and Nationalist speakers. At the Independent Orange Order meeting on 12th July collections were taken up for the striking workers. In the excitement Walker's failure to win

By OUR LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

now in the shape of a "negotiation licence".

Camera bearing

Sittings of the Labour Court are to be held in private unless the court is of the opinion that in the "public interest" a particular case should be heard in public.

Industrial Relations Officers are to be appointed by the Minister from a list of nominees thus making it a time court. The Industrial Relations Minister's own nominees must be made in time court. The Industrial Relations Minister's own nominees must be made in time court. The Industrial Relations Minister's own nominees must be made in time court.

The key

Is legislation to be rejected on principle as being unwarranted interference with voluntary labour relations? This question does not provide the key to our total rejection of Hillary proposals. Indeed we are of the opinion that there are many areas in the field of industrial relations where legislation could profitably be introduced if Dr. Hillary's proposals are "workers friend" he claims to be. Some suggestions would be: Legislation to (a) positively pro-

tekt the right to associate by (a) Raising to 100 the number compelling employers to negotiate with trade unions in Sweden, thus obviating the situation which exists at the E.L. factory in Shannon. (b) Attaching conditions to the granting of State Grants, especially from the Industrial Development Board, to require that employees must recognise unions. (c) Making it an offence to discriminate against employees active in union or political agitation (A Sin Fein activist was arrested in Arklow recently).

(d) Establishing a national minimum wage and a maximum working week."

Every trade unionist must take up the burden against these anti-worker Bills at local and national union level with his primary concern Resolutions against the Bill should be passed whenever possible at local union meetings to gain popular support should be held in all major industrial centres. Workers, agitate that you are main force: Dr. Hillary must face a united and determined opposition.

(Concluded)

Group negotiating licences

The Minister proposing that one group negotiating licence will be issued to cover situations where (1) all the workers are within a particular employment or (2) when a group of workers forms a homogeneous negotiating unit.

The idea proposed is quite a complicated notion and we mean that when various unions come together as one bargaining unit (presumably to save money) one blanket licence will be issued between them and that the protection of the 1966 Act will not be authorised by the group in accordance with the groups rules and constitution. This proposal is again

designed to minimise strike action (the only economic weapon available to employees) and the protection given to it under the 1966 Act by hedging it around with conditions and purportedly delaying conditions. The idea of group licences is allegedly to deal with the "deserted" uncounselling unions situation," but it is too impractical to be the desired solution.

Rationalisation of unions has been a frequent cry from Government and Employer sources through the years. Who can forget Sean Lemass's solution (Part 3 of the 1941 Trade Union Act)? It was eventually discarded as unworkable (N.I.R. v. Sullivan Case). Well, ever since then they have been thinking over the next move. Here it comes

An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

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Coac File ar an gCarn

—Thomas Mac Lopus.

Ts ldir aifeala ag athas oráin a thuaisric go bhfuil Ghaeiseacht oifigiúil na Gaeilge imithe clua sa mbeabhar faoi dteiradh. Follóisúch cupla lá a shin an dara tuarascáil P Chomhlucht Comhairleach na Gaeilge a leirigh go soléir, mura raibh sé soléir cheana, go bhfuil Fianna Fáil eirithe as ábheochna na Gaeilge.

Crisis deepens

The election called to strengthen Captain O'Neill served only to plunge him and his Party into a deeper and deeper crisis.

It also heralded the death of the Nationalist Party: the Hibernal room, Eddie Hall Leaf McAteer, Gormley, Richardson is no more.

The "People's Democracy" was defeated by its insistence on keeping to Parliamentary procedure rather than lead the people on the streets (its attitude was highlighted by O'Connor's and McAteer's appeal to vote for a pro O'Neill candidate where no Nationalist was standing). Cooper and Hume bowled, and learn this lesson—the Civil Rights Movement's place is on the streets to demand one man one vote and the other N.I.C.R.A. demands —this is very much the same.

The People's Democracy is now striving hard to be seen as a "new socialist force" with its drive to cut across religious barriers (something not evident in the make up of its own leadership). Its insistence that partition is no longer an issue in the Six Counties is a pernicious doctrine. The Six Counties is a direct colony of Britain; the Twenty Six Counties is its neocolony. The struggle for all progressive forces in the Thirty-Two Counties is a struggle for self determination against British Imperialism (see second Editorial).

Confrontation in the Six Counties must not be pushed beyond its real use. In its extreme form as in Newry it polarises religious attitudes, as each side springs to defend "its own".

The present regime in the North returned by the stalemate election cannot grant the civil rights demands without losing power. Unionism itself, however, can grant all the present demands and survive as a party. The Government realises this, Mr. Brian Faulkner, must be the next Premier. August is a wicked month.

Free Trade sell-out

While Fianna Fáil Ministers brew a Red Scarce about the Labour Party the mess the Government is in with regard to the Free Trade Agreement goes almost unregarded by the public. It is a paradox people will one time marvel at. The Government goes to the other side of the Party's programme with the Industrial Democracy, Workers Control and Socialism, while the same time getting away with the biggest sell-out of the century to Britain under the Treaty. They even have the impudence to claim, through Kevin Boland and Blaney, that the ending of Partition is at the same time still the main concern of Fianna Fáil!

Britain has this country by the throat just now with the Free Trade Agreement. Each month's trade figures show British exports to Ireland rising, while Irish exports to Britain lag ever further behind. Haughey, Blaney and Colley go to London almost unnoticed, bringing back except a British cheque of a "war-debt" of £4 million a year we "owe" them since the Black-an-Tan days. Although the British have already broken the Agreement twice, Fianna Fáil still plan to go ahead with another 10 p.c. reduction of tariffs on British imports next July. The workers and trade union movement must rouse themselves to oppose this Agreement and its effects to the utmost. Democracy in industry is fine, but the way things are going there may soon not be much Irish industry left to democratise! The struggle against British imperialism in all its manifestations is and remains the main task before the Irish people. For the 26-County area the Free Trade Agreement is now the main manifestation of British imperialism in action and of the Fianna Fáil Government's Sell-Out-of-the-Nation. We need to remember that.

Anti Union Laws

THE TRADE UNION BILL 1966 and the Industrial Relations Bill 1966 were reintroduced into Leinster House last month by the Minister for Labour, Dr. P. J. Hillery.

Public controversy over the Criminal Justice Bill should not be allowed to cloud the general public's appreciation of what is involved in this anti-worker legislation, which is designed to make it harder for ordinary workers. A full appreciation of the Bills will be found inside (see—"Trade Unions and the Law"—a two-part article concluded in this issue).

Dr. Hillery claims that his legislation does not propose to make unofficial picketing illegal. He only intends to provide the protection of the Trade Disputes Act 1906 from pickets so that the courts can penalise them.

Those people who today lecture on the "danger of the picket" and of breakaway unions taking "unofficial" action would do well to remember that the I.T.G.W.U., the W.U.I.B., the N.B.U., the P.O.A.E., were all born through break-away action, and that the E.S.A. Workers' Tribunal and the Arigna Committee were recent examples of the need for "unofficial" action.

38 per cent of all industrial workers have a wage of less than £11 a week; 52 per cent have a weekly wage less than £13; 75 per cent of females have a weekly wage less than £9 a week. Agricultural workers' wages are amongst the lowest in Europe. If those who occupy themselves with repeating that in 1967 we came fifth from the bottom in the world strike league were concerned with these figures we could not be presented with "official" current legislation to improve our industrial relations!"

Dr. Hillery's Bills to cure all inter-union ills." The erection of legal safeguards for the system of exploitation which curbs picketing (a vital freedom for the worker) may only be to the disadvantage of the workers. It is our advantage only to the class it is intended to keep supreme in this country—the capitalists of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael.

Mar threagra air sin, ta Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge chun achainn a chur chuig an Taoiseach — chuig an duine, thar einne eile, atá tar éis na Ghaeilge a dhíol, an duine a cheap Brian Lenihan mar Aire Oideachais.

E sin fein ba chuis náire do chuile Ghaeilgeoir. E Ach ní shíon an tsiomán. Tá t-achainn seo a chur thart— faoi run— chuig 500 'daoinne mesala, a thuaisric an scéal', tá leis an t-achainn a shíniú agus tacaíocht a thabhairt do. Ce híd na 'daoinne mesala' seo? Ní fios fós, ach tá barúil againn. Ní go dtí Cois Fhlainge na Corca Dhúbbha atá na litreacha ag dul.

Udar meisc

An t-achainn fein, ní feidir a ra faoi ach gur udar meisc é. Tá ba an phoblal leis an cuspóir náisiúnta agus a ta bha sin ag dul i meid (ó) le Mianta beag anuas. Da ainneoin sin, is leir duinn go bhfuil clonadh ag fas i measc lucht udarais chun cula o na cuspóir sin. Níltear ag cur in iúl go bhfuil na cuspóir fein a sarraibh. 'C' Gearrúil ag cur in iúl mar sin? Ag Dia amháin atá fhios.

Fritbhacaini

An intinn atá sa mhéamran go leir is é an intinn ceannas atá ag cur na Ghaeiseacha amú leis na blianta, gur tre chogair i gcóir an Rialtais a d'ainm an Ghaeilge a ábheochna. Níl caint ar bith ar an bpoibál ach amháin lena geoid duail-ais a chur i gcéimne doibh. Is leir nach bhfuil suim da laghad ag cinirri na ghaeiseacha sa bpoibál ná lena leas. Da reir sin ní haon ionadh go bhfuil suim an phobail sa ghaeiseach ag dul i leig.

Ta caint ar fritbhacaini. Seo a cnius nach aifeala ar fad atá orainn faoin scéal seo. Ta seans anois, daoibear deir, nach bhfuil go leis le fada: na ghaeiseacha a oifigiúla a bhreisicé, agus an Ghaeilge a thabhairt ar ais do mhúinte na hEireann, sin le ra don choimhearr.

E.I. REPORT SOON?

Some weeks ago Mr. D. Carey was amongst the last of the striking E.I. employees to return to work after long months of unemployment. The company required him to go back on the pay-scale of a new employee, despite the fact he had over three years' experience. He is now working at 30% per week less than previously. This strange state of affairs can only be understood in the light of events subsequent to the burning of the buses.

A meeting was convened at the behest of the Minister for Labour, Dr. Hillery. Present were the full strike committee, the late John Conroy, President I.T.G.W.U. Mr. Brown, Vice President; Mr. P. Dugan, National Group Secretary; Mr. J. Power, Secretary of Shannon Branch. A verbal agreement was arrived at and was accepted by the Strike Committee to the Minister's assurance that he would be enforced (they also had in mind Mr. Kennedy's statement that the strike would continue until the company agreed to recognise the Union). The proposals were that:

- (a) a commission be set up within four weeks to investigate the causes of unrest in E.I. and make recommendations to the Minister within one month.
(b) all employees be allowed return to work within five weeks.
However, a dispute ensued between E.I. and the men.

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Table listing various books for sale with prices and postage. Includes titles like 'Martyrs for Ireland', 'The Workers' Republic', 'Socialism and Nationalism', etc.

over the terms of the return-to-work agreement — the company refused to take back certain of the strikers. Meanwhile, the much-awaited commission, after a delay of eight weeks, has finally got off the ground — eight months late.

Cumann Athghabhála na nUici Náisiúnta (National Waters Restoration League)

Aims: To acquire the fishing rights of the lakes, estuaries and bays of Ireland for the Irish people. To organise the people to make a collective demand to have the necessary legislation introduced for the purpose of acquiring these rights. If you are interested in furthering the aims of the League, please contact the Secretary: Aine Nic Ghiolla Chuilinn, Bothar na Cú, Ballina, Co. Mayo.

Name Address All donations gratefully received.

BOOKS NOW AVAILABLE

Table listing books for sale with prices. Includes titles like 'Stolen Waters', 'Mamfeisto Irish Worker and Farmer's Republic', 'An Aisling by Mairtin O Cadhain', etc.

The Rights of Man in Ireland by Sean Cronin Cash with orders please to: UNITED IRISHMAN, 30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

COISTE CUMHNEACHAIN NAISIÚNTA EASTER 1969

All units please note: Details regarding Easter Commemorations, Speakers requested etc. must be sent in on or before March 15, to: An Rúnai, COISTE CUMHNEACHAIN NAISIÚNTA 30 Plas Gardnar, Ath Cliath 1.

Suit Yourself at E. Leslie Drapers, 28 Peter St. Drogheda. Specialists in Ladies' Gents' and Children's Wear. Tel: Drogheda 8173.

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CAVAN EASTER COMMEMORATION KILOUGHTER Sunday, 3.30 pm. ONDARY, APRIL 6.



THE following Gardaí are accused of brutality and will be considered for the title "BRUTE OF THE YEAR": City Hall, Dublin, Housing Demonstration, 1968, Sergeant (C28) O'Sullivan, Shelbourne Hotel, September, 1968, R.A.F. Celebration; A18; A211; A127; A314; A344. Dept. of Justice", St. Stephen's Green, January 15, 1969: A18. O'Connell Bridge, January 18, 1969: B283; B125; B273; A69; E8; H88; G36; E93; B145; K71; F12; E66; F123; L100; C196; C8; K41. Also Branchman Maurice Kavanagh who repeatedly punched Michael Betts in the face while the latter was being held by Gardaí. Cork Housing Action, February 15, 1969: Sergeant No. 46; Sergeant No. 106; Garda No. 3.

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