

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE
Nollaig (December) 1969, Iml. XXIII. Uimhir 12. Luach 9d. (U.S. and Canada 25c.)

Tension is building up all over the North as anti-Unionist forces concentrate their fire on the Special Powers Act. Recent months have seen the betrayal by Westminster and Stormont politicians of one guarantee after another.

Focus point for the storm about the Special Powers Act are Malachy McGurran and Prionnsias Mac Airt, two Republicans held in Crumlin Road jail since August last under the terms of the Act. North and South of the Border and in England also the imprisonment of the two men has sparked protest.

On the proposal of Seamus Costello, the 26 Co. General Council of County Councils unanimously passed a resolution calling for the immediate release of the two men and calling also for the repeal of the Special Powers Act under which they are imprisoned. Copies of the resolution to be sent to Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. J. Chichester Clark. Similar resolutions were passed in Galway—proposed by Frank Glynn and Donegal—proposed by Seamus Mac Ruairi.

In England, the Connolly Association and Clann na h-Eireann have organised widespread protests and demonstrations demanding their release. Peoples Democracy have picketed in many centres in the North in support of the same demand. The Republican Clubs in the North (McGurran is Chairman of the Republican Clubs' Executive) have announced a widespread picketing campaign in furtherance of the release call.

A meeting of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights' Association in Belfast on Sunday, November 30, attended by more than 250 delegates from all over the North, decided unanimously to launch a campaign for the repeal of the Act in its entirety. Proposals were made for the renewal of demonstrations during the present ban by the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Porter, by pickets, and at a later date, marches. Plans for a campaign of civil disobedience were also discussed but details were not released.

Such a campaign would bring the simmering pot of discontent to the boil within a very short period and the possibility of serious street clashes similar to those preceding the August eruption of violence are strong. Opinion is that all the power of the Northern State, from the B-Specials to Harold Wilson's new Ulster Defence Regiment will be used by the Unionists to defend the Special Powers Act, the epitome of their Divine Right to discriminate against the minority in the North.

Under the Act, the authorities are empowered to:

- Arrest without warrant;
- Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeus corpus or a court of law;
- Enter and search homes without warrant, and with force, at any hour of day or night;
- Declare a curfew and prohibit meetings, assemblies (including



**SMASH
THE
SPECIAL
POWERS
ACT**

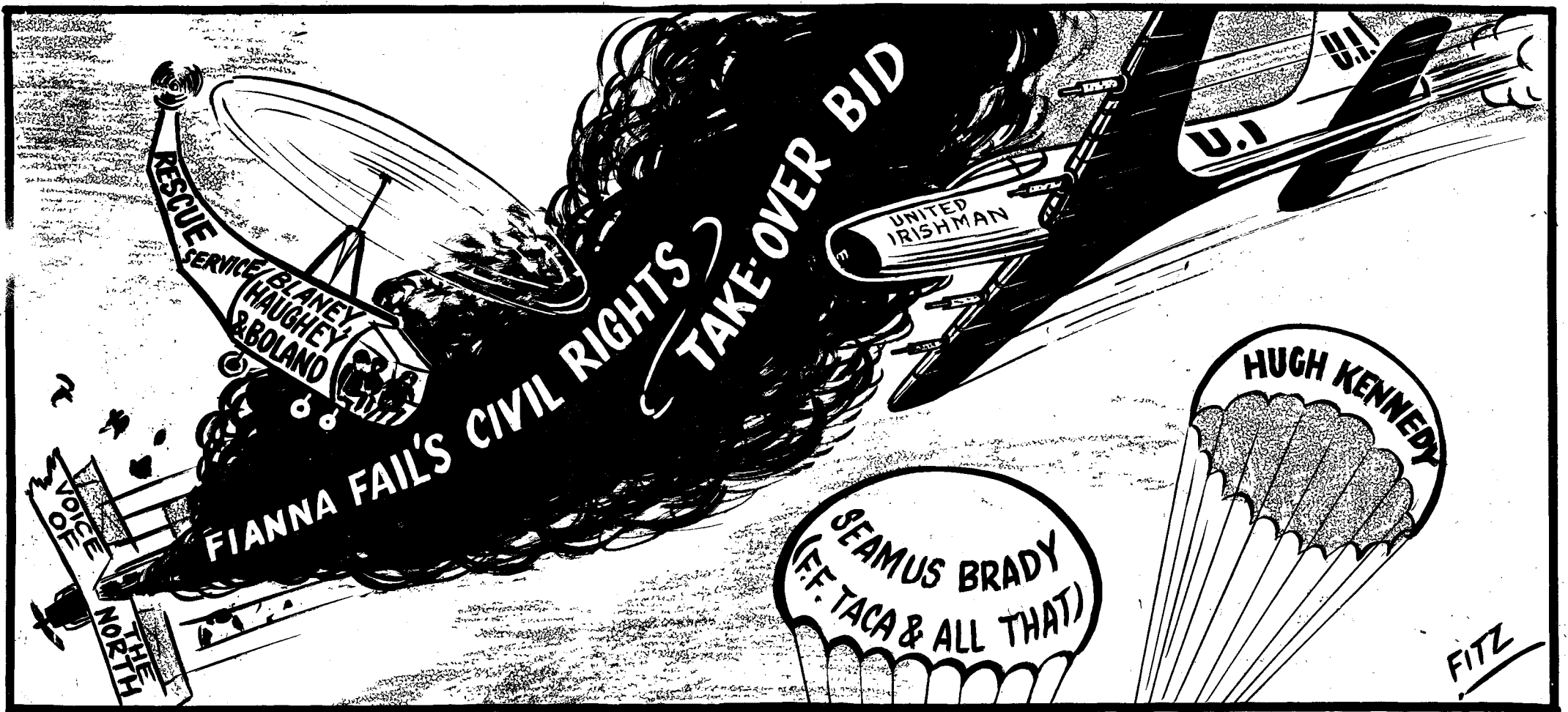
fairs and markets) and processions;

- Permit punishment by flogging;
- Deny claim to a trial by jury;
- Arrest persons 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;
- Do any act involving interference with the rights of private property;
- Prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to a person imprisoned without trial;
- Prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death;
- Arrest a person who "by word of mouth" spreads false reports or makes false statements;
- Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper;
- Prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record;
- 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".

Under the Special Powers Act any form of political existence or expression is forbidden to Republicans. The Republican Clubs are banned and, while they function openly in defiance of the Ban, each member of a Club is liable to arrest and imprisonment without trial. Neither is political expression allowed. The United Irishman has been banned now in the North continuously since 1954, and although it continues to be sold there it labours under all the difficulties made possible by the apparatus of Unionist law in the 6 Counties. As a section of the anti-Unionist community Republicans find themselves at the bottom of the whole pyramid of discriminatory practices exercised in the North for fifty years now by the Unionists with the full support, moral, financial and military, of successive British Governments.

The fact that the Republicans are the section most discriminated against in the North whether in housing, employment, freedom of expression or personal liberty, is proof positive that the philosophy of Republicanism and the demand for the reunification of Ireland is the eventuality most feared by the Unionists and their British masters.

The loosening of the shackles on free political expression and organisation by Republicans, i.e. the abolition of the Special Powers Act, is the vital pre-requisite to normal political freedom for every section of anti-Unionist opinion in the North. The Unionists will hang on grimly. Britain will back the Unionists as Harold Wilson has done on the Ulster Defence Regiment. The Civil Rights movement must by its own efforts force the abolition of this obnoxious Act. Public opinion in the 26 Counties and abroad must be mobilised to help.



The "Voice of the North", the Fianna Fail publication aimed at influencing the Civil Rights Movement in the North in the interests of Fianna Fail political fortunes is still being published and circulated.

Last month's UNITED IRISHMAN'S story exposing the Fianna Fail plot of Messrs. Haughey, Boland and Blaney to buy their way into Civil Rights named the "Voice of the North" as one of the main prongs of the plan and Aidan Corrigan of Dungannon as one of the channels within the North chosen to advance the aims of the conspiracy. Mr. Seamus Brady, formerly of the 26 Co. Government truth squad and public relations man for Fianna Fail was exposed as the force behind the "Voice of the North".

'Pack of lies'

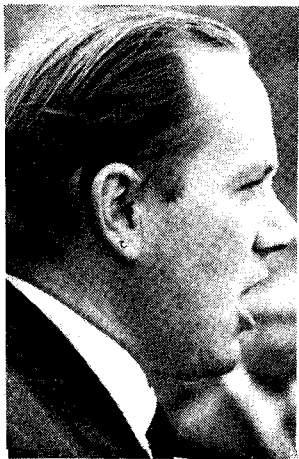
Mr. Brady's initial response to the charges was to call the UNITED IRISHMAN story a "pack of lies". "These people couldn't tell the truth if their lives depended on it. This is all libellous, but it is not worth going for them because they have no money". In fact, the UNITED IRISHMAN had the opinion of counsel in writing on the question of libel before going to press. And Mr. Brady's subsequent gyrations proved more conclusively than any court case the truth of the plot exposed in the UNITED IRISHMAN.

Mr. Brady was forced to withdraw from having too open a connection with the "Voice of the North" and so Mr. Hugh Kennedy, the Fianna Fail plant in the Belfast Citizen's Defence Committee was withdrawn as P.R.O. to the Committee and hurriedly installed as "managing director" of the "Voice" with the task of providing an explanation of the finances of the paper and an acceptable Civil Rights pedigree. A counter attack on the UNITED IRISHMAN story was also badly needed to extricate Messrs. Haughey, Boland and Blaney from the mess Brady had landed them in.

Kennedy explains

To give him his due Hugh Kennedy did his best with the Dublin newspapers in a joint-statement outing with Seamus Brady on November 4. The money to launch the paper came, he claimed, "from previous business associates, interested wealthy people and organisations in the U.S." No names of the fairy godfathers were announced.

The false pedigree for the "Voice" a la Kennedy implied that the paper was set up as a result of a decision of the Belfast Citizens Defence Committee. Untrue. The list of



Aidan Corrigan, Seamus Brady, and Hugh Kennedy are three people to shun if you value the Civil Rights cause. All three are working to a Fianna Fail plan to influence and control the Civil Rights movement in the interests of Fianna Fail. Brady and Kennedy are in the direct employ of the three Fianna Fail Cabinet men, Haughey, Boland and Blaney. Corrigan is typical of the "green tory" type inside the North who are the natural allies of Fianna Fail even when no money is involved.

The estimated £400 per week put up by the Cabinet consortium pays for the publication of the "Voice of the North" and its distribution. The money is also spent on paying £1 affiliation fees to the Civil Rights Association in order to increase their grip inside the Movement. It is significant that Aidan Corrigan was elected top of the poll in a recent postal ballot to elect a sub-committee of N.I.C.R.A. to look into the constitution of the Movement.

"Directors" included Sean Keenan of Derry. Untrue. Kennedy even waved an internment order and stated he was an anti-De Valera republican in order to further confuse the issue and hide the fact that he is a mercenary in the employ of Fianna Fail.

But Hugh slipped on the butter in a few places. On the Irish Press he claimed that three editions of the "Voice" had been published at the time he was speaking. In fact, the "Voice" was then in its fourth edition but the "managing director" had been misled by a printers' error which gave Vol. 1, No.3 on two subsequent editions of the "Voice".

Inventing

Brady, of course, as the person responsible for the

BEWARE THESE MEN AND THEIR FIANNA FAIL GOLD...



Seamus Brady must imagine himself the scarlet pimpernel of Fianna Fail. Having first denied any connection with the "Voice of the North", Brady belatedly admitted his connection. Brady's hasty withdrawal from the "Voice", however, left a great vacuum which Hugh Kennedy was finding hard to replace.

With Brady went Anthony MacLaughlin, Michael Geraghty, Cassandra, Dail Report, etc. Even photographs were hard to organise. Hugh found himself using a photograph stolen from an insurance ad in the Observer colour supplement as one of Captain O'Neill.

And now the inevitable has happened. The seventh edition of the "Voice" carries an article by "an outstanding journalist and trenchant columnist in 'The Kerryman' newspaper of Tralee", Sean Mitchel.

Sean Mitchel is a pseudonym for a well-known Fianna Fail propagandist—Seamus Brady.

first four editions should have warned him but Brady was too busy inventing stories about the printing of the two booklets at the Cityview press to notice details like that. Not that Kennedy depended on Brady's poor observation to help him make mistakes.

Hugh Kennedy forgot that not everybody in the North was party to the Fianna Fail plot to infiltrate the Civil Rights Movement. On Saturday, November 1, he visited Mr. Dennis Cassin, a Republican Club member and a prominent Civil Rights activist at his house at 3 Druid Villas, Armagh.

Kennedy admits

In answer to questions from Mr. Cassin, Mr. Kennedy

admitted that Fianna Fail money was backing the "Voice of the North" and agreed that Mr. Seamus Brady had been the drive behind the "Voice". When pressed further as to whether the paper was financially viable or not he admitted that the paper was "still being tanked up" by Fianna Fail. Mr. Kennedy has failed to deny this conversation to date.

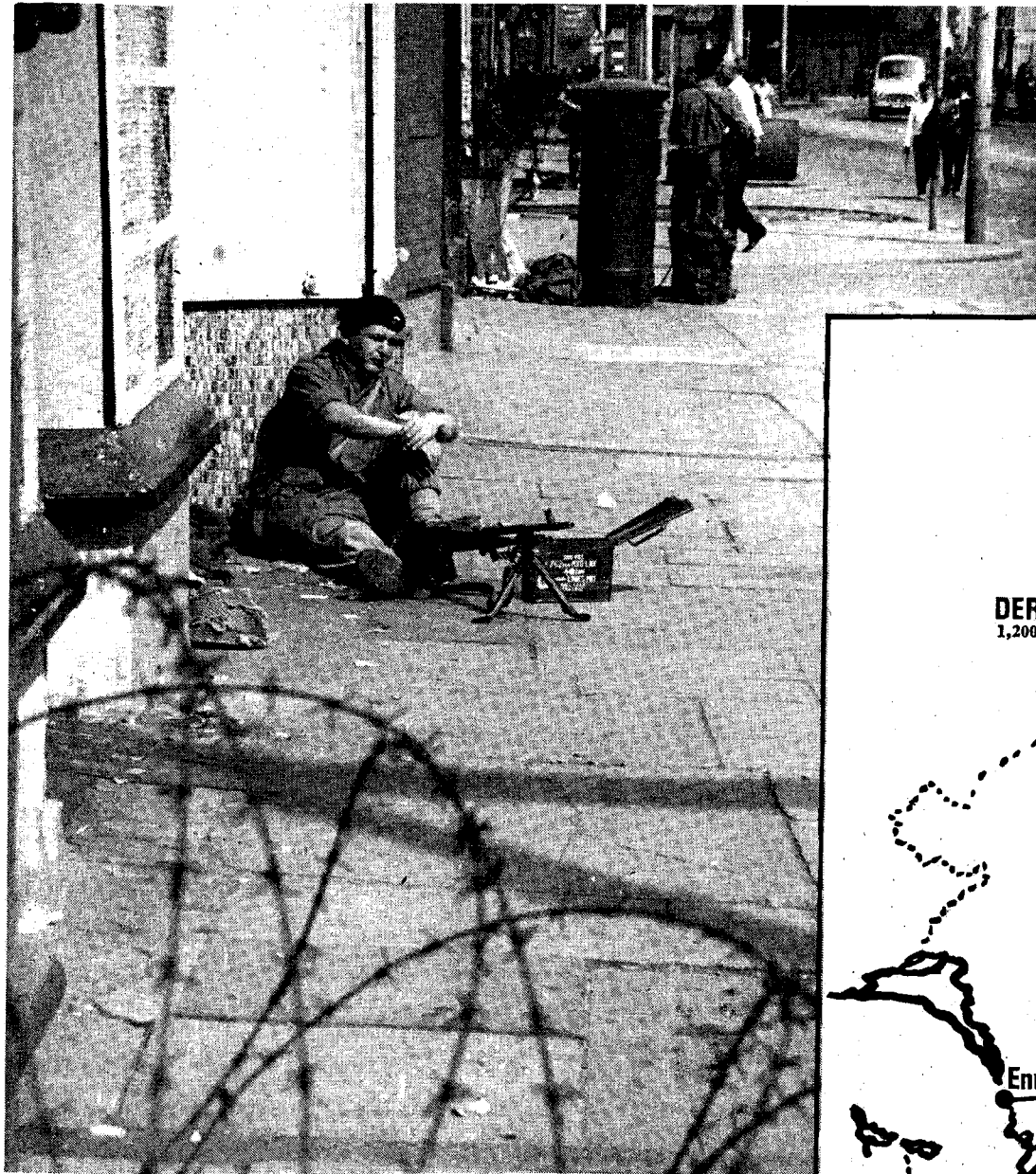
Seamus Brady was also in the toils. From the standing start quoted above Brady got round eventually to admitting his involvement with "Voice of the North" and with the printing of the booklets "Eye-witness Account" and "Terror in Northern Ireland" without imprints in the Cityview Press in Dublin.

O.A.S.A.

The omission of the imprints, intended to cover up the Fianna Fail source of production, is, ironically, an offence under Section 14, Part 2, of the 1939 Offences Against the State Act. Brady attempted to excuse the omission on the grounds that it was necessary to protect the printer from the possibility of a U.V.F. attack. In fact, at the time that the latter of the two booklets, "Eye-Witness Account", was printed, on October 4, there was not even a whisper of a U.V.F. threat in the South. The attempt on Ballyshannon power station was weeks away and it was only after the death of Mr. McDowell that the U.V.F. claimed the Telefis Eireann explosion and the recent destruction of the Wolfe Tone monument. Mr. Brady's excuse, hurriedly thought up, was conditioned by events that happened subsequent to the printing of the booklets. Not only that but his alleged concern for the safety of the Cityview Press premises in Dublin was an obvious variance with printing of the name and address of the Anglo-Celt premises in Cavan on each copy of his "Voice of the North".

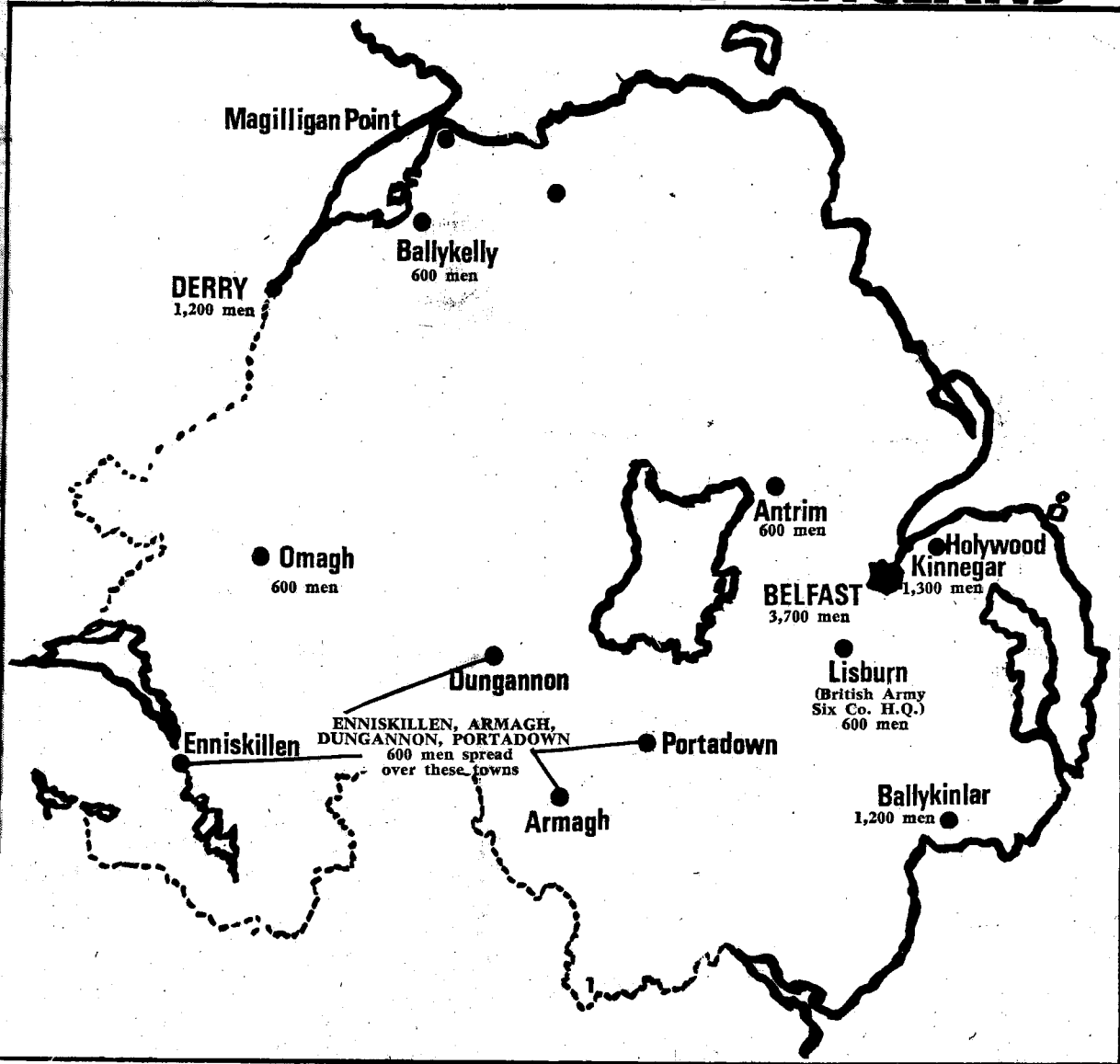
Brady withdraws

Such a display of amateurism for a public relations expert must even have have appalled Messrs. Haughey, Boland and Blaney. Two days later, during the controversy in the national press Mr. Brady would only say "I will not indulge in controversy. I will leave it to the good judgement of Republicans, both North and South". Mr. Brady, having indulged himself in vain, decided to call it a day.



MERRY XMAS

MOTHER ENGLAND



It is now four months since the British Troops moved in strength into the Six Cos. "to restore order" and, although there has not been any major trouble since the Battle of the Shankill, it looks as though they will be there for many months to come.

Their role has been simply defined by the British press as keeping Catholics and Protestants away from each others areas. One would think to read some of the Fleet Street worthies that Britain was really being quite benevolent in sending over her boys to stop the Paddies having a punch-up and hurting themselves. It has, however, seeped through to some that the punch-up was a put-up job which would not have been possible but for the policies of previous British governments in subsidising, politically as well as financially, an arrogant, bigoted regime for half a century.

A police-state is now too much of a liability for the British. In view of a Dublin government prepared to sell out the last vestige of economic independence, declining Northern industries needing replacement by cautious foreign investors and prompted by an organised mass movement for Civil Rights, the armed might of Britain has been called in to help effect the change to a stable liberal-democratic regime where Catholic and Protestant worker will be exploited equally by a united middle class.

Of course, some of the vested interests of the old way of life will have to be ditched in the process and the Craigs,

McKeagues and Paisleys along with their sympathisers, many in the RUC, don't like it. Thus, the need for the boys in khaki rather than just the boys in black.

If you had told a Protestant worker 6 months ago that if British troops were called in they would be used to quell Orange extremists, rather than to cow the Catholics in their ghettos, he would have laughed in your face. The night Orange mobs marched down the Shankill under the Union Jack to get the Fenians in Unity Flats and were halted and ruthlessly dispersed by British troops, however, a lot of the old illusions began to fade. Not that they have quite gone yet.

Bewilderment

Bewilderment has been left in their place and could either lead to a rebirth of awareness of political realities in the North or seek release in the even more fantastic illusions of Paisleyism. At least a breach in the bigoted attitudes engendered by fifty years of British aided prejudice has been made. It is up to all progressive forces to follow it through with an explanation of how it came to be made in the first place.

Aim to normalise

It is ironic that such an opportunity has been provided by the British Army.

Its job is to "normalise" the situation as quickly as possible and get out to let the re-vamped Unionist Party pursue the new course. The numbers already in the Six counties and the possible need for more in the future is beginning to affect Britains commitments elsewhere. A contribution as important as NATO is being affected and defence requirements for Britain herself are now suffering to some extent.

Trouble in the camp

At rank and file level the state of affairs is not too satisfactory either. Troops are living in cramped, uncomfortable conditions. They are complaining in large numbers at long miserable hours of duty in a damp, chilling climate. Although they were told to be friendly to civilians on arrival they are not encouraged to be as friendly as some of the combat-weary troops would like to be in off-duty hours. It seems some of their officers are afraid that too many attachments to Catholics or Protestants as the case might be, might

affect the "impartiality" that is supposed to be the hallmark of their execution of duty.

The cumulative effect of these strictures has become evident in the most fatal way. So far, the British have accidentally shot about half-a-dozen of their own men and two have committed suicide. Regimental feuds which are usually the expression of friendly competitiveness in the army have taken on a more serious aspect. The bloody noses and fractured limbs in one or two platoons attest to that.

Doing dirty-work

Ordinary working class lads have been brought into a strange land, placed among a suffering people they little understand, or sympathise with, and are expected to do the dirty work of British politicians. As they stand guard in drizzling rain against the now bleak and broken landscape of Belfast's Falls Road, they look both resentful and puzzled. Little did Kipling realise that the last exploit of Imperial grandeur would look as petty and squalid as this.

notes and comments

Isn't it peculiar about the sudden discovery by the Government that we have a pollution problem, that something will have to be done about all the fumes and smoke, and that it is high time measures were taken to protect our heritage (whatever that is).

You'd think that all these terrible things had started only in the last few weeks and that they, the Government, were as worried as anybody about it all. The truth is, of course, that the Government is only now being awakened by irate citizens to the dangers of pollution in the rivers, lakes and very air around us.

Do you think for one minute that they would have begun to do anything that might annoy their industrialist friends whose factories spew

their wastes into our rivers? Not on your nanny — not until they saw which way the wind was blowing.

Public opinion

Once again, this mobilisation of public opinion in the defence of clean waters, clean air, historic buildings, natural scenic views, aye even safe foodstuffs, demonstrates the power of the people when vocal and organised.

We commend, therefore, the valiant efforts of the people of Sandymount and Merrion, of Clontarf and Sutton, of the areas along the Tolka and the Dodder and the Liffey in Dublin and along the Blackwater down the country, of the people who dwell round Bantry Bay who live in dread of another oil spillage, of others who view with suspicion the

erection of a chemical plant at Ringaskiddy and the plans for another at Ballincollig on Cork Harbour. The list is apparently endless.

To be sure we welcome industry that gives good employment. But we do not welcome the seemingly thoughtless planning that plumps these stinking factories in the midst of our most beautiful scenic areas. There is a place for industry — it is certainly not where these factories are going.

The whole trend is redolent of the haphazard thinking in our State departments. The people do not matter, the scenery is expendable; what matters is a quick buck, tax-free profits for 10 or 15 years, then hey presto, away they go and we're left with a costly ruin sticking up like a sore thumb in the middle of our

fairest areas. It has happened before, and it will happen again.

Desecration

But this desecration of our land can be stopped. The people of the Dublin Bay Preservation Association are showing the way. The members of the Dublin Civic Group too are showing how to fight the despoilers who pose as developers. Other voices are being raised against the poisoning of our rivers, of our so-called pure drinking water, of our foodstuffs even. All of a sudden, it seems, we are told of official moves to ban cyclamates, pesticides, certain preservatives. How long does it take a people to wake up to the realisation that hardly anything these days is pure and unadulterated, and that unless they organise and

protest, they will continue to be poisoned.

What happened to the Tolka river in Dublin (there is no longer any life, fish or vegetable, in the river because of pollution from factories and sewage) could happen and is happening to other rivers and streams throughout the country. What happened to the pure air of Dublin can happen to Cork or Limerick or Waterford or Wexford. What is happening to the broad sweep of the waters of Dublin Bay could happen to Cork Harbour or Galway Bay or the estuary of the Shannon. The plunderers and the filth-makers are moving in everywhere.

Stand up

It behoves every Irish person who values the

natural beauty, cleanliness and healthy atmosphere of this little island to stand up and be counted NOW. The Government will act only if forced to do so. The industrialists who pollute the air we breathe and the waters we fish (or used to) will remain silent and unidentified unless the people act together to expose them.

There is no reason any longer why a factory should spew poisonous waste into a river or a fuming stack belch poison into the atmosphere.

There are still a few things that are free in this country — like fresh air, clean and safe sea bathing and uncluttered beaches. Let us strive to keep them that way. Surely we don't want to become known as the Island of Stinks and Dollars?

WOMEN DEMAND EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

—By Finbarr Doherty

1968 marked the Jubilee Year of the women's vote which was won after a militant struggle against the establishment and this included burning public buildings, sit-downs and other means of protest until victory was achieved. The full force of the ruling-class was brought to bear on those gallant females who even served long terms of imprisonment for their cause. This early fight for equality in voting rights proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that not only can women be organised effectively, but that regardless of their physical inferiority they can be every bit as determined as the opposite sex.

Fifty-one years later women are on the march again, this time not merely for the right to put an 'X' on a ballot paper but to be able to put a few more loaves on the table, therefore the fight for equal pay for equal work. When we realise that one in every three of Ireland's labour force is a female, and when we consider the fact that many of these women are doing the same jobs as men, then the vision of vast profits soon appears before our minds as a result of an exploited section of our working-class.

The average earning for men in the manufacturing and service industries is 9/3 as against the women's hourly rate of 5/6. In engineering and electrical fields, Men 9/11, women 5/4. In Textiles — Men, 8/7, Women, 5/5. Some one-third of our women are working for less than 4/- per hour and only one in thirty get as much as 10/- per hour. It is also noteworthy that this pay injustice reaches out into social service pensions and other benefits, thus a large percentage of women, including widows, unmarried mothers, and deserted women are obliged to seek state aid.

Cheap labour — fat profits

On this situation capitalists are able to make fatter profits due to this source of cheap labour. They do so in two main ways:

(1) By saying 'women's rates' which in many cases are less than the unskilled male rate—even when there is no difference in the work performed. It is calculated that only 10 per cent of working women have the chance of earning equal pay.

(2) By a system of training and education which from the start ensures that women have much greater difficulty in obtaining skilled trade or professional occupational training.

Today, more and more women, especially the more class conscious, are beginning to really show their teeth at long last. In Britain last year 187 women at Dagenham and 195 at Halewood employed by Ford Motor Company went on strike for equal pay. These machinists were a source of inspiration to millions of women workers and the spokesmen for the government were running round in circles trying to counteract the great gains

made by this strike. These militant women, put forward the demands for full rights in pay, education, training, and opportunity. Other actions have been taken but there is a great need for a well organised campaign throughout the trade-union movement on both sides of the Irish Sea.

Irish women

How much longer will Irish women workers remain silent on this issue. Will they always allow themselves to be put off by chat such as "HOW much will this cost the nation". The demand must be equality now and take the cost out of profits. The Irish trade-union movement needs to ask themselves how longer can it afford the cost of inequality within its ranks and realise that resolutions alone never made any boss loose a night's sleep, or a penny in his profits. Republicans, both male and female should do the ground work now to build up a gitation within the unions and take the struggle unto the streets.

We all must realise that the women's fight is part of the overall struggle against exploitation at all levels. Women should strike out now so as to win for themselves the opportunity to develop fully as human beings and not to be put off by vague promises of equality in the murky future.

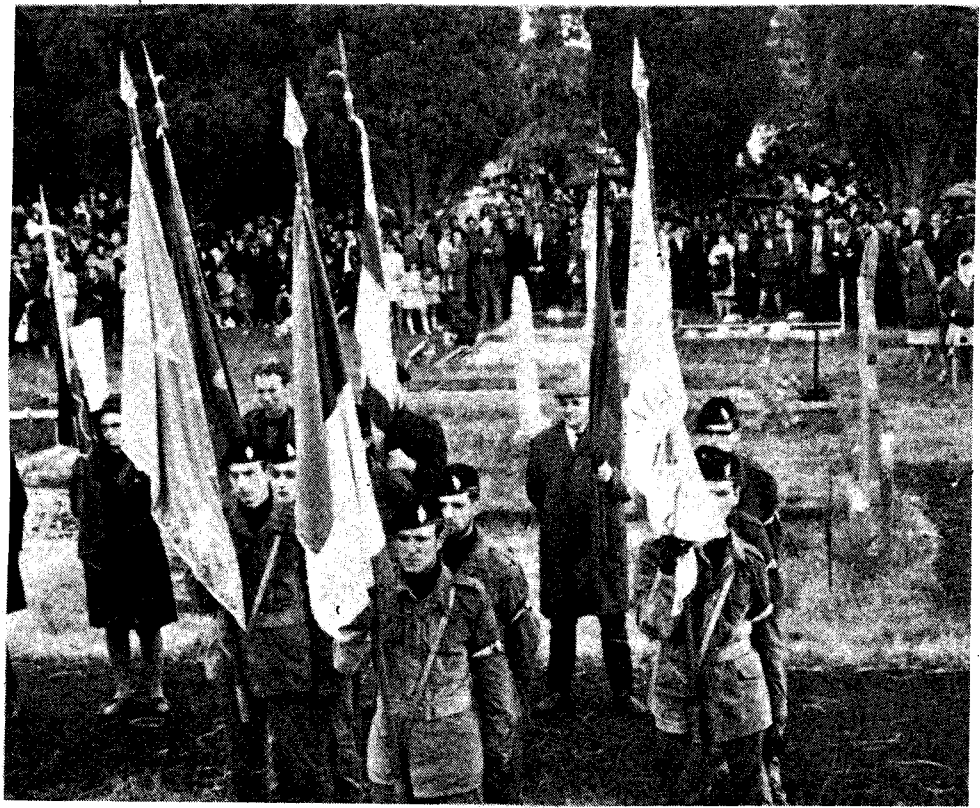
SHIPPING SELL-OUT

'With present trends, foreign-owned shipping could soon hold a monopoly of our trade routes to Europe . . . The possession of a varied fleet of short sea traders may well be vital to our survival in the free trade area . . . The earnings of such a fleet could minimise the effects which the chill winds of free trade may have on some of our industries. If we do not act now to make such a fleet a reality, it may be too late a few years hence.'

It sounds like an article in *An tEireannach Aontaithe*. But it isn't. The quotation comes from a memorandum issued by the Maritime Institute of Ireland. It gives a sober picture of just one more aspect of the abandonment of independence by the Free State Governments of the last thirty years.

But it's an important aspect. We survived during the last war because we had enough shipping to bring in our own supplies of essential goods. Britain didn't feed us, and wouldn't.

In 1937 we had 140,000 tons of short-distance shipping. In January 1969 we had just 42,000 — including the recently-acquired B & I. The implications are clear: if hostilities broke out again, even on a limited scale, we would starve. And if any Government tried to bring foreign exploitation under control, the capitalists could throttle us within a month. So much for the sabre-rattling along the Border!



inis ci

Is fada an lá ó d'fág mé slán ag
Oileán Inis Cí,
D'imigh mé thar saile bliain naoi
déag is naoi déag,
Mar gur shíl mise riamh gurbh
fhearr a bheith i dtír bhfad i
gcéin,
Ná beith go síorraí marai is sárai
ar bháigh Inis Cí.

II
D'fás mé caol árd tanaí, bhí mé
crua anall sa bhféith,
Chaith mé mo shaol ag iascaireacht
ó bhí mé dhá bhliain déag,
Is iomaí farraige cháite a chuir
mé díom go réidh
Ag tornáil siar in aghaidh gaoithe
aniar ar bháigh Inis Cí.

III
Tá airgead buí i Sasana le fáil ar
obair lae,
Tá allas cnámh le cailleadh ag an
té a gheobhfás é,
Tá na mílte seift á mhealladh uait
ach tú bheith maoith nó réidh,
Is ní h-amhlaidh riamh a bhí an
chaoi ar bháigh Inis Cí.

IV
Chuir mé fúm i mBaile Átha
Cliath nuair tháinig mé arais
anall,
Bhí cogadh ar siúl in Éirinn idir
Ghaeil is Clanna Gall,
Tóigeadh mé ins an dainséar mar
bhí cogadh ar gach taobh,
Is do thoid mé ar son na hÉireann
agus Oileán Inis Cí.

VII
Chuaigh mé ins no h-Óglaigh, fuair
mé gunna in mo lámh,
Throid mé in aghaidh Dubh-
chrónaigh, is ní náire liom é
rá,
Bhí mo chroí ar bhárr na gaoithe,
is nárbh íontach an rud é,
Go raibh páirt i gcogadh na
saoirse ag iascaire as Inis Cí.

VIII
Tá ronnaigh agus scadáin ag teacht
i dtír ar Thrá na Rón,
Tá gliomaigh faoi na stopógaí ag
fanacht liom go fóill,
Tá truisce le fáil ar Leac an tSeoil
is mongach i mBéal an Léin,
Ach ní sheolfaidh mise choiche
aris ar Bháigh Inis Cí.

the ballad of j. carey

(Dublin Street Ballad, 1883)

My name is Pat O'Donnell and I
come from Donegal,
I am, you know, a dangerous foe
to traitors one and all;
For the shooting of James Carey,
I've been tried in London Town,
And now upon the gallows high
my life I must lay down.

II
I sailed on board the Melrose in
August 'eighty-three,
And on my voyage to Capetown
he was made known to me.

THE REBEL BALLAD SHEET

When I heard he was James Carey,
we had angry words and blows.
And the villain he strove to take
my life on board of the Melrose.

III
I stood up to defend myself and
fight before I'd die;
My pocket pistol I drew forth,
and at him I let fly;
We fired until the second round,
when I shot him through the
heart,
And I gave him the third revolver
shot before he did depart.

IV
Oh! Carey's wife and child came
to the cabin where he lay.
And seeing him lying in his gore
it filled them with dismay.
"O'Donnell, you've shot my hus-
band," Mrs. Carey aloud did
cry;
"Oh, yes, I did, in self-defence,
madam," then said I.

V
The captain had me handcuffed
and guarded iron-bound,
And I was kept a prisoner 'till we
landed in Capetown;
I was then brought back to Eng-
land, when my trial it came on,
And the prosecutors for the Crown
were Carey's wife and son.

VI
The Jury found me guilty, and
the judge made this reply:
"For the murder of James Carey,
O'Donnell, you must die.
On the twenty-third of December
and on the gallows high;
So the Lord have mercy on your
soul, for your hour is drawing
nigh."

VII
Good Christians all, both great and
small, kind Christians for me
pray;
'Tis true I am an Irishman, this
is my dying day.
My grave will soon be open, and
I'm ready now to die,
So pray for the soul of O'Donnell
when in his grave he'll lie.

in bodenstown churchyard . . .

In Bodenstown churchyard there
is a green grave,
And wildly around it the winter
winds rave;
Smaller shelter I ween are the
ruined walls there
When the storm sweeps down on
the plains of Kildare.

II
Once I lay on that sod — it lies
over Wolfe Tone —
And thought how he perished in
prison alone,
His friends unavenged and his
country unfreed —
"Oh, bitter," I said, "is the pat-
riot's meed."

III
"For in him the heart of a woman
combined
With heroic spirit and a governing
mind —
A martyr for Ireland, his grave has
no stone —
His name seldom named, and his
virtues unknown."

IV
I was woke from my dream by the
voices and tread
Of that band who came into the
home of the dead;
They carried no cross, and they
carried no stone,
And they stopped when they came
to the grave of Wolfe Tone.

V
There were students and peasants,
the wise and the brave,
And an old man who knew him
from cradle to grave,
And children who thought me
hard-hearted, for they
On that sanctified sod were for-
bidden to play.

VI
But the old man, who saw I was
mourning there, said:
"We come, sir, to weep where
young Wolfe Tone is laid,
And we're going to raise him a
monument, too —
A plain one, yet fit for the loyal
and true."

VII
My heart overflowed, and I clasped
his old hand,
And I blessed him, and blessed
every one of his band:
"Sweet, sweet 'tis to find that such
faith can remain
In the cause and the man so long
vanquished and slain."

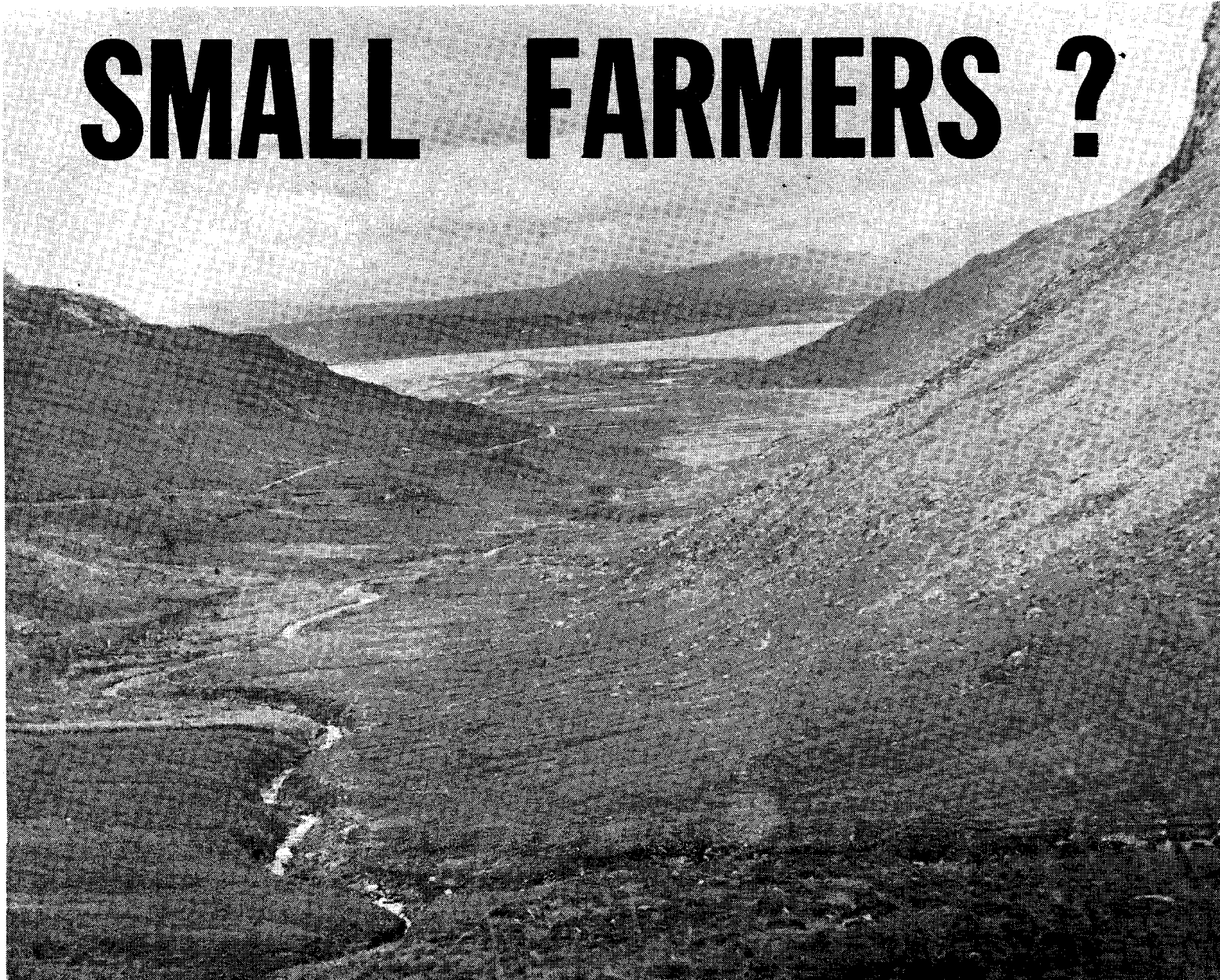
VIII
In Bodenstown churchyard there
is a green grave,
And freely around it let winter
winds rave —
Far better they suit him — the
ruin and gloom
'Till Ireland, a nation, can build
him a tomb.

Thomas Davis

CIVIL RIGHTS

FOR SMALL FARMERS ?

"If 36,000 are to leave the land by 1972 then the country will lose at least 4 more Dail seats in the next five years." Rural Ireland, agricultural Ireland is losing its power as it loses its people.



NOLLAIG, 1969

Christmas is upon us, the first Christmas of the Third Programme for Economic Expansion. That is why Christmas this year can bring few joyous tidings to the small farmers of Ireland. In fact, it comes not in the middle, but at the beginning of the long winter of the Third Programme (1969-'72 inclusive) which 36,000 small farmers are not expected to survive.

9,000 gone

Already 9,000 people have left agricultural employment, according to the official target, and are lost in the urban sprawl of industry — mainly British industry. So much for the foggy references in the programme to employment "in the rest of the economy". Fianna Fail diplomatically neglect to mention *whose* economy.

Thus, while anxious eyes look north to spectacular scenes of arson and murder, the Free State bureaucrats ruthlessly and silently extinguish thousands of the hearths of rural Ireland.

Protest is valiant but as yet limited in effect. The occasional voice of anger like that of General Costello is to be heard. But the spectre of Michael Davitt has also begun to stalk the land. Land Leagues, as yet few in number, are being formed again and comprise the most conscious element of the small-farming class.

97 per sq. mile

The Government, in its wisdom, decries such protest. It strives to represent itself as the vanguard of progress in recognising the inevitability of rural decline and depopulation. It is surprising, therefore, to look at Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland and see that the rural population has increased there in the last hundred years. In England and Wales it has held steady. Yet in the 26 Counties, as in Scotland, the population graph is downward sloping and to the right. Even a comparison with the beleaguered North, which engages our attention so much, would show 187 people per sq. mile to 97 for the same area in the South. It is a situation such as this which makes the stated aim of the 26 Co. Government to further reduce this disastrously low figure by 9,000 annually such a crime.

Undisguised crime

And it is a crime not disguised by the misleading references to the "world phenomenon" of migration from the land. It is true that with the growth of industry, which makes progress possible, a larger proportion of people must be employed in the town rather than in the country. But the present denuding of the Irish countryside is quite another matter and far from inevitable. It is the complement to the destruction of native manufacture by foreign capital.

The combined result is that town boy and country lad together share a one way ticket to the British cheap labour market. Meanwhile, a new class of alien capitalist and landlord alike guarantee cheap agricultural produce for the emigrants' English employers.

As for the big boys of Fianna Fail and what they get out of it, the answer is obvious each time they pull up in a flashy limousine and fancy suit and get out to speak about the poor people of Ireland.

Discrimination

To resist all this is far from resisting progress. It is to stand for it. At a time when the Dublin Government is so concerned about "discrimination" what better example could be found of it than the planned decline of rural Ireland.

In the North discrimination hits rural areas through regional planning and allocation of Government aid mainly to Unionist areas. Generally the religious bar in housing and employment strikes hardest in the towns. Thus most of the protest is manifest in the towns.

Further South, however, as our earlier figures show, rural areas are unmistakably made to suffer most in the sell-out to Britain. The future proposed density for rural population will be clearly inadequate to support the educational and social amenities necessary to the people who remain. No stronger case could be made for a fight against discrimination than the plight of rural Ireland. It would therefore be no small wonder if a Civil Rights Move-

ment emerged from the small-farming community of Ireland.

Many of the victims of the Third Programme can do little or nothing in England to protest while those others who are lucky enough to get employment in Irish industry are equally divorced from the problem of the uneconomic holding. They find the problems of the meagre weekly wage packet enough to cope with.

Small v. large farmer

The larger farmers find themselves embroiled in a struggle to direct Government aid to their own needs and willy nilly worsen the lot of the small farmer. So it is that the struggle for the survival of the small farm and, indeed, a significant and irreplaceable section of the population, is left to the dwindling survivors of the liquidation process so blandly glossed over by the Third Programme.

So bad, however, is the plight of rural areas that not only does strength to resist decline with numbers but also the very means to resist.

Rural vote collapse

Since the defeat of the Government in the October '68 Referendum on the single seat proposal, 4 Dail seats have been transferred from rural to urban areas following the population trend. In the contest between urban and rural need this represents a real voting difference of 8 seats. Nine thousand people are sufficient to elect a Dail deputy to the top of the poll in any constituency (some Cabinet Ministers are elected with half that number of votes). If 36,000 are to leave the land by 1972 then the country will lose at least 4 more Dail seats in the next 5 years. Unless there is reduction in the total number of Dail seats, which is unlikely, it can be seen, therefore, that by the end of the decade a real difference of at least 16 seats will have effectively

stripped rural Ireland, both rich and poor farms, of its political power.

For the first time in Irish history political power will have passed into urban areas. It is no secret that Mr. Blaney, the Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries, is looking for a house in Dublin city. Perhaps he already has his eye on a seat there.

Politicians don't care

Such a trend does not worry the politicians who are presiding over this disaster for the protest has not yet been of the coherence and force that would compel them to listen. Besides they hope that the murmurings that do reach their ears will fade away progressively in an easterly direction. But they should not be complacent. Nor should they be surprised that Land Leagues have been set up for history is repeating itself not only in the reappearance of these organisations but in the re-emergence of the conditions which produced the original one. As the people are forced to flee the land and problems multiply for those who stay the estate again begins to supersede the small-holding.

Full circle

Michael Davitt once deplored the fact that 8,000 landlords ruled 8 million people and he would deplore today a gradual return to a similar situation whether the new squires speak with Irish, English or German accents.

The circle is almost complete. Soon we may be facing a task of the same magnitude as Davitt had to face. The fact that we are fast finding ourselves in a like situation may seem to diminish his achievement in the Land League of the 1880s. It does not, however, for Davitt realised that what he had won from the British was merely diffusion of ownership among small proprietors. A demand for

land nationalisation was not feasible within the Empire.

Limitations

The limitations of any sort of purely individual ownership are now becoming clear in the crisis that is facing the whole nation. In unity is strength, especially when numbers are small. Such unity and lasting victory for the small farmer can be achieved in the co-operative venture. Much good example has already been given in parts of the West. By this means it has been shown that the individuality and independence of the small farmer is secured from the big landlord and a defensive framework is provided against destructive Fianna Fail policies. It is a hope for the future on an otherwise bleak horizon.

The Fianna Fail government that signed the Free Trade Agreement with its emphasis on the cattle trade to the detriment of the small farmers is now in the process of negotiating entry to the E.E.C. Such a course of action, the loosening of unchecked market forces on rural Ireland, was last seen in action in the 1840's when the Corn Laws were repealed in favour of Free Trade. The result was the great Famine and the "clearances" of the 1860's. Goldsmith's comment on the 1860's bears equal validity now.

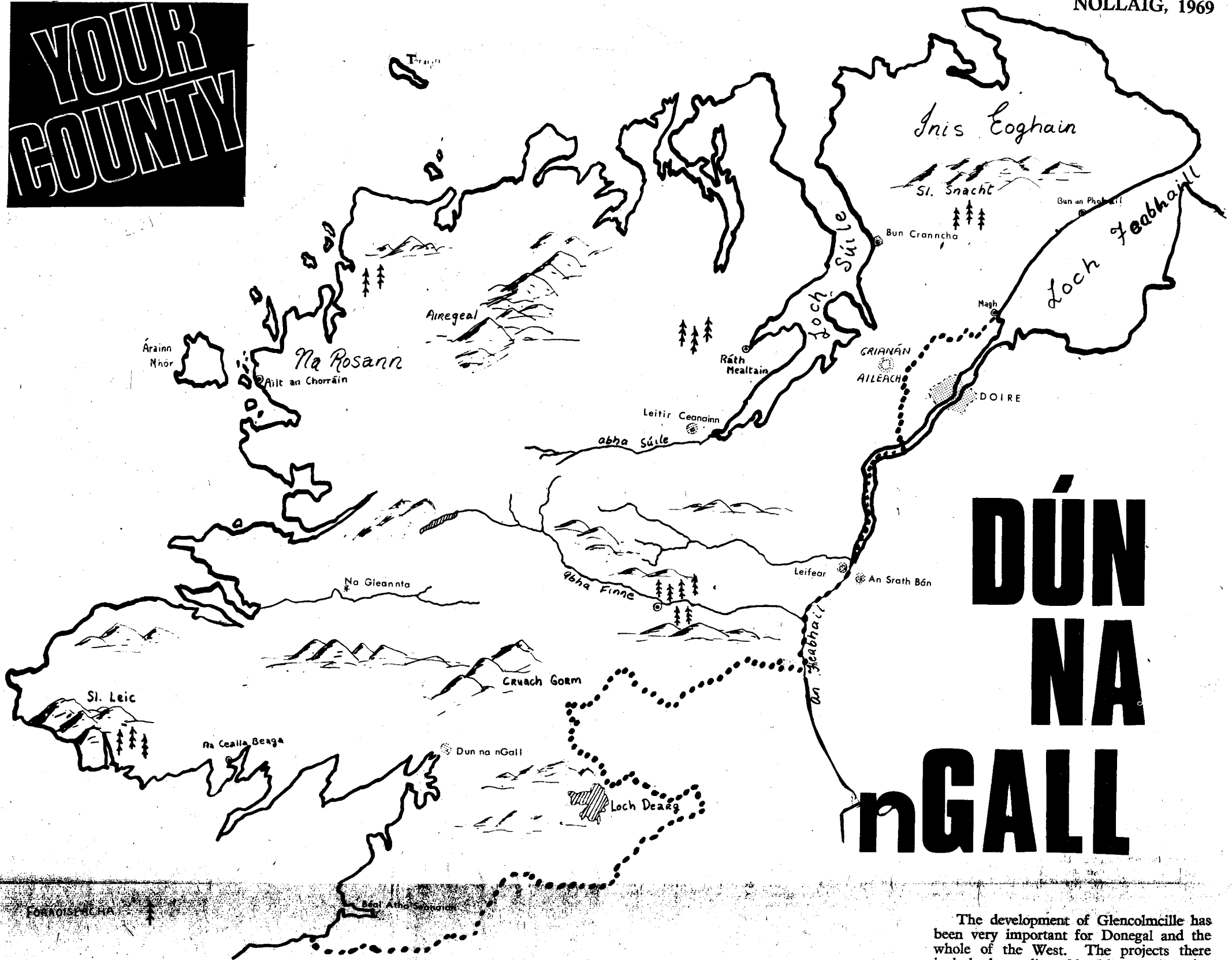
"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay".

Can any small farmer not agree that this is happening now under the Free Trade Agreement?

Last rites ?

The Third Programme was intended by the Government to be the last rites for rural Ireland. Let us teach them to think again. But time is short; the decay has already set in — the fight ahead will be a hard one.

YOUR COUNTY



There are more songs about Donegal than any other county in Ireland. They paint a very rosy picture of Donegal's beauty, homes, people and almost every aspect of life there. How does the real Donegal compare with this picture?

Donegal is made up of the historic Tír Chonaill and the peninsula of Inis Eoghain with a total area of 1,193,600 acres. Its population is 108,549, according to the 1966 census, a drop of 4% from the 1961 figure. To the West and North is the Atlantic Ocean and bordering Donegal to the East are the counties of Derry, Tyrone and to the South, Fermanagh and Leitrim. The border with Leitrim is very short. All this adds up to a situation which makes Donegal unique in the 26 Counties in that most of its land boundary is also the "frontier" with the Six Counties. This has important social economic and political effects on Donegal especially since Donegal itself has many of the traditions and problems that exist in the Six Counties.

In Donegal, as in other western counties, over the centuries the people were pushed into the poor and rugged areas along the coast, where they managed to retain their language and traditions. The Donegal Gaeltacht is one of the most important in the country. Many students stay here during the summer, a great many of them form the Six Counties. But even this area has been allowed to decline. In 1946 the population of the Fíor-Ghaeltacht was 31,137. By 1961 it had dropped to 24,240 and the decline is continuing.

Gaeltarra Éireann has not created the industry necessary to make it a viable community. What work they have done up to now has been done with native resources, capital and labour, and this is what is going to be of long-term benefit. Now that it is to come under the aegis of the Industrial Development Authority there seems very little hope for the future of the Gaeltacht areas.

Ireland is probably the only country in the world where the density of population is greater on poor land than on rich land. This can be seen by comparing Donegal and Meath. Donegal has by far

the highest number of small farms in the country with 5,985 holdings under 10 acres. Many of these are concentrated near the coast and in the Gaeltacht. In contrast to this there are 258 holdings between 260 and 300 acres and 211 over 300 acres. Cork and Meath are the only other counties of the 26 which have more holdings in these two categories.

These estates are mainly concentrated in the fertile Finn and Lagan valleys which lie in the triangle between Letterkenny, Ballybofey and Strabane. This area is the richest in the county if not in the whole of the North. When one considers that out of a total of 1,193,600 acres, only 466,100 are classified under the heading of "total crops and pasture" the situation is seen to be even more inequitable.

During the 1966 Farmers' Rights campaign the Donegal contingent on the "Long March to Dublin" was led by Major Neville F. Chance, chairman of Donegal N.F.A. He was accompanied by other former officers of Her Majesty's Forces, all of them "small" farmers, of course.

Anthony Marecco, Port Hall, Lifford, an English-Brazilian lawyer owns an estate at Port Hall as well as a disused store and pier at Bunbeg. He has tried to prevent local residents and fishermen from gaining access to a public pier and also has threatened to evict residents from nearby houses. Sinn Féin Councillor Seamus Rogers raised the matter with the County Council who have guaranteed that the public right of way will be protected.

Mr. Robert Mitchel, right-wing Unionist M.P. for Armagh has a farm (no house) along the Gweebarra estuary.

With 23,000 acres under potatoes, Donegal has the highest production in the country. There is an important export trade in seed potatoes. Production of Oats is also significant. Between 1964 and 1966 the cattle population increased from 168,000 to 178,900 but sheep declined from 315,200 to 273,100. The pig population remained at about 17,500. Trade in all these products is affected by the Border. Derry is the natural trade centre of the North-West. At the moment seed potatoes

are exported through the small and un-naturally developed port of Rathmullan on Lough Swilly, and livestock trade is centered on the 26 Counties rather than as part of that of the whole North.

Forestry is quite highly developed in the county in comparison to many others but as there is so much waste land this is to be expected. There are 15 forest centres in the county ranging from Ballyshannon in the south to Ards in the north. The area owned by Department of Lands is 47,353 acres of which 32,921 are planted. The need for employment and natural resources is obvious and although development is continuing, it could do so at a much accelerated rate.

Despite the fact, as Bord Iascaigh Mhara never tires of telling foreign investors, that only 10% of fish caught off the Irish coast is caught by Irish boats, the fishing industry is very important to Donegal's economy. In 1967 with total landings worth £328,064 Killybegs was the biggest fishing port in the country. The next most important Donegal fishing port, Burtonport, was tenth on the list, while Greencastle and Teelin were 12th and 21st respectively. The fact that Irish sea-fishing is so underdeveloped hits Donegal very hard. Boats and boat-building facilities and port facilities such as cold storage, freezing and fish processing should be developed and improved.

Private control of inland fisheries ranges from the Drowes River which forms the Donegal-Leitrim border to the Crana River in Inis Eoghain. The Crana River is owned by Major Hamilton-Stubber who lives in the Six Counties. Fishing rights on the Drowes are owned by a syndicate.

The most important and widespread industries in Donegal are the production of Donegal Tweed and Aranknits. There is a danger that Aranknits in their present form have reached saturation point and there is a great need for new ideas and innovations. Donegal Carpets are hand made at Killybegs. Other industries include textiles, veneering, the manufacture of industrial alcohol from potatoes and the making of picture frames.

The development of Glencolmille has been very important for Donegal and the whole of the West. The projects there include the pooling of land in a co-operative for the production of vegetables in a highly specialised manner. A hand-knit co-operative has also been established which cuts out the middle-men and increases returns to the producer. A folk-village has been established as a tourist attraction. Tourism is very important in the county's economy. Many visitors come from the Six Counties on holidays and day trips. Considerable numbers also come from Scotland. The number of English and American visitors is increasing, much to the pleasure of certain Fianna Fáil politicians who seem to be able to get easy credit in order to finance the building of large hotels.

As in the rest of Ulster, the Plantation and the setting up of the Six and Twenty Six County States have been dominant factors in Donegal's history. Much of the county was too poor for settlement and the system of Landlords with native tenants prevailed. Resentment against the Landlord system right up to its abolition is best seen in the assassination of Lord Leitrim in 1878.

The main areas of settlement were the East and South of the county and in these areas is concentrated the majority of Donegal's Protestant population. There are many Orange lodges here and Donegal is the only county of the 26 that can boast of an Orange parade on July 12. An unusual phenomenon is the "Donegal Progressive Party" organised by the Donegal Unionists. It is significant that this party has consistently given its support to Fianna Fáil.

In fact, the two constituencies in the county returned four Fianna Fáil TD's at the last election with two Fine Gael TD's for company. Both constituencies voted YES in the 1968 referendum. Mr. Boland kindly added on part of Leitrim to South West Donegal before the last election in order to keep the population at level required to maintain the areas as a separate constituency. Leitrim has lost out this time but, if rural de-population continues at the present rate Donegal's turn will come soon and not even the Donegal Mafia will be able to muster up enough votes, to keep itself in power.

WHITHER CIVIL RIGHTS?

Where does the Civil Rights movement go now? About two months ago following Callaghan's second visit to the North, there were those who would have confidently replied — "No-where, we have got our civil rights and they merely remain to be implemented."

Thankfully, the exponents of complacency were few in number and the leadership of the Civil Rights movement, wisely, did not listen to them.

It was realised that demands which "merely remain to be implemented" are those which have not been met in any meaningful sense.

The point is far from academic, as is shown by the attitude of the Stormont and Westminster governments to the Hunt Report. Within 24 hours of its publication, Major Chichester Clarke was re-assuring the Specials on television that they would always be needed. In the interval between the Shankill Rising and the release of the proposals for the new forces this assurance was repeated again and again.

John Taylor

John Taylor also frequently stressed that the oath of allegiance would be necessary for entry into the "security" force and the B-men were told time out of number that at least 5,000 would be needed for this and the police reserve. The implication being that they would be re-enlisted, the force only re-named. A letter despatched by Major Byrne, a USC staff officer, to all members of his force makes the point very clearly. Promise number one about non-sectarian security forces began to gurgle down the drain.

Hunts' recommendations were limited enough in themselves, but the extent to which the Unionists were prepared to go in reversing them was revealed on publication of the White Papers. Increasing the size of the so-called Ulster Defence Regiment by 50% to 6,000 can only be taken as a capitulation to the extreme right-wing in collusion with Westminster.

Furthermore, consideration of U.S.C. County Commandants for Battalion Commanders of the UDR is the most blatant refusal to disband the B-men. One also wonders how Mr. Callaghan reconciles the retention of arms at home by the UDR rank and file (in special circumstances (sic)) with his earlier indignation at "too many guns in the North."

Applications

Not even the British, however, were aware that on the day that the details of the White Papers were being released by the Minister of Home Affairs, his secretaries were despatching application forms to serving B-Specials. To Mr. Porters acute embarrassment the ploy was discovered and publicly exposed. This example of skulduggery was followed up by the advertisement, financed out of public funds, for recruits to the UDR which emphasises even further the Oath of Allegiance in order to deter Catholic applicants. From all this it is obvious that those who thought that Chichester Clarke's earlier implication that the Specials would remain was simply expedient rhetoric were quite wrong.

So it is that one of the most important demands of the Civil Rights platform

that was "merely to be implemented" is, in fact, being steadily undermined. The CRA, however, has quite correctly spelled out its determination to resist this sell-out. It is thus clearly pointing out the way forward for the whole of the Civil Rights movement in stipulating constant vigilance and preparedness to act as a continuing necessity. In the absence of this, and if the Unionists have their way with the UDR, what is there then to stop Faulkner from introducing a new gerrymander in local government, or the Central Housing Authority from being rigged to simply make discrimination more efficient.

The future task of the CRM also lies in securing the three outstanding demands on which no action has been taken or is likely to be taken in the future.

The Ministry of Home Affairs, for example, is excluded from the scope of the investigations open to the Ombudsman. Of all Government Departments none is more likely to be the subject of legitimate grievances than this one, dealing, as it does, with "security" and "law and order," which have so often been used in the past to cloak repression.

Right wing

The laws against religious discrimination in employment, which Callaghan was so proud of, are to cover only the public sector. In Britain, the Race Relations Act provides effective machinery for dealing with discrimination at all levels of employment. The extension of this type of measure to the Six Counties, however, has been put on the long finger, again in deference to the Unionist right-wing. It is the job of the Civil Rights movement to make sure it does not stay there. In trying to do so it will encounter many spurious arguments, such as "you cannot legislate away the mentality of sectarianism." True, but you can go a long way towards limiting its effects and people have a right to expect this minimum protection.

Of the outstanding demands, the most important is the repeal of the Special Powers Act. We should not be blinded by the disfavour of Cameron and the outspokenness of Hunt on this issue, to the fact that there is no sign as yet of this anti-democratic measure going. And while it remains, its sweeping powers the envy of South African racists, it threatens to render impotent every other civil right achieved.

McGurran

The type of justice meted out under this act is exemplified by the cases of Malachy McGurran and Frank Card. Malachy was charged four months ago with the crime of having in his possession Republican literature and documents. Frank Card was arrested for having a fire-arm, necessary to defend his home at a time when

the police had thrown in their lot with the fascist murder gangs which were pillaging West Belfast.

It is the Special Powers Act which makes it an offence to hold a Republican philosophy or to propagate it. It is the Special Powers Act which enables the Unionists to ban this newspaper, not that that stops it from being distributed and read in the North. But, the point is that publication and sale of a Republican newspaper is not recognised as a democratic right and is punishable by "law".

"Justice"

As long as people are inadequately protected against discrimination in all forms of employment; cannot have redress for grievances against the Home Affairs Ministry; and while they are deprived of their political rights and persecuted under the SPA, they can never be said to have won full civil rights.

In seeking to draw attention to and rectify these faults, civil rights workers are in danger of facing not only intimidation on the streets, but in the courts. Recent examples of selective "justice" reveal a new tactic designed to frighten people in general and wear down the local leadership of the CRA. While sentences of up to six months have been handed down to people for merely putting up posters, Paisley and Craig continue to pour forth highly sectarian incitement with impunity. While the B-Special assassins of John Gallagher escape justice, civil rights workers are given prison sentences for organising demonstrations to relieve the Bogside in August.

Judiciary

The attitude of the Judiciary which makes this sort of "justice" possible has been uncovered by their political statements. The CRA has not been slow to react to these challenges and has deplored the type of comment made by Lord McDermott when he supported the RUC and denied that discrimination ever occurred in their ranks. Any such instances of law partially applied in order to impede the Civil Rights campaign should be fought and exposed along the way as further examples of a corrupt system.

At a time when the Civil Rights movement is so sorely tried by the objects it has yet to attain and the obstacles laid in its path, it is regrettable that some of its members begin to raise the red-herring of the "red-scare". This first emerged when Mr. Heaney of the American Congress of Irish Freedom in the U.S. and Dr. McCloskey of the Campaign for Social Justice in Duggannon united in criticism of the National Association for Irish Justice, the official coordinating body of the CRA in the US.

Many wild accusations, involving Black Panthers and SDS, were lodged against the NAIJ without a jot of evidence to back them up. Soon the ridiculous campaign



was extended to include the parent body in Belfast. This irresponsible mud-slinging, redolent of the McCarthy era, only plays into the hands of Unionist scare-mongers such as Robin Bailie and Stratton Mills. Let those who contemplate a witch-hunt think again. They will be starting something they will be unable to finish.

Unity in the Civil Rights Movement is a principle for which Republicans have always stood. It has always been made clear that, while reserving the right to propagate our Republican philosophies on non-Civil Rights platforms we would within the Civil Rights movement stand on the common platform of Civil Rights. We have defended this position against the instant revolutionaries of the ultra-left. We will defend it against the bigoted reactionaries of the ultra-right.

Mr. Heaney

Any suggestion that socialists are somehow not entitled to Civil Rights or are not good enough to work for them must be effectively countered. We intend to play a full part in the CRM while neither seeking to dominate it nor turn it into a socialist party, and we are not going to be hounded out by the likes of Mr. Heaney and his friends.

Coming on the heels of the Fianna Fail conspiracy such nonsense, if it is persisted in, is calculated to cause disarray in the ranks of the CRM at a time when Unionist reaction is intensifying. But it would be doing an

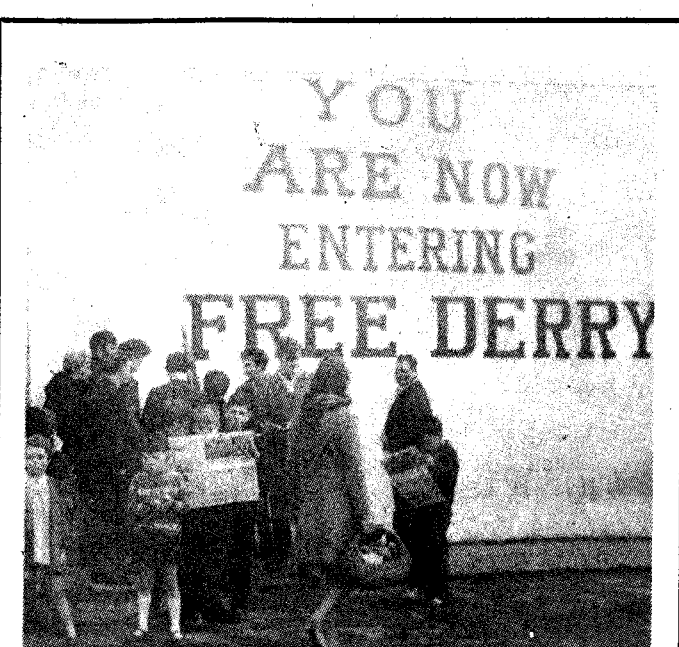
injustice to the broad mass of Civil Rights supporters to exaggerate this threat. Recognised in time for what it is, even perhaps by some of those who a short while ago succumbed to it, it can be confined to the lunatic fringe of far right American politics.

Immediately, the main objectives to concentrate on are to prevent contravention of even limited promises painfully extracted from Stormont and Westminster a matter of months ago, and to strive for the attainment of outstanding demands, especially the repeal of the Special Powers Act. As a first step towards this latter aim the immediate release of

Card and McGurran should be demanded.

In view of Stormont's about face on the Hunt report and its cynical and intimidatory use of the courts, the CRM and the Citizen Defence Committees must be prepared to mobilise the mass of the people at short notice. The militancy of areas such as Cookstown in preparing to take to the streets again complements the improvement of organisation by the central body.

If the Unionists think that they have separated the head of CRA from the body of the people they will need to think again.



BOGSIDE REPUBLICAN APPEAL

The Republican Movement in the Bogside district of Derry appeals to all members and sympathisers to give their financial support towards purchasing land to build a Republican Hall which is desperately needed to facilitate an ever increasing membership.

All donations should be sent to: Bogside Republican Appeal Fund, c/o United Irishman, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Fogra

The United Irishman is facing increasing costs all round and postponing the inevitable increase in price as long as possible.

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THE HOLY PATRIOTIC TRINITY

Gone are the dull mundane days of Sean Lemass. Successor Jack Lynch has mounted his white charger, unfurled the dust-covered pennant of Fianna Fail's republicanism and prepared to lead the North, not only on to civil rights, but back into the rest of the Irish nation.

Nor has our dynamic leader found himself lacking in willing pages. Ready to serve him well in the North and hungry for money and power, the "green Tories" have slithered to his side. Were there not other times when their outspoken indignation at injustice was merited yet not forthcoming, such as when Republicans were being persecuted for their beliefs? But then we had neither the cold cash nor patronage to encourage such backing.

As for Fianna Fail, this is not the first time that they have gone on a moral crusade claiming the support of all sections of the nation. When they came to power in 1932 it was by loudly proclaiming the aims of complete independence and re-unification. At that time they looked even to the Movement which they had abandoned in 1927 and sought to win Republican backing, by means of promises that they were unable or unwilling to keep.

Terror

Once, however, Cumann na nGael and its Empire loving friends had been dislodged, the champions of freedom and democracy moved against the militants. The IRA was banned and a terror campaign launched against Republicans which compared with anything the British had to offer in their time. De Valera's private army hounded Republicans into the ground and many of them had to emigrate to find peace and safety. By 1939 the Offences Against the State Act had been introduced and matched, if not excelled, the harshness of the previous Public Safety Act which Fianna Fail had railed against in opposition. In the Dail, in 1948, Gerry Boland (father of the present patriot) boasted, on behalf of the murderers of George Plant, that the IRA was dead and Fianna Fail had killed it.

Nearly a decade later, however, the 'ghost' was haunting the proud executioners in Fianna Fail. The IRA campaign in the North had begun and once again the grass-roots membership of the party, still republican in principle, were sympathetic. The Fianna Fail leaders therefore, both to appease their followers and exploit their feelings, in making their bid for power strove to highlight the oppression in the Six Counties more than the coalitionists.

Discouraging both foresight and hindsight they again sought widespread support including that of Republicans. A short while after taking office, however, the soldiers of destiny dutifully neglected to British Imperialism and Haughey, the would-be sponsor of Northern liberty today, established his infamous military courts. Soon, he had become a jailer of Irish freedom fighters for the British.

When the fragmented opposition to

Haughey, Boland and Blaney are the three Fianna Fail Cabinet members involved in the plot to harness the Civil Rights Movement to their policies of selling-out Irish independence to Britain. Haughey, as 26 Co. Minister for Justice, brought in the military courts in the early sixties to jail Republicans during the I.R.A. campaign on the Border, Blaney gives fighting speeches on Partition to fool Fianna Fail grass-roots opinion in the constituency where the Irish Army refused to supply beleaguered Derry people with gasmasks, and Boland, son of the man who murdered George Plant, comforts the country with the rumour that he banged the Cabinet table at the height of the crisis and demanded the 26 Co. Army go in and do the work George Plant was murdered for trying to do.

Twice in the past, prior to 1932 and again prior to 1957, Fianna Fail climbed up on the backs of Republicans on the pretext that they were sincerely trying to reunite Ireland. Now that the situation in the North forces them to posture again as being what they are patently not, how many Republicans will they succeed in fooling for the third time?

Unionism first came together on a common platform for the limited demands of Civil Rights, Fianna Fail was certainly not to the forefront in welcoming this new phenomenon on the Irish political scene. They looked fearfully on the agitation as it interfered with the hands across the border policy and the new relationship being struck with Britain in the Free Trade Agreement. Besides, some of the civil rights demands were equally applicable to the 26 Counties. There was the danger that instead of distracting from southern problems, concentrated attention on the northern crisis would help to highlight them. Better therefore not to be too concerned. It was left to Republicans and other progressive elements to take a lead in the struggle for political emancipation.

Free State Bluff

Following the battle of the Bogside, in August, it was no longer possible to play down the Northern situation. The old loyalties of the rank and file of Fianna Fail were re-asserting themselves and were not conducive to expediently forgetting the people of the North because of a trade treaty. Lynch was thus edged into giving his Churchillian broadcast of August 13th. But, far from the bright lights of Montrose, on the border of Donegal, the massing legions of Irish manhood were not permitted to give a gasmask, never mind a gun, to the suffering citizens of Derry. Thus, failing the unlikely event of unionism being blown away by a blast of sham nationalist rhetoric, the total performance of Fianna Fail was worse than useless.

Lest there are some bewildered as to why the Free State Army gathered in all its might on the border merely to set up field hospitals, let them ponder a moment on recent Government policies. How, conceivably, could a Government which is trying to get into the Common Market on the coat-tails of Britain, and accepts, as subserviently as the great republican Colley, the recent extension of the ten per cent

surcharge on Irish goods in violation of the Free Trade Agreement, how could such a Government even contemplate invasion? Such a Government has not got the guts to invade, never mind the motive, when it is otherwise busily engaged in integrating the Irish economy with the British to our gross disadvantage.



● George Colley, Republican Minister for Industry and Commerce, complained of a breach of the Free Trade Agreement when Britain extended the 50% import deposit scheme on goods entering Britain for a further year but had not the courage to impose a similar penalty on British exports to the 26 Counties under the same Agreement. Such a move would have helped the economy of the 26 Counties in the crisis caused largely by the flooding of the Irish market by British manufactured goods but would have offended Britain whose goodwill is needed to get the 26 Counties into the Common Market.

Some of the ordinary supporters of Fianna Fail may still entertain the hope that some modicum of principle still resides in the cabinet when they hear talk of splits over the North. But such a hope would be illusory. The event is of no more significance than a quarrel among thieves. A short-lived one at that for they got together soon afterwards with a scheme to shamelessly exploit the Northern struggle. This was the plan to infiltrate the CRA by ostensibly offering it help. Enough was to be given to tempt but not to satisfy. So, with the aid of paid agents some well-meaning and some not so well-meaning people were to be harnessed to Fianna Fail's ends. It has not taken long to discover what these are: a CRA deprived of its radical flavour which would eventually co-operate with Jack Lynch's stunted idea of 'nationalism', now being termed federalism, and, given time, no doubt represented by a Union Jack as Billy Craig desires. Such was the only alternative left to Jack after his inevitable backing down from the soldierly stance of his August broadcast.

The well-financed attempt to gain control of the CRA has not proved the success it might have been due, in no small measure, to the exposure in last month's issue of this paper. But the signs of it are still to be seen. The "Voice of the North" purports to promote the cause of Civil Rights and gives a centre-page spread to De Valera's empty ramblings of 30 years ago. Efforts have since been made to be a little less obvious. Seamus Brady has pulled out and replaced himself with a bumbling stooge called Hugh Kennedy. Also sponsoring this venture is Aidan Corrigan of Dunggannon. His abundant and self-righteous denunciations of political oppression in the Six Counties, while allowing his literary efforts to be financed by the perpetrators of a similar system in the South, mark him out as Hypocrite of the Year.

Audacity

With their audacity being what it is, the Holy Patriotic Trinity, Boland, Blaney and Haughey, may even hope that they can induce some Republicans to co-operate with them. Hopes like this, however, are all in vain. They can fish around all they want in their Government departments, Bord Baine or elsewhere, for the likes of Kennedy to wave his internment order about. But it will take more than one of Brady's smooth talking PRO men, who once briefly indulged his adolescent romanticism and soon after sold out to Fianna Fail to dupe genuine republicans who have been long persecuted by his new masters.

He and his ilk have climbed into power on the backs of Republicans twice before, only to kick us in the teeth afterwards. Never again! Republicans have learned too well Fianna Fail's pattern of betrayal to relive such a bitter past.

Fianna Fail is out to conduct yet another face saving operation by pointing the way to "re-unification" and in fact leading towards a new Act of Union. In this they need seek no assistance from Republicans and can expect from them only uncompromising opposition.

The New Gerrymander

At a recent meeting of the Belfast and Districts Civil Rights Association held in St. Mary's Hall, a lecture was given by Mr. C. Mac an Aili from Dublin. The lecture dealt with Local Government Re-organisation and the future role of the Civil Rights Movement. He stressed the continued need for a vigilant Civil Rights Movement to ensure that the Unionist Party was not able to perpetrate a new gerrymander of the Local Government Areas.

Meaningless

The winning of One Man One Vote was meaningless, he said unless each vote had equal weight. Mr. Faulkner, who was presiding over Local Government reform was trying to ensure that this would not be the case. His new plan was for the creation of 17 new Local Government areas including Belfast. It is virtually certain that the 17 areas will remain as he has set down, and his promise of a Commission was meaningless, if it was merely a tidying up exercise which didn't affect the overall plan. To emphasize the fact that these proposals were in fact just another massive regerrymander of the boundaries in N. Ireland, Mr. Mac an Aili pointed out the example of Co. Down and the proposed divisions. The predominantly nationalist area around Killeel has been lumped in with the Unionist strongholds of Donaghadee and Bangor, much further to the north of Co. Down. This is merely a continuation of the gerrymander system.

Examples

Those areas which the Unionists will inevitably be forced to forfeit will be portrayed as an example of Minority incompetence in Local Government. For example the area of West Tyrone which includes Strabane will have a population of only 39,000 with a Revenue potential of only £579 per 1d in Rateable Valuation. This compares unfavourably with areas which it is assumed will have a Unionist majority and have an average population of 100,000 with £3,500 per 1d in the pound rates revenue. With such differences in income, the minority controlled Authorities will not be able to provide such a competent service as a Unionist controlled one.

Resolutions were unanimously passed objecting to 'Special Branch surveillance of the meeting and protesting strongly at the partiality of the Judiciary in recent sentences arising out of the recent troubles.



● "The Price of my Soul", By Bernadette Devlin, issued by Andre Deutch and Pan Books, shows the evolution of the youthful people inside the North which shattered fifty years of Unionist rule and exposed their souls to the world.

Bernadette as folk-heroine

The Price of Bernadette's Soul. (Pan Books, 6/-.)

Let no one expect to find all the answers in this book. It is a courageous and honest document, which will help the building up of an understanding of the phenomenon of which Bernadette is an articulate representative. This phenomenon is the consequence of the spread of educational rights to people who, by Ascendancy law, should have none. That this happened is an accidental result of the fact that Westminster writ runs in such a way as to over-ride Stormont backwoodsmanship in some spheres.

What will happen to the students now emerging from Queen's, and soon from Coleraine? A fraction, suitably selected, will get established jobs, some will teach, most will be forced to emigrate or work below their capacity. The expectation of this future frustration is the source of student radicalism. This, lacking a source of Irishness in the form of a locally available national-minded radical intelligensia, has assumed a somewhat alien and doctrinaire form. It is to Bernadette's credit that she shows evidence of having broken with this and oriented herself along the road of an all-Ireland socialist republic, rather than towards an arid European pseudo-leftism.

The test of this will come if and when the situation develops to the stage where the republicans and the socialists are prepared to sit down, discuss policies, work out co-ordinated strategies to get rid of imperial rule, and accept the discipline of joint decisions. One looks in vain for evidence of an understanding of this in Bernadette's book: insofar as a policy is made, it appears to emanate from a small-group which includes Farrell, McCann and Toman. If Bernadette is to remain significant in national politics, she will need to develop a basic organised relationship with whatever structure emerges from the joint action of the traditional Irish socialist and republican movements.

From the Ennis, Limerick and Tipperary meetings of November 28, 29 and 30 it is evident that the mass of the Irish people have accepted Bernadette as a folk-heroine. They accept her socialist policies with indulgence, as youthful hot-headedness; they are prepared to grant her time to develop her ideas towards the kind of non-doctrinaire democratic anti-imperialism that the situation needs. This, with her background and instincts as evidenced in the book, she is likely to do. We wish her well. R.J.

P.M.P.A. taking the risk out of insurance

Many people were pleased to hear a few years ago that the Private Motorists' Protection Association had finally been granted a licence for motor insurance. The Association promised to eliminate many of the wasteful practices which had kept premiums unreasonably high until then, and a sympathetic and favourable attitude towards the customer was promised. Last-ditch opposition from the Dept. of Industry and Commerce seemed to guarantee that the project was worthwhile.

The company has now been operating for about a year and a half, and it has certainly come to stay. At present it is handling about half of the Republic's new private car insurance, with a premium income last year of more than £200,000. Claims accounted for less than 50 per cent of this, and expenses for another 17 per cent (about five per

cent less than most other companies), so that there was a substantial surplus. Most of this was put aside as a reserve, and a minimal profit of a few hundred pounds was declared.

But behind this story of success there are some unpleasant facts. As many people know, the company is refusing to accept motorists who have a recent accident record.

Cover cut

In one case we heard of, a customer paying a substantial premium for a comprehensive open policy had his cover cut to two named drivers after his son had an accident costing a few hundred pounds. A restricted policy being no use to him, he tried to return to the company who had handled his business before he changed to PMPA. Understandably

enough, they didn't want to know him.

Now obviously any insurance company could make a fortune if it cancelled all policies bearing the slightest element of risk. But the whole point of insurance is that there IS a risk; the motorist is protected when something goes wrong. A small minority of dangerous drivers must be kept off the roads; but it is for the courts, not the insurance companies, to take this decision.

It is easy to see that if the PMPA takes only the safest of safe drivers, it will make an easy profit. Something for nothing is the ideal business proposition. The other companies will be left with the risks while PMPA takes the gravy. The inevitable result will be an increasing number of drivers unable to obtain any cover at all at a reasonable price — even though they may have

done nothing to offend the law.

A revealing comment was made by the PMPA's Chairman, Mr. Joseph Moore, at the recent AGM. Explaining why last year's profits (35 per cent of income) had to be put aside as reserves, he comforted the shareholders with the assurance that a dividend would certainly be paid next year. So after all the PMPA is no different from any other commercial undertaking; it is there to make profits for its shareholders.

Profit and justice

The pity of it is that many good people put years of work into building the Association, in the hope that the iron logic of profit could be tempered by justice and decency. The lesson is that you cannot flirt with capitalism. You are for it or against it; there is no middle way.

The other lesson is that those motorists who are attracted by the terms offered by PMPA should think carefully before leaving their present insurers. We have no illusions about the other companies operating in the Republic; but even the frying-pan may be better than the fire.

The Minister for Patronage

An interesting sidelight on the Devlin Report is given in an article in *Business and Finance* (October 3rd.).

The article points out that the 'Department of Regional Development' proposed by Devlin in place of the Dept. of Local Government, will almost certainly be merged with the new Department for Housing, Building and Physical Planning announced by the Taoiseach last July. The combined Department would control virtually all aspects of physical development, and would spend something like one-third of the total annual capital budget of £167m. The Minister will be Neil Blaney.

Thus it seems Mr. Blaney will be in charge of what B and F calls 'a department which will rival Finance as the driving force within the economy'. He will control £55m. worth of contracts for housing, roads, schools and sanitary services, AND he will have the power of life or death over all private activities requiring planning permission — including new industries. The carrot and the stick!

Mr. Blaney has always been a good party man. He did his best in Agriculture with only a few import duties to play around with. We feel sure he will not disappoint his friends in his new job.

E.E.C. THREAT TO NATION'S EXISTENCE

The fact that Fianna Fail is desperate to succeed in its efforts to drag Ireland into the EEC was shown in the difference in the headlines of the Irish Press and Irish Times on December 4, reporting a meeting of the EEC ministers in the Hague.

The Irish Press claimed that negotiations on Fianna Fail's application would open in June, 1970 while the Irish Times reported that no deadline had been set and that the ministers meeting had ended in failure!

To fool people

We can expect therefore, in the coming months an intensive propaganda campaign by Fianna Fail to fool the Irish people into accepting this sell-out of the Irish Nation. This step "into Europe", the Republican Movement believes would be a disastrous step for Ireland to take.

Independence

Common Market membership would mean the relinquishing of control of our political and economic destiny, abandonment of what independence the state possesses and surrender by the Dublin Government of the principal powers it has to develop a viable economy in Ireland capable of providing a decent living for the people. It would mean committing not only this generation of Irish people, but also future generations, to entering a political and economic bloc dominated by States and interests that in no way have the welfare and progress of the Irish people as their concern.

There are many government measures and planning powers essential to building a national economy. They include the use of tariffs, quotas, grants to private industry, the development of public enterprise, differential taxation arrangements, control of capital movements, credit control, the development of trade relations with the rest of the world. All of

these powers would either have to be surrendered wholly or drastically modified on entry to the Common Market. The Dublin Government has already agreed to abandon protection for Irish industry through tariffs and quotas in relation to Britain. By entry to the EEC it would have to do the same in relation to the EEC countries.

Surrender

Common Market membership would mean that Ireland would surrender its power to diversify its trade with other countries, for under Articles 110-116 of the Rome Treaty all commercial agreements with Common Market countries have to be concluded by the EEC Council. Control of Irish capital exports would become impossible, although this is essential to prevent the investment of Irish savings abroad. The effective development of state industry would become impossible, as this always entails an element of subsidy and this is against the Common Market rules of competition. The Government would lose the power of giving special grants and assistance to its own nationals as against foreigners. It would be impossible to keep effective control and ownership of Irish land and industry in the hands of Irish people. In sum then, the Common Market would commit the country not only to free movement of goods, capital and labour on a European-wide scale, but to the abandonment of those public economic planning powers which are essential to counter the drawbacks of the free movement of goods and the abolition of tariffs and quotas.

This latter is an aspect of Common Market membership that has not received the attention that is its due from the Irish labour and trade union movement, which has always emphasised the importance of public planning and governmental action as essential if there is to be sufficient productive investment to secure full employment for the labour force.



● Cardinal Conway



● Mr. Roy Bradford

STRABANE REPUBLICANS ACTIVE

When the Six County Prime Minister, Chichester Clarke, visited Strabane on November 21, to address a meeting of the North Tyrone Unionist Association, he was picketed by members of the Strabane Civil Rights Association.

The picketers, Ivan Barr, Chairman, Liam MacElhinney, Secretary, Con Tinney, Hugh MacElhinney and Brendan Gallagher, carried placards demanding the release of Malachy McGurran and Francis Card and the abolition of the Special Powers Act.

Some verbal threats were issued to the picket by some of the Unionist members outside the hall. The Prime Minister arrived but turned the blind eye to the protest. The picket was continued until 8.30 p.m.

The Strabane CRA have also sent a letter to Mr. Robert Porter, Minister for Home Affairs at Stormont demanding the release of Malachy McGurran and Frank Card and contrasting the treatment meted out to these two Republicans with that given to Paisleyites and other elements who have been released on bail although charged with arms offences. Ivan Barr and Liam MacElhinney are also members of the local Republican Club in Strabane.

GAELTACHT CUMANN

A new Sinn Fein cumann has been formed in the Waterford Gaeltacht of An Rian.

The inaugural meeting was presided over by the Cathaoirleach of the Dúngharvan cumann, Mr. P. Walsh. The meeting elected the following cumann officers: Cathaoirleach; Seamus Cullen NT, Runai; Eamonn Mac Murchu, Ciseoir; Seamus McGrath.

The cumann is called "Erin's Hope Cumann" after the famous ship "Erin's Hope" from which the Fenians landed in the area in the last century. All members of the cumann are native speakers of Irish.

Cumann lan gaelach a bheas ann mar is coir do chumann sa ghaeltacht. Tathar ag suil go mbeidh baill an chumann seo ag obair go dian chun Gaeilge a chur chun cinn i nGuaiseacht na Poblachta i gCo. Phort-laige agus ag obair ar son an phobail agus an teanga i nGaeltacht na Rinne.

FATHER FAUL SPEAKS OUT

In the middle of last month Father Faul of St. Patrick's Academy, Dungannon gave a lecture to a study-group in which he looked at the judicial system in the Six Counties. He wisely pointed out that the basis of most people's confidence in proposed reforms was the fact that they could "be tested in the courts". Therefore, this would only be justified if one also had confidence in the courts. Some of the reasons why this was not likely to be evoked by the northern judicial set-up were given by Father Faul.

Political judges

"It is difficult to see how a unionist politician turned judge can earn the trust of the minority" said Father Faul and indicated some awareness of this by men such as Capt. O'Neill and Mr. Callaghan when they appointed Scottish and English judges like Cameron and Scarman to the "two crisis-born tribunals".

He reminded his audience how the jury-system operates against the minority. For example, the state has a right of unlimited challenge while the defence has only twelve challenges. Furthermore the qualification whereby one has to be a resident property-owner of a certain valuation for jury service weighs even more against Catholics. As a result of this in County Tyrone where the Catholics are in a majority the statistical expectation that they would be so represented among the total of jury men may well not be the case. The fact that the majority of the jury is also likely to be of Unionist persuasion not unnaturally gives rise to fears "when one considers the views held by Catholics about the extreme supporters of the Government party".

Rely on police

Neither is the reputation of the Bench enhanced by the "inordinate credibility" given to the police evidence. "In High Court, County Court and Resident Magistrate cases experience shows that the Bench almost without exception accepts the evidence of the police force". As to why this is so — perhaps "because they may not feel they can disregard evidence from a force which was regarded (up to now certainly) as a paramilitary arm of the Stormont government rather than as an impartial civilian force with allegiance only to the state of the United Kingdom".

These cautioning remarks to civil rights supporters over-enthusiastic at "all this new paper legislation" as Father Faul called it drew a storm of protest from the Unionist party. Thus Father Faul's lecture received its most sure verification.

Bradford furious

Roy Bradford was absolutely furious that the Unionist reform bubble had been pricked and demanded that Father Faul be reprimanded by his superiors. Following a denunciation of this honest priest by other leading members of the Unionist party and a threatened furore to add to the bedlam on Stormont Hill, His Eminence Cardinal Conway dutifully complied with Roy's request. He described Father Faul's comments as "unwarranted and unfortunate".

"Unwarranted" hardly, as the evidence adduced by Father Faul himself and the statement issued by the CRA executive on November 18

show. This substantiated the contention that Unionist judges could well be political judges.

Mr. Justice Lowry, for one, at the Derry assizes in November 1968 made remarks on developments in the city which earned him criticism even in the English newspapers. Nor does the memory of Mr. William Douglas J. P.'s behaviour in Limavady Town Hall during a Civil Rights meeting last May endear one to the judiciary.

"Unfortunate"

To be fair, however, Father Faul's remarks could at least be construed as "unfortunate". "Unfortunate" for the new conservative alignment which is being drawn up in the North and is typified by the New Ulster Movement which was first to welcome Cardinal Conway's criticism of Father Faul. It considered the Cardinal's statement as "another indication of the continued and welcome development of new

relationships between the Catholic Hierarchy and the Northern Ireland community".

The encouraging thing about the whole affair is that people have shown quite clearly that they are not prepared to be muted on such a vital issue as a matter of political expediency. Support for Father Faul has been forthcoming from the Dungannon Tenants' Association and the Campaign for Social Justice.

In Cookstown the Civil Rights Association pointed out that when Father Faul said that "the police, the Crown prosecutors and the judiciary were Unionist appointed and did not merit the confidence of the minority he had stated the obvious".

Belfast and District CRA has also come out in support of Father Faul's courageous stand and the endorsement which he has so far received appears to be fairly general among civil rights supporters in the Six Counties. This is as it should be.

FIANNA EIREANN NOTES

Ard Fheis

The Ard Fheis this year was held in St. George's Hotel, Parnell Square, Dublin. The attendance, of both delegates and visitors, was the largest for many years. To Na Fianna, the annual Ard Fheis is a very important affair, and this Ard Fheis was more important than most, as the new Constitution, which had been prepared by an advance party, was accepted with a few slight amendments. The Clar contained a record number of proposals covering many and varied aspects of Scout and Fianna activity.

The new Ard Choiste, which has been increased to nine members, represents every part of Ireland, North and South, and for the first time since the 1920's a woman has been elected to its ranks; Mrs. Hanna O'Farrell, QM of the Dublin Girls' Battalion. Liam Mac an Ultaigh has been returned unopposed for a further term as Chief Scout and he will announce his staff within the next few weeks.

After much discussion on the many proposals, the Ard Fheis was concluded with a tea served to all the delegates and visitors, which was organised in conjunction with the joint Battalion Councils of Boys and Girls in Dublin area and afterwards the attendance adjourned to a very enjoyable Ceili in the CIE Hall.

The North

Fianna throughout the six occupied counties continue to grow in strength and most major towns in the area can now boast of a slua of Na Fianna. The Northern area has now over sixteen sluaite at present with many more in the process of formation. Fianna, as many of us are aware, is a proclaimed organisation in the North and our members in this area are to be congratulated for the fine work they are doing under such difficult circumstances in spreading the Fianna organisation in the six counties.

Edentubber

Large numbers of Na Fianna attended at this commemoration, coming from all parts of the country. It was the largest Fianna contingent since the commemoration began in 1958 and all who made the effort to get their scouts there are to be congratulated.

Bodenstown

On the same Sunday as the Ard Fheis a special commemoration was held at the grave of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare. A small group of Fianna boys were sent to represent the organisation at this commemoration and by the many remarks and comments heard, they looked very smart and a credit to Fianna.

Cork

With two members elected to An Ard Choiste we expect great things from this area in the year ahead. During the last few weeks members of An Ard Oifig visited Cork and they hope to form a slua of Fianna Girl Scouts in Cork soon. Any girls interested in joining should get in touch with Fianna Ard Oifig.

Dublin battalion

During the last month the two Battalions have been busy hiking, training and recruiting new members and a special bus was run to Edentubber.

A special joint council meeting was held during the month to make arrangements for billets etc., for An Ard Fheis. Both Battalions report a very active programme for the coming month.

Sluaite are also busy working for the Cumann Cabhrach Sale of Work and it is hoped to have a special Fianna stall at the Sale.

Join Na Fianna

Eireann

Boys and girls who are interested in joining Na Fianna Eireann should write to the Director of Organising, Na Fianna Eireann, c/o 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.



● Fianna Fail's bid for Common Market entry will make this country Harold Wilson's other island. Entry entails the recognition and acceptance of partition and the renewing of the Act of Union, economic and political, with the British Empire.

LAND LEAGUES

FLOURISH IN CO. GALWAY

The first land league rally in recent years was held at the 400 acre Derryhiney Castle Estate, Portumna, Co. Galway, on Sunday, 30th November, and was held in support of the local demand for the distribution of large estates among the small holders.

Despite earlier attempts by the Loughrea Garda Superintendent, the local Priest and a number of agents for the owner to have the rally cancelled, a good number of local small holders attended.

The rally organised by the East Galway Land League was addressed by Ignatus Craven, Breasal O Caollai and Tom Joyce, all members of the Land League Movement.

Ignatus Craven stated that some of the large farms of the county represent the type of progressive and business farmer who have prospered in existing conditions and matched their success with expansion of their farms. "But," he stated, "this does not justify any person, no matter how well he may manage the land, to hold a huge estate, while our people with small farms are forced off the land due to their small holdings. We must put our priorities right—people must come first."

Above 300 acres

Breasal O Caollai stated that there are 206 farms in the county between 150-200 acres, 167 between 200-300 acres and 145 over 300 acres.

Following the rally local farmers applied to join the league.

The next Land League rally will be held on the Willis Estate, Uachtar Ard, Co. na Gaillimhe, on Sunday, 7th Dec., at 2.30 p.m. The rally will take the form of a shoot-in and is in protest against the use of the estate—the best land in the area—as a golf course. All interested are requested to bring along their shot-guns.

De reir "RTE Guide," seo leanas an meid Gaeilge a bhi beartaithe don Telefis i rith na seachtaine Satharn 29u Samhain—Aoine 5u Nollaig:

(1) Cuig noimead nuachta gach oiche.

(2) "Fado, fado": cuig noimead tri uair sa tseach-

tain; agus ocht noimead de chartuin (4 noimead de 'Luidin Mac Lua' agus de 'Ri Ra').

Sin iad na claracha do phaisti — 23 noimead sa tseachtain!

(3) "Ce he", Satharn; "Scoraiocht" (Domhnach); "Feach" (Luan); "Amuigh faoi'n Speir" (Aoine): 30 noimead an ceann.

Bimis carthannach agus tugaimis claracha Gaeilge orthu seo go leir. Ta "Amuigh faoi'n Speir" agus "Scoraiocht" dha-theangach dairire. D'fheadfai an rud ceanna a ra faoi "Ce he", ach go bhfuil go leor daoine den tuairim nach Gaeilge na Bearla ata a labhairt ar an gclar seo, pe ar bith teanga i fein.

'Siad an Mairt agus an Deardaoin an da oiche is measa—5 noimead nuachta agus sin a bhfuil.

Caighdean

Fograiodh 47 uair agus 25 noimead de chlaracha don tseachtain. Leagadh 2 uair agus 58 noimead de sin amach le haghaidh claracha Ghaeilge agus claracha dha-theangacha. Sin 6%! San daonaireamh deireannach duirt 27% den phobal go raibh Gaeilge acu.

Dha-theangachas

Rinne Hardiman sceal mor den dha-theangachas anuraidh nuair a bhi an sceideal nua Radio a fhogairt aige. Ma ta an polasai seo imithe i bhfeidhm, 'se an run is mo le fada an la e. Ce'n toadh ata ar na ranganna Gaeilge a bhi i Montrose i rith na bliana seo caite? Ce'n deis a tugadh do na daoine sin i ndiaidh na ranganna?

Ceadatan

B'e maiomh Hardiman an trath ceanna nach raibh se cothrom usaid an Gaeilge a mheas de reir ama amhain, ach go raibh siad ag iarraidh ard-chaighdean a bhaint amach sna claracha sin le go mbeadh siad tarraingteach. Ca bhfuil an t-ard chaighdean nuair narbh fhiu leo airgead a chaitheamh le "Feach"—clar a bhi in a udar raice i rith an tSamhraidh—an taon chlar Gaeilge arbh fhiu clar do dhaoine fasta a thabhairt air?

Ni feidir sceal na gclaracha Gaeilge a mheas ach de reir ama, ainneoin a deir Hardiman, i ngeall ar gurb e a laghad ama a tugtar doibh an gne is sunntasai den sceal uilig.

BUILDING

SOCIETIES

ON THE RUN

What is happening to the Building Societies? The pressure of public opinion on the societies in relation to their variable loans increases for existing borrowers was met with the rumour that a great behind the scenes battle was raging between the Government and the Societies in an effort to force the latter to reduce interest rates to borrowers. A very comforting rumour which should ease the majority of angry borrowers over the first six months of increased payments.

Busy Alasdair

The Societies themselves were talking of the need to employ a press officer to improve their image and refute the base slanders being flung against them daily in the public press. The obvious candidate for the office, Mr. Alasdair Mac Caba, managing director of the Educational Building Society, was busily engaged writing to the public press in defence of the Springboks rugby racialism to take on the job of knight errant for the building societies.

Not that the exploitation of the coloured people in South Africa and the exploitation of house buyers in Ireland are worlds apart. Mr. Mac Caba would seem to personify an element common to both worlds.

However, to business! Advertising and commission fees are the main single item of expenditure of some of the major building societies. Recently, the Financial Editor of the Irish Press had the temerity to state that rationalisation of advertising by the societies would make it possible for them to provide fifty extra £4,000 loans per annum.

Indeed, the Irish Permanent Building Society is bidding fair to be in the run off for the title of the last of the big spenders.

The five largest Irish advertisers for 1968 and 1969, according to figures compiled by W. P. Cavanagh, administrator of the Association of Advertisers in Ireland, were Guinness, Player and Wills, Lever Bros., Jacobs, with either Carrolls or Cadbury as fifth, closely followed by the Irish Permanent Building Society and Gallaghers. All of the products mentioned fall into the luxury class with the exception of the building society.

The combined accounts of four of the leading building societies in one year recently show that income was expended as follows: 55% on payment to depositors, 18% on income tax, 20% on management expenses (staff, advertising, etc.) and the balance of 7% on miscellaneous expenditure or was allocated as capital reserve.

In 1967, the Irish Permanent spent £71,277 on directors, staff and auditors and £155,538—more than twice as much—on advertising and commission. The First National spent £34,211 on directors, staff and auditors, as opposed to £23,618—a third less—on advertising and commission. The E.B.S. spent £67,541 on the former item, while spending £108,767—more than 1½ times as much—on the latter. And there are 15 registered building societies! And all this advertising money goes on urging one section of the community to invest at 5½% in the misery of another section that pays 9% for the same money.

The key to the solution in the short term, as seen by

the United Irishman since the beginning of its campaign exposing the cost of building finance, is not tax concessions by the Government to the societies (which will come out of the tax pool) or mere rationalisation of advertising expenditure but rationalisation of the whole building finance structure or better still nationalisation of the system of providing building finance to the middle income group. This of itself would ease the burden on local authorities generally and particularly on Dublin Corporation which, in 1967, spent £3,800,000 on interest and dividends out of a total expenditure of £8,000,000 on housing.



● The funeral of Bob Savage with guard of honour.

The sympathy of the Republican Movement is extended to the family and relatives of the late Bob Savage, 1 John Martin Gardens, Newry, who died on October 24, 1969.

Bob was a member of the 4th Northern Division I.R.A. in the 1920s and was a staunch and uncompromising Republican until the day he died. He was an officer in the Laurencetown Unit before moving to Newry and in those times took part in

many engagements with Crown forces including the famous Egyptian Arch battle, near Newry.

He showed evidence of his courage more recently when, although over 60 years of age, he carried the National Flag at the head of the Newry Easter Parade in 1967 in defiance of a Government ban. As a result he was imprisoned for three months.

The funeral took place on Monday, October 26. Twelve members of the Republican

Movement, wearing black berets and tricolour armbands formed a guard of honour. Among the mourners were many veterans of the I.R.A., Fianna Eireann, Cumann na mBan as well as representatives of the present generation of Republicans. At the graveside, Dr. Patrick Quinn, chairman of the Newry Commemoration Committee, gave an oration in Irish and in English. Mr. Frank Patterson led the saying of prayers in Irish.

An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

Published by Republican Publications,

30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Fon: 41045

Nollaig, 1969

Is í An Phoblacht ár gceuspóir.

... McGurran, Card

Which is the greater? The capacity of British politicians to tell lies and half truths or the gullibility of those so-called Irishmen who have throughout history and up to the present day believed every word uttered by these same politicians?

The position in the North has exercised both capacities to the full in the past year and more particularly in the past few months. One day the B-Specials are abolished to be replaced by a force of 4,000 men. The next day sees a force of 6,000 men announced with application forms already dispatched to all serving B-men and to nobody else. Added to this the whole purpose of the exercise is to enlist Irishmen in a force dedicated to the task of keeping Ireland in subjection to Britain by maintaining the division of Ireland with an economy of British lives, and still orthodox Irish politicians, Hume and Curry, can be found to act as recruiting sergeants for British Imperialism.

Republicans do not need the lesson that Hume and Currie could learn with profit; we have read our history. Malachy McGurran and Prionnsias Mac Airt symbolise the long tradition of Republican struggle against British rule in Ireland. They have suffered the fate of imprisonment which Britain is trying to inflict on the whole of the Irish nation economically and politically with Clarke the Northern and Lynch the Southern gaoler. But Republicans will resist the sell-out of freedom at all levels and no less so when it occurs at an individual one. Republicans in conjunction with other left and democratic forces should organise pickets and protests to get McGurran and Card freed as the first step towards smashing the Special Powers Act completely.

Beagan Faoi Mhorán

Ta caint le tamall anuas faoi staisiun nua radio a bhunú san Iarthar a dheanadh freastal ar an nGaeltacht. Ma fhann An t-Eireannach Aontaithe slainte is fada a bheas tracht ar an mbob a bualadh ar na mílte faoi'n staisiun nua radio seo.

Seachtain o shoin, d'fhogair Padraig O Raghallaigh, RTE, go mbeidh staisiun ann—i gCathair na Gaillimhe. Ní staisiun Gaeilge a bheidh ann, afach, ach staisiun Bearla eile.

Cath eile i seo ata cailte ag na Gaeilgeoirí—agus ag an Naisiun Eireannach ab ionmhuin leis an bPíarsach—agus ce'n cas ach na "Cairde" go leir ata ag an nGaeilge ar Udaras RTE. Bh'fuil siad san sasta le seo? Ar aontaigh siad leis? Ce bhí ar an "study group" a rinne an feall seo?

Ce'n cuspoir ata ag an seirbhís seo? "... to originate in the West and at the same time be of national interest and appeal to the country at large!" An e nach bhfuil Radio Telefís Eireann mar ata se ag deanamh sin i lathair na h-uaire? Agus nach e sin díreach an chúis go raibh eileamh ar staisiun nach ndeanadh neamshuim de mhuintir na h-Eireann? Ce'n díriocht a bheas ann idir an gleas nua seo agus Radio Eireann? Oiread agus ata idir aon-teangachas mar a bhí agus an da-theangachas iontach nua a d'fhogair Hardiman bliain o shoin!

Staisiun VHF a bheidh ann agus beidh "minimum of one hour in Irish" ar an staisiun. Ionann "minimum" sa bhearlagar oifigiúil seo agus "maximum". Mar sin, a Ghaeilgeoirí, idir Ghaeltacht agus Galltacht, a mhuintir na h-Eireann ar mhaith libh an Naisiun a bheith in a shuí arís, togaigi trí ghair molta!

Bronntar bonn mharmar Chonnamara ar Dhonall O Morain, ar Bhean Uí Cheallaigh, ar Tod Andrews, ar Liam O Murchu (an Slanaitheoir taobh-istigh) agus ar Phadraig O Raghallaigh.

Ní ar na McCourts, na Rugheimers nó ar a leitheidí sin amháin ata cath le cur an babhta seo ach ar na cairde liom-leat seo ata dha n-usid le lucht na Gaeilge a chiúniu.

Ní leor run, no toscaireacht, no picead fhein don dream seo a thuilleadh.

No Room - Too Many Inns

Nobody is saying that St. Joseph had a political axe to grind. It is known that he tried the Inn in the village and a lot of the houses too before he took to squatting in a cave on the outskirts of Bethlehem used by local farmers as stabling for their animals. What the Bethlehem Health Authority thought of this arrangement is not recorded.

Bethlehem Corporation could not in any way be blamed for the overcrowding. The Imperial Census, ordered by Augustus in far away Rome, laid down that every person in Judea must return to their place of birth for the taking of the census. The problem was not one of providing accommodation for the domestic population but of providing shelter for the sudden influx occasioned by the homecoming of a whole generation of emigrants whose birthplace had been the City of David, King of the Jews.

Bethlehem could at least claim that it had done its best to deal with the accommodation problem caused by the Census. The Inn was full. In Dublin, which can muster many more Inns than Bethlehem Corporation ever dreamt of, there are hundreds of Inns half empty while ten thousand of the City's domestic population have no homes of their own. What the chaos would be like if Dublin's share of the 1,000,000 people who have emigrated since 1921 were suddenly to arrive back is best left to the imagination.

By any standards, pre-Christian Bethlehem comes off better in the contrast than Christian Dublin. Some of the victims of Dublin's housing policy would jump at the idea of a warm stable in exchange for the damp rat-infested hovels they at present inhabit.

The Jesus Christ that whipped the money-lenders out of the Temple would surely side with the homeless against the property speculators, the builders of hotels and office blocks, and the political Pharisees who whitewash the economic policies that put profits before people.

Living in dreadful accommodation does not make the suffering homeless more holy; but it does make the watching Christians more callous.

The people who strive to rectify these wrongs are a distinct minority. They are agitators. Jesus spent his whole life on earth in a minority. Admittedly, He had one big day in Jerusalem, if you can call a parade down Jerusalem's O'Connell Street which held up traffic and littered the street with palm leaves a big day. But He was a poor vote-getter. When it came to the show of hands between Himself and a convicted thief, Barabbas, the latter simply walked it.

And when He was crucified on Calvary Hill, Pilate, the Governor, could write to the Emperor Claudius and note, inter alia, that a series of small disturbances had subsided in Jerusalem and district with the execution of a certain agitator.

CONROY REPORT ON GARDA CLAIMS

The report of the Conroy Commission on Garda pay and conditions is due out towards the end of this month according to the Government Information Bureau. A "United Irishman" preview of the findings of the Commission suggests that the Conroy report will contain as many shocks for the public as for the Gardai themselves.

Flashpoint

The preamble to the report traces the flashpoint for Garda unrest to a pay award granted to Dublin and Dun Laoghaire Fire Brigade men which had the effect "of giving the firemen higher pay than Guards, thus reversing the traditional relationship between the remuneration of these two groups."

When the report comes to deal with the living conditions of Gardai a picture of the high rents being paid for flat accommodation by bachelor Gardai emerges as well as facts and figures concerning the purchase of private housing by members of the force. The picture is uniformly one of high deposits, high repayments and high ground rents.

Housing costs

A sample table showing house purchase costs incurred by members of the force who got married between November 1968 and February 1969 inclusive shows the average deposit paid on a house at £846, the average monthly repayment at £19 3/8, and the average Ground Rent at £14 4/-. The average cost of a house works out at £3,453. Which

O Drisceoil

Is mian le deirfiur agus gaolta Ruaidhri Uí Dhrisceoil (R.I.P.) buíochas chroí a ghabhail leis na daoine go leir a dhein comh-bhrón leo nuair d'eag se agus a chuir Cartai Aifrinne agus comh-arthai measa chuca agus a dhein freastal ar an socraid.

Ofralfar an tAifreann ar son a n-intinni ar fad.

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EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF GARDA RECRUITS

Year	Number Attended	Intermediate Certificate only	Matric., Leaving Certificate or higher	Total with Secondary Certificates
1950	0	0	0	0
1951	0	0	0	0
1952	174	25	48	73
1953	332	59	55	114
1954	499	49	80	129
1955	408	21	39	69
	1,413	154 11%	222 15%	376 27%
1956	151	14	51	65
1957	153	22	61	83
1958	406	55	70	125
1959	446	76	118	194
1960	409	43	93	136
1961	400	35	73	108
	1,967	245 12%	466 24%	711 36%
1962	200	27	55	82
1963	302	29	73	101
1964	604	100	240	434
1965	417	76	114	190
1966	347	38	110	148
1967	335	42	96	138
	2,205	312 14%	687 31%	1,093 49%

● This table from the Conroy Report shows how the educational qualifications of new Garda recruits have steadily increased.

shows that the Garda is as much exploited as the next when it comes to buying a house.

What might shock the public is the reason given as to why the Garda finds it impossible to bring up his family in local authority housing estates. "Even if he were to be offered accommodation in some of those areas, he would find", continues the document, "as other members of his profession have found in the past, that traditional prejudices would cause distress and worry to his family and his children would be exposed to harassment".

The Garda Representative Body, the body which does not really represent the true feelings of the force, lean rather too heavily on comparisons with the R.U.C. and British police in making

their case for allowances. Rent allowance is the subject of Section 190. "Rent allowance is also payable to members of the R.U.C. A Constable in the R.U.C. is paid a rent allowance at the current rate of 52/6 per week which is under review. Indications are that a new rent allowance rate for the R.U.C. Constables of about 65/- per week is to be fixed with effect from April 1968."

Most interesting

The most interesting section of the Commission's report deals with recommendations about pay and conditions . . . but to publish these might prejudice their acceptance by members of the Garda and spoil too many Christmases for too many people.

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Irish Book Bureau Seosamh O Cleirigh (Joe Clarke)
33 O'DONOVAN ROAD, SOUTH CIRCULAR RD., DUBLIN. Phone 53723

	Price	Postage
Calendar for 1970 with photo of Wolfe Tone (Envelopes to match)	1/6	(post 4d.)
" " " " " James Connolly	"	"
" " " " " Roger Casement	"	"
" " " " " Robert Emmett	"	"
The four calendars post paid for 6/-		
Brian O'Higgins Christmas Card with envelopes to match	4d, 6d, 8d, 9d.	
Picture of Peter Barnes and James McCormack 20" x 14"	1/-	4d.
The picture handsomely framed to callers only at £1-0-0.		
Ghosts of Kilmainham. The story of Kilmainham Jail, Dublin	1/6	4d.
5 views in colour of Kilmainham Jail	2/6	4d.
Freedom seals (per packet)	1/-	4d.
Robert Emmet's Speech from the dock—with portrait of the patriot on cover	1/-	4d.
6 copies post paid for 6/6.		

Write for Book List

D.H.A.C. Victory

Two families, members of the Dublin Housing Action Committee, who were squatting in 12 Estate Cottages, owned by FIAT (IRELAND) LTD., have had the deposits and site-money for two new 22 ft. caravans paid for by the FIAT Company.

This agreement, reached after six months of negotiations between the officers of Committee and the FIAT directors, constitutes a very substantial victory for the organised homeless of Dublin.

The willingness of the FIAT Company to negotiate was due, in no small measure, to the militant support their factory workers showed for the squatting families, particularly during incidents last May.

When an attempt was made to take the roof off the house while the families were still in possession, the FIAT workers walked out and refused to return to work until the Company guaranteed that no further action of this nature would be taken against the families.

The positive action taken by the FIAT workers, and the resulting successful outcome, is an indication of the bargaining power held by the Dublin working class and shows that the Trade Unions have an important part to play in bringing pressure to bear on the Government to declare a housing emergency.

Republican Club

Following a meeting recently of interested students, a Republican Club was formed in University College, Galway.

Already the club has held a protest meeting in the University against the showing of the film "Green Berets" in Galway. All interested in joining the club should contact Philip O hEidhin, Hillsgrove, lower 'Salt-hill, or attend the next meeting of the club.

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