

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Mean Fomhair (Sept.) 1972, Iml. XXVI. Uimhir 9. Luach 5p (U.S., Canada and Australia 25c.)

On September 25th, this month, Gauleiter Whitelaw is summoning selected elements of the Irish people to prepare a sell out solution to the Irish question that is causing Britain's entry to the EEC such problems. This new Irish Convention, with its ridiculous reminders of the previous one of 1917, will have as much relevance. History seems determined to repeat itself, however boring and tedious this may have to be for the present day participants. The first time it was tragedy; this time it is farce.

The Republican position on talks with the British aggressors is quite simple. While the anti-democratic repression continues no one can have truck with those responsible. The concentration camp at Long Kesh must be closed. Internment, detention, and the infamous internment by remand (under which Sean McGuigan for example is being held) must be unconditionally ended. The repressive laws, such as the Special Powers Act by which these ignominies have been perpetrated against us, must be repealed. If Britain wants to talk about possible political solutions she will have to prove her bona fides. After all we have suffered the hands of the British Army Irish people are justifiably sceptical about her good faith.

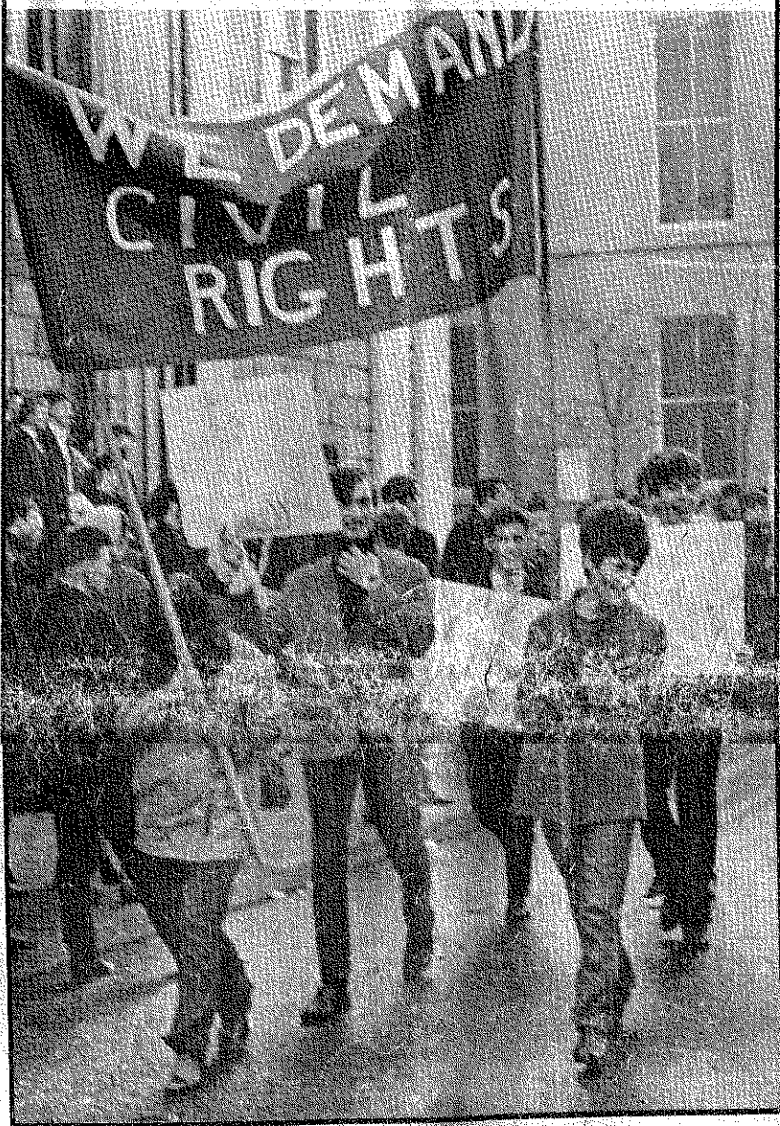
On their guard against the new sell out that Britain hopes to impose as a result of these talks. All along the most intelligent sections of the British ruling class have singlemindedly pursued a policy in relation to Ireland of achieving the total integration of the whole country into the imperialist set up, economically and politically.

In the South, Britain's efforts have been crowned with success. The Free Trade agreement of 1965 has now been followed by the EEC referendum result; fear of the Provos' bombing coming south have driven many sections to rally behind Fianna Fail, whose cry of "us or chaos" showed its effectiveness in the Cork by-election. Never has national feeling been so low in the 26 counties, and on all sides the imperialists exhort us to forget "old dissensions" and become "European".

In the North, the progress of the scheme has not been so smooth. But then, no one ever felt it would. Britain, for some years, has wanted to change the bigoted nature of Northern politics and remove the obvious fascist characteristics of the regime. But all along she has had to tread warily in order to avoid provoking the Protestant workers into attacking Britain. It has been left to the Provos to make sure by their bombing of civilian targets that the new (and sometimes radical) militancy of Protestant workers has been directed into the barren paths of sectarian confrontation with the Catholics.

Jack Lynch, ever true to the Union Jack, has all along understood that he must bide his time and he has loyally collaborated with Britain at every step. He has of course been forced to bend with the emotional responses of the Irish people, as after Bloody Sunday in Derry, but has always come back to the true

**Give Whitelaw
his answer!**



LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK

blue line, like England's little boy.

Britain's strategy for Ireland, then, has been very basic: the minimum of concessions on civil rights and the maximum of British control over the Irish people and their economy. For Britain is not interested in jingoistic flagwaving so much as how to enable her businessmen screw the maximum profit out of Irish workers. These talks now are part of this effort to smooth over the situation, using the division of the Irish people amongst themselves, to give as little democracy as possible. The more Provo bombs, the more bigotry and sectarianism, the more Britain's grip is secured and the less concessions she has to make.

It is obvious how much sectarianism plays into Britain's hands, and those like the Provos whose actions have vastly increased the real dangers of sectarian civil war must stand condemned forever in Irish history as the most criminally irresponsible element that ever represented itself as a leader of the Irish people. All that is, in fact, represented by their leadership and their financial backers is a narrow, bigoted sectarian nationalism. What of the Provisional rank and file who sincerely do want to see a united people in a free state, free from this cancerous growth, spawned by the moneygrabbing gombeen mind of Jack Lynch and Fianna Fail.

The Provos have blasted away what slim hopes there were of working class unity in this generation, and have given birth to the Protestant reaction of the UDA, UVF and other more vicious forces like Vanguard and the Tartan gangs who are committing a series of grisly sectarian killings. Let no one forget that these killings are a direct result of the attacks launched by the Provos on Protestant pubs and workplaces. Instead of civil rights which the people have been demanding all the Provos and Fanna Fail, the British and the Unionists can offer us is civil war.

We do not want civil war. We repeat again and again that the issue in the North of Ireland is CIVIL RIGHTS NOW. On that there can be no compromise and no talking. We do not want prevarications; we do not want stalling; we do not want bombing; we do not want sectarian killings. We want full guaranteed democracy.

For this reason, also, we call on all sections of the Northern people to boycott Britain's latest divisive plan, the plebiscite. The Republican Movement firmly upholds the principle that the Irish people must determine their own affairs, but we believe that a united Ireland without a united people, a puppet state without independence would be an affront to all those who have suffered.

Let the people unite once more in the mass movement for civil rights, the NICRA. We reject your talks and your plebiscites. Let the people give Whitelaw his answer and demand what Britain has refused to give for the last four years: full civil and religious liberty.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HAVING A GO?

48 Haughton Rd.,
Handsworth,
Birmingham 20.

Dear Comrade,
Discipline and loyalty to the only viable revolutionary movement in Ireland has up to now prevented me from making public criticism on the progressive deterioration in the standard of the paper. I could not, however, seem by muteness concur with the most recent disgusting descension to petulant childish name calling and personal abuse.

We failed for the most honourable reasons in the first year of the so called split to expose the political bankruptcy and fascist potential of the Provisional leadership. Our concern and courtesy was not, of course, reciprocated. Indeed advantage was taken of our forbearance in a fantastic campaign of vilification by the poison pen men of the Provisional Alliance.

I have always advocated that we should counter this propaganda and expose its fabrications. We have a clear duty to the Irish people particularly the many who have been misled into joining that counter revolutionary force, to expose the true nature of Provo leadership the futility, indeed, counter productivity of its type of campaign.

These objectives will be attained by making correct analysis of their position and careful and honest exposition of ours. Some months ago this was done in a manner which boded well for our future by Sean Garland. Maintenance of such standards could not but be to our advantage. Again, very high standards were set by the introduction of the Starry Plough from one or two Republican Clubs. That standard has not, unfortunately, been emulated by our national paper. We will not gain from following the Provos pen men into the bog of verbal excreta.

I think it is particularly unfortunate that we should have descended to this level at a time when the Republican Movement produced the Red Bogey but this time in a more farcical manner than usual. Their presentation must surely convince many, including their own members that they are hardly an outfit to be associated with. But should they reach or near that conclusion they will hardly be inspired by the front page of your July issue.

We must at all times remember that we are a socialist and national movement. It does not, therefore, become us to take partisan part in the perpetual wrangles of the minor

leftist movements. Our stated objective of creating a national liberation movement will hardly be aided by having the occasional unpolitical meaningless "Go at the Trots". I do not think it is intended that our search for allies should be in one small political area only. That would hardly take due account of the fine work done for our movement by many people of various political persuasions. That peripheral groups will analyse, criticise, and upgrade us "till the mind boggles" is no excuse for use to take time or energy from our serious job of work.

Again, we might profit from a good look at a job of work and its portrayal in the U.I. I wonder how many members of the Republican Movement believe as we face a civil war situation that "Civil Rights is still the main issue." An important issue I grant you. Some months ago we were accused of taking over the Civil Rights Movement. Or was it the Civil Rights Movement which took us over?

I end by wishing you good fortune in bringing our paper back to its previous glory. A fine paper telling the story and politics of the finest Revolutionary Movement.

Yours for a Workers' Republic,
Seamus Collins.

Mr. Collin's "loyalty to the only viable revolutionary movement in Ireland" is touching, but not his grasp of political realities. His criticisms seem to centre on the argument made in page one of our July issue that civil rights was the main issue and that the insane bombing campaign of the Provisional Alliance was leading us into civil war. That civil rights and mass action by the people for democracy is the only hope of avoiding civil war is argued again on both page one and one page eight.

Whether that front page would inspire rank and file Provisionals to join us is a matter of argument, but we only want people to join us on the basis of knowing what our policies are, anyway.

Finally, we are accused of having an "unpolitical, meaningless go at the Trots". The "United Irishman" and the Republican Movement is strenuously opposed to the vocal sloganeering which characterises ultra-leftist politics, but our criticisms are entirely political: the Trotskyites not merely do not help the civil rights struggle, in some instances they actively obstruct and oppose it. They also spread similar confusion as to the nature of the Irish economy which is argued again on page 6.

CIVIL RIGHTS

No. 4 Spring Hill Terrace,
Commercial Street,
Tadcaster,
York. LS24 8AD.

Dear Sir,

It was with great interest that I read your article on repression and coalition in the south. You say that now is the time for a civil rights movement in the south, indeed I think that it is well overdue. As Secretary of the Leeds branch of Clann Na hEireann I have never missed an opportunity of speaking of the importance of work such as this being undertaken in the south of Ireland.

We must show the people that they will never have their just rights while we are governed by the whims of the British Government, and their Gombeen counterparts in the south of Ireland. We must help the people to smash the religious bigotry which denies married people the right to exercise their rights in planning their family, and their rights to use contraceptives in the married state.

We must explain to the sick and needy that they can not have the help they need so much because there would not be enough left for the British and other foreign speculators, or for the friends of Mr. Jack Lynch in Brussels. We must show the people that Ireland is not a poor nation, and that this is why Europe welcomes us with open arms.

If the people of the south are to have the free health service they are entitled to, then they must be prepared to go into the streets and demand it. We must do more ourselves to get the message to the young people of Ireland, in the form of social clubs, where they can learn the true aims of the Republican Movement.

The work must be carried to every town and village in the south of Ireland. I look forward to hearing more of this kind of work getting underway, and I hope that I will be able to help in it whenever I return to Dublin.

Your faithfully,
Christopher Butler

BOMBERS

Dear Editor,

The Republican Movement have apparently pledged themselves to work for the unity of the working class, north and south, Protestant and Catholic. This I am sure includes the protection of the working class from oppression in whatever form it may take. Therefore, they have a duty to call on the working class, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, to come onto the streets and demand an end to the oppression of the working class people by the Provisionals and the British Army.

It cannot be denied that the leadership of the Provisionals have oppressed and used the working class for their own power. It is evident that when a section of the working class had to organise and protect themselves against the Provisionals campaign, innocent people have been killed as result of these bombings and many young workers who have joined the Provisionals will lose their lives unless this senseless bombing does not stop.

The NATO rent strike in the South

DEATH NOTICE
FOGRA BAIS

Mrs. Nora Fahey

Died Fri., Aug. 25th., 1972.

Evicted by Irish Court at behest of English Colonel.
The landlords are not gone yet.

so far has shown us that when the working class are united, there is no need for the bomb. Their unity will defeat any type of oppression. The Republican Movement have a duty to prevent a civil war and to prevent the British Army using the Provisionals' bombing campaign as a stick to beat the working class with, even if it means they would march on the streets with workers who believe in the union with Britain.

I have no doubt but that the unity of the working class would defeat the oppression of the Provisionals and the British Army. After the people have realised their potential there is no reason why that unity could not be maintained to fight the oppression of the capitalist system. The defeat of capitalism would automatically mean the defeat of Unionism and empty Republicanism. Then this country would get what it needs, a re-birth.

Yours,
Name and address supplied.

INTERNMENT
OF UDA
OPPOSED

The Republican Movement was as strenuously opposed to the internment of the UDA as they were to the internment of their own members. Mr. Raymond O Hagan said when addressing an anti-internment rally in Keady, Co. Armagh, on August 12.

"Incarceration without trial is an evil practice whoever it is directed against", he said. Calling on the young people in the area to join the Republican Movement, he said that one of its aims had always been to bring the working class people, Protestant and Catholic, together.

Mr. Ian Mills, Clann na hEireann, attacked the English press which, he said, distorted the true facts about the situation and invariably presented Mr. Whitelaw's point of view to the British public.

Other speakers at the rally, which was organised by the Martin Savage Seamus Trainor, chairman of the Armagh and South Down Executive of Republican Clubs; Mr. Martin Lynch, Turf Lodge, and Mr. Brian Houlihan, Keady.

PEOPLE'S
CO-OPERATIVE

The O'Callaghan and Williams Republican Club is furthering the policies of the Republican Movement by setting up a People's Co-op in Belfast. The co-op, which will be open every Saturday from 10 a.m., will be a non-profit-making concern and all goods will be sold at cost price.

The club has also advised people living in the occupied areas of Belfast that they do not have to answer questions put to them by members of the British Army. Door to door questioning of people and photographing of families has and is still being carried out.

This is illegal but many people are afraid that if they do not answer the troops they will be interned. Some people who have refused to answer questions have been threatened with arrest. In fact, all that householders are required to do is to give their names and addresses.

Since Operation Murderman was launched on July 31, intimidation of people in this way has accelerated to such a degree that it is felt that the British are preparing to introduce curfew restrictions.

The fact that 21,000 troops are on the streets of the 6 Counties indicates that Britain wants more than a physical presence. Their aim is complete subjection of the people.

Far & Near

Captain R. J. Mitchell, Unionist MP for Armagh, was one of two men who recently appeared in Court at Greenock in Scotland charged with attempting to illegally bring arms into the 6 Counties. Unlike cases involving anti Unionists the magistrates refused to allow the names of the defendants to be published and in court, the press were not allowed to see the men's faces.

However, Republican Intelligence officers have been able to identify Capt. Mitchell as one of the defendants. It may be remembered that Mitchell was some time ago advocating the use of flame throwers to quell "the Fenians".

Seemingly, he has been trying to obtain some of these weapons for just such a purpose. As one of the more extreme of the Unionist MPs and leaders, it has been noticeable that Mitchell has been absent from Bill Craig's Nuremburg style rallies of Vanguard.

The reason is now obvious.

What is happening to Seamus Brady? August was the month when his old pals ganged up on him and put the knife in. The Dail Committee showed that everything we said back in November 1969 was correct. Messrs. Hogan, Fitzgerald and Cluskey did not spare Neil Blaney's old henchman and brother-in-law. Neither did the Irish Farmers' Journal. On August 5, "Jobber", writing on page 8, had a nice piece about Mr. Brady.

"This gentleman was perhaps the closest political accomplice of Neil Blaney and during the period of Blaney's ministry, he accidentally happened to find employment as press agent with most of the agricultural State boards, with the honourable exception of the Pigs and Bacon Commission. The RDS and ICMISA also found his services valuable. When Blaney went there was another accident and these bodies found his services less necessary, with the exception of CBF and Comhairle Orla."

Police in Wales are investigating Llyn Peninsula South Carmarvonshire, which was bought at an auction in July by an English businessman.

During the auction, members of the Welsh Language Society staged a sit-in in protest against the sale of several cottages as second or holiday homes for English buyers.

The (Scottish) Daily Record reports a court case conducted by Sir Alexander Kinloch East Lothian. "The youths deliberately cheated the railway of the fare", said Kinloch, finding three defendants guilty of a trivial offence. Then he added: "One of them came from Ireland, and anyone who comes from Ireland at the present time is suspect."

Lucky he wasn't black as well.

The Two nations theory has not yet reached the ears of a body called Amax Exploration of U.K. Inc., which recently began prospecting in the Tyrone/Fermanagh area. The people of Fivemiletown will soon, it appears, be joining a list of exploited areas such as Botswana, Mexico, Puerto Rico and Greenland in providing profits for Amax Exploration, the American Metal Climax Corporation, Rockefeller Centre, New York, which last year was happy to make 69 million dollars on its neo-colonial activities. Completely ignoring the border Amax are linked by Selection Trust, who hold 11.8 per cent of their issued shares with Navan Mines and thus with Fitzwilliam Securities. Thus the peoples of Africa and Latin America help to lift Tony O'Reilly's "white man's burden" Needless to say, Republicans and trade unionists in the Tyrone/Fermanagh area are studying the situation.

Industrial Education is the object of a fine education and training programme which IT&GWU Development Services Division begin in September. The courses which are open to every member of the union cover matters such as Work Study and Job Evaluation techniques, basic communication skill and training in public speaking and procedure at meetings. All Republicans who are members of the IT&GWU should not miss this unique opportunity. The courses take place in the evenings and applications should be made through your Branch Secretary.

"CABHAIR"

Coiste Foirthint na bhFhiosunach Poblachtach

Please give as generously as you can to help the wives and dependents of interned men and of those on the run. These people face great hardships as a result of Britain's policy of repression, and we all have a duty to stand by them. Because of the large numbers who have subscribed so generously already, it is impossible to publish a full list of acknowledgements, but the committees will receipt all monies received.

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Connolly on Ulster and
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CORK WORKERS' CLUB
9 St. Nicholas Church Place,
Cork.



Pte. Lionel Groves, 20th Medium Artillery, a patient at the Royal Herbert Military Hospital.

HEATH VISITS BRITISH WOUNDED

The hidden casualty figures of the British Army have been revealed by the number of seriously wounded soldiers being taken to a military hospital in South London. The hospital, the Royal Herbert, is near Woolwich in South East London. It is situated at the junction of Shooters' Hill Road and Well Hall Road and is about two miles from the headquarters of the Royal Artillery in Woolwich.

According to information received, there are now over 400 men at the hospital. Most are soldiers injured in the 6 Counties. So serious is the casualty rate that the authorities are now considering using two local civilian hospitals for the wounded troops.

These are the Woolwich War Memorial Hospital, which is located about half a mile away on Shooters' Hill, a local landmark, and the Brook Hospital, which is a few hundred yards away from the Royal Herbert on Shooters' Hill Road.

During the last five months, helicopters have flown into the grounds of the Royal Herbert every day, bringing the wounded from the North. The condition of the soldiers varies but according to nurses working there, most cases involve men with amputated arms and legs, eye injuries and serious stomach wounds.

Morale among the patients is so low that various British government and Ministry of Defence Personnel are frequently sent down from Whitehall to visit the hospital. Things got so bad that on August 9, Mr. Heath, the British Prime Minister, actually went there himself. He stayed about an hour, talking to the staff and selected soldiers.

After the visit, Heath went to his constituency party headquarters in Bexleyheath, about six miles from the hospital. At a meeting with local Tory officials he was advised that the feeling was that British troops should be brought out of the North without conditions. According to our informant, Mr. Heath assured them that the matter was being seen to.

MARTIN MEEHAN: IRA ANSWERS ACCUSATION

Following the arrest of Martin Meehan, a leading Provisional in the Ardoyne area of Belfast, the Provisional Alliance accused the Republican Movement of tipping off the British Army. The accusation, which is without foundation, was answered by the Belfast Command Staff of the IRA in a statement signed by E. O. Connor, Adjutant.

The full statement reads: "Following the arrest of Martin Meehan in Ardoyne yesterday (Wednesday), the homes of three young members of the Irish Republican Army were raided by members of the Provisional Alliance.

"These armed thugs were led by a well known local criminal who stated that the reason for their intimidatory activity was that they suspected members of the Irish Republican Army had informed the British Army of the presence of Martin Meehan in the area. They threatened to shoot the young men they were seeking if and when they succeeded in capturing them.

"The Belfast Command Staff of the Irish Republican Army wish to state that no members of the Irish Republican Army were involved in any way with the capture of Mr. Meehan. The presence of Mr. Meehan in the Ardoyne area over

the past months was public knowledge and widely spoken of.

"If Mr. Meehan was betrayed to the British forces, then the Provisionals should turn their attention to their own membership which contains a large criminal element whose self-interests takes precedence over all other considerations.

"Finally, Mr. Meehan, despite ideological differences, was held in the highest esteem and respect for his soldierly qualities, courage and dedication by all who knew him, and the insinuation that the IRA would betray him or anyone else to the perpetrators of the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry is beneath contempt worthy only of the small minds of those making this accusation.

"The Belfast Command Staff now state that any harm done to their members in the Ardoyne will be dealt with rigorously."

SHOT MAN'S BROTHER HELPING EXTREMISTS

The brother of a man shot dead in Ballymurphy last year returned to Ireland and is now reported to be helping to identify Republicans for a Protestant extremist organisation in Belfast.

The man, Mr. Jimmy McKenna, returned to Belfast after his brother and another man called McVicar, were shot dead in Ballymurphy early last year. The shooting of these two men followed a row between themselves and members of the Provisional Alliance in a club in Leeson Street.

The exact motive for their killing was never publicly established but Mr. Jimmy McKenna clearly has blamed all Republicans for what happened. As a result, it is alleged, he is now acting as an informer for a sectarian murder gang operating in Belfast.

THE FUGITIVE, KYMBLE, IS BACK

Captain Kembyle, Intelligence Officer of the Royal Green Jackets, is back in the 6 Counties. Kembyle was operating in Belfast last year



just before internment was introduced. He was one of the men who drew up the lists of victims for the British torture camps. In July last year he participated in the dummy runs for internment and was seen photographing delegates attending the Republican convention at the St. Mary's Hall.

Following the invasion of the 'no go' areas last month, Kembyle, who comes from Dublin and who is a Catholic, returned with his regiment. However, he is now reported to be operating in the South Derry area, collecting information for his close friend, Frank "Killer" Kitson. Kitson, of course was the sadistic queer who planned the torture of internees in Girdwood and Hollywood barracks.

The relationship between these two men is very close, having been intimate friends and associates for a number of years.

Another British officer who endeared himself to Republicans during previous visits to this country is Major Lloyd, the man who ordered armed troops to evict a 70-year-old woman from her home in the lower Falls so that contractors could demolish it.

Lloyd also returned in the wake of the invasion and is hiding out at Trench House in Andersonstown. Trench House is where St. Joseph's Teacher Training College is located and has been occupied by the troops since the invasion.

Major Lloyd is a cautious man and since his return he has adopted many different faces. In fact, there are several British officers travelling around Belfast, introducing themselves as Major Lloyd. One such officer is Major Grenville.

Lloyd has good reasons for this ploy. He claims that he enjoyed good relations with the people of the Falls. In layman's language this means that he has the reputation of being a sadist, having pistol-whipped youths in the lower Falls and instructed his men to be as brutal and obscene as possible.

Both Kembyle and Lloyd are dangerous criminals.

USI CONDEMNS COLLEGE OCCUPATION

The Union of Students in Ireland, in a statement issued by Mr. Patrick Rabitte, President, has condemned the British Army's occupation of St. Joseph's Training College, Trench House, Belfast.

"We condemn this move by the British Army as an unwarranted act of provocation against the students and members of the college and the people of Andersonstown. It was intended that St. Joseph's would be used as a recreation centre for local children over the summer months.

"This is no longer possible and it is clear that the presence of the military is not in the best interests of peace in that trouble area of Belfast."

The statement went on: "USI requests its members in St. Joseph's College to show restraint in the face of Army provocation. Finally, in the name of the Union of Students in Ireland, I call on the British forces to immediately evacuate the college."

BLACK PROPAGANDA AT WORK IN ARMAGH

On August 7, Trooper Geoffrey Knipe of the Royal Dragoons, was killed in Armagh when his Ferret Scout car crashed after being stoned by children. The incident took place near the Drumharg housing estate. Stones crashed through the car's windscreen, hitting Trooper Knipe and causing the car to run out of control.

The British claimed that after the Ferret overturned, the children continued to stone troops and police who came to the scene. One British officer described the incident as horrifying and sickening. He claimed that even when an ambulance arrived, the stoning continued.

"We were reluctant to break up the crowd because, in spite of the horrible crime they committed, they were still only children", he said.

However, the truth of the matter is that the stoning of the overturned Ferret never took place. The lurid story put out by the British Army is yet another example of the British propaganda machine operating to

paint a rosy picture of themselves and a black picture of the people they intimidate.

The 6 County Executive of Republican Clubs issued a statement clarifying what actually happened, which reveals a totally different one to that put out by the British.

After fully investigating the incident, the Executive was able to verify that after the Ferret crashed, no stoning took place. They described the British suggestion that the ambulance carrying the dead soldier was also stoned as "a complete fabrication of lies".

Local residents had mounted a rescue operation after the crash while the crew of the second Ferret car just looked on.

On August 20, after much criticism of the British Army's statements, a specially prepared statement by Tigwell's black propaganda department was issued. This presented a rehash of the original lies. However, the people of Armagh have rejected the falsified reports put out by Tigwell, knowing as they do what really happened.

SOLDIER FINED MP PROTESTS

Mr. Richard Buchanan, Labour MP for the Springburn division of Glasgow, is calling for an inquiry into the case of a British soldier who was fined £30 for swearing at a boy in Dungannon. The soldier, Private John Brown, of the infamous Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, contacted Mr. Buchanan through his mother who described the sentence as a "shocking injustice".

"The mother says her son told the boy to 'get stuffed' in more lurid language, and the action taken seems to me a disincentive for soldiers to do their duty", Mr. Buchanan said.

According to Mrs. Brown, the boy "harassed" her son, kicked stones at him and used obscene language. Her distress at the court's decision was short lived, however. The Red Hand committee at Belfast dockyard paid the fine.

Last year, a 20-year-old youth was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Belfast for shouting "Up the IRA" at British troops. The people of the 6 Counties have been subjected to harassment by the troops ever since 1969, yet there is no record of Mr. Buchanan ever protesting against the kind of sentences handed out by Belfast magistrates. The Red Hand committee did not offer to serve the prison sentences of those convicted of "insulting behaviour" either.

SAME ARMY DIFFERENT TACTICS

Operation 'Motorman' was carried out by Scots troops in Derry and was typified by the damage these soldiers did. The windows of some houses were deliberately smashed, gardens trampled and fences smashed. All this was done to the accompaniment of insulting language.

After the initial invasion was over, the Scots were removed and replaced by English regiments, such as the 20th Medium Artillery. There was then a marked change in the tactics employed by the troops. Being friendly is now the order of the day.

Little children are being patted on the head, old people are being helped across the road and there is a friendly word for the women. They are even repairing the damage done during 'Motorman'. The only houses still subject to aggressive tactics are those of known Republicans.

Yet, the new 'be friends' policy is merely the iron fist in the velvet glove tactic. The purpose of the present policy is to get information. Bribes are being offered to children. Just for being friendly they are given one cap badge. For giving information they get three badges, and if it is particularly good, then money is offered.

However, things have not been going according to plan. On August 17 an incident occurred in the Creggan which has inflamed local opinion. Around noon on that day, a soldier was patting a small girl on the head as she stood in her garden. The child objected which caused the soldier to lose his temper. He caught the girl by the hair and attempted to drag her over the garden fence.

A crowd gathered and military police had to arrest the man before a serious confrontation broke out.

HARASSMENT BY UDR IN TYRONE

The Tyrone Executive of Republican Clubs has condemned the provocative actions of the UDR and sections of the British Army during the weeks since 'Operation Motorman' was launched.

Drunken soldiers have been harassing and threatening civilians at road blocks, particularly in the Dungannon area. The British Army have been subjecting certain known Republican families to intimidation and verbal and physical abuse.

"In Coalisland, these perpetrators of Bloody Sunday have harassed Mass-goers", the Executive said. At Dunamore and Carrickmore the British have been intimidating civilians, and at Stewartstown a young man was beaten up by members of the UDR at a check-point.

The Executive is demanding that immediate action be taken against both the RUC and the Special Branch because "too many members of the UDR and the UDA know too much about various people which could only come directly from the files of the RUC and the Special Branch".

It is noted that the Special Branch must have well infiltrated the UDA and recent events show only too plainly the co-operation that is going on between the police and Protestant extremists.

According to the Executive, Whitelaw is more subtle than Faulkner. "Instead of direct oppression by internment, Whitelaw is quietly detaining people, is swamping areas with police patrols, Army patrols, UDR patrols, constant duck patrols and is erecting new military posts.

"In Cookstown, there is a new Army sandbag post, at least three constant mobile patrols, a random pig patrol, a constant duck patrol and a build up in the size of the Special Branch. This is a massive build up in a town which has experienced no significant bombings and no shootings or riots at all. The aim of this activity is to suppress the resistance of the people by intimidation and fear caused by the very presence of so many troops.

The Republican Movement calls on the people to realise the present tactics of British imperialism and to react by maintaining the Civil Disobedience Campaign until the last internee and detainee is released and the Special Powers Act is abolished.

A POEM OF LONG KESH

by Art MacMaolain, ex-internee.

A windswept flooded air-drome
with miles of wire all round.
There are searchlights,
watchtowers, sentries,
guard dogs and swampy
ground.
There are cold dark army
nissen huts
where men sleep and spend
their time;
and there is no recreation,
for those interned without a
crime.
They think of their children
and their wives
and the hardships they
endure.
They are held without
charge or trial
and their future isn't sure.
Some arrived there tired
and tortured,
swollen faces, broken bones,
from the torture camp at
Holywood
where they suffered all
alone.
But the people stand behind
them.
That alone lights up their
day:
they know the people's fight
is theirs:
solidarity is the way.
Long Kesh gates will come
down,
of that they can be sure
and freedom will come to all
of them
and to the people who are
poor.
They will smash their
chains of bondage,
nail their colours to the
mast;
they will gain their nation's
freedom
for the Irish working class.

eagarthocal

Economic war —mar dhea

One of the most favourite excuses invented after the event by the Provisionals in an attempt to justify their bombing campaign against civilians is to proclaim that it's part of an economic war of resistance. Workers have been bombed onto the unemployment queue in the name of this new crusade, trade unionism has been rendered more difficult (see the article facing on the bombing of Wellworth's factory in Tyrone), apart from the appalling increase in sectarian tensions and divisions. The cost of this so-called economic war has been to put the cause of Irish democracy and national liberation back a generation. Even, however, if it were possible to justify the deaths of ordinary Catholic and Protestant civilians for the supposed benefits of the economic collapse of Northern Unionism closer investigation

reveals that far from smashing the ability of the British ruling class to continue their unjust exploitation of the Irish people and their resources, it is strengthening them.

Of course, if the Provisionals believe that the major enemy of the Irish people is not British Imperialism but instead is the decaying Unionist capitalist class, then it is right to fight for more British control. It was this twisted thinking which led them to turn the legitimate demand for an end to the old bigoted Unionist rule from Stormont into a demand for direct rule from Britain. They have not yet learned that Britain is quite willing to abandon her old ally in the Unionist party if her interests can be served otherwise. And indeed they can, as Jack Lynch's double agent role confirms. While supervising the provision of funds to the Provos (before the arms trial of course) he also now assists operation motormen and the military repression of the North.

The major enemy of the Irish people is still British Imperialism. This does not mean just the murderous army presently terrorising the North. It means the whole system of financial exploitation and robbery, of cultural assimilation and destruction, which that Army is meant to defend. In other words, our main enemy is the speculators, the bankers, the foreign investors, the landlords and their agents in Fianna Fail and the Unionist party.

Modern Imperialism is intensifying its old attacks on the Irish people, and the native Irish capitalist class, North and South, has capitulated to this pressure and has accepted managerial status instead. This capitulation is shown by Fianna Fail's encouragement of foreign takeover, and by the similar collapses of Cyril Lord and other major Northern industries under Unionism. Imperialism is now engaged in clearing away the few remaining obstacles to complete integration and assimilation. And the Provos, conveniently, are bombing these few concerns into the welcoming arms of London speculators like Charlie Clore who made such a property killing in London during the German bombing of that city during the last world war.

What are the Provos achieving in economic terms? Firstly, many old decrepit hotels etc., have been bombed allowing the owners to build new luxury ones on the Government compensation which the workers pay for by having their wages depressed. Secondly, the bombing has forced the price of property in Belfast in particular to drop to rock bottom, thus allowing the long term speculators to buy up cheaply in the hopes of reaping the rewards whenever Britain's promised £100 million is pumped in.

Local businessmen, of course, take their rake off. The principle is simple. Set up an investment trust company, based in Jersey, the Isle of Man or, even (for the sake of cross border co-operation), in the 26 Counties. By this means surtax, corporation tax and capital gains are avoided. Just ask Harry West about the profitability of property transactions. Ask Robin Baillie, a solicitor, how it's done in law, and ask John Laird the value of property on the Shankill now. They know.

So the so-called economic war appears when the dust has settled merely to strengthen the control of foreign financiers in the North. The real sufferers are the small shopkeepers, the local small businessmen and of course the ordinary workers blasted to death so that the Provisional-Fianna Fail vision of green flag nationalism can prevail. British Imperialism is just waiting patiently to rake in the profits. Economic war — mar dhea.

INDUSTRIAL FRONT BY FEAR OIBRE

Bantry Bay into which Wolfe Tone sailed to establish an Irish Republic seems doomed to repeat the Gulf Oil charade for a second time. Apco Oil, a U.S. company and Loeb, Rhoades, a New York investment bank have applied to Cork Co. Council for permission to build an oil refinery in Bantry Bay. Once more there is exactly the same pattern as occurred with Gulf Oil; local businessmen who say it will be "great for the area", union officials promising a "disciplined labour force", Co. Councillors promising "hundreds of jobs" and with the only serious opposition couched in liberal preservationist terms much like the "Georgian" groups' role in the Dublin housing campaign. Everybody remembers how the hundreds of jobs promised by Gulf dwindled to a handful of international specialists when the construction part was over — not to mention the famous Christmas Day pollution which followed Jack Lynch's Gulf sponsored world trip.

But there is one substantial difference this time which makes the Imperialist picture crystal clear — stuck in among the Irish "Uncle Tom" directors who are always sprinkled over such enterprises like icing on a cake, is the name of Mark Clinton T.D., the Fine Gael spokesman on Defence, who is needed presumably because the Bantry oil depots would be a minor strategic nuclear target. To underline how valuable a site is being handed over to Apco it is only necessary to read the letter from P. S. Donegan, T.D., in the Irish Press which tries, without giving offence, to point out that at Milford Haven £30,000,000 (thirty million pounds) had to be spent to make it suitable

for the large tankers and that "there are only two places in the world where fully laden 300,000 ton tankers drawing 98 feet can dock and unload. One is at Bantry and the other at Okinawa".

Deputy Donegan, while pointing out that Gulf only pay £7,000 p.a. rent for Whiddy Island is unable to clinch the case against the exploiters because of his own Party's participation in the new exploitation through Mark Clinton. This awkward contradiction he resolves in his letter by a welcome for the new refinery, "This time for once without a well-known financial supporter of the Government installed on the inside". Fine Gael having pulled their "stroke" with Mark Clinton feel that the score is even and the collaboration between the imperialists and native gom-beens goes on.

A full list of textile firms who have been hit by redundancies was given by Seamus Costello of the Ard Comhairle addressing a meeting of Bray trade unionists following the redundancies at Industrial Yarns. The nationwide picture he revealed shows the ruthless nature of the Sunbeam/Seafield Gentex rationalisation campaign. Among those hit are: Fashion Knits Ltd., Cobh, Co. Cork; in the same county Blackwater Cottons Ltd., Youghal and the Cork Spinning Co. In the West, Anglo-Irish Weavers, Tuam, and Longford Weavers together with Loughrea Cottons were also hit along with Dungleo Manufacturing Co. in Donegal. In the Shannon region: International Textured Yarns, Shannon; Goodbody's Ltd., Limerick, and Eurogroup, Limerick, and in Clare, Filligrana, Ennistymon.

Despite appearances not everybody in the West of Ireland lost out. One of the shareholders who will presumably benefit from the rationalisation is Dr. Michael Browne, Bishop of Galway who holds 240 shares in Seafield Gentex showing much less confidence than the Bishop of Elphin. Most Rev. Vincent Hanley D.D. with 2,486 shares in the same company. If only Protestant and Catholic workers showed the same ecumenical spirit!

Cork workers still remember the vicious lock-out at O'Brien's Plastics in 1967 when "Plastics Willie" O'Brien, new to TACA decided to teach his employees a lesson. A Fianna Fail by-election meeting was incited to turn on a peaceful strikers' protest march and many of the workers were badly roughed up. Not unnaturally the Labour Party later picked up many of these workers who were anxious for a reckoning. Naturally enough few of them were pleased at the antics of David Thornley who was purportedly sent home by Brendan Corish during the recent Mid Cork campaign because he was too "Republican" and "left wing" on the coalition. The real reason was because of his habit of going for a morning swim in "Plastics Willie's" heated pool which antagonised local workers. Thornley of course would argue that it is a "personal" matter and no less than he deserves for 'giving up his job and making sacrifices to enter politics, etc.'"

A footnote for film fans is that the PRO for "Plastics Willie" during the lockout was the new film censor Dermot Breen who has promised us to keep a close eye on morality. It can be expected that this means social morality rather than the other kind.

FARM FORUM BY FEAR TALUN

The "SFDA NEWS" presents an alternative source of information for farmers who generally have to rely upon the Irish Farmers' Journal. Not that the "Journal" is a bad paper but it is controlled by the IFA. As everyone knows, the IFA is a ranchers' organisation. In the latest issue of the SFDA News the scare stories by the IFA about the accessibility to Europe for our farm produce are exposed. This is pretty ridiculous following the rise in demand for our beef on the Continent after the re-imposition of tariffs. According to Messrs. Maher and Dukes we would be cut off from these markets by the tariffs if we did not join the EEC. Of course, that was before the Referendum.

The beef ranchers are worried that they do not have enough influence. "The problem is that beef men do not have a strong political lobby". This is the view of an anonymous correspondent in the "Journal" on August 5. It's hard to fathom out just how much power they want when it is remembered that beef men dominate the IFA, the largest farming organisation in the country. As far as the men in Brussels are concerned, the IFA is the only farming organisation in Ireland. After all, the "Journal" told us that the IFA had officially been accepted as the sole organisation representing Irish farming by COPA, the European Farmers' Union.

The real reason for Mr. Anonymous's complaint is that the ranchers are worried about having to pay income tax. At present they are exempted while their labourers have to pay. Even the drovers who load the cattle in the docks pay income tax. Ranchers are doing very well, for as Michael Browner pointed out in the "Irish Times", 37 of them receive £1,768 each in beef subsidies. This means that 17 per cent of the grants, costing £6.6m to the tax payers. If these grants were removed from the ranchers and given to the smaller farmers for their first two cows, the total cost to the taxpayer would only be £3m.

The SFDA is calling for the re-introduction of the two tier milk scheme which was one of the better things that Neil Blaney did while Minister for Agriculture. This is being strongly opposed by the IFA. Men like Donie Cashman, Deputy President of the IFA, who has 120 cows at his Glanmire, Co. Cork ranch, know that their rancher friends make more out of the present

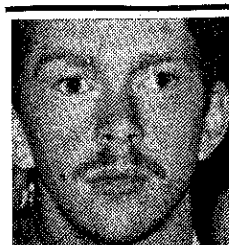
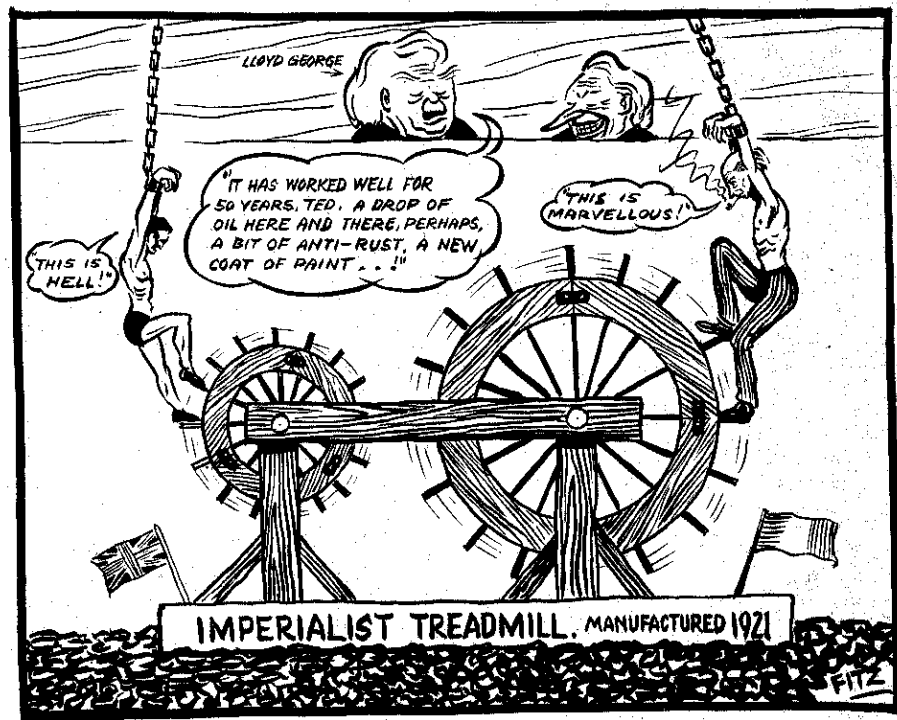
scheme. They claim that the IFA dairy section represents 100,000 dairymen. In reality, since its leaders are people with generally more than forty cows, they represent less than two per cent. The national average is 10.

Dairymen face a bleak future, following the falling consumption of butter in Britain, our principal market. Seventy per cent of milk goes to making butter but in 1971, consumption in Britain fell by 27 per cent. Bord Bainne estimates that they are 25,000 tons short of this year's target and will need subsidies of £1.75m to boost sales. Jim Gibbons, who has 300 acres, is hardly likely to support the dairymen's claim. He is too interested in boosting foreign take-overs of Irish farms. Monfort International, an American corporation which feeds and slaughters as many cattle in one year as we export as stores to Britain, is already fattening 2,000

cattle on a 600 acre ranch in Louth. We can expect more foreigners to follow their lead.

Under EEC conditions, farmers will be subjected to increased economic pressures designed to reduce the farming population by half. In order to defend the interests of smaller producers, we suggest that all who will be affected should write immediately to the Secretary, Sinn Fein, 30 Gardiner Place. Information concerning large estates, and farms and the local leaders of farming organisations would also be welcome.

The National Chairman of the SFDA, Deaglan Mac Conghamhna, C.C. has written to us saying that the SFDA NEWS is available to readers free on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope. All interested are invited to send a stamped addressed envelope to The General Secretary, SFDA, Tom Kilroy, Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo.



Pat O'Sullivan

Prison



Conor Lynch

Dublin

Disaster for textile trade

The national collapse of the textile industry, which has struck at eleven firms from Donegal to Cork, has now reached disaster proportions in the Dublin and Wicklow area as Sunbeam Wolsey prosecute their ruthless campaign to "tidy up" the industry in readiness for a British takeover. In Dublin 300 workers lost their jobs in Mulcahy Bros. of Clanbrassil Street, which Sunbeam Wolsey took over in 1970. This closedown followed the lay off of another 78 workers in another Sunbeam factory — Industrial Yarns of Bray. In both areas the Republican Movement has by leaflet and statement analysed the causes of the collapse and helped the workers to organise resistance.

The root cause of the disaster is the inability of the textile industry to survive the Free Trade competition which its tycoons had advocated from 1958 onwards. This, together with the pathetic attempts of Richard Lord (chairman of Industrial Yarns and Seafield Gentex) and Declan Dwyer (chairman of Sunbeam Wolsey) to imitate the merger juggling of their wealthy foreign cousins, has produced a formula which is throwing men and women daily out of work.

The two giants, Sunbeam and Seafield Gentex, not only share an infamous record of closedowns but are interlocked through a bewildering jigsaw of Directorships and shareholders. For example, Declan Dwyer (now of Sunbeam Wolsey) was once chairman of Seafield Gentex and Richard Lord (now the boss of Seafield Gentex) is also Director of Sunbeam Wolsey!

This gives Lord an interest in the 36 subsidiaries of these two companies, furthermore his family has 37,000 shares in Seafield and 44,000 shares in Sunbeam. As an insurance other firms, mostly textiles, together with the directorship of the Swastika laundry which, presumably, washes his dirty linen in private. Likewise Declan Dwyer of Sunbeam Wolsey is well dug into the financial establishment through his directorship of Allied Irish Banks who so kindly placed £100,000 at the disposal of the Provisional Alliance and are at the moment reorganising along American lines in preparation for their future subsidiary role.

Despite appearances this is no classical struggle between Irish capital and Irish labour. Ireland is now Britain's biggest market for textiles and the advantages of a takeover of the rationalised Sunbeam/Seafield complex is now far easier for giant corporations like ICI. The financial correspondent of *Hibernia* pointed out last May that "Sunbeam must be coming under the microscope of some of the takeover boys". Clearly the present policy of merger, redundancy and rationalisation is designed to create an attractive "package" for a British buyer.

There is something for everybody in the picturesque activities of this gang. Followers of the Two Nations Theory can chew on the fact that shareholders such as Mrs. Alice C. Agnew of 172 Lisburn Road, Belfast who holds 50,000 shares in Sunbeam Wolsey or Northern Bank trustee company who hold 3,110 shares, seem to have no objections crossing the Border for investment purposes.

And for those who like to think that there is still a healthy Irish capitalism there is an attractive list of Irish shareholders; people such as Reginald Grandville Henry Roper of College Green, Dublin, who holds 1,500 shares in Seafield Gentex. Also Sir Robert William Cartier Dillon of Knockoon House, Enniscorthy. Or what about Michael Courtenay Roche, Esq. from Carrigaline (presumably a retired bowl player) who has 1,055 shares — only a quarter of those held by Major Edward Napier P. Maxwell of Tallow, Co. Waterford. As a consolation there are certainly two names on the list who are almost certainly what Kevin Boland and the Nationalist Party call "our people". A measly 200 shares are held by an Hon. Mr. Justice George Daniel Murnaghan SC, which is not so impressive as the 1,540 shares held by a mysterious "Michael O'Leary, Esq. care of the Munster and Leinster Bank, 10 Lower O'Connell

Industrial Front

plus

Street, Dublin. Surely these are names to make ICI tremble!

Of far more practical significance is the fact that the IDA is paying out public money to make Sunbeam Wolsey a more attractive sales "package" — no less than £235,250 in grants. So far there have been no redundancies among the management or shareholders and they are all looking forward to their new life in a British subsidiary.



London dockers attending a mass meeting during the recent British dock strike.

Maritime News

Mr. Cahill's 46-page survey of our marine resources and suggestions for their development is welcome and long overdue.

It has been one of the most incredible scandals of Irish life in this our 20th century that our people have been allowed, if not encouraged, to forget that they are a small community surrounded by and dependent upon the sea, inheritors of a great maritime tradition going back long before the Celts to our bronze age and even earlier ancestry: a tradition saluted by such history-book figures as Hugh O'Neill, Thomas Davis, Jonathan Swift and Arthur Griffith, but outrageously ignored by all political parties, right, centre and left, for the past 50 years.

Only the vast encircling seas offer hope of escape from the menace of population outstripping food supplies and supra-national corporations expending for private profit the world's mineral heritage. Ireland should be in the van of those small nations presently demanding that the wealth of the ocean bed be protected from the grasping hands of rich imperialist powers and the huge corporations that use their flags, and made available to all mankind.

This, of course, we could do with more effect if we were systematically and intelligently developing our own marine resources. Mr. Cahill shows that we are not.

Take some of his figures: only 11 per cent of ships using ports in the Republic are Irish (this means 1 million drained away annually in freight charges, probably over £10 million from our trade with Britain and the near-Continent alone); only £9,000 p.a. spent on research into problems of maritime transport (this when international experts are confidently predicting that in the 1980s Anglo-Irish trade will travel chiefly on lorries carried on hydrofoil vessels, and by the 1990s British shipping will be back to relying on coal for propulsion); nothing spent on marine geology in 1969 when the probability is that our continental shelf is rich in minerals besides oil and gas (already traced) and maerl (lying off our west coast in great beds but ignored); no deep-sea oil tanker in Irish possession; no significant work done to up-date charts of our coastal waters since the foundation of the Irish State; in

1969, though our growing but still infant fishing industry exported 8.2 million dollars worth of fish, Denmark, comparable in size but far less favourably situated, exported 141.3 million dollars worth.

Out from Mr. Cahill's survey three salient points emerge:

1 — We leave far too much of our marine potential to be exploited by others — German, Dutch and British shipowners, German, French and other Continental trawler owners, U.S. oil companies;

2 — We spend a negligible sum annually on vital research — we have an oceanographer of world reputation at U.C.G. but haven't even provided him with a boat, let alone a suitable vessel, to carry out research at sea in;

3 — What efforts there are to develop our marine potential are unco-ordinated, unpublicized and precious little attention is paid to them in official circles.

So far as Mr. Cahill's practical proposals go, they are constructive and deserve widespread discussion, not just by officials and experts but by the ordinary public whom they vitally concern and who have been shut off by our futile education system and myopic media from all understanding of the sea.

Many of the proposals are sound enough to merit a consistent struggle for their immediate implementation, especially:

a — that the naval service should be responsible for hydrographic and oceanographic survey work;

b — that the present dual control by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries and B.I.M. over sea fisheries be replaced by direction by a single body;

c — that a national port policy be instituted;

d — that more research be done, particularly into the mineral potential of our continental shelf, by ourselves and not by foreigners.

The suggestion that a Marine Development Board be immediately set up to co-ordinate the national maritime effort is attractive in the short term and deserves support, but a genuinely democratic Irish state must, when achieved, be equipped with a Ministry of Marine operating less through bureaucratic officials than through the participation of seamen, port workers, sea fishermen and all the popularly elected bodies which such a state must spawn if it is truly to represent the people.

Tyrone

Bombs and bigotry fought

On June 6th, 1972, a bomb blast wrecked the premises of Wellworth's store, Market Sq., Dungannon. The Provisional Alliance claimed credit for the blast which resulted in Protestant and Catholic trade unionists being thrown out of work. Until that time Wellworth's were continually embarrassed by a militant union committee composed of Protestant and Catholic members of the Union

of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. They were not slow to seize this chance to smash the union.

On June 24th Wellworth's reopened at a temporary premises in Dungannon. None of the original militants which included Protestant and Catholics were re-employed. Instead the new staff appear to have been recruited from a recommended Orange work list. The real advantage however in Wellworth's eyes was the fact that the new employees were not union militants. Keeping their eyes firmly fixed on the trade union issue, Republicans have been waging a strong publicity campaign to highlight the grievances of the dismissed Protestant and Catholic militants.

The first result was prompt acknowledgment by the Whitelaw administration of a letter from the Union Committee together with intervention by W. J. Blease, the northern officer of the ICTU. The Union Committee which is ably led by Mrs. Wylie, a shop steward has already, by its solidarity and commonsense forced the Wellworth's management to give a firm promise of reinstatement within 18 months. But more can be gained if the USDAW is supported by the ATG&WU and other general unions north and south whose help would be crucial in a dispute. Already letters of solidarity from ATG&WU members are appearing in the "Tyrone Democrat" and trade unionists everywhere should follow this example by keeping the whole position before their fellow workers.

London British dock strike

The British Dock Strike left three unanswered questions after its collapse. Firstly, how did a situation arise at Chobham Farm where one group of dockers chanted "You out. Us in" at other trade unionists — meaning that the dockers wanted to take over their jobs? Secondly, how did the unofficial and largely Trotskyite influenced factions get so far out of touch with the rank and file that the strike crumbled despite their best efforts? And lastly, should Republicans and trade unionists have declared unequivocal

solidarity with the dockers at all stages of their dispute even when the dockers were trying to put other trade unionists out of work?

These hard questions were conveniently submerged by the kind of "Workers' Power" chanting that caused many dockers (who had marched to Transport House to throw Vic Feather out), turn on their heels and go home in disgust. There is nothing more irritating to serious strikers than meaningless slogans. If "Workers' Power" could be raised as a meaningful slogan it would imply that a revolutionary situation existed, that the British ruling class was in disarray and that the working class was about to seize State Power.

Nothing of the sort of course was happening. What really happened was that dockers quite rightly set out to get more security against containerisation and that a lack of discipline led to a very ugly inter-working class struggle at Chobham Farm. The broad mass of the British working class took no sides until the Government jailed the unofficial leaders. Because they recognised this as a blow against the entire class, the British working class intervened and got the dockers released. Then they left the dockers once more to their own resources. To build on this as *Socialist Worker* did, a strident campaign invoking the mystique of a General Strike degrades working class consciousness. European Imperialism is well used to buying off General Strikes in Italy and in France and the same pattern of concessions were resorted to in the British dispute which from beginning to end was a sectional struggle of dockers which nearly became a sectarian one.

The lesson for Irish dockers is that container depots must never be allowed out of dockland so as to avoid the kind of situation that arose at Chobham Farm. And the lesson for the Irish working class generally is one they know themselves from long experience: that each strike has its own specific political content and that some many even have a reactionary one. And if the ultra-left don't believe that wait 'til the Brussels civil servants serve their next expenses claim for larger drinks allowances.

The Irish people, make no mistake, have, down to the last man, woman and child, a vital interest in the sea. Its control by foreigners has enslaved them in the past politically, now economically. Its pollution by profit-seekers could sap their vitality and ultimately cut off the very air they need to breathe. Its countless store of wealth, in fish to be farmed rather than hunted in a rational future, in neglected seaweed capable of providing precious chemicals and textiles, and in numerous minerals, could lift them from struggling poverty to challenging prosperity. It is, as it was till Tudor and Stuart Kings suddenly laid claim to ownership of it, the natural link between Ireland and the peoples of all the world, with all of whom it is in our interest to be friendly, and particularly those developing nations, especially in Africa, who have raised, hitherto unheard here, the cry for all peoples to have the right to equal access to and participation in the wealth of the sea which covers nearly three-quarters of our globe. And the sea is a challenge to a society suffering from unemployment, emigration, immaturity and introversion, all of which could be cured if we tackled the sea systematically and consciously.

Finally — and this Mr. Cahill omits — the sea is there for leisure enjoyment. It is not by nature the preserve of the rich, whose yachts for the moment monopolize that facet of it. A lively and aware trade union movement could do a great deal to secure for its members, in safety, that recreation on the sea's waters that is their right before anyone else's.

IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM

This, the second article in the series, answers criticisms made of the first article that we published in the 'United Irishman' in June. The third article will deal with the particular problems of class struggle in a neo-colonial country.

In the first article we stated unequivocally what plain common sense shows us to be true: that in Ireland Imperialism, not "capitalism" is the dominant form of economic exploitation; that there is no "native capitalism" in the classical sense and its remaining bits and pieces cannot sell out fast enough; that the boss had been replaced by the manager. The response from certain left factions shows an extraordinary sentimental nostalgia for the past. The critics seem to need the bosses much as the medieval villagers needed to believe in witches.

As the Republican Movement is not going to plunge the Irish working class into a land of economic banshees and fairies, let us examine the criticism of these "left" wing Druids, especially their standard one — "but Imperialism and Capitalism are all the same!" or "It's still the old struggle between workers and bosses!" There is really nothing much that can be done to counter-act this shorthand thinking. Clearly, Lenin's pamphlet on the subject **Imperialism, the Highest Form of Capitalism** and the works of Franz Fanon and Castro and General Giap be suppressed to keep the Druids happy. Because all these great revolutionaries revealed in their writings and lives that Imperialism isn't just another name for Capitalism but a different form of Capitalism. These pioneers of National Liberation Fronts again and again showed that Imperialism was not just national Capitalism projected as it were onto a global screen, but instead was the form of modern exploitation acting through the specific contemporary agency of the multi-national corporation to distort, cut across and even obstruct the politics, class war and culture of any given nation state.

The Republican Movement has always instinctively grasped the need for a specifically Irish response to Imperialism even as the Cubans and the Vietnamese made their own specific national analysis. The challenge of Marx's great epigram "The worker has no country" was taken up by Indo-China and Latin America in this century. Giap and Castro gave their workers a country. It is the managers of the multi-national corporations whose planes never touch down at home.

It is not accidental that the critics of the Republican Movement's position are people who rejected the need for an exclusively Irish analysis. The kind of Greater British Chauvinism of the B&ICO with its echoes of Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" policy is at least founded on misdirected hard work on the raw materials of history. But the extraordinary hybrid alliance of Provisionals and Trotskyites seems to live on nothing but slogans imported from Kensington.

The Provo/Trots are readily ex-

from the qualitative difference between Imperialism and Capitalism, namely Imperialism when imposing the stamp of the Mother Country on the politics of the client country also imposes the stamp of its own left wing politics on the left wing politics of the client country.

The political progress of the factions associated with the names of Eamon McCann, Michael Farrell and Bernadette Devlin in the north, and John Feeney in the south, illustrate the process. The northern group, based on QUB, took its socialism from the splits in the Fourth International in Britain. This Queen's group hung around the fringes of the NILP prior to 1969, denouncing the Republican Movement as militarists. At the first noise of a bomb they threw themselves into the arms of the Provisional Alliance and denounced the Republican Movement at Stalinists. Their next logical step in this parasitic sub-life would be to attach themselves to the fringes of the SDLP or the Republican Movement. Similarly, in the south, John Feeney picked up Christian Marxism from the laded intelligentsia of the EEC, supervised the spitting of a potentially valuable student agitation in UCD and collapsed in the vicinity of the Provisional Alliance by joining the Irish Press.

This hybrid of Trotskyites and Provisionals has nothing that will pass muster as a theory to explain the multiple Imperialist grips on Ireland. Unfortunately the Provo/Trots are adept at throwing up a smoke screen around their opportunism by attacking their critics as "Stalinists" and blandly avoiding discussion by stating that the workers "don't understand" words like Trotskyism as they are too hard and difficult.

Lenin long ago hammered at this patronising attitude towards the working class. Not every Republican knows what Trotskyism is but he certainly knows what Trotskyites do. What they do mostly is to carry the entire baggage of English "socialist" analysis (which failed in England) across the Irish Sea and litter the Irish countryside with it. The Republican Movement does not need the peculiar mixture of Methodism, Christian Socialism and Fabian warmed up "participation" which forms the basis of English Trotskyism no matter how "nationalist" or "Provo" its Irish purveyors may be.

The Provo/Trots saw a war of National Liberation where there was none, they supplied socialist jargon to justify the bombing of children, they turned Civil Rights into Civil War and they are revealed today for what they always were — not "tribunes of the working class" but rather a psychosis of the middle class. If their actions can be justified in any fashion they should begin now to justify them. In the meantime if they have a principled position on Imperialism instead of the sectarian gossip which is their normal practice they have more than enough well-subsidised papers to explain what is wrong with the Republican Movement's position. Their reluctance to start is explained by the fact that they don't know where to go.

(To be continued)

Italy

Se cruthu na gearcheime insan Iodail na stailceanna agus na cireibeanna ata siul le cupla bliain anuas, agus ar ndoigh na deacrachtaí ata ag polaiteoirí an mheán aicme tiocht ar reiteach o thaobh rialtas nua a chur ar bun sa tír sin. Rud eile ata le feiceáil le soileir, fiú on dtaobh amuigh, na an dian deighilt ata a dheanamh idir an eite dheis agus an eite chlé i gcursai polaitíochta: ar thaobh amháin ta fas mor a dheanamh ag na nua-fhaisistigh; agus ar an dtaobh eile ta an-chuid grupanna beaga soisialacha ag iarraidh bealach nua reabhoide a oibriú amach in aineoin polasai parlaiméide an phairtí chumannaigh oifidiúla.

Nil sa mheid sin, amh, ach na raflai ata le cloisint chuile ait. Ceard is cuis leis an ngearcheim seo? Cen fath an fhadhb seo ag caipitealachas na hIodail?

Go príomhdha, se ata ar siul, ta modh nua tairgeachta a thabhairt isteach ag na sean-caipitealaigh sna bailte mora tionscalaiochta o thuaidh. Chuige sin, be an plan a bhi acu, agus an rud a raibh geargha do, na seaneardchumainn agus eagraíochta den aicme oibre (a bhi is ata fe thionchar an PCI) a scriosadh. Sa doigh sin bhíothas ag suil nach mbeadh an neart ag an lucht oibre aon troid fiuntach a dheanamh chun a jobanna agus a gcaighdean beatha a chosaint. Ansin bheadh se easca rationalisation a dhean amh. Ach conas briseadh ar seaneagraíocht an lucht oibre a bhi laidir i dtearmaí tionscalaiochta?

Measadh go dtiocfadh reiteach sa meadu ar imirce on deisceart. Ta deisceart na hIodail an-bhocht: ta sean choras talamhaíochta i bhfeidhm, agus daoine a dtiomaint as an talamh; nil tionscalaiocht ann len iad a chothu sa mbaile; agus do dti le deanai nil aon traidisiun troda acu le haghaidh soisialachas.

O chrioch an cheid seo caite, ta na milte Iodailigh bhochta ag triall thar muir go Meirioca. As an deisceart an chuid is mo diobh seo, ach nuair a thosaigh rialtas Mheirioca ag cur teorainn ar inimirce

athraíodh an nos deoraíochta. Inniu ta oibríthe Iodailacha, agus go hairithe Deisceartaigh, le fail ar fud na hEorpa: mar 'aoi'-oibríthe san Ghearmain, is mar sclabhaithe san Eilbheis. Agus ar ndoigh chaigh na milte Deisceartaigh o thuaidh go Milan, Turin is Firenze.

Nuair a bhain siad an tuaisceart amach thuigeadar a dhonacht is a bhi na coinníollacha oibre is beatha; pa iséal, ciosa arda, droch-thithíocht, easpa slainte. Ar ndoigh bhi bainisteoireacht chaipitealachas na hIodail ag suil, mar gheall ar a n-easpa tuisceanna ar cheardchumannachas, go mbeadh siad ina bhforsa le isliu coinníollacha a bhru ar an lucht oibre ar fad.

Ach níor oibrigh an plean amach fe mar a socraíodh do. Mhothaigh na Deisceartaigh alienation, agus thiontaigh siad isteach ar a dtraidisiun de phobalachas, agus — se seo an rud is tabhachtai — chuaigh siad isteach sna ceardchumainn. Thugann leo nua spiorad de raidiciúlachas agus de mhíleatachas. Ni hamháin sin, ach mar gheall ar an bhfeabhas a thainig ar chursai cumarsaide idir an Tuaisceart agus an Deisceart (telefoin, litreacha, traenacha, carranna is busanna) bhi a lan acu abalta cuairteanna a thabhairt ar a sraibbhaití ducharacha. Sa bhaile mhinigh siad don chuid eile ceard e a bhi ar siul o thuaidh, agus spreag sin raidiciúlachas da chuid fein sa Deisceart fein. Thosaíodar ag eileamh cosaint ar ar gcaipitealachas agus feabhsu ar staid eacnamaíocht an Deisceart fein.

Agus nil aon bhealach amach ag an meán aicme Iodailach. Ma thugann siad airgead don deisceart chun iad a chiunú bíonn orthu lui go trom ar oibríthe an Tuaiscirt. Agus in ionad na Deisceartaigh bheith ina gcuidiu dona caipitealaigh spreagann siad níos mo fonn troda measc na n-oibríthe. Ar an dtaobh eile, ma thugann siad airgead don Tuaisceart bíonn cireibeanna acu o dheas. Mar sin in ionad an lucht oibre bheith deighilte idir Deisceartaigh agus Tuaisceartaigh ta siad aontaithe, is nil aon bhealach amach ach geileadh don ionsu ar an gcoras caipitealach. Ni feidir e sin a dheanamh gan troid, agus sin e go bunúsach an fath go bhfuil an Iodail trina cheile agus tuiscint reabhoideach ag fas go mall i measc an lucht oibre aontaithe.

International Affairs

Brittany

Ta Deisceart na hIodail sa taobh thoir o dheas den Chomhargaidh: se an ceacht ata ann do mhuintir na hEireann conas críchdeighilte agus an deighilt idir lucht tuaithe agus lucht cathrach a throid chun pobal aontaithe a chothu.

Ar an dtaobh thiar o thuaidh den Chomhargaidh ta An Bhriotain, tír choloinithe fe smacht impiúilachas na Fraince. Ta ceacht acusan duinn freisin. Le deanai ta militeacht na bhfeirmeoirí beaga le taispeaint go soileir i stailc bainne. Tuigeann na feirmeoirí beaga insan Bhriotain, fe mar a chaithfeas feirmeoirí na hEireann a thuiscint la eicint, go bhfuil ga doibh bheith míleata lena gcearta a chosaint.

Irith na stailce, cuireadh stop le an-chuid monarchana proiseala bainne, cuireadh os cionn 200 leoraithe mar bhac ar bhoithre ag Gruisicarr, Auray, etc. Agus mar gheall ar na modhanna stailce a thogh na feirmeoirí ba leir go fíor stailc a bhi ann: bhíodar sasta a dtuarastail a chailliúint fe mar chailleann gnath oibríthe tionscalaiochta a dtuarastail nuair a bhíonn siadson ar stailc.

Bean mionchiar is mó a bhí ag an stailc na go ndúirt rialtas 'Ilchumhachtach' na Fraince i bParas nach bhfeadh siad aon rud a dheanamh leis na feirmeoirí a shasam mar nach raibh an chumhacht acu a thuilleadh. Ma bhi sasamh uatha bheadh orthu dhul go Brusail is iarraidh ar ar maorlathas ansin. Seo e go díreach a bhíomarna ag ra le linn don fheachtas i gcoinne ar Chamhargaidh: ta an cruthuna: air tugaithe o stailc na Briotaine.

O thaobh na Briotaine dhe, se rud speisiúil agus tabhachtai gur stailc Bhriotaineach a bhi ar ar fud na Briotaine. Tathar ag cruthu anois go bhfuil níos mó spiorad agus fonn troda sna tíortha coilínithe mar ata sna tíortha mathartha mar a Frainc.

Se ceacht na stailce seo d fheirmeoirí na hEireann g gcaithfidh na feirmeoirí beag aontu le cheile in eagraíocht d gcuid fein ag diúltu do chear naireacht na rainseirí. Feachta míleatach uatha a chuirfead imni na seacht gearc ar a rialtas i mBaile Atha Cliath ag aon maorlathas i mBursail n Beilge.



TRADING WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Market of 364 Million People—



Mr. V. S. Petrov, of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Trade. Mr. Petrov was a member of a Soviet trade delegation which came to Dublin to resume talks on the development of trade between Ireland and the Soviet Union which opened in Moscow in October 1970.

For years the Republican Movement has advocated the broadening of our trade with Eastern Europe. We were accused of being Reds, fellow travellers and similar anti-socialist names coined by the propaganda men of the capitalist class. Now, however, that class is telling businessmen to do just what we said they should do, that is, selling our goods to the Socialist countries.

In 1970, Ireland exported only £3,465,800 worth of goods to Eastern Europe while importing from there £13,465,700 worth of goods. This left us with a deficit of about £10 million. If we examine our trading figures with other countries in Europe, we find that with the exception of Luxembourg, we buy more than we sell. Obviously, this is a situation which should not be tolerated, particularly when there is such a high level of unemployment throughout the whole of Ireland.

Some of the goods we import can be produced at home. Others cannot. The policy of the East Europeans is to import only those things they cannot produce themselves and, in fact, in 1970 they had an export

surplus with the rest of the world. However, the level of imports into Eastern Europe is rising and we produce the kind of goods they want.

In this respect, the efforts of Coras Trachtala (CTT) to get businesses to sell to the countries of Comecon, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, East Germany and the Soviet Union, are welcome. Comecon, with Yugoslavia, represents a market of 364 million people compared with 250 million in the enlarged EEC.

At the same time, these countries have an average growth rate of 8 per cent in 1970. Their demand for consumer goods is beginning to rise. Writing in "Business and Finance", Mr. Keith Hammond, Vice-President of the Irish Exporters Association, said: "Eastern Europe is another area where, in the not too distant future, we should find a worthwhile market. There is evidence that these countries are now endeavouring to improve the living standards of their people by relaxing their policies against imports of consumer goods. Additionally, as our engineering and technical goods industries grow, they will undoubtedly find more and more outlets there."

Already, steps have been taken to export technical equipment to Eastern Europe. This is shown by the recent delivery of an autoanalyser (used in medical and chemical research) made by Technicon (Ireland) Ltd., for Medexport, the Russian foreign trade organisation. This order, worth £250,000, was the result of the Technical Week organised in Moscow last year by CTT.

According to Eolas, issued by the Government Information Bureau, trade agreements signed with Bulgaria and Rumania, have paid off in substantially increased exports. Exports to Bulgaria were worth only £7,000 in 1970 but rose to £120,000 in 1971 and in the first quarter of this year were worth £183,000.

The agreement with Rumania, signed last year, has resulted in sales increasing from about £50,000 a year to £125,000 in 1971. The sort of goods we are selling to these countries are ores, concentrates, hides, wool, and manufactured goods of various kinds.

Yet, even so, we still have a big deficit with Eastern Europe. This is not the fault of Coras Trachtala, though we have been critical in the past of its lack of drive. CTT has arranged for Irish firms to take part in various trade fairs in Eastern Europe.

In June, CTT presented an "Irish Technical Week" in Budapest similar to that held in Moscow last year. Irish exporters were also given a platform at the Poznam International Fair in Poland where 27 firms were represented. Irish firms will also have the opportunity to sell their goods at fairs in Bucharest, Rumania, in October, and at the Brno International Engineering Fair in Czechoslovakia this month.

All these promotions are important but CTT does not have the teeth necessary to really put Irish goods on the international map. According to Mr. Peter Prendergast, of Marketing Partners Ltd., "The work of CTT and other state organisations is but a drop in the ocean in relation to the requirements so individual exporters must shape our future image by contributing their skill . . . towards building an international credibility."

Unfortunately, Irish businessmen do not appear to have that capacity. Since the Referendum, government ministers have repeatedly called upon industry to gear itself for Europe. Not only are Irish private businesses not ready

for Europe, they cannot cope with free trade with Britain. That is why so many firms are going to the wall.

Because of the size of firms, the problems of marketing and sales promotions are too great to be overcome without outside help. As CTT points out in a recent issue of "Export", the East European market is probably more difficult to sell to than is the EEC because business is done through state trading companies.

For this reason, with the structure of industry that we have, the need is for a similar state trading body in Ireland to handle both imports and exports. For such a body to have real power, there must be more information coming from industry.

In its present form, CTT can be no more than an intermediary between the producers and the buyers. Like the matchmaker, CTT introduces the couples, but can do no more. Ideally, it should have full powers to negotiate on behalf of Irish firms who cannot afford to have permanent representatives in Eastern Europe. This means firms must give details of specifications, prices and delivery dates to CTT so that definite agreements can be made.

One of the biggest problems facing Irish exports to Eastern Europe is the growing competition from Western European producers in this market. In 1970 West Germany sent 13,000 representatives to Hungary alone. Irish goods can compete but the question is will they be allowed to. Since 1966, we have seen viable Irish firms closing because of British take-overs. Inside the EEC, the Germans may do the same if our exports begin to bite at their sales.

DEMOCRACY AND THE IRON GLOVE

— Seamas O Tuathail

Democracy has become the most abused word in modern Irish politics. The recent spate of repressive legislation in the 26 Counties has met with public toleration, partly because it has the benediction of democracy as we know it in the South.

And make no mistake about it. The 26 Counties is a democracy in that it has one man one vote. Based on the British pattern the democracy of the South represents an advance on the era of the Divine Right of Kings and the rotten borough system of the 18th century. In so far as it is a relative democracy but without even asking how far short of the ideal of democracy our system falls, we could query the exact meaning of 'One man — one vote'. The slogan presumes that every voter holds an equal status and exercises an independent choice. How far is this realised in a system open to all the distortions of money and establishment?

The first major democratic struggle fought under the present rules in Ireland one of the major drawbacks of the present system manifested itself. Speaking of the 1880 Election, Michael Davitt pointed out that "The most troublesome difficulty in a modern Irish electioneering contest is money. A candidate's principles may be as pure as crystal and his patriotism as undoubted as Robert Emmet's but unless he can provide the sheriff's fees on the day of nomination he has no chance with any opponent, no matter how wanting in these qualities, who can

obtain half a dozen signatures to a piece of paper and pay the cost of the election."

Davitt put this down to the results of "Landlord and Capitalistic sway in British public life". Like Lalor he knew that those who own the wealth of a country make its laws.

In modern Ireland the description of landlord has faded into that of Company Director in many cases but little else has changed since Davitt's days.

Why should a company director have an interest in politics any more than the average person? Because it is the elected legislature which makes and amends the laws of the land including those governing commerce and trade. Hence the interest of the wealthy in political parties and programmes.

If, and, of course, it never happens, certain directors of the Bank of Ireland were to give financial aid to the candidates of a particular party at General Election time, how would their choice fall between, say, Fianna Fail and Sinn Fein.

If an industrialist in receipt of hundreds of thousands of pounds were to massively support a particular party at elections time would he have any other reason for doing so apart from genial kind-heartedness? Of course not, and, indeed, were it to happen senior executives of the Authority would rise out in revolt, despite threats to their jobs, and expose the whole rotten game to the public — and this has never happened yet.

If a system existed in Ireland where the expenditure of £10,000

could secure the second seat in a three-seat constituency for a particular party which held power by a three-seat majority would the cost of State power not be cut-primed at £30,000? Of course, this would be only the last £30,000 spent. Luckily enough, perhaps, the sense of honour of the average Irish politician has obviated this possibility arising in political life but it must still be pointed out that a system open to such abuse carries a very serious flaw indeed.

Critics already point out that in a private enterprise economy, democracy becomes just another product when legislative power is auctioned off at election time to the highest bidder. God forbid that such a state of affairs ever prevails in Ireland.

Another but related aspect vital to the functioning of democracy in Ireland is public opinion. The majority of people profess no interest in 'politics' and only take a passing interest during election times — but sufficient to make a choice between several different candidates. As is natural that choice

has a high element of self-interest in it. What is good for me and my family? Other factors enter in — his knowledge of the various candidates. This comes mainly through family tradition or the already established public stature of the candidate.

Very often the first glimpse of the candidate people eventually vote for is on the playing field on a television set. Though seemingly a very slight familiarity indeed it very often makes the distinction in the voter's mind between this and other lesser known candidates.

The election of Jack MacQuillan in Roscommon was a clear case of the candidate's football ability helping his socialist ticket. Witness the number of G.A.A. stars turned T.D. Nor are the political parties slow in recognising the importance of this appeal. As a man once told me in Castleisland: "The battles of the British Empire might have been won on the playing fields of Eton, but the battles of the Irish nation were lost in Croke Park." And there's a saying in Cork that an All-Ireland

medal is enough to dazzle any convention.

The T.D. put in by the party funds will abide by the party's rules and interests just as the party itself will abide by the rules and interests of those who provide the major portion of its funds. Hence the danger in our democracy that 100 per cent franchise could fall into the hands of 5-6 per cent and be manipulated in their interests to the detriment of the majority. Hopefully, this has never happened in Ireland.

It would be foolish in the extreme, therefore, to accept the present democratic system as fixed and permanent.

The slightest survey of its defects leads to the realisation that in democratic terms we have been stranded on a sand bank in Irish history for more than fifty years now. Democracy must be improved and extended in the direction it was truly meant to go since its inception as a system — towards securing the rights of man, the ordinary working man and woman, and not as a velvet glove covering the iron fist of Irish capitalism.



The "Corvin" department store, the largest in Hungary, at Blaha Lujza Square in Budapest.

Why Britain won't give Civil Rights

As the death toll in the North soars over the 500 mark, the inscrutable British continue to blandly assert that they have no intention of giving in to the demands of the people. They will offer us everything except what we want: seats at talking tables for ambitious politicians, rooms in holiday hotels for the same boys, plebiscites, military repression but not civil rights. They will take away our schools and sports facilities and give us an army which has been driven out of most countries in the world. While they prate about their desire for a "return to normality", whatever that may mean, they refuse point blank to consider the only solution that can give any degree of peace at this time. Civil rights has been declared acceptable by both the IRA (who have supported the struggle for democracy over the last few years) and even by the chief of the UVF, Gusty Spence. Despite sectarian divisions, despite Provo bombings, civil rights can still save the day.

The demonstrations throughout the North on the anniversary of internment showed the continuing strength of the civil rights movement. Small rural towns, like Swatragh in county Derry, showed that the fight against British repression is not confined to the cities and big urban areas, 1,500 attended the Swatragh meeting, which is a superb achievement in such a country district.

NICRA has proved itself to be the only organisation which can unite disparate elements of the anti-unionist population in demonstration and protest. The January marches at the beginning of this year rescued the political situation from the deathgrip of Provoism and showed the British clearly that democracy was the demand of the anti-unionist people, and one which could also be found acceptable by many even unionist people. As the Provos increasingly isolate themselves and bomb their way back from the conference table to complete oblivion, NICRA once again reasserts itself. It is clearly the only way forward.

Civil rights is not just a popular cry, or a slogan to beat the Provos with. The Republican Movement is strongly opposed to meaningless sloganeering as occupies the time of the Trotskyite PD. Civil rights means for us the full freedom of political activity, the opportunity to work for the creation of working class unity and

for the winning of a sizeable section of the Protestant working class to support of the fight for national liberation and socialism. Civil rights is basically, then, a struggle to smash the patronage system of unionism and win the freedom to operate politically and the freedom to advocate the sort of Ireland we believe is necessary.

That is why the demands at this stage are still the ending of the repression and militarisation of life in the North, which is what we mean when we demand the ending of the internment (under whatever guise) and an end to the special powers act; the withdrawal of the troops and ending of their harassment and repression, coupled with the closing of the gun clubs which we showed last month to be prime movers in sectarian activities. Guaranteed democratic liberties would then open up the way for the Irish people to defeat Britain's proposals for the exploitation of our country.

Naturally the British oppose this strategy since they know that a perpetuation of the divisions of the Irish people is to their benefit. As we say on page one, their aim is to give the minimum concessions on civil rights while preserving the maximum control over all Ireland. Our aim must be the opposite: we want to extract from the British the maximum civil rights and limit their control over Ireland as much as possible until we can throw them out on behalf of a united Irish people. What is of more immediate concern to the British is that any concessions they are forced to give must not give the appearance of their weakness but of their strength. In other words, they want the settlement that they hope to achieve with their talks to result in a shattering of the unity of the people in their struggles and their total demoralisation, possibly after a sectarian civil war with all its attendant dangers of a new partition.

Britain has found however that she cannot drive the people off the streets in their search for democracy. But while she cannot do it, the Provos can. At every crucial stage when the democratic elements with the Official Republican Movement at their head were proclaiming the need for active involvement by the masses of the people, the Provos jumped up with the guns given them by Fianna Fail, eager to prove their 'militancy' (however mindless)

and through their elitism and anti-people activities played the British game for them.

But any criticism of the Provos must re-emphasise their total dependence on Fianna Fail. The money which the Southern government invested in them, on behalf of British Imperialism, has certainly paid dividends. And it is Jack Lynch whose hands are stained with the blood of all the innocents killed by Provo bombs, for whatever innocence he may plead he was fully aware of what other ministers in his government were doing and what staff of his government information bureau were up to. Indeed whatever ignorance he may have been in, the whole issue was exposed in the UNITED IRISHMAN back in November of 1969.

Lynch is thus a double collaborator. He collaborated with the Provos in the hope of seeing civil rights driven off the streets. And then when the Provos had served their purpose he collaborated with the British, most noticeably in the motorman operation which is the code name for the military invasions of Derry and Belfast.

The strategy of the civil rights movement is simple. The pressure on the streets and from mass protest must be kept up until the British government is forced to yield the full civil rights programme: No more repression, no more gerrymandering, no more discrimination, no more military killings, no more sectarianism, no more underdevelopment. Equality and democracy is what we want; and that is what Britain won't give.



FOR WHOM DOES THE SDLP SPEAK?

McClosky, an SDLP councillor, differs from Hume, Fitt and Devlin in that he refuses to resume his seat in the City Hall until internment is ended. The other two councillors are Tom Sherry, a political chameleon, who was elected as a National Democrat, then switched to the SDLP and now lies within the Alliance Party, and Mr. Joseph Smith, a Tenants' Association nominee. Although Mr. Smith probably commands more support than any other representative, he has not been invited to Whitelaw's "talks".

Jacottet says that the SDLP represents the Falls. Not true. At the last Stormont elections, the voters elected two Republican Labour members, Fitt and Kennedy, and one NILP man, Devlin. They voted according to party. Fitt and Devlin left their parties to go into the SDLP but cannot claim any mandate for doing so. Only Paddy Kennedy retains any right to claim he represents the area.

As far as local representation is concerned, the area is blessed with David Smith, a Unionist, and David Riddlesdale, a National Front hack, both of whom owe their seats to Faulkner's unseating of the absentee councillors. Presumably, Whitelaw considers them qualified to attend his talks, for they are as representative as Fitt and Devlin. In the Ardoyne, another Republican stronghold, Dr. Vivian Simpson of the NILP sat for Stormont, while Stratton Mills, who is, of

course, famed for his 'pro-Republican' views, sits in Westminster. Again in the Markets, Unionists hold elected office, Kennedy for Stormont and Rafton Pounder for Westminster.

Clearly, in those areas of Belfast where anti-Unionism is strongest, the SDLP has no mandate to speak for the people. Perhaps it is this reason why Whitelaw is so anxious to talk to them rather than yield the civil rights demands of the people.

The SDLP also claim they represent the Creggan and Bogside. Yet in 1969 John Hume, MP for Foyle, was elected on a civil rights ticket, not an SDLP one. Jacottet says the SDLP is a working class party. How many of John Hume's constituents in Bogside can afford to employ a nanny to look after their children?

The other three SDLP MPs are no more representative of the people either. Austin Currie was elected as a Nationalist after a piece of political intrigue which got Bernadette Devlin to stand against Chichester Clark in South Derry rather than against Currie in her home constituency of East Tyrone. Like John Hume, Paddy O'Hanlon and Ivan Cooper were elected on a civil rights ticket.

In fact, the SDLP MPs as such have never received one vote from the people. The party was born in a hurry. In the words of Paddy O'Hanlon, "We had to get it launched while Bernadette was out of the

way". (She was serving six months for helping to defend the Bogside in 1969.)

Who, then, do they represent and speak for? Perhaps the answer lies in where their money comes from. Remember the £100,000 that Fianna Fail gave them? That was Irish taxpayers' money, supposedly for the purpose of launching an absurdity called the Assembly of the Northern Ireland people. Instead, the money is being used to hire middle class Oxford graduates like Julian Jacottet to build up the SDLP electoral machine.

On the face of it, it looks like a case of misappropriation of government funds. Perhaps Messrs. Fitzgerald and Cluskey will get a Dail Committee appointed to look into it.

In fact, the SDLP are speaking on behalf of Jack Lynch and Fianna Fail. It has been known for a long time that they have replaced the Nationalists as Fianna Fail's northern brigade. They even lend themselves to Lynch for his political advantage. That is why on the eve of the Mid Cork by-election they flew by helicopter, paid for by taxpayers' money, to meet Fianna Fail leaders in Iveagh House.

One thing is sure, the SDLP are not talking on behalf of the working class people of the North. They have no mandate, something all parliamentary politicians make great play of when it is to their advantage to do so. They represent nobody but themselves and their paymaster in Dublin, Jack Lynch.

John Hume and his friends are speaking to Whitelaw. Everyone knew that they would even before internment ends. Like beggars at the rich man's table, they grab at any crumb the British throw to them, yet never get any real benefit from the encounter. In order to keep them talking, Whitelaw has been releasing internees in dribs and drabs, getting the maximum propaganda value out of the exercise.

People like Austin Curry claim that it was the SDLP that secured these releases, a thought echoed by Julian Jacottet, newly appointed secretary of the SDLP. The validity of the claim is doubtful in the extreme. What is not in doubt is that they went back on their promises that there would be no talks until internment was ended. They cannot claim to speak for the anti-Unionist population, since the majority agree

that there should be no talks while there are men behind the wire.

Thousands of bin lid-rattlers, answering NICRA's call for protest on August 9, echoed the rejection of the SDLP stand across the North. The burning effigies of Fitt and Devlin in the Falls left no doubt what the people think of them.

Who, then, do these middle class Catholics speak for?

Jacottet claims it is for the working class. Yet, in Belfast alone the working class Republicans areas are not represented by the SDLP. Andersonstown, a flashpoint of anti-Unionism, is not represented by the SDLP. The three Stormont MPs for the area are Minford, McIvor and Beattie, all Unionists of one shade or another. Sir Knox Cunningham, another Unionist, represents the district in Westminster.

Even at local level, the SDLP line is not represented. Mr. Vincent



RENTS — WHO DOES THE LAW PROTECT

Order for Re-possession of eviction is made, rehousing should be provided by the local authorities for tenants should they come within certain categories, i.e. old people, families of three or over who are eligible for housing.

COURT INJUNCTIONS

In the event of a landlord intimidating, harassing, threatening or illegally trying to evict a tenant, a High Court Injunction may be brought to restrain him from acting in such a manner. This procedure may also be adopted if he is unduly interfering with the tenant, such as interfering with his free passage to, from or in the premises, or if he interferes with the facilities, i.e. cuts off the electricity.

In Britain, under the 1965 Rent Act, furnished as well as unfurnished flats are covered by controls subject to the same limits as to ratable value. The law as to regulation of rents and security of occupation is, however, rather different in the case of furnished flats.

If you are living in a furnished flat and you think that your rent is too high, the matter can be referred to the local rent tribunal, which has the power to compulsorily reduce the rent.

BEDSITTERS

The Rent Act applies to bedsitters in the same way as it does to furnished flats, where the tenants or lodgers have the exclusive use of their rooms and either cook most of their meals or take them outside in cafes. If, however, the landlord provides the tenant with full or half board, his position is that of a guest in a boarding house. He has no security of occupation and a reasonable notice to leave would be the same as for a boarding house, about a week.

In the Irish Times in March, a Report of the Francis Committee's 14-month study was published. The Committee who studied the operation of the Rent Act suggested longer prison sentences and bigger fines for illegal evictions and harassment. It also suggested that where necessary, councils should take over the management of a house for up to two years from a landlord who overcharged or bullied.

A minority report also suggested that tenants of furnished accommodation should have the full security of tenure except where the landlord lives in small premises and shares accommodation.

A study group from "SHELTER" urged the Minister for Housing and Local Government to abolish the distinction and to give furnished tenants the full protection of the Rent Act.

It is evident that Ireland still lags a long way behind Britain. The only concrete thing we have got from the government is the Forcible Entry Act which evicts people.

control overcrowding. In addition, section 70 empowers a local authority to make bye laws in relation to private rented accommodation under which the authorities can ensure the provision of proper drainage, ventilation and lighting as well as the execution of any repairs necessary to maintain the structure of the house. Yet, in many instances, although premises have been declared unfit, nothing has been done to enforce this act by the local authorities.

In the Irish Times of March 3, the Housing Allocations Officer of the Dublin Corporation is reported as having given the following statistics in relation to the Corporation housing position:—

484 elderly people in need of housing;
290 families living in condemned dwelling,
and a further 4,190 families living in overcrowded conditions.

LANDLORD AND TENANT COMMISSION

This commission has been sitting since 1966 and has not yet submitted its findings. In fact, it has not even given an interim report. It is composed of 8 members, a number of whom are members of the auctioneering profession and is under the Chairmanship of Judge J. Conroy. It is noteworthy that none of its members represent any tenant or flatdwellers' organisations.

In the sphere of the landlord and tenant laws, the tenant is dependent upon lawyers for advice. This is rarely forthcoming and it has been evident that solicitors as a whole are more concerned with the affairs of landlords who are in a position to present them with lucrative conveyancing fees for property sales. In the past year, however, a number of law students under the guidance of qualified solicitors have set up free legal advice centres in Dublin, which have undoubtedly helped the underprivileged tenants.

It should be noted that the only legal method of eviction is by an Order of the Court. Tenants of all kinds of accommodation are afforded this basic protection in common law. In order to obtain a Court Order a landlord is obliged to serve notice to quit by way of formal written documents served personally on the tenants.

On expiry of the terms of notice, the landlord is then obliged to have proceedings served on the tenant by a duly authorised Summons Server in which he would seek ejection. The matter would then come for hearing before one of the three courts. The court where the case is heard depends upon the valuation.

It should be remembered that where an

It has been estimated that rent control now applies to only 5 per cent of all lettings whereas when it was originally introduced in 1914 it applied to all dwellings. Later legislation was enacted covering furnished lettings and bringing them outside the scope of the acts.

Subsequently, the only controlled flats or dwellings still existing are mainly those of unfurnished, long established tenancies.

Rent control gave the tenant security of tenure, protection in regard to increases in rents and the assurance that repairs were carried out. If a tenant felt that an increased rent demanded by the landlord was too much, he could appeal to the local Rent Office. However, no such right is accorded the tenants of uncontrolled property.

1940 — FIRE BRIGADES ACT

This act permits action to be taken with regard to buildings which may constitute a serious fire hazard to life in the event of fire. In this connection, it is doubtful whether the regulations relating to fire escapes and extinguishers are sufficiently enforced when the recent Noyek and County Cork tragedies can occur.

1951 COMMISSION ON RENT CONTROL

This recommended that rent control should cover all rented accommodation, something like 95 per cent of dwellings. However, the government chose to ignore its proposals and instead, by the Rent Restrictions Act, 1960, and 1967, brought in further de-control.

1963 — PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT ACT

Operating since 1964, under this act, bedsitters and flats served by communal toilet facilities do not comply with its requirements. It is evident that many houses have been converted to flatlets without permission. Quite apart from evading the requirements of the planning laws, there is also the calculated evasion of increased valuation which would result in increased rates.

The Act would appear to have failed in its purpose in that applications refused by the Planning Authority can be appealed to the Minister who has power to overrule the decision. Thus, most developers avail of this loophole and proceed with the Minister's blessing, e.g. Gallaghers and Leeson Street.

Under the 1966 Housing Act, local authorities are empowered to require the repair, closure or demolition of unfit private dwellings and to

Republican Clubs in America

The production of a regular weekly internal bulletin by the Republican Clubs since early July has marked a new phase of expansion for them this summer. Sales of the *United Irishman* have now risen to nearly 10,000 and the appointment of John Keane as full-time Joint Secretary of the Clubs to help Sean Kenny in his work as National Organiser has meant that whole new areas have been opened to the organisation, particularly in Canada where meetings have been held in Vancouver, Alberta and Victoria.

But perhaps the most important factor in the growth of the Clubs has been the increasingly open alignment of the U.S. government with Westminster on Irish issues. This has drawn other left-wing organisations into joint action with them through the Anti-Internment Coalition. The Coalition was thus able to effectively harass Brian Faulkner during his tour of New York with 3 large demonstrations and several pickets. On the issue of F.B.I. attempts to intimidate Republicans the Clubs have again led the way with the support of the Coalition. Speaking on the imprisonment of the Fort Worth five Sean Kenny said he believed "the Grand Jury probe was instigated at the request of the British Government, and that supporters of Irish freedom in this country should have the same rights as the Nixon administration, which has been exporting firearms to South East Asia, Greece, and all other right-wing regimes throughout the world".

By the end of July the F.B.I. activities had only served to intensify the Clubs activities with pickets on British business and govt. agencies throughout the states. In August pressure was kept up with Sean Kenny finishing a mid-Western speaking tour back on the East Coast in Maine at Portland where he spoke at public meetings and also appeared on television.

Over the past year the Republican Clubs have helped to raise a sizeable amount of money to aid the dependents of internees and sentenced prisoners in jail in England, Belfast, Armagh, Mountjoy and the Curragh. Pickets and demonstrations have been held in many centres to bring the plight of the prisoners to the attention of the American people.

The Clubs have initiated a special subscription drive for the *United Irishman* and they are confident that by the end of the year sales of the U.I. will have passed the 10,000 mark.

All arrangements have been made by the National Executive of the Clubs for the holding of the National Convention which is set for Boston, on September 16th and 17. A large number of delegates and visitors are expected and a leading member of the Republican Movement from Ireland will attend and will deliver an address to the Convention. This is the first convention that the Clubs have held since they were established and is a clear demonstration that the clubs are firmly established not alone among Irish people in America but among many Americans young and old who see the need for the Irish Republican Movement to have support organisations abroad built on principled lines and dedicated to assist in the establishment of an Irish Democratic Socialist Republic.

NO BELFAST PACT WITH PROVOS

The IRA in Belfast has denied claims by the Provisional Alliance that it agreed to shoot one of the two Protestants picked up in the Falls area last month. It was established by the IRA that the man they apprehended had nothing to do with any sectarian murder gang or extremist group.

The other man, Mr. James Neil, was shot by the Provisionals who claimed that he was a spy. The IRA's statement said: "We completely deny the statement by the Provisional Alliance that we agreed at any time to shoot the man accompanying Mr. Neil. The Irish Republican Army does not, and will never enter into agreements with the Provisional Alliance to execute people on a 'If you kill your man, we'll kill yours' basis".

"Human life is not, we believe, a commodity which can be given or taken away in such an inane cowboy fashion".

The statement pointed out that after interrogating the man and making extensive inquiries in the area where he lived, it was firmly established that he was not involved in any sectarian killings. "We had

and we had therefore no hesitation in ordering his release".

The statement pointed out that after interrogating the man and making extensive inquiries in the area where he lived, it was firmly established that he was not involved in any sectarian killings. "We had absolutely no reason to kill this man and we had therefore no hesitation in ordering his release".

Mr. Neil and the other man had in fact been to see a former employee of Mr. Neil's who was living in Andersontown to offer him a job. Their car had been involved in a collision with an Army vehicle and while the driver was at Springfield Road barracks, Neil and the other man went for a drink. It was then that they were apprehended. The IRA is satisfied that neither of them was "casing" the public house to blow it up, as has been claimed.

TONGE AND TAGGART

Last month, Industrial Front reported the details of the strike in Tonge and Taggarts in Dublin. It has now come to light that McGloughlin's, the firm which owns Tonge and Taggarts, is about to hit it rich. They claim that the Windmill Lane plant which they want to close down is unprofitable. However, McGloughlin's, as part of Irish Structural Steel Consortium, will share in the £250,000 order recently got from Monbasa in Kenya, by the consortium.

Another order, worth just as much, has also been given to the group by the East Africa Harbour Corporation, which is building customs offices in Tanzania.

J. & C. McGloughlin Ltd., will also make profits out of the £77,000 contract from the Verolme dockyard in Cork for building a shipbuilding shop. Work on the steel section of the building has already started at McGloughlin's Inchicore works.

It is evidently not part of J. & C. McGloughlin's policy to pass on some of the profits they will make to their workers. That is why Peter McGloughlin has stated that the Windmill Lane plant will definitely close, making 30 men redundant.

CROMCASTLE COURT BLACKMAIL

Following the attempted eviction of rent striking tenants at Cromcastle Court in Dublin two months ago, the Dublin Corporation has employed Night Security Ltd., to occupy vacant flats in the block. The original tenants had left but instead of housing people on the waiting list, the Corporation moved the security men in.

Numbers 47, 46, 65 and 61 Cromcastle Court have been taken over by the security firm which keeps its men there 24 hours a day. The obvious intention is that homeless people will not be able to squat in the flats.

It is estimated that the security men are paid £1 per hour for the "service" they render the Corporation by occupying the flats. There are two men to each shift and they are there seven days a week. This means that it is costing the Corporation and the ratepayers who provide Corporation funds, £2,350 per week to keep seven flats empty.

Apart from the immorality of wasting rate-payers money in this way, the non-elected Corporation seems intent on aggravating the already desperate housing situation in Dublin. It is well known that when the NATO rent strike began, that the attitude adopted by the City Commissioner was that nobody on the waiting list would be allocated a house or a flat until after the strike ended.

This is the lowest form of blackmail and is typical of the manner in which Fianna Fail's man in city hall has been instructed to run Dublin. He is using homeless couples to try

MARTIN O'LEARY COMMEMORATION

The first annual commemoration for Volunteer Martin O'Leary, who so tragically lost his life while on active service last year, was held in Cork on July 9. Over 1,000 people attended the ceremonies which began with a parade headed by the Cork Volunteers' Pipe Band. The procession marched through Cork to St. Finbarr's Cemetery to the Republican Plot where Volunteer O'Leary is buried.

At the Plot the proceedings were presided over by Jack Lynch, one of the most prominent and long standing members of the Republican Movement in Cork.

After the Last Post and Reveille had been sounded by buglers of na Fianna Eireann, the colours were dipped in salute while the newly erected monument to Martin O'Leary was unveiled by his father. Wreaths were then laid by Seamus MacCara, Chairman of the Nenagh Mine Workers, by John McCarthy, Chairman of the Cork Dock Workers and by Fianna Eireann, on behalf of the Republican Movement.

On behalf of the leadership of the Republican Movement, Cathal Goulding delivered the oration.

He said: "A year has come and gone since we so sadly gathered here to lay our comrade to rest. Yet the sacrifice that he made on behalf of the working people remains an example and inspiration to us all. Martin O'Leary was the first martyr in the new phase of the Irish Revolution. Since then, others have died fighting to secure the same ideal, that of an Irish Socialist Workers' Republic."

Mr. Goulding went on to refer to the need to unite all workers against the imperialist bosses who so shamelessly exploit our national resources. The struggle of the miners and all who are oppressed will continue until justice is secured.



KERRY REPUBLICAN FACES GUN CHARGES

Paddy O'Callaghan, a leading member of the Republican Movement in Kerry, was sent for trial at the Special Criminal Court when he appeared before 'Justice' McCay, at Tralee on August 3.

Mr. O'Callaghan is charged with having incited people to become members of an unlawful organisation, with having firearms and ammunition and with being a member of an unlawful organisation, the IRA.

The charges arise out of a meeting held over a year ago, on August 1971, five days after internment was introduced in the North. That the case is now being pursued by the State is indicative of the vendetta of hate being launched by the Lynch Government against those who did not stand idly by.

Mr. O'Callaghan was released on bail of £200 with independent surety of £200.

This is the second time in the past two months that a leading member of the Republican Movement in Munster has been sent before the SCC. Mr. Barty Madden of Cork, is currently serving a six month sentence.

RIVER BLACKWATER

For several years, a Mr. Mills from Benburb has been taking salmon from the Blackwater River

several thousand pounds each year and comes about because Mills has control of the sluice gates at a disused mill on the river.

To fish the pool that Mills has created, people have to pay him £5 for a permit, even though his title to the rights to the fish has not been clearly established. By right, in fact, the salmon, as a natural resource, belong to the people and if it is to be exploited commercially, it should be in the interests of the people.

In an address to the Republican Movement on August 15 in Blackwater town, Mr. Paul McGlennan, Chairman of the local Joe McCann Republican Club, said: "We recognise the fact that if the Lough fishermen were allowed to take salmon as they pleased, then in three years or less there would be little or no salmon left to go up the river to breed."

"We all know how vigorously the law is applied to the fishermen and how stiff the penalties are for breaking the law. Yet we wonder how this individual has managed to find loopholes in the law and managed to evade the bailiffs as he did in a court action against him last year."

"The Armagh Angling Club, which has bought the fishing rights of several stretches of the river, find it useless to try and stock the river with small trout as these fish along with the salmon are removed by this greedy individual. We demand that all fisheries, fresh water and open sea, along with the processing factories, be placed in the hands of the fishermen and the factory hands and that the bailiffs and the laws be made to protect them", he said.

A fish-in will be held on the Blackwater on September 17, beginning at 2 p.m.

SINN FEIN FOOTBALL MATCH

The Dublin Comhairle Ceanntar of Sinn Fein staged a very successful and unique demonstration on the last Sunday in August, outside the home of the British Ambassador at Glencairn, Sandford, Co. Dublin. The demonstration took the form of a seven-a-side football match between teams from Dublin and Belfast and its purpose was to protest against the continued occupation of Casement Park in Belfast against the wishes of the GAA and the people of Belfast.

It had been originally intended to play the game within the grounds of the Ambassador's house, but when the parade arrived at Glencairn, the demonstrators were faced with an unprecedented show of force by the 26 County authorities. A force of almost 600 Gardai and about 100 armed members of the Special Branch had been drafted in, in CIE buses, and it was obvious that they were prepared to defend the grounds at all costs and the officer in charge, Chief Supt. Doherty, stated that "they would use all force necessary to prevent the game going ahead in the grounds".

Even when it was decided to proceed with the game on the roadway, the Gardai did everything possible to disrupt it. On three separate occasions footballs were seized by the Gardai and on one occasion when a ball went behind the Gardai lines, a member of the Special Branch, in an obvious attempt to provoke the crowd, picked it up and threw it over the wall.

The game itself was a very exciting and entertaining one. The Dublin team, which opened the scoring with a goal from James Spooner, built up a commanding lead in the first and early part of the

second half. But Belfast, under the skilful management of recently released internee Eamon Kerr, staged a magnificent comeback and eventually triumphed by 6 goals; 3 points and 2 Garda hats to 5 goals and 2 points.

DAIL COMMITTEE INDICTMENT

The Dail Committee of Public Accounts has found that £76,000 of public funds are missing, most of it spent on guns and propaganda for the Provisional Alliance.

The lily-white hands of Fine Gael and the Parliamentary Labour Party have been thrown up in holy horror at the thought. The ritual calls for resignation have been made. The Opposition sinks back, content that it has done its duty, virtuously and, more important, publicly.

The 14 deputies who made up the 12-man committee blamed the fellow patriots Haughey and Blaney and the double-dealing Gibbons only for failing to tell Lynch what was going on under his nose. Why should they have told him? He knew.

In November, 1969, the *United Irishman* raised its voice to let the public know what was happening. Remember the story? — Blaney: he knows. Haughey: he knows. Boland: he knows. Lynch: can he not know?

Of course, Lynch knew. He even had the reports that gave the game away on Gibbons before he fired Blaney and Haughey. Now even the Dublin papers say that not only Gibbons but Lynch should be fired: for complicity, if he knew; for incompetence, if he didn't.

But, more important, the working people of Ireland should no longer be under any illusion that Haughey's "fellow patriots" speech outside the Four Courts in October, 1970 was no more than the window-dressing it was intended to be in the struggle for power with Lynch.

The working people should now be reminded again of the offers made to the Republican Movement by Ministers and their agents — unlimited money in exchange for the dropping of socialist aims and any attacks on the Twenty-Six County state.

The working people of Ireland, North, South, East and West, Protestant, Catholic and atheist, should know of the Tacateers who were prepared to put £5,000 a time into a fund for guns so that the Republican Movement would be divided.

The division occurred. The Provisional Alliance of limited nationalists and big business invested in death.

The profit, if there had been profit, would have been reaped by the people who had cynically put the money their workers earned into the business of a bombing campaign.

The risks were taken by members of the working-class, deluded by an equally cynical leadership which admitted that it would take aid from any source that offered it.

The result was not only the division of the Republican Movement but a deepening division, on sectarian lines, of the working-class people of Ireland. The Tacateers and the sleazy Ministers sat back and enjoyed another success.

The Dail Committee of Public Accounts might well — but won't — investigate the contribution of Lynch, Haughey, Blaney and Gibbons, of Boland and Colley and O'Malley to a potential sectarian civil war. The committee might publish a full list of the other investors in death.



BOOK REVIEW: "The Irish Crisis" C. Desmond Greave
 Laurence & Wishart £1

"The Irish Crisis." C. Desmond Greaves. Published by Laurence & Wishart, £1. — 222 pages.

C. Desmond Greaves's new book, *The Irish Crisis*, is an enlargement of his earlier 1963 pamphlet, "The Irish Question and the British People". Both are aimed directly at the British Public and primarily at the British Labour and Democratic Movement! The fundamental argument of the book is that there is a clash of interest between British monopoly capital on the one hand and the Irish people on the other.

This conflict reflects itself in the Irish economic, political, constitutional, legal and cultural struggle against British imperialism. In support of these struggles, Greaves argues that the British working class movement should proclaim a policy in line with its socialist objectives, a policy of withdrawn British interference in Ireland, consulting at every point with the Irish to ensure minimum disruption.

The book also contains some interesting chapters on the history of the Civil Rights struggle which compare favourably with most of the recent spate of 'instant journalism' on the Irish Question. But the book itself suffers from an obviously hasty preparation. Many of the chapters in the book are repeated, almost unchanged, from the earlier pamphlet. Thus, for example, a disproportionate amount of space is given to the pre-Downing Street Declaration situation in local government at the expense of making an analysis of the post McCrory changes in this field. This emphasis gives the book a somewhat 'dated' tone.

The book will undoubtedly play an important educational role among

those sections of the British Labour Movement who look to its author for political leadership on the Irish Question. But it cannot, nor indeed does it ever pretend to be a guide to action for the Irish Republican and Labour Movement. One of the clearest measures of our success or failure will be our ability to draw Catholic and Protestant workers together under the leadership of the national independence movement.

Yet Greaves makes light of the very difficult political problems involved in this with a number of disparaging comments on the Protestant working class. The suggestion that there are no Catholic popular equivalents to:

My da's a volunteer,
 He wears a bandolier,
 He marches up and down the town,
 Knocking all the people down,
 My da's a volunteer.

ignores the whole range of Celtic supporters' songs which are the virtual war songs of the Belfast Provisional Alliance.

The struggle for Civil Rights, as well as the struggle for national independence and socialism, requires of necessity a degree of political consciousness among the people which raises them above these sectarian straitjackets! The author of *The Irish Crisis* must be criticised for being overzealous at exposing Protestant sectarianism at the expense of its Catholic equivalent. The Republican Movement cannot allow itself that luxury, particularly at the present time.

Greaves's present major contribution to the Irish struggle is in his efforts to mobilise support in Britain for the Civil Rights struggle to dismantle the reactionary

Unionist system. The *Irish Crisis* reflects that concern. Unfortunately, it was written before the proroging of Stormont and the introduction of direct rule. Thus it only sketches out in barest detail an approach to this new situation.

Many people in Irish support groups in Britain and more particularly in the United States have a tendency to attempt to try and counterpose the struggle for Civil Rights to the struggle for national independence. The struggle for a United Independent People's Republic is the prerequisite for the building of a socialist society in Ireland. In the North of Ireland the preliminary struggle must be to win the right to assert these demands and to destroy all the obstacles which reactionary Unionism places in the way of a movement with these objectives. This means that the key demands in the North at the present time are for civil and political rights. The winning of Civil Rights removes restrictions on the political life of people in Northern Ireland and the winning of political rights removes the restrictions on their ability to determine their own future in conjunction with the rest of the Irish people.

These demands are clearly the major democratic ones to make in the face of a possible British attempt to integrate the North inside the United Kingdom or to re-partition the country preliminary to gaining increased political control over the whole of Ireland. The Civil Rights demands for a Democratic Assembly in the North with the rights of all guaranteed by a Bill of Rights and with the power to opt out of the United Kingdom is thus the first logical step towards a United Independent People's Republic for the whole 32 Counties.

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CUINNE FILÍOCHTA

A poem in English and Irish by Eoin O Murchu dedicated to another returned descendant of emigrants, Eibhlín Ní Shiocháin.

caoineadh Na bhFaioilean

Ta deoraíocht mar chaoineadh na bhfaioilean a eitlíní, ag casadh, thar na lóinge a fhograíon is i ag dul thart bua na mbeal mbocht a duirt na bagairti gruama a thainig na gcoismhuintir.

An caoineadh sin: gaire is magadh na maighistri brodula — tiarnaí talu is daoine saibhre a ramhraíodh is a saibhriodh ar bhas na mbocht. Millíun a d'eag. Is d'ealaigh an chuid eile an t-ar uafasach sin ag ra trina n-ocras is trina mbron go mbeadh díoltas.

Fe dhó do chaoín na faoileain mar throid talamh is muir in áislingi na n-ealaíthe. Do chonaic siad i ag bailteadh sular thit siad fein síos faoína tonnta.

Ceard e an gú dearmadta ar cualathas ariamh e thainig as na bealaibh sin ar bhlaís aon bhia le cianaibh? Nuair a lionadh a scamhoga le saile ar chuimhin leo sean-ghloir na Ríthe? Ar spréag Dlí is Ord non mheas urraimíuil ar dhlíthe do-sheachanta na heacnamaíochta a dhaoiraigh iad don mhartarach bhain is na mílte don dearg?

A dearg! Thit a dteanga siar 'na scornaigh, a mbolga seirgthe, gur abhar bais an t-abhar beatha. Stáidadh is cailleadh a dteanga aen fos do chloigh siad le cuimhni gígníte.

na t-reabhab gan talamh iad, na phobal gan flaitheas iad, gur choismhuintir an chine daonna iad is mar sin gurbh iad an cine daonna.

D'fhoghlaim muid e sin. O thair go mac, a mhathair go hiníon, a shín-sheán-mhathair go mac an ghar-mhíic: tugadh díinn caoineadh na bh-faioilean.

Is tugaim duit e, a sheirc mo chleibh mar me is tu ata ann.

dornta eagumasacha dunta le fearg gruama. Tugaim duit e mar chuala tu gair na bhfaioilean mar chonaic tu an tír ag eiri aníos as an bhfarráige. Mar Niamh 'na seasamh go hailam nocht os comhair sluaite na bhFian. Is dhein Niamh go, toisc rug a hailleacht bas comh granna, agus do chuid fola, nar chorraigh si roimh an ailleacht ghranna nach bhfuil ar eolas ach againn fein?

Ibirt naofa na deora a shileann muid da gcuimhne dearmadta mar chaoín siad fein ag lorg laochra on am a bhí chun marcaíocht go buacach le lucht na bhFian ag fogairt fain ar Ghallaibh. Tugaim duit e mar tuigean tu mar tuigean me mar tuigean muid nach treabh gan talamh muid nach pobal gan flaitheas muid gur daoine le stair muid gur naisiun ata ionainn.

Tugaim duit e mar me ata ann, mar is e m'oidhreacht e, mar is liomsa e, agus mar is leat.

Eoin O Murchu

★ ★

The Seagulls' Cry

Exile is like the crying of the seagulls that hover, wheeling, above the ship which proclaims as it goes past the victory of the poor mouths which uttered the sullen threats from the mouths of the oppressed.

That crying: the laughing and mocking of the arrogant masters — landlords and men of wealth who were fattened and made rich on the deaths of the poor.

A million died, The survivors fled that dreadful slaughter saying through their hunger and their sorrow that there would be revenge. Twice the seagulls cried as the land and sea battled in the dreams of the escaped: they saw her drowning before they too fell beneath the waves.

What is the forgotten prayer that was never heard which came from those lips which tasted no food?

When their lungs were filled with sea-water did they remember the ancient glory of their kings? Did Law and Order stir any respectful admiration for the inexorable laws of economics which condemned them to white martyrdom and many to red?

Ah, red!

Their tongue fell back into their throats, their stomachs shrivelled, until the means of life was the cause of death. Their tongue was stopped and lost but still they clung to the vague memories that they were no transient tribe that they were no petty people that they were the oppressed of humanity and that therefore they were humanity.

We learned this. From father to son, from mother to daughter, from great-grandmother to the grandson's son: the seagulls' cry was given us.

And I give it to you, love of my heart, for it is you and me: impotent fists clenched in sullen anger. I give it to you because you have heard the seagulls' cry, because you have seen the land rising up out of the sea like Niamh standing in her naked beauty before the Fenian hosts.

And Niamh wept, because her beauty bore such ugly death. And your blood, has it not thrilled before that ugly beauty which only we can know?

A sacrificial gift the tears we shed for their forgotten memories because they too wept seeking for a hero from the past to ride triumphant with the Fenian men proclaiming the scattering of the invaders.

I give it to you because you know as I know as we know that we are no transient tribe that we are no petty people that we have a history that we are a nation.

I give it to you because it is me because it is my heritage because it is mine and because it is yours.

Eoin O Murchu

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JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland. We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic. We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators. We place the rights of the common man before the right of property. We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

UNITE TO FIGHT

I wish to join the Republican Movement

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

LEINSTER:
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 30 Gardiner Place,
 Dublin.

Louth:
 DONNCHA Mac RAGHNAILL
 6 Lourdes Square,
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MUNSTER:
 JACK LYNCH
 Carberry,
 Earlswood Estate,
 Togher Road,
 Cork.

SEAN O CEALLAIGH
 113 An Ce,
 Portlargo.

BARRY DOYLE
 43 St. Ita's Street,
 St. Mary's Park,
 Limerick.

CONNAUGHT:
 P. KILCULLEN
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 5 New Docks,
 Galway.

ULSTER:
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 Angaire,
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 Newport, Mon., NPT 3NH, Wales.

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 77 Queen Street,
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 N.Y. 11377
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OIREACHTAS NA nGAEL
 6u, 7u, 8u Deire Fomhair
 i
 gCorca Dhuibhne

SOCIAL IN U.S.A.

Liam Mellowes / Richard Goss
 Irish Republican Club will hold a
 Fund Raising Social on Sunday
 24th September, 5 p.m. at The
 Bliss Tavern, Bliss Street,
 Sunnyside, Queens, New York.
 Social will be in aid of IRA
 prisoners and their dependent

NATIONALISE THE BANKS

On the eve of their sell-out to British and US banks the so-called "Irish" banks are pursuing profit in such a reckless way as to outrage even conservative economists. The only thing that prevents a public outcry is the traditional mumbo-jumbo that surrounds banking and which is carefully fostered by the bankers. For this reason it is important for every Republican to hammer home the following points in factory, office and pub discussion:

- Banks are not some kind of vague government service. They are private capitalist concerns like factories who hold a commodity — money. This money is taken from the community's labour and is sold back to it piecemeal for a price. The "price" is the interest rate charged.

- Last year the two largest "Irish" banks were forced for the first time to reveal their profits. Between them, the Bank of Ireland and the Allied Irish Banks made over £20m for the privilege of loaning the community money which the community itself had made! All they did was to hold the cash while it passed from the community to the bank and back again.

- A group of 30 Bank of Ireland and 12 AIB directors hold between themselves no less than 253 additional Directorships in "Irish industry" — that is in the 29 per cent of industrial production that is not owned and controlled by International capital. As Robert Jenkins pointed out in his book **EXPLOITATION** this extraordinary concentration of ownership is a unique feature of all neo-colonial countries, prior to a final sell-out to the foreign pressure which has created the concentration. For example, in Colombia, two families own the country's two airlines. And the similarity between the banking picture and the present concentration of Irish industries such as textiles, food distribution, etc. is part of a familiar neo-colonial picture.

- Most people associate banks with personal loans, cheque books, etc. — but the real profit transactions take place at the commercial end in Industrial, Agricultural and other large capital investments. In this key sector the Imperialist take-over is crystal clear. Out of 33 "Irish" licensed and merchant banks no less than 22 are **totally foreign owned and controlled**.

- The most ominous development in Ireland is the operation of "Banks" such as Chase Manhattan, First National City and the Bank of America. While many socialists might see these as American banks "helping" in the United States take-over of Irish industry by advancing money for US exploitation here, the reverse is in fact true. **Many of these "banks" are OWNED by multi-national corporations of which they are merely the investment section.**

- The increasingly ridiculous dying gasps of Irish capitalism are shown by the effort of an Irish investment House, the Hire Purchase Co. of Ireland Ltd., to take on a foreign licensed bank, United Dominions Trust of Britain. This struggle between Irish capitalism and foreign imperialism revolved around an unsavoury company called The Irish Trade Protection Company (which if you apply anywhere for credit will check you out with local shopkeepers, publicans and even your friends and send a dossier on to the company concerned for a large fee). Angered at the increasing business of United Dominions Trust Ltd., the irritated H.P. Co. of Ireland threatened to withdraw their business from the Irish Trade Protection Co. unless they made life harder for United Dominions Trust. The Irish Trade Protection Co.'s reply was to point out in no uncertain terms that the business of foreign companies checking credit ratings was **twice as profitable** as the miserable crumbs the Hire Purchase Co. of Ireland Ltd. were dropping on their table. Like Staunton of North Kilkenny Meat Exports or

Maguire of Brown Thomas, the H.P. Co. of Ireland is only another Irish capitalist firm anxious to get out of business before it is put out of business. The surrender price is the only problem to be resolved.

- Clearly, only the overthrow of Imperialism in all Ireland would end the exploitation by these foreign investment banks. But as an interim measure Republicans could advance a strong case for making the so-called Irish banks live up to their "national" responsibilities as it is clearly useless to expect an Irish Government to bring the Chase Manhattan to heel. In this campaign, Republicans could do worse than take up the charges made by the right wing financial correspondent, Maynard of the **Sunday Press**, who pointed out recently that since interest and bank charges are prices, he could find "no obvious reason" why they should not come under the scrutiny of the National Prices Commission. He went on to complain further that under new legislation restrictive practices by banks cannot be investigated by the Restrictive Practices Commission. And lest anyone think that the Central Bank has any control over the Commercial Banks it is only necessary again to quote Maynard, "It does seem rather odd that several directors of the Central Bank should have been appointed by the Commercial Banks. It is an accepted precept of Justice that no one should be judge in his own cause".

These are all serious charges which should commend themselves to the rank and file membership of the Labour Party whose leadership has quietly dropped its earlier demand for nationalisation. Even those who have not yet joined Sinn Fein's struggle for State Power for the Irish working class can see the immediate importance of State control over the "Irish" banks.

(To be continued)

V.A.T. AND THE WORKER

The denizens of Leinster House are prone to indulge themselves in unedifying spectacles and then complain at the widespread contempt for so-called "parliamentary democracy" their self-abuse arouses.

The sight of two "educated" TDs, O'Donovan and Fitzgerald, reviling each other last July to the promptings of the eternal smirker, George Colley, might have been amusing. The trouble is that these men (sic) have been voted into positions of authority to the eternal shame of the 26 County electorate. They were allegedly discussing means of freeing food from VAT, an admitted important social need as well as economic benefit, as the UI has repeatedly pointed out.

When these learned academics had finished their exchange of views, the delighted Colley was pleased to inform the "House" that, despite alleged price controls, any reduction in tax would not be passed by traders in lower prices to the workers. And, secondly, he would anyway not give up the fifteen million this would cost.

The seriousness of the Labour and Fine Gael opposition to VAT can be judged from the fact that nobody on the "opposition" side made an effective protest.

Nobody in that part of the debate pointed out that while Colley would not reduce the tax on food, he had reduced the tax on yachts, cabin cruisers, dinghies, canoes, skiffs and racing boats from the original 30.26 per cent to a rate of 16.37 per cent.

All parties in Leinster House share responsibility for this discrimination by way of tax and finance generally practised on the workers.

Buying on credit is another first rate example of this discrimination. It is virtually impossible for a worker to get loans to buy the expensive consumer goods he has produced except through hire purchase.

The usual rate of "interest" given him is 20-25 per cent. Not only does the worker pay more for his loan but the hire purchase charge is liable to VAT and he gets no income tax relief.

Thus, if he borrows £100 at a real rate of 20 per cent and VAT is 5 per cent, he will pay in total £126.

The surtax payer, on the other hand, because of the security he can offer, can get loans for as little as 10 per cent from banks and finance houses. The cash he then has in his hand enables him to take advantage of cash discounts. He gets income and surtax relief on his interest and does not pay VAT on it.

Thus, if he bought the same item as the worker in the example above, he could pay as little as £102. That figure is made up of £95 after cash discount, £5 VAT on the cost of the goods only, and £2 net interest after tax relief.

If essential Civil Rights include equal opportunities and equal standing before tax as well as other laws, it seems that a Hire Purchase strike is as valid as any rent and rates strike.

There is no need for the worker to go without the goods he produces. An essential feature of the Capitalist system is self-help unless you are rich enough to afford a Government grant.

If the worker does not help himself, no one else will, least of all the inmates of Leinster House. They are a prime example of the truth that bastardy is not solely a congenital defect but can be achieved by constant practice.

EAMONN SMULLEN VICTIMISED

Of all the prisoners held in Irish and English jails, Eamonn Smullen is probably suffering from the worst example of intimidation and petty harassment of all. Recently, an ex-British Army officer, R. E. Adams, was appointed Governor of the prison where he is kept.

This gentleman has instituted a system of victimisation against Mr. Smullen. He has banned Irish music from the recreation rooms, has reduced the number of letters Eamonn is allowed to write and has classified all his incoming mail as Category A mail. Adams has even gone to the length of denying Eamonn Smullen the home leave he was due to have at the end of August.

It should be noted that Republican Prisoners serving long sentences in Belfast are being allowed such leave after half of their sentence has been served. Although Eamonn Smullen's home leave had been approved by the prison authorities, the NCCL, which has taken up his case, were told by Home Office officials in London that it had been vetoed, "probably at Robert Carr level". Carr, of course, succeeded Reginald Maudling, who is involved in the shady Poulson affair, as Home Secretary recently.

Mr. Smullen's treatment came to light as a result of the newly formed Prisoners' Aid Committee's work on behalf of political prisoners in England. This was set up by Cabhair to agitate for the prisoners and also to help their families and dependents. The PAC referred the question of Eamonn Smullen's treatment to the NCCL after they discovered that he had been refused permission to write to them or the Race Relations Board about the matter.

It is evidently Adams's intention that Eamonn Smullen should be forced into the position where they can deny him any remission of sentence. The tactic is to push him to the limits of endurance and then crack him. Fortunately, this ploy has been uncovered. Public pressure both in England and Ireland can ensure that the harassment of Eamonn Smullen is ended.

One prisoner who did receive comforting news during August was Barty Madden of Cork. He had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for allegedly possessing illegal documents and being a member of an illegal organisation. He had been convicted by the Special Criminal Court but the Court of Appeal upheld his appeal and released him. This is the first appeal by a man convicted by the SCC to succeed. We trust it will not be the last.

RELEASE THESE MEN

BELFAST — CRUMLIN ROAD

Mick Mallon, 7 years; Pat O'Hare, 7 years; Brendan Mackin, 12 years; Eddie Magee, 4 years; Pat Moran, 3 years; Brian Stewart, 2½ years; Sean Gray, 2 years; Sean Bunting, 5 years; Jim Robb, 4 years; Sam Smith, 4 years; Robert McConville, 2 years; Mick O'Hare, 1 year; Frank McAlorum, 2 years; Frank Weir, 10 years; Jim Goodman, 8 years; Artie Maguire, 8 years; Frank Quinn, 4 years; Gerard Burns, 5 years; Paul Patterson, 2 years; Gerry Loughlin, 12 years; Gerry Conway, 1 year; Leo Davis, 2½ years; Frank McGrady, 3 years; Peter Monaghan, 6 years; Seamus Carragher, 2 years; Pat Morgan, 2½ years; Peter O'Hagan, 1½ years; Robert Montgomery, 2 years; Charles Kelly, 3 years; Tony Kerr, 1½ years; Pat McGuinness, 1 year; Hugh Torney, 2 years; Tony McShane, Life; Peter McIlroy, 6 months; Sean McGuigan, Remand; J. J. McAuley, Remand; Robert Downey, Remand; Tony Maxwell, Remand.

MUSGRAVE PARK MILITARY HOSPITAL

Sean Hanna.

ARMAGH
Jim Heskett, Remand.

LONG KESH
Mick Chambers, 1½ years.

CURRAGH
Jimmy McCabe, 6 years; Roland Giles, 6 years; Chris Murphy, 6 years; Ronnie Deehan, 4 years; William Deery, 4 years; Michael Doherty, 2 years.

MOUNTJOY
Sean Kieran, 15 months; Oliver McCaul, 15 months.

ENGLAND
Eamonn Smullen, 5 years; Pat O'Sullivan, 7 years; Conor Lynch, 7 years; Joe Farrington, 4 years; Alan McClafferty, 5 years; Richard McClafferty, 5 years.

HEADQUARTERS BUILDING FUND

30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

£18,000 is needed URGENTLY

Your contribution will help us to help you.

I enclose cheque/P.O. for £ for the Headquarters Building Fund.

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