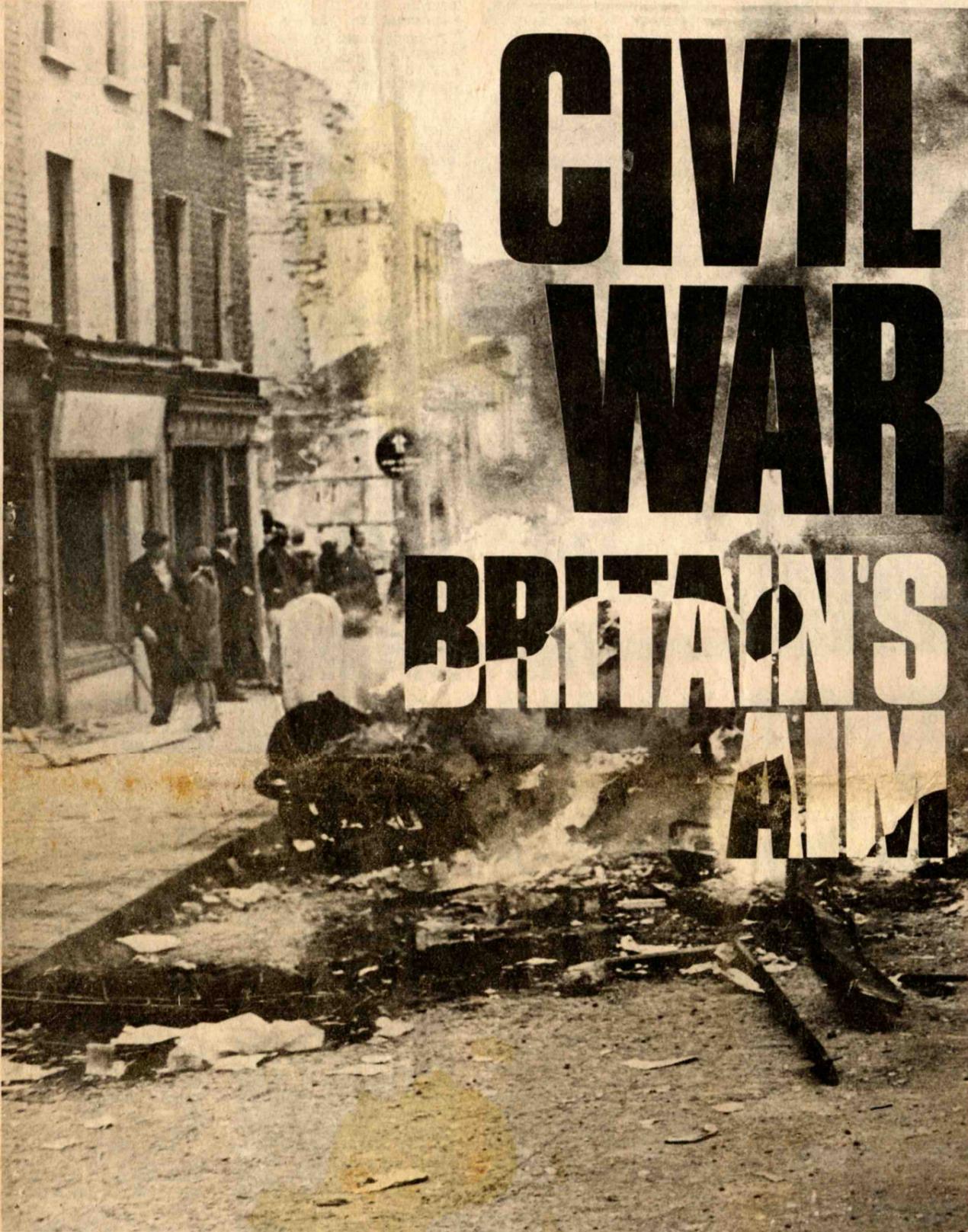


THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

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CIVIL WAR

BRITAIN'S AIM

Britain is conniving at a civil war in the North. Fully armed British troops stand by like interested day-trippers while Catholics are burned out of their houses by Paisleyite mobs. The "security" role of the troops has been narrowed down to remaining neutral when not in force in a trouble area or having reinforcements arrive too late to prevent the burning out of Catholic families while the enforcement of "law and order" remains in the hands of Stormont.

The fact is that Britain is not unwilling to have a civil war so that she can arrive again as a "saviour," abolish Stormont, and have the anti-Unionist population delighted to be fully absorbed in the United Kingdom.

This is the opposite to the Civil Right demand as spelled out by Chairman Frank Gogarty: "The Civil Rights Association is not asking for direct rule from Westminster but is simply demanding that the British Government exercise its powers under Article 75 of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, to legislate directly for civil and democratic rights in Northern Ireland."

Therefore the test of Britain's sincerity is whether she will disarm the fascist Paisleyite gangs, arrest the U.V.F. leaders who are training openly, disarm the B-Specials, crack down on the Protestant rightists who are preparing a counter-revolution, and grant the demands of Civil Rights.

Britain — as THE UNITED IRISHMAN warned in the front page story last month — is aiming to get a federal arrangement in her own interest between Ireland and Britain.

The hot line on federalism between Dublin, Stormont and Westminster goes through the cadaver of the long dead George V. Lynch quoted George V in support of federalism in his Tralee speech. Chichester-Clarke, in a speech written for him by the top Whitehall adviser located in his office, also used George V. "Indeed there is no reason to paraphrase King George V, why North and South under two Parliaments should not wherever possible work together not only for the good of Ireland but for the good of these islands as a whole. Whatever our failings, we (in Northern Ireland) represent a bridge between this island and its neighbours. No really satisfactory or statesman-like view of the future can be found except in the context of the British Isles as a whole, very probably in increasingly close association with the rest of Europe."

Mr. Callaghan rounded off the British move by referring to the George V mutual admiration society of Clarke and Lynch and said that their speeches "offered a ray of hope that it will be possible to lift this problem to a new dimension and to get it on a new plane."

The fact remains that Fianna Fail are getting ready to do a deal with Britain over some form of Federation or Council of Ireland. Lynch calls for a federation, but he does not say it is to be just a federation of North and South. His speech allows for a federation "of these islands" as called for by Eddie McAteer, Captain O'Neill, and Quintin Hogg . . . in effect a Fianna Fail sell-out that will bring the whole of Ireland back into the British Empire.

FIANNA FAIL SELLING OUT AT U.N.

At last Fianna Fail stirs from its slumbers and remembers that it is the "Republican Party." Its troops up and off to the border and Hillery hot-foots it to the U.N. The Soldiers of Destiny prepare to lead the Irish nation in its hour of crisis. Or so it seemed.

In reality while bewildered soldiers languish in Letterkenny, Lynch's man blusters ineffectively in New York. Irish people at home and Fianna Fail's own supporters are gulled into thinking that the Irish Question has been raised at the U.N. In fact it wasn't even pressed to a vote as to whether it should be put on the agenda of the General Assembly. The excuse given was that "consideration" had to be given to a British plea to drop the matter.

The real reason why Hillery will bark but not bite is the need to appease public opinion at home without embarrassing Britain too

much. After all, to do so might throw a spanner in the works regarding the Federal solution that is being worked towards. Other considerations are the Free Trade agreement, which has just claimed another victim in the Seaford Gentex factory in Athlone, and the attempt to get into the Common Market in Britain's back pocket.

Hillery's threat that he will look for a full-scale debate at the U.N. if Stormont does not press ahead with reforms impresses no one in New York where the 26 Co. Foreign Minister is becoming something of a joke.

The U.N. charade proves the direction of events as far as Fianna Fail are concerned. The economic sell-out is to be followed by a political sell-out to Britain in the shape of a federal solution which, far from achieving the independence of Ireland, will bring the whole country back into the British Empire.



● Sean O Cionnaith gets helping hand at Galway fishery.

C. S. Gas export a money-spinner for Britain

"Work by independent workers has shown that under certain conditions CS is clearly toxic." "Mice exposed . . . died within 10 hours and an autopsy showed severe damage to the kidneys, liver, respiratory tract and intestine."

So says an article in the 'New Scientist' on the use of CS gas in the Bogside.

The results of the gas attacks on the people of Derry by the R.U.C. has forced a Government inquiry into why a gas hitherto reserved for dealing with "armed criminals or violently insane persons" (Mr. Buchan, Under Secretary for Scotland) should be used indiscriminately on a helpless civilian population.

Unanswered

Dr. MacLean, a local Derry practitioner, has submitted a very detailed, embarrassing, and as yet unanswered questionnaire on how the R.U.C. came to possess the gas in such quantities and the exact issued regarding its use.

CS gas is manufactured in quantities of around four to six tons a year at Nancekuke in Cornwall, and is transported by rail to the factory of Schemurly Ltd., a Charterhouse subsidiary, near Dorking in Surrey, where it is packed into either dispensers of the Porton patented type or grenades.

It is exported to about 60 foreign countries, where it is sold at a price of 35s. a pound, bringing in some £250,000 annually. It is also supplied to some 36 of the 80 police forces in England and Wales, to some in Scotland in relatively small quantities, and, as we now know, in much larger ones

to the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

1,000

One thousand cartridges of tearsmoke and 14 grenades were hurled in Derry during the riots between the night of August 13th and late afternoon the following day.

In spite of Sir Harold

Himsworth's statement that the investigating team which he headed had not seen a single case in which an illness in a healthy adult was directly attributable to the gas, neither Dr. MacLean nor the New Scientist team are satisfied. And their opinion and foreboding concerning the long-term effect of the gas are upheld by the experience of the people of the Bogside.

Sectarian attacks are strongly condemned

A number of incidents directed against Protestant citizens in the 26 Counties which occurred during recent weeks were condemned by Republican spokesmen in strong terms.

Donegal

In Donegal the South West Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein issued a statement denying any connection with incidents at the homes of Protestants in the county.

"Persons who engage in such sectarian activities must be classed as 'Catholic Paisleys and Craigs,'" the statement said. "The seeds of sectarian strife were sown in the Six Counties by British imperialism, aided and abetted by the Unionist Party, in order to keep Catholics and Protestants divided so as to hold on to their positions of power and wealth."

"The Republican Movement is non-sectarian and we pledge that Republicans will never interfere with

our fellow countrymen of the Protestant faith, bearing in mind that Protestants can be proud of the part played by patriots of their faith who sacrificed all for freedom."

In Dublin the Coisde-Seasta of Sinn Fein and Republican speakers at public meetings condemned the attack on St. Anne's Church in Dawson Street (where Wolfe Tone was married), as the action of criminal lunatics.

Monaghan

Monaghan Sinn Fein cumainn also condemned sectarian outrages in their areas.

It is clear that those who engage in sectarian attacks are enemies of the Republican Movement and enemies of Ireland. The possibility of 'agents provocateur' operating in the 26 Counties, under orders from UVF or Paisleyite elements, or the 6 County/Westminster governments, cannot be ruled out.

Galway "fish-in" big success

The salmon fishery in Galway was again the scene of a successful "fish-in" on September 21 last despite an attempt by H. Barber of London to prevent the organising of the "fish-in" by means of an injunction obtained in the High Court in Dublin.

During the court hearing Sean O Cionnaith, Sinn Fein organiser in Connacht, objected to the courts being used to prop up the remnants of the Conquest in the 26 Counties. The injunction was granted, however, naming Sinn Fein Co. Councillor Frank Glynn and Tony Wallace of Galway as organisers of the National Waters Restoration League and forbidding them to organise the "fish-in."

The NWRL decided to go ahead with the demonstration in spite of the order and on the Sunday afternoon, September 21, a large crowd assembled on

the Salmon Weir Bridge in Galway where a public meeting was held before beginning the "fish-in."

A large force of Gardaí, including Chief Superintendent Joseph Meaney and Superintendent Gerard Coleran, were present with Mr. John Reid, the English manager employed by H. Barber, but they did not interfere with the demonstration. The show of Garda force in support of foreign ownership of Irish rivers was in sharp contrast to the "protection" given to the itinerants who were attacked in Rahoon recently.

Rumours

The "fish-in" yielded a 7lb. salmon which was publicly auctioned and fetched £16. The buyer, Mr. Desmond Fay of Glencolmille, donated the fish to the people of Bogside in Derry.

In the week following the "fish-in" rumours appeared in several newspapers to the effect that the salmon fishery was in the process of being sold and that the owners would be a group of "Irish businessmen."

H. Barber at present leases the fishery from Cahill and Young who bought it from Colonel Cross in 1954. The NWRL have issued a statement saying that the sale of the fishery would not affect future agitation for public ownership. Tony Wallace, who is secretary of the Galway branch of the league, told us: "It makes little difference to us whether the owners are Irish or foreign, the campaign for public ownership will continue."

Councillor Frank Glynn raised a motion regarding the sale of the fishery at a special meeting of Galway County Council, convened by him.

THE RACE BEHIND THE BARRICADES

The race to build the barricades in Belfast gave way on Saturday, September 6, to racing inside the barricades as the National Cycling Association staged their Free Belfast Grand Prix behind the barricades off the Falls Road.

Run on a course comprising thirty laps of Ross Street, Balaclava Street, Raglan Street and Ormond Street, the Grand Prix provided an evening of spectacle and thrills as the field of forty riders flashed around the besieged area.

Mobbed

Thousands lined the route and mobbed the cyclists at the finish. The enthusiastic residents and thousands of neighbours from the surrounding streets brushed the streets and even washed them before the race started and then formed a line of marshalls around the complete course.

International cyclist Bennie Donnelly, whose Cromac Road Club helped the local Defence Committee arrange the race, took time off from barricade patrol duty to win the event.

In second place came Brian Holmes of St. Thomas's, with Brian Monaghan of Newry Wheelers third in a sprint finish. Entry fees for the race were donated to the Defence Committee's fighting fund.

Big boost

The success of the Grand Prix has given a big boost to the N.C.A. in Belfast and throughout the North where people are quick to recognise the uncompromising stand of the Association on the national issue down through the years. B-Specials, R.U.C. and members of the occupation

forces are barred from the ranks by the rules of the Association.

Ballina

Progress in the N.C.A. is not confined to the north. The Sligo club now reports a membership of thirty eager members following the stimulus given by the presence of a Sligo team in this year's Ras Tailteann.

Also from Mayo comes news that the Ballina Cycling Club has been reformed and has already sponsored a fourteen-mile road race in Ballina.

Officers elected include: President, Mr. Jack Clarke; chairman, Mr. T. V. Lowther; joint secretaries, Mr. Gerry Ginty and Mr. Kevin Lowther; treasurer, Mr. Peter McHale. Committee — Messrs. Eamon Horkan, Battie Beattie, F. Keegan, Des Gallagher, John Langan, Seamus Henigan and John Ferguson.



● The scene at Balaclava St. where the N.C.A. race took place.

The Government is getting ready to attack wages again. During the last month or two there has been an unending stream of well-fed economists complaining that inflation is getting out of hand and the economy will collapse unless incomes are controlled. The Central Bank and the Economic and Social Research Institute joined the bandwagon a few weeks ago, and they have since been supported by the Industrial Correspondent of the "Irish Times" and by the Taoiseach himself. They are all giving out the same message—wages rising, imports rising, prices rising, reserves falling, so CRASH unless the workers tighten their belts. This is all part of a softening-up process designed to scare the ICTU into accepting a voluntary wage freeze.

Are we really heading for disaster—and if we are, whose fault is it? Let's look at the figures. Between March, 1968 and March, 1969, average weekly earnings went up 13.1%. In the same period, prices rose by 6.7%, so the real rise in wages was about 6% ("Trade Union Information," August, 1969). But over roughly the same period production per worker went up by about 4% (employment up 5.9%, production up 10.4% — "Irish Statistical Bulletin," June, 1969). So the actual rise in wages for the same amount of work was only 2%. Hardly enough to ruin the country.

Profits rising

If the workers aren't getting the gravy, somebody else obviously is. What about the employers? Figures in "Trade Union Information" for August, 1969, show a rise of MORE THAN 30% in the profits of 40 big Irish public companies in the same period. Taking a slightly earlier period, the profits of 125 companies—the vast majority—are up by more than 25% over the previous year.

So there you are. Wages up 2%, profits up 30%. Who needs squeezing?

And that's not all. British investments in Ireland earned profits of more than £10 m. last year (figures released by the British Board of Trade). This compares with total profits of £19 m. by all public companies operating here. So more than half of all company profits end up outside the country. And this is only the declared profit. The

true figure would be much larger, to take account of the under-valuing of components exported to parent factories in Britain. There is no way of getting accurate profit figures, but we can get some idea of what is involved from international comparisons. In Latin America, for example, American investments return a 200% profit over a five-year period ("Review of International Affairs," Sept. 20, 1969). A smaller return would be acceptable here, because of greater 'political stability,' but it is unlikely to be less than 25% per annum. No wonder the reserves are falling.

So why not squeeze foreign profits? The Central Bank explains this away by saying that profits are less inflationary than wages, since 'a greater proportion of wage and salary incomes than of profits is spent on consumption goods'. This is pure mumbo-jumbo. If profit is not spent here it is exported—and in either case it is no good to those whose work produced it — the Irish working people.

The alternative

It is true that the economy is in difficulties. But a wage freeze won't help. A weak economy is absolutely inevitable so long as we are dependent on foreign capital and its Irish puppets. Foreign companies—and Irish too, for that matter—invest here for one reason only: to make profits. If a better return becomes available elsewhere, they get out. The profit rate depends essentially on three things: initial grants (gifts) from the Government, tax rates, and the level of wages. The wage level is the most important factor. So a Government whose policy depends on attracting foreign capital is obliged to attack wages whenever the capitalists get restless. There is no way out.

But there is a way out—along another road. Our history from 1922 to date shows only what James Connolly had predicted way back in 1897—that an Irish economy based on capitalism would never be strong enough to develop the country by itself. The alternative is an economy based on socialism, in which all the resources of the country are at the disposal of the people themselves, acting through their Government.

Capitalism is an outdated and inefficient system of production. It makes it impossible to mobilise the full resources of the country. There are 50,000 Irishmen permanently unemployed—one-quarter of the total industrial work force. These people are supported by the State. Why can't the State give them useful work to do, instead of condemning them to a soul-destroying idleness, useless to themselves and to everybody else?

The answer is simple. Capitalist economics requires a standing army of unemployed in order to keep down the level of wages. If jobs were too easy to get, people wouldn't be scared of losing them. There would be agitation for better money and conditions, profits would fall in order to meet their demands—and, CRASH! all the foreign money would run for cover.

Why is there a housing crisis? One reason is that for every pound Dublin Corporation spends on bricks and mortar, 15/- more goes to pay interest on the money it has borrowed (from the capitalists) over the years. Other reasons include profits in land speculation and the waste of resources in building unnecessary offices. Not to mention the interest which the banks and building societies take on loans to prospective buyers. You end up paying three times the cost of your house—and the difference goes to pay some speculator for the use of his money. His money? Most of them never did a stroke of productive work in their lives. The money represents other people's labour which the capitalist has stolen—and is using to steal still more.

Pays interest

Why do we pay income tax? To pay for essential services, we are told; roads, health, schools and so on. The money has to come from somewhere.

This is an enormous lie. The money for essential services comes from turnover tax, customs duties, rates and various other taxes. Every penny of income tax goes straight out again to pay interest to the capitalists to whom the Government is in debt.

Look at the figures in last year's budget. The total amount of income tax collected in 1968-9 was £77 m. And the total amount of interest paid on

the National Debt was £76 m. (The National Debt is all the money borrowed by the State over the years to pay for the aforementioned roads, schools, etc. This money is borrowed mainly from the financial institutions—banks, insurance companies, etc.—and from small investors of various kinds. In the last resort all this money was created by the labour and sweat of the Irish people. But under capitalism we have to pay through the nose for the privilege of using it. The £77 m. mentioned above is about a quarter of the total yearly income of the Government.)

To protect profits

What will the Government solution be? An 'incomes policy' is likely to be brought in before the end of the year. We will be told that this is for everybody's good and that all sections of the community will be hit. As in Britain we will be told that profits will be controlled as well as wages. This is pure deception. An 'incomes policy' means a wage freeze. It can mean nothing else. It is impossible to control profits—since the whole idea is to protect the profit rate. All the Government can do is to keep down dividends for a while. But the profit will accumulate all the same, and it'll be paid out when the freeze ends. Will the worker be paid out his back wages? Will he maybe!

In Britain, the Government got away with a wage freeze because of the treachery of the TUC and the infatuated faith of many workers in a 'Labour' Government. It looks as if the same thing will happen here unless the rank and file of union members begins organising immediately to stop it. Workers should raise the question immediately with their shop stewards, bring it up at union meetings, discuss it on the shop floor, so that people know what is going on. It will probably be necessary to organise action committees at shop-floor level against a possible ICTU sellout. But this won't succeed unless a certain amount of groundwork has been done beforehand. The Government's propaganda machine has been in full swing for several months. Unless resistance begins immediately it will be too late. **FIGHT THE FREEZE — NOW!**

WHERE WERE THE REPUBLICANS?

In recent times some publications in the 26 cos. have tried to undermine the efforts of Republicans during the August unrest in the occupied area, by endeavouring to convince their readership that the Republicans took a back seat during the campaign for social justice and when it was necessary to defend the nationalist population against attacks from R.U.C., 'B' Specials, and extreme Right wing Unionists of the Paisleyite movement.

These people are either ignorant of the facts or are trying to sell a lie to the people in the 26 Cos. area, as people in the six-occupied area know only too well where the Republicans were at each period during the fight against a corrupt government.

Social agitation

Since the end of the resistance campaign of 1956-62, Republicans have been to the forefront in social agitation in such issues as housing and unemployment in particular. As far back as 1963 Republicans in Derry City had established an organisation for unemployed

youth which later became known as the Derry Unemployed Action Committee. Pickets, public meetings, marches and the opening of an unemployed workers club helped to spotlight the high percentage of workless which was on average 22% and 33% among males in the city.

The policy of "Industrial Apartheid" was exposed to the world, as statistics were compiled and studied and later released to show that the Unionist government had over the years endeavoured to isolate the area west of the River Bann by directing industry elsewhere.

One example of such is the fact that out of a total of 224 new firms coming to the occupied area, a mere nine percent came west of the Bann, and out of this only two came to Derry in spite of the fact that the city never had an unemployment figure lower than 12% in forty years.

Government white Papers and statements of unionist spokesmen were also compiled and helped to show up the Unionist programme of wanton neglect.

The D.U.A.C. set up a branch in London, headed by

exiles from the city and carried out a militant campaign lasting several months. The London campaign held rallies at Hyde Park, pickets at the Ulster Office, scores of indoor meetings including addresses to Trade Unions and other bodies, and gained great support even from people who were not from the north or indeed Ireland. After decades of slumber the Maiden City had awoke and the stage was set for even greater things to come.

Boundary

Since the formation of the D.U.A.C. (which is still active), agitation on other issues which affected the unemployed began to take shape. It became obvious during the agitation that the demand for employment alone should go hand in hand with the demand for extension of the city boundary which had not been extended since 1864, and in spite of the fact that many leading industrialists chamber of commerce, trade unions and several other bodies called for such.

The refusal to extend the boundary, which would have

been contrary to the Unionists designs for Derry, meant that rates and rents were artificially high and that there was little room for industry and housing within the existing city limits. The struggle against the then Mayor, now M.P., Albert Anderson, who was individually responsible for allocating all houses, sparked off yet another campaign which led to the formation of the Derry Housing Action Committee which has since led many effective protests. The most prominent person involved in this campaign was Mrs. Brigid Bond, herself a very active Republican.

The creation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and other groups aimed at bringing about social justice not only received support from the Republican Movement, but in some areas were born from agitation begun by Republican activists.

The events which followed since the now historic October 5th march in Derry, and the need for defence in the nationalist areas received active support again from Republicans. (See Derry's Story, United Irishman, September issue),



EAST GALWAY LAND LEAGUE

A demonstration in support of the public demand for the division of large estates will take place on Sunday, November 30 at 3 p.m. outside the 400 acre Derryhiney Castle Estate Portumna, Co. Galway.

This is the first of a series of demonstrations being organised by the East Galway Land League for the purpose of focussing attention on the number of large estates in East Galway and the resulting ill-effects on the county.

A recent survey carried out by the league shows that 10 men in East Galway own between them a total of 6,453 acres, an average of 645 acres each. One owner has 1,206 acres while the remaining large estates are of 672, 424, 799, 557, 620, 487, 451, 706, 531 acres.

Local small farmers have farms of 40, 30, 20 and even 10 acres and as a result many are forced to seek employment outside the county and many eventually have to emigrate. The demand of the League is for the immediate division of the large estates among the local small holders.

Representatives from Land Leagues throughout the county are expected to attend the demonstration, the first of its kind in recent years.

CEATHAIR

In a special new feature to facilitate those adversely affected by the lack of cheap and readily available legal advice we will from time to time deal with readers queries and problems. No legal liability is accepted for advice given as it is impossible to deal fully with a problem in the space available. We intend to indicate remedies in broad outline so that information can replace fear, and in order that you may put your case to a Solicitor knowing what you want him to do.

EVICIONS: CAN I BE PUT OUT IN THE STREET?

A case history (from the files of the Sinn Fein Citizens Advice Bureau); Mr. and Mrs. X were served with a notice to quit their flat, which they ignored. One evening they arrived back at their flat to find their furniture piled up outside the door. The locks on the flat door were changed. It was impossible to gain entrance; Mr. and Mrs. X had been evicted. What remedy had they?

ANSWER

Provided the Notice to Quit was in order and expired on the right day, and the landlord had not made a "forcible entry" (the mere changing of locks alone may not necessarily constitute such), and that the furniture had not been damaged in the process of its being removed by the landlord (assuming the flat is not a controlled dwelling within the meaning of the Rent Restrictions Act) no civil action lies against the landlord.

RENT RESTRICTIONS ACTS: CONTROLLED DWELLINGS

It is important for tenant to know if his house is a "Controlled Dwelling" under these Acts. If it is, then the tenant will have, relatively speaking, almost complete security of tenure.

It is difficult to define what is a "Controlled Dwelling" without reference to a particular case, but it is suggested that the following is a good general guide:-

"If the house which you rent has a valuation of less than £40 in Dublin or Dun Laoghaire, or £30 if situated elsewhere, and was built before 1941, and if the rent which you pay does not include the use of furniture, or the supply to the house of heat, hot water, fuel, electricity or any other commodity, or for the rendering of any service in connection with the dwelling, provided that the service or furniture can be valued at a quarter of the rent (e.g. if the rent is £100 the value of the furniture should be £25), or the landlord has not lived in the house since 1960, and the valuation of the house is over £30 in Dublin or Dun Laoghaire or £25 elsewhere, then the dwelling is a Controlled Dwelling".

If the dwelling is a "Controlled Dwelling" then a court will not make an order for the landlord's recovery of possession unless it considers it reasonable to make such an order and:

(a)—The rent due has not been paid or any other obligation has been broken, or

(b)—The tenant, his guests, lodgers or subtenants have been a nuisance to the landlord, his agent or adjoining occupiers, or,

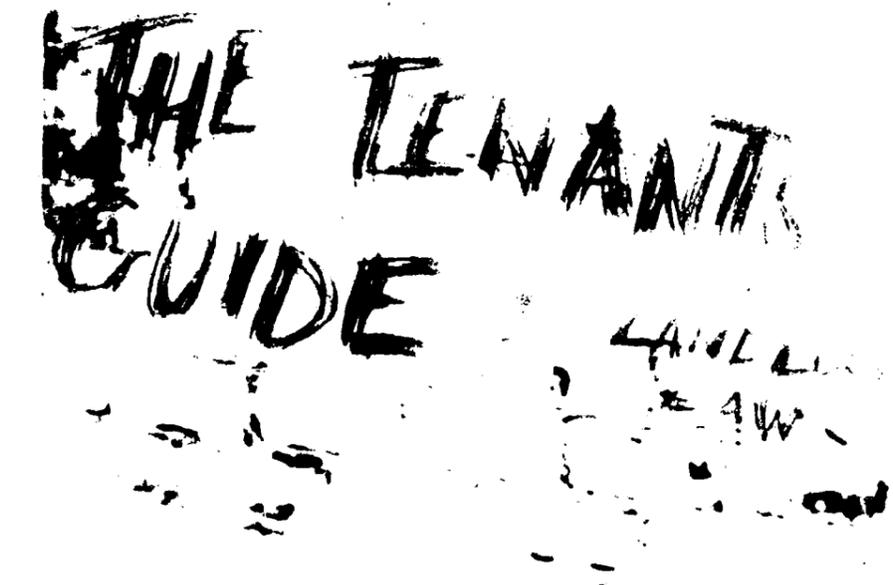
(c)—The tenant has allowed the premises to fall into disrepair, or

(d)—The tenant has given notice to quit and in consequence the landlord has agreed to let or sell the premises, or

(e)—The dwelling is reasonably required by the landlord for occupation as a residence for himself and either it is the opinion of the Court that greater hardship would be caused by refusing an order for possession or the Court is satisfied that alternative accommodation, which is reasonably suitable to the tenant is available in a controlled dwelling, or

(f)—The premises is required for a person in the employment of the landlord and the Court is satisfied that the tenant will be given alternative accommodation.

The landlord can also obtain possession if he has fallen on hard times and wishes to sell the house, but he must pay compensa-



tion. Possession can also be obtained when the house is required in the interests of "good estate management" or the erection of further dwellings or for the erection or extension of premises used for any business or trade or profession and the landlord will have to pay compensation to the tenant — such sum for the purpose of enabling the tenant without incurring hardship to secure "appropriate alternative accommodation."

THE LANDLORD AND TENANT ACTS

If the dwelling has been built since 1941 it comes under the provisions of the 1931 Landlord and Tenant Act. If the letting under this Act was made for "a temporary convenience" the landlord can generally obtain possession but here we enter the field where general remarks will not hold good in the particular circumstances of individual cases.

Under the 1931 Act tenants may be entitled, in particular circumstances, to (a) Compensation for improvements, (b) A new tenancy, or (c) Compensation for disturbance.

(a)—A tenant is entitled to compensation for improvements on the expiration of his tenancy otherwise than by surrender or ejection for non-payment of rent and on delivery of vacant possession for every improvement which adds to the letting value of the tenement, and which is suitable to its character — provided he has served an improvement notice on his landlord.

(b)—The occupying tenant will be

entitled to a new tenancy if he can show a "Special Equity" — Business Equity — Long Family Possession (30 years) — Short



ABOVE: Billy McDonnell, 17 Harvey St., Derry, is hauled away by R.U.C. men from his home which he was defending against the bailiffs. The incident, which occurred in August, 1967 was one of many which led to the formation of the Derry Housing Committee and subsequently the Civil Rights Campaign.

Local authorities can often prove as brutal and insensitive as private landlords. Pictured below is the scene after an eviction carried out by Cork Corporation at 6 Meaney St., Cork, in near freezing conditions on New Year's day last.



SAMHAIN

There are over 10,000 'B' Specials serving the holy cause of sectarianism in the Six Counties today. Protestant to a man, the force is once more in the news, thanks mainly to the Hunt window-dressing exercise. It might be instructive, at any rate, to study the origins of the Ulster Special Constabulary.

'B' SPECIALS

It was founded by the British in 1920 to defeat Irish self-government in the Six County area. For this purpose the force had to be a violently partisan, sectarian one and so the almost defunct Carsonite Volunteer Force was revived and elevated into an official, para-military police-force.

NO CHANGE

Since the publication of the Hunt report it has become clear that the Specials are not to be abolished — merely divided into two forces, a Special Police force and a Special Military force. The history of the B-Specials, sketched in this article, shows why the two post-Hunt forces will be no different to the present one.

The Specials were formed amid a storm of horror and indignation from Irish and even British opinion. The London *Daily News* called it "the most outrageous thing which even they (the British Government) have ever done in Ireland" (September 15th, 1920); and the *Westminster Gazette* observed: "This is quite the most inhuman expedient that the Government could have devised" (September 16th, 1920).

That the Specials were a sectarian force was vouched for by Sir Henry Wilson who wrote in his diary in May, 1922: "The Specials are now all Protestants" ("Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson", vol. 2, page 340, by Maj.-Gen. Sir. C. E. Callwell). The Unionist Belfast *Newsletter* reports (July 12th, 1922) that "it is from the ranks of the Loyal Orange Institution that our splendid Specials have come." With justice have the Specials been called the Unionist Party's private army.



In the beginning there were three classes — Class 'A', which was full-time, Class 'B', part-time, and Class 'C', which was a reserve reserve force, composed of men who were too busy to train or go on duty regularly but who were prepared to be called up in the event of grave emergency. Then, in December 1921, a further class, Class CI, was authorised, this to be semi-military and, like Class 'B', part-time but subject to full-time duty if the need arose.

They were all fully armed with rifles, bayonets and side-arms. Their function was to mount a wholesale campaign of murder and arson on their Catholic and/or Nationalist neighbours. The Specials figured prominently in the Belfast pogroms of late 1920 and '21 and in all Orange terror campaigns since then.

At the same time as Lloyd George was promising Collins and Griffiths during the Treaty negotiations that, if they agreed to the British proposals, they would get Tyrone and Fermanagh and that total unity would have to follow, he was arming and maintaining the Specials; this to make sure that he would be unable to enforce the Treaty and that he would be seen merely as trying valiantly to avoid a blood-bath in Ireland. The Treaty was duly signed.

anything more than the minutest change in our boundary, the inevitable result of that would be bloodshed and chaos of the worst description."

As the Boundary Commission sat, the ears of its members were constantly being assailed by ominous news of vast military manoeuvres by the Specials in Tyrone, Fermanagh and other Nationalist areas. Their deliberations were also assisted by Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who on February 19th, 1925 moved a vote of £1,250,000 in the

Commons for the "upkeep of 35,000 Special Constabulary, adding that the grant was "a matter not of right but of concession freely made by the House of Commons . . . for high reasons of State policy." The Boundary Commission finally decided that the present border need not be altered.

The Specials had then served their original purpose and Churchill wanted them disbanded. Under pressure, Craig disbanded the 'A' section, despite protests, but told Stormont that the 'B' section

would be retained "in a modified form and at a cost within our own resources" (December 9th, 1925). Hence the name, 'B' Specials.

The 'B' Specials have been retained ever since at the expense of the ordinary Six County taxpayer. The R.U.C. Inspector-General exercises command over them, through the Staff-Officer at Police Headquarters. There are eight command areas—Belfast, Derry and the six counties. Before being accepted for the 'B' Specials an applicant must be recommended by both his sub-district and district commandants, approved by the local D.I. of the R.U.C. and accepted finally by the County Commandant of the Specials. The Minister for Home Affairs must approve all full-time positions in the 'B' Specials.

Recent events in Derry, Belfast and elsewhere have shown that they have not changed their colours one whit since 1920. They have not lost their addiction to violence; nor their strictly sectarian character. The recent Hunt masterpiece — praising the 'B' Specials with faint damns? — appeared to realise all this in its recommendations.

Hunt recommended the disbandment of the force and its replacement by two impartial forces — a reserve military force under the British G.O.C. and an unarmed, part-time force to supplement the "new-look" R.U.C. Predictably, some of the boys wouldn't play ball (*vide* the various mass resignations). The simple souls thought they were being "sold out". Clarke, Young, Callaghan and Freeland, however, rushed about frantically reassuring them that the change was only in name.

Republicans have no reason to doubt this. Whatever assurances have been given to the recalcitrant "B' Specials, they seem to be working. Fewer and fewer disturbances in the force are being reported and the boys seems to be settling in alright. Plus la change . . .

FIANNA

A Christmas issue of our paper "FIANNA" is ready to go to press and will be available after An Ard Fheis. Sluaites are asked to get their orders in early as we intend to print only a limited number this issue.

NEW BATTALION

A new battalion has been formed in Dublin; a girl scout battalion under the O/C-ship of Francis Pearce, O/C Countess Markievicz, one of the strongest sluaites in Na Fianna.

ADVANCE PARTY

The advance party set up by An Ard Choiste to bring the constitution of Na Fianna up to date have completed their work and copies of the revised constitution should reach sluaites within the next two weeks.

FIANNA

Following the Annual Camp and the work for the Northern Relief Fund and Defence Fund, all sluaites of Na Fianna, both boys and girls sections, have resumed their normal activities of organising the youth of Ireland in a disciplined National Youth Movement.

SUPPLIES

Over two hundred uniforms and accessories have been made available to members over the past year, and the director of supplies is to be congratulated for the way he has maintained the cost of the uniform at a reasonable level. The department has made available bios with the words 'Fianna Eireann—Boy Scouts/Girl Scouts' inscribed on them. They can be had at 1/- each.

ARD FHEIS

Sluaites and battalions etc., will by now have held their conventions for the Ard Fheis to be held this month. GHQ informs all O/Cs that they shall enforce the regulations regarding the levies and registrations at An Ard Fheis. They would also like to hear from sluaites about the number of delegates coming to Dublin for An Ard Fheis.





It is symptomatic of the attitude of the Irish Nationalist that when he ridicules the Orangeman he ridicules him not for his numerous foolish beliefs, but for his readiness to fight in defence of those beliefs. But this is exactly wrong. The Orangeman is ridiculous in so far as he believes incredible things; he is estimable in so far as he is willing and able to fight in defence of what he believes. It is foolish of an Orangeman to believe that his personal liberty is threatened by Home Rule; but, granting that he believes that, it is not only in the highest degree common sense but it is his clear duty to arm in defence of his threatened liberty. Personally, I think the Orangeman with a rifle a much less ridiculous figure than the Nationalist without a rifle; and the Orangeman who can fire a gun will certainly count far more in the end than the Nationalist who can do nothing cleverer than make a pun. The superseded Italian rifles which the Orangemen have imported may not be very dangerous weapons, but at least they are more dangerous than epigrams. When the Orangemen "line the last ditch" they may make a very sorry show; but we shall make an even sorer show, for we shall have to get the Gordon Highlanders to line the ditch for us.

ORANGE HUMOUR

I am not defending the Orangeman; I am only showing that his condemnation does not lie in the mouth of an unarmed Nationalist. The Orangeman is a sufficiently funny person; and he is funny mainly because he is so serious. He has no sense of incongruity; in his mind's eye he sees without smiling Cardinal Logue sending Protestant worthies to the stake and Sir Edward Carson undergoing the fatigues of a campaign — things which will never be. At least, I think not; for Cardinal Logue is kindly and humorous, and Sir Edward Carson is a lawyer with a price.

CRIMINALS AND LUNATICS

But the rifles of the Orangemen give dignity even to their folly. The rifles are bound to be useful some day. At the worst they may hasten Sir Edward Carson's final exit from Ulster; at best they may crack outside Dublin Castle. The Editor of 'Sinn Fein' wrote the other day that when the Orangemen fire upon the King of England's troops it will become the duty of every Nationalist in Ireland to join them: there is a deal of wisdom in the thought as well as a deal of humour. Or negotiations might be opened with the Orangemen on these lines: You are erecting a Provisional Government of Ulster — make it a Provisional Government of Ireland and we will recognise and obey it. O'Connell said long ago that he would rather be ruled by the old Protestant Ascendancy Irish Parliament than by the Union Parliament; "and O'Connell was right" said Mitchel. He certainly was. It is unquestionable that

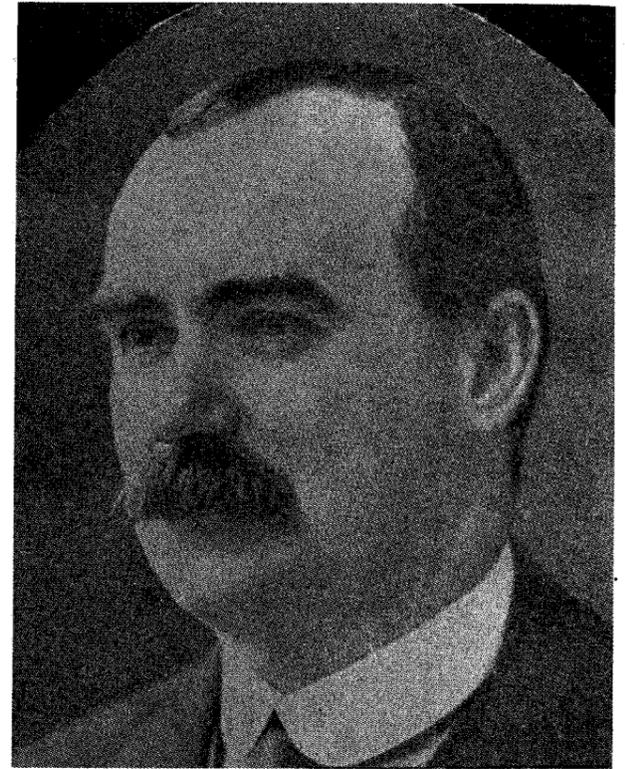
WHAT WOULD THEY THINK TODAY ?

Sir Edward Carson's Provisional Government would govern Ireland better than she has been governed by the English Cabinet; at any rate, it could not well govern her worse. Any six Irishmen would be a better government of Ireland than the English Cabinet has been: any six criminals from Mountjoy Prison, any six lunatics from the Richmond Asylum, any six Orangemen from Portadown. The Irishmen would at least try to govern Ireland in the interests of Irish criminals, lunatics, or Orangemen, as the case might be: the English have governed her in the interests of England. Better exploit Ireland for the benefit of Belfast than exploit her for the benefit of Westminster. Better wipe out Ireland in one year's civil war than let England slowly bleed her to death.

RAPPROCHEMENT

A rapprochement between Orangemen and Nationalists would be difficult. The chief obstacles are the Orangeman's lack of humour and the Nationalists lack of guns: each would be at a disadvantage in a conference. But a sense of humour can be cultivated and guns can be purchased. One great source of misunderstanding has now disappeared: it has become clear within the last few years that the Orangeman is no more loyal to England than we are. He wants the Union because he imagines that it secures his prosperity; but he is ready to fire on the Union flag the moment it threatens his prosperity. The position is perfectly plain and understandable. Foolish notions of loyalty to England being eliminated, it is a matter for business like negotiation. A Nationalist mission to North-East Ulster would possibly effect some good. The case might be put thus: Hitherto England has governed Ireland through Orange lodges; she now proposes to govern Ireland through the A.O.H. You object: so do we. Why not unite and get rid of the English? They are the real difficulty; their presence here the real incongruity.

P. H. PEARSE,
Political writings and speeches
—*"From a Hermitage"*.



of rackrenting landlords and sweating capitalists. That the Irish people might be kept asunder and robbed whilst so sundered and divided, the Orange aristocracy went down to the lowest depths and out of the lowest pits of hell brought up the abomination of sectarian feuds to stir the passions of the ignorant mob. No crime was too brutal or cowardly; no lie too base; no slander too ghastly, as long as they served to keep the democracy asunder.

And now that the progress of democracy elsewhere has somewhat muzzled the dogs of aristocratic power, now that in England as well as in Ireland the forces of labour are stirring and making for freedom and light, this same gang of well-fed plunderers of the people, secure in Union held upon their own dupes, seek by threats of force to arrest the march of ideas and stifle the light of civilisation and liberty. And, lo and behold, the trusted guardians of the people, the vaunted saviours of the Irish race, agree in front of the enemy and in face of the world to sacrifice to the bigoted enemy the unity of the nation and along with it the lives, liberties and hopes of that portion of the nation which in the midst of the most hostile surroundings have fought to keep the faith in things national and progressive.

Such a scheme as that agreed to by Redmond and Devlin, the betrayal of the national democracy of industrial Ulster would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the oncoming unity of the Irish Labour movement and paralyse all advanced movements whilst it endured.

To it Labour should give the bitterest opposition, against it Labour in Ulster should fight even to the death, if necessary, as our fathers fought before us.

Irish Worker, March 14, 1914

It is often said that the Irish flag is a green flag to suit a green people, but the Dublin workers are not so green as to believe that a party which voted against the Right to Work Bill, the Minimum Wage for Miners, and the Minimum wage for Railwaymen, which intrigued against the application to Ireland of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children Act and the Medical Benefits of the National Health Insurance Act, can be described as anything else than a treacherous "friend" of Labour.

Some day a similar spirit will come up North and the workers of the North-East corner will get tired of being led by the nose by a party captained by landlords and place-hunting lawyers. Here, in North-East Ulster, the ascendancy party does not even need to pretend to be favourable to the aspirations of Labour; it is openly hostile and the inculcation of slavish sentiments is a business it never neglects.

But times change and we change with them. North-East Ulster democracy is awakening also, and we long for and will see in Belfast movements of Labour as great as, if not greater than any of which Dublin can boast.

In that glorious day Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right, but all those leaders who now trumpet forth that battle cry will then be found arrayed against the Ulster democracy.

JAMES CONNOLLY.
Forward, June 7, 1913

Here in Ireland the proposal of the Government to consent to the partition of Ireland—the exclusion of certain counties in Ulster—is causing a new line of cleavage. No one of the supporters of Home Rule accepts this proposal with anything like equanimity, but rather we are already hearing in North-East Ulster rumours of a determination to resist it by all means. It is felt that the proposal to leave the Home Rule minority at the mercy of an ignorant majority with the evil record of the Orange party is a proposal that should never have been made, and that the establishment of such a scheme should be resisted with armed force if necessary.

Personally I entirely agree with those who think so; Belfast is bad enough as it is; what it would be under such rule the wildest imagination cannot conceive. Filled with the belief that they were after defeating the Imperial Government and the Nationalists combined, the Orangemen would have scant regards for the rights of the minority left at their mercy.

Such a scheme would destroy the Labour Movement by disrupting it. It would perpetuate in a form aggravated in evil the discords now prevalent, and help the Home Rule and Orange capitalists and clerics to keep their rallying cries before the public as the political watchwords of the day. In short, it would make division more intense and confusion of ideas and parties more confounded.

Forward, March 21, 1914

LABOUR AND PARTITION

The recent proposals of Messrs. Asquith, Devlin, Redmond and Co. for the settlement of the Home Rule question deserve the earnest attention of the working class democracy of this country. They reveal in a most striking and unmistakable manner the depths of betrayal to which the so-called Nationalist politicians are willing to sink.

... It is the trusted leaders of Ireland that in secret conclave with the enemies of Ireland have agreed to see Ireland as a Nation disrupted politically and her children divided under separate political governments with warring interests.

Now, what is the position of Labour towards it all? Let us remember that the Orange aristocracy now fighting for its supremacy in Ireland has at all times been based on a denial of the common human rights of the Irish people; that the Orange Order was not founded to safeguard religious freedom, but to deny religious freedom, and that it raised this religious question, not for the sake of any religion, but in order to use religious zeal in the interests of the oppressive property rights

A TALE OF ONE CITY

The figures and chart alongside record the result of a survey on employment made in the Falls Rd. area in the month following the attempted pogrom on August 14. The streets selected for the survey were MacDonnell St., Servia St., Ton St., Slate St. and Marchioness St.

The total manpower for these streets is 401. Of this total 29 per cent are unemployed at the moment. This represents a rise of almost 1/3 on the pre-trouble figure for unemployment which was 20 per cent.

The main fact emerging from the survey was the exceedingly high unemployment figure for the Falls area. Even before the troubles a figure of 20 per cent or one fifth of all manpower in the area were unemployed.

STORMONT LIE

These figures give the lie to official Stormont figures issued during the month which state that unemployment has dropped since August 11. The Stormont figures stated that male unemployment had dropped from 9,011 to 8,786 in the period August 11 to September 8. Figures given for female unemployment during the same period show a rise from 2,455 to 2,549. In fact Belfast district includes an agricultural area and the harvest period with its incidence of temporary employment accounts for the apparent drop in male unemployment.

INTIMIDATION

Nor do the official figures include people 'on the sick', many of whom are workers afraid to go to work for fear of intimidation. By right these also should be counted as unemployed.

Of the 35 people included in category D as unemployed as a direct result of the troubles 19 are out because their place of employment was destroyed or otherwise put out of action, 10 are unable to go to work because of intimidation at or on the way to work and 6 are unable to report for work because of sickness or being wounded or having their house destroyed.

EMBLEMS

As the figures for the Shankill Rd. printed opposite prove, however, the main difference between the Shankill and the Falls, differing loyalties apart, would appear to be emblems. During the height of the August tension a few tricolours appeared on the Falls while the Shankill and surrounding areas were draped with Union Jacks. In the mixed border areas between the two roads the Union Jack served to distinguish loyalist from nationalist houses and acted as fire insurance when enraged mobs invaded the area.

FALLS ROAD EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

STREETS SELECTED	EMPLOYMENT FIGURES					% FIGURES		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1. MacDonnell St.	132	108	24	5	19	18	15	
2. Servia St.	102	70	32	10	22	31.4	21.6	
3. Ton St.	52	42	10	4	6	20	11.5	
4. Slate St.	48	29	19	6	13	39.6	27.1	
5. Marchioness St.	67	36	31	10	21	45.5	32	
TOTAL	401	285	116	35	81	29	20	8.75

A = (B + C) TOTAL MANPOWER.

B = Total employed.

C = Total unemployed.

D = Unemployed as direct result of attempted pogrom in mid-August.

E = (C - D) People unemployed for other reasons: i.e. may be taken as total unemployed before mid-August.

F = C/A x 100 = % unemployed at the present.

G = E/A x 100 = % unemployed before mid-August trouble.

H = D/A x 100 = % of total manpower unemployed as direct result of troubles.

A

B

C

D

Some years ago an official survey of the Shankill 'People and their Houses' very effectively captured the social and economic scene on the Shankill. The most important features of the report, digested in the UNITY magazine, make comparisons with the Falls possible.

TWO AREAS

Shankill was divided into two areas, 1 and 2, roughly corresponding to lower and upper. The former has approximately 900 households and the latter 1,700, with 80 per cent and 92.5 per cent Protestants respectively.

The occupations of heads of households were:—

	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled
1.	25%	14%	19%
2.	24%	14%	23%

The highest percentages for net income were:—

- 23% earn £11. 13. 0d.
- 27% earn less than £5.

The second is not very informative since it obviously deals with older people living on pensions; however only 4 per cent and 5 per cent earned between £19-£25, a range which includes the average earnings for industrial workers in England.

In all, over 2/3 of heads of families earned less than £13 per week.

CONTROLLED

What sort of conditions then do these people live under. In the areas 69 per cent and 78 per cent of the houses are private rent unfurnished, in other words controlled by private landlords.

57 per cent and 67 per cent of the houses have no back entrance.

91 per cent and 95 per cent are without an inside toilet.

88 per cent and 96 per cent have no fixed bath.

93 per cent and 95 per cent are without hand basins.

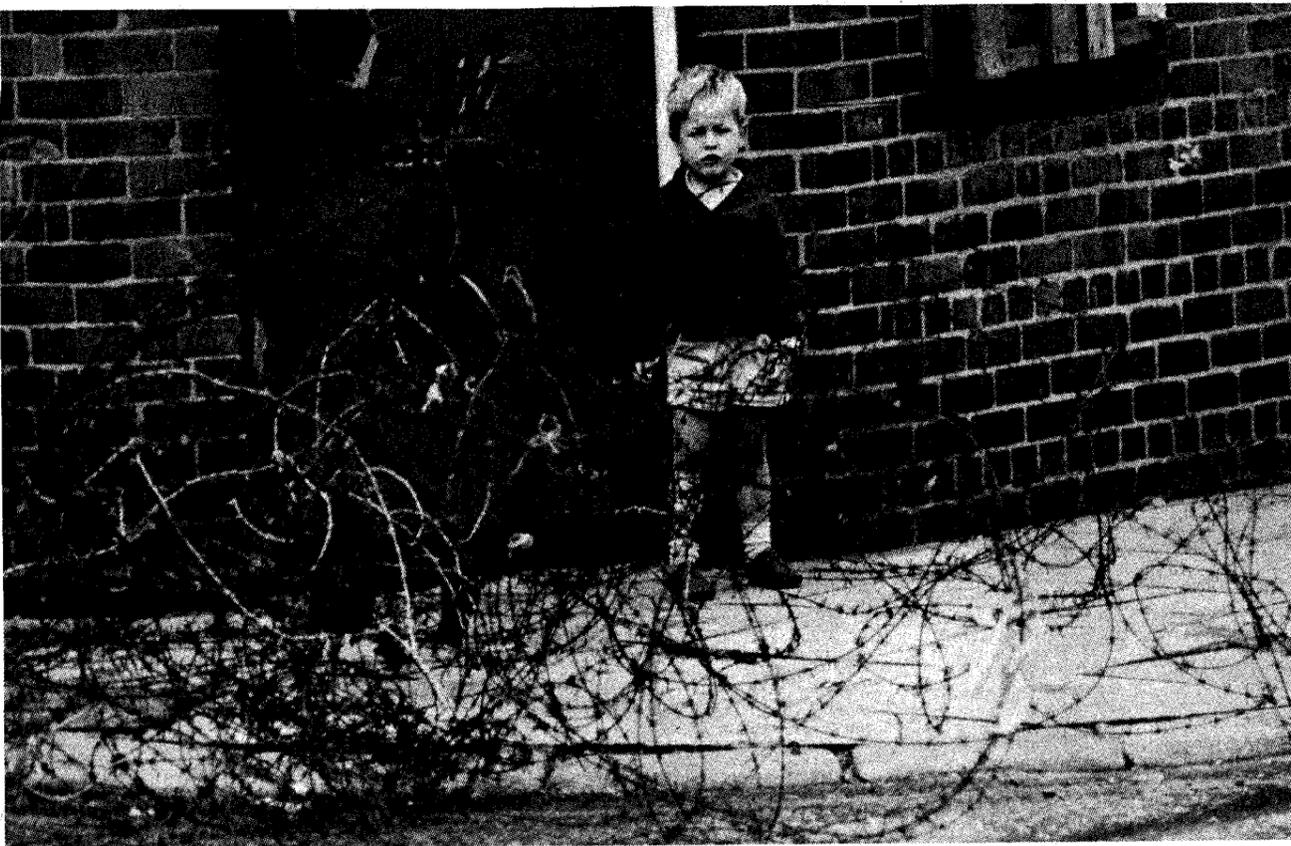
90.5 per cent and 97.3 per cent have no hot water.

As regards living space within homes, a set of conditions were established and regarded as standard. These comprised 1 bedroom for a married couple, 1 for each person over 21 and 1 for each pair under 20 of the same sex, 17 per cent and 21 per cent were below this standard by 1 room and 10 per cent and 12 per cent below by 2 rooms.

Generally 54 per cent and 55 per cent of all people were not satisfied with their housing conditions.

NEGLECT

Such a record of deprivation and neglect of these people by the Unionist Government and City Council, prompts the question "what are they afraid to lose? — is it their poverty?", or is it their deplorable housing conditions?



● Is this little Belfast boy Catholic or Protestant? The figures say it doesn't really matter.

notes and comments

ONE of the fundamental rights of a democratic state should be the right of peaceful protest and demonstration. Since the dawn of democracy it has been the legitimate prerogative of the people to mass in non-violent protest if they are in opposition to laws or measures. It is one of the recognised forms of disapproval and has been enshrined in folk-rule since man began to govern his fellow-men.

But it seems that this fundamental right holds no place in Fianna Fail's book of rules. The protestor or demonstrator is a persona non grata, to be bludgeoned and beaten off the streets, dragged from squatting sites, silenced in the public press and denied even the legal right of protest in court.

Juggernaut

WE have seen the Fianna Fail juggernaut in action too often to be unaware of its purpose. Peaceful marchers have been savagely batoned, squatters and others engaged in sit-downs have been hauled off to jail, being beaten and mauled in the process, protesters have been threatened and intimidated.

The most recent example of this dictatorial course of action was witnessed in Co. Limerick, where the members of the Parents' Committee who have been protesting against the closure of their school at O'Briensbridge and Mountpelier, have been intimidated in connection with their jobs.

The original chairman of

the committee, who is a ganger with Clare Co. Council, was told by a Limerick Fianna Fail public representative that his job was in danger if he persisted in his protest activities. The man's wife was told by a Fianna Fail party member that he had her husband's job "in the palm of his hand".

This is typical Fianna Fail arrogance and dictatorship. It is symptomatic of the corrupt way in which they have gained power and held on to it for so long. Control the people through patronage (a polite word for jobbery) and you ensure that their votes will continue to be given to the party. If they protest or demonstrate, threaten their livelihoods. They'll soon toe the line, say the party managers.

Grip slipping

IT has become obvious in recent years that Fianna Fail, seeing all the signs that their grip was slipping, were bent on holding on to power by all the means at their disposal. First they tried to do away with Proportional Representation which guarantees to minorities the means of protest through representation in the Dail. Then they gerrymandered the constituencies so that they would be returned to power with renewed strength.

Next they hope to pass the Criminal Justice Bill which will curtail the basic right of peaceful protest. After that may come the new anti-trade union legislation which

will limit the right to picket and diminish the long-established rights of trade unions and workers to organise in defence of their jobs and wages.

The pattern of dictatorship is becoming all too clear. A request by Irish jurists to end the "state of emergency" in operation since 1939 has been ignored. Naturally Fianna Fail want the "emergency" to continue, so that anti-democratic legislation such as the Offences Against the State Act can continue to be used against political opponents.

Warning

SINN Fein has warned that a period of new oppression and suppression is about

to begin. Trade unionists, republicans, small farmers, workers, fishermen, journalists and others who deny Fianna Fail's claim to infallibility, can expect the wrath of THE PARTY to be unleashed on them at any time.

It behoves all these staunch hearts to organise at once, for in unity there is strength. One man, no matter how legitimate and valid his protest, can be intimidated and beaten. A thousand such men, banded in unity of will and purpose, cannot. There are many such thousands throughout the country today. Divided they can achieve little. Together they can topple the arrogant from their soft seats of power. Ni neart go chur le cheile.

MAC DARA

An Open Letter to the poor Protestants of Ulster

FIFTY YEARS of religious and political loyalty to the Crown and what do you get but a kick in the stomach. Or worse.

You who have fought so fearlessly for the connection with England have been rewarded by English bullets, English bayonets and English tear-gas.

What can it mean? Is the Pope in league with Callaghan and Lynch? But Heath, the Conservative leader, is ranged up against you, also. Another figure in the Popish Plot? But what about Chichester-Clarke, Porter, Faulkner, Craig and Brookes, all Orangemen, loyal and true, if they were not involved as deeply as any in this deception of the Protestant poor.

If they are all Lundys — and there hardly can be any doubt about that, now—what about those respectable land-owners and leaders of commerce and industry, the masters of the Lodges, who are telling you to be quiet, not to make a fuss, to stop rocking the boat, that it never was a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people, and that the Teigues and the Fenians have as much right here as you have (or almost as much: it's a little early, yet, to define just how much).

No, I am not mocking you. All I'm doing is to ask out loud the questions you are asking the neighbours in whispers or yourself silently, in the loneliness of the night.

Civil rights. Why shouldn't the poor Protestants have civil rights as much as Papists? What is a civil right, anyway? Is it a decent sort of a house with enough room to move about in, with a lavatory and bathroom and running water?

That's one kind of civil right, surely. But if it was a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people for the last 50 years why weren't there decent houses for decent, Protestant, working class folk for the same length of time?

Did the Pope in Rome (or the Roman priests and bishops at home) prevent your getting decent houses? Was it the Fenians or the I.R.A. who kept the wages down and the taxes up?

Was it a conspiracy organised by Lemass or Lynch or the Roman Archbishop of Dublin who prevented factories being started in Derry city or in so many other places west of the Bann?

Might it not have been a Stormont conspiracy, a Unionist plot, one in which the grand masters themselves had more than a hand?

But now you are expendable. You may be thrown on the rubbish dump. You may be fired on, your houses destroyed, your women and children endangered by these huns from England with guns in their hands.

They are finished with you because, as far as they are concerned (the Unionist politicians), your job is done.

What was your job? To maintain a split in the working class movement so that it might be exploited with greater efficiency (you were always too considerate, too loyal, to insist on better conditions when appealed to, in the name of the Queen, by the Orange bosses).

Why is it over, now?

You know of the trade agreement between "Eire" and the Westminster Government? This ended the economic freedom of the 26 Counties, their right to exploit their own market in their own interest and build on it for exports.

The market of all Ireland now belongs to the English manufacturers to exploit to the full. Your job was to weaken the economy of all Ireland by remaining loyal to the Crown. When the English had consolidated themselves in the market provided by your six counties of Ulster they had a base for attack.

You could have got a better price for the job you did; but, sure, you didn't know. The Orange bosses never told you.

As long as it appeared even slightly possible that the rest of the Irish would attempt to build prosperity on economic independence you were needed to shout "not an inch."

But now, so that business may prosper in the English interest (the Irish market is vital to the safety of the pound) what is needed is a long period of law and order, peace and quietness. That could be accomplished much better under a Dublin Government which has learned to behave itself and do as Westminster tells it. So, as far as the English are concerned, partition no longer is a necessity.

You may be sold, now, with impunity, to Dublin.

Are we suggesting that you get down on your knees again to Westminster, Stormont and Dublin, and submit weakly to this conspiracy of the bosses for a bosses' republic?

Heavens, no.

We are not suggesting you join anything except a trade union, if you aren't a member of one already. But we do suggest that your interests, as workers, lie with the interests of other workers in this island, regardless of their religion or present politics.

That applies even if they happen to be Teigues; if they may have been Fenians; or may have taken some part in a civil rights campaign.

The main reality is the economic reality; and if worker stands against worker because deluded by the boss that he should do so for some snobbish, silly reason ("we're better than they are"), the only one to suffer will be the worker, all workers.

Most of us workers are joined already in a trade union which fights the boss, Orange or Papist, for better wages and conditions.

Isn't it time we got together politically to do away with all bosses and their hypocrites?—Ulsterman.



Henry Joy McCracken

It was on the Belfast mountains I heard a maid complain,
And she vexed the sweet June evening with her heart-broken strain

Saying: "Woe is me, life's anguish is more than I can dree,
Since Henry Joy McCracken died on the gallows tree."

At Donegore he proudly rode and he wore a suit of green,
And brave though vain at Antrim his sword flashed lightning keen.
And when by spies surrounded, his band to Slemish fled,
He came unto the Cavehill to rest his weary head.

I watched him each night long as in our cot he slept;
At daybreak through the heather to MacArt's fort we crept.
When news came from Green-castle of a good ship anchored nigh.

And 'twas down by yon wee fountain we met to say goodbye.

He says: "My love be cheerful, for tear and fear are vain."

He says: "My love be hopeful, this land will rise again."

He kissed me fondly, he kissed me three times o'er,

Saying: "Death shall never part us, my love for evermore."

That night I climbed the Cavehill and watched 'till morning blazed,

And when its fires had kindled across the loch I gazed;

I saw an English tender at anchor off Garmoyle,

But alas! no good ship bore him away to France's soil.

And twice that night a tramping came from the old shore road;

'Twas Ellis and his yeomen, false Niblock with them strode;

My father home returning the doleful story told,

'Alas,' he says, "young Harry Joy for fifty pounds is sold."

"And is it true?" I ask her. "Yes it is true", she said,

"For to this heart that loved him, I pressed his gory head.

And every night, pale, bleeding, his ghost comes to my side,

My Harry, my dead Harry, comes for his promised bride."

Now on the Belfast mountains this fair maid's voice is still,

For in a grave they laid her on high Carmony hill.

And the sad waves beneath her chant a requiem for the dead;

But the rebel winds shriek freedom above her weary head.

Lonely Banna Strand

'Twas on Good Friday morning all in the month of May
A German ship was signalling

THE REBEL BALLAD SHEET

beyond there in the bay,
'We've twenty thousand rifles here, all ready for to land'
But no answering signal did come from the lonely Banna Strand.

A motor-car was dashing through the early morning gloom.

A sudden crash, and in the sea they went to meet their doom.
Two Irish lads lay dying there just like their hopes so grand,
They could not give the signal now from lonely Banna Strand.

'No signal answers from the shore,' Sir Roger sadly said.

'No comrades here to welcome me, alas! they must be dead;
But I must do my duty and at once I mean to land.'

So in a boat he pulled ashore on lonely Banna Strand.

The German ships were lying there with rifles in galore.

Up came a British ship and spoke, 'No Germans reach the shore;

You are our Empire's enemy, and so we bid you stand.

No German foot shall e'er set foot on the lonely Banna Strand.'

They sailed for Queenstown Harbour. Said the Germans:

'We're undone,
The British are our masters man for man and gun for gun.

We've twenty thousand rifles here, but they never will reach land.

We'll sink them all and bid farewell to lonely Banna Strand.'

The R.I.C. were hunting for Sir Roger high and low.

They found him at McKenna's Fort, said they: 'You are our foe.'

Said he: 'I'm Roger Casement, I came to my native land.

I meant to free my countrymen on the lonely Banna Strand.'

They took Sir Roger prisoner and sailed for London Town,
And in the Tower they laid him as a traitor to the Crown.
Said he: 'I am no traitor' but his trial he had to stand
For bringing German rifles to the lonely Banna Strand.

'Twas in an English prison that they led him to his death.

'I'm dying for my country,' he said with his last breath.

He's buried in a prison yard far from his native land.

The wild waves sing his Requiem on the Lonely Banna Strand.

Buachailli

Loch Garman

Ar maidin Luan Cincise,
Thainig siabhradh chughainn sa ngleann;

Do bhailigh scata cag ann,
Ag deanamh abhacht dinn is greann:

Do bhuaileamar ina dtimpeall,
S' do lasamar ar dteinte,

'S do thogamar ceo brea draiochta,
Go h-aoibhinn os a gcionn!

II

Do thainig o Chuige Uladh chughainn,

Tuilleadh agus mile laoch;

Do thainig o Chuige Chonnachta,
A bhfoireann sud le faobhar:

Nior thugadar suaimhneas Chuige dhuinn,

Go dtugamar bualadh is fiche dhoibh,

'S nach ro-bhrea do bhi fuil againn,

'S coirp i ndeire an lae!

III

Ma theangmhadh ortsa an buachaill,

No stuaire an chinn chais;

'S go mbeadh ag cur mo thuirisce,
Thuas i measc na bhfear:

Innis mar sceal do uaimse,
Go bhfuilim annso go fuar lag,

Ar thaobh an tsleibh' faoi bhuaireardh,
Gan tuamba, gan sraith!

IV

Beir litir suas don Mhumhain uaim,

A ruin dhil is a stoir!

Is innis a dtoradh ruin doibh
Go bhfuil an cath ina gcomhair:

Is iomhda ainmhir mhilis mhuinte,
'S leabh fireann fionn geal,

Agus fear brea alainn lufar,
'San uir uainn ag dreoghadh!

V

Mo lean ar an Mumhain nar eirigh,

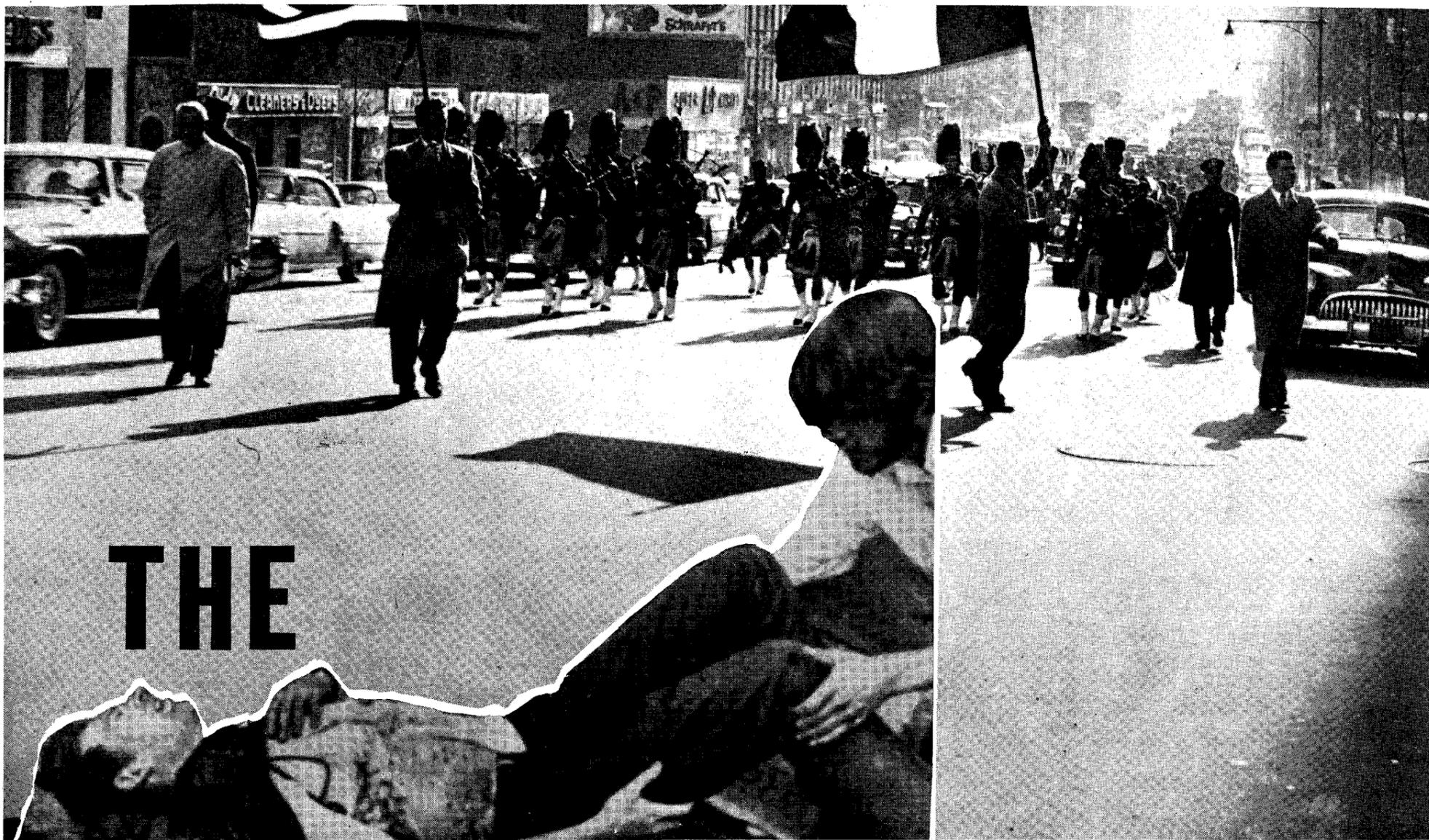
Nuair d'adhainamar an gleo;
Le h-airm greanta greadheanmhar,

Bhi faghartha go leor:
Anois o taimid cailte,

Agus neart ar namhaid 'n-ar dtimpeall,

Gra mo chroi na Laignigh,
'Os iad d'adhain an tine leo.

Micheal Og O Longain.



THE

PAPER

By **LEONARD GLASER**

HAT

IRISH

No one knows how many Americans are of Irish descent, but the estimates run between twenty and forty million. Two hundred and seventy thousand Presbyterians fled 18th century repression at the hands of the Church of Ireland, the tool of British imperialism. Their descendants now number ten to twenty million. Ten American Presidents were of Ulster Protestant stock. Hundreds of Irish Catholics came out to escape starvation and poverty in the nineteenth century.

Few of the descendants of the earlier migration retain even the knowledge of their Irish ancestry. Ireland means nothing to them. Only their Protestantism survived. They provided a choice feeding-ground for the anti-Catholic fanaticism of the Ku Klux Klan, but today, with the general decline of religion in America, even that has abated.

Only a few thousand Ultra-rightist fanatics can be found in America who involve themselves in the opposition to the Civil Rights struggle in Northern Ireland. Most notable are Bob Jones, Jr., of Bob Jones College, Greenville, South Carolina, and Carl McIntire, who runs an outfit called the twentieth century reformation. Paisley's Doctorate of Divinity was bestowed on him in Belfast by the Bob Jones School.

The Irish Catholics almost all retain a consciousness of their background. In the larger cities of Northern and western America, the St. Patrick's Day parade is usually the largest parade of the year. But few of those hundreds of thousands of marchers know or care about anything involving affairs in Ireland. They are referred to as "paper-hat Irishmen" referring to the green paper leprechaun hats they wear, happily only once a year. The prime energy behind this once a year manifestation of Irish-ness are groups affiliated with the Church. Many of the marching bands and co. come from the Parochial Schools. Over five million still go to these schools and the dominant ethnic group in the hierarchy is the Irish.

● For most Irish Americans there is a distinct difference in attitude towards demonstrations by them in support of freedom for Irish people at home and demonstrations by students or others on social issues in America. ABOVE: An Irish-American freedom parade in New York. INSET: Student at Berkeley, California grimaces in pain from birdshot wounds following a demonstration broken up by police.

Add the politicians and you get the picture. Whenever Northern Ireland Civil Rights support groups tried to march in the parade the cry was up "no politics in the parade". But the mayor on the reviewing stand and politicians riding in open cars in the parade, along with military units and guided missiles is "no politics"!

When the R.U.C. beat up the marchers in Derry last October the publicity gave rise to support groups of various size and politics, but all local and isolated from each other. The tours of Austin Currie, and then Gerry Fitt with Roddy Connolly, gave these groups something to do, but also showed up their basic isolation and lack of co-ordination.

In April a national organisation was first seriously discussed. Among the most active groups in the U.S. was the Citizens for Irish Justice in San Francisco. Sparked by Brian Heron, James Connolly's grandson, that group had already produced a monthly "THE IRISH FELON", named after the paper historically identified with Fintan Lalor, and had penetrated the St. Patrick's Day Parade, selling 4,000 copies along the Parade route.

Discussion with Tommy Makem and the Clancy Brothers led to money being raised to send Brian Heron on tour to contact the various local groups and to observe the situation. As a result a very loose alliance of local groups and individual leaders was created — The National Association for Irish Justice, with Brian Heron as National Co-ordinator. A visit to Belfast led to the official endorsement of the N.A.I.J. by the Civil Rights Association. This led to the defeat of the rival American Congress for Irish Freedom, whose president, James Heaney, had led along a right-wing course, attempting to win the sympathy of the American right wing by denouncing British trade with Hanoi and Cuba.

The local groups still acted on their own, each "doing their own thing". The most successful was Boston where the Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland recruited six hundred due-paying members, forced their way through police opposition in the parade and then came out with what is doubtlessly the best Irish paper of any kind to be found in America, the "RISING OF THE MOON".

The weakest link was New York. Sporadic efforts had been made there, meetings and pickets had been held, but no sustained organisation had developed.

New York is the lair of the most prominent Irish organisations, and their bureaucratic leadership feared to involve the masses because they would soon learn how incompetent and reactionary these parasites themselves are.

This period ended in July when the National Office of the N.A.I.J. was moved to New York from San Francisco. Immediately new organisations were set up in Irish neighbourhoods, large pickets were organised at the British Consulate, and a "Boycott Britain" Campaign was established, with B.O.A.C. as the first target.

The level of activity here is directly dependent on the

North. It was the street fighting and barricades there that brought out the thousands here. It was endorsement of the N.A.I.J. by the C.R.A. that firmly established it and it is the Bernadette Devlin tour that has brought out new layers of the masses to our meetings and has raised money so desperately needed both in the North and here to build a national organisation. As of August 29, over \$26,000 has been sent in by mail to the National Office by checks alone, with local affiliates raising additional funds. The National Office has already sent on \$35,000 of what it raised as its first contribution.

The N.A.I.J. is now definitely established and the Irish Question is now on the order of the day in America. But the road will be hard and full of pitfalls. Everyone understands the importance of the Irish vote, especially the Irish-American politicians. They climb all over each other, now, to have their pictures taken with Bernadette, to pass resolutions, etc., but they don't usually put in a penny to the cause, stay far away from Boycott picket lines and don't lift a finger to build mass organisation. These creatures, Republican and Democrat alike, have poured over \$7.7 billion into the British exchequer. They are the prop behind the British pound and they have a Naval Communications Base in Derry.

It is difficult to think of the Irish as racists; Ireland has contributed more per capita to Biafra than any other country. But most Irish-Americans are indeed racists and are on the far-right in opposition to the Black Movement here. Many have even left the Democratic and Republican parties to support Bill Buckley and his Conservative party.

There is a perpetual desire on the part of the members of the pro-Irish movement to avoid speaking out on this and other American questions, for fear of losing support and contributions from bigoted Irish-Americans.

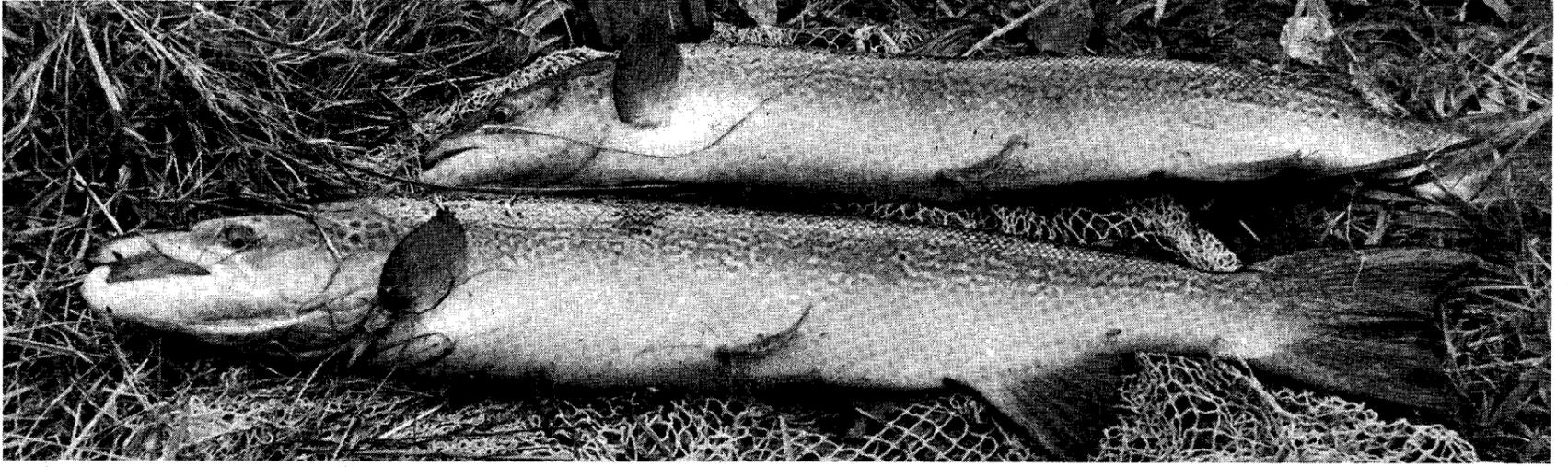
A sinister campaign of red-baiting has also naturally begun, attacking Bernadette's politics, from the right; attacking Brian Heron as an "agitator" (imagine that) etc. It emanates from the Irish-American right wing and is helped along by the Orange Order, having sent a "truth squad", Messrs. Orr, Baillie, and Mills, to expose Miss Devlin as "Fidel Castro in a mini-skirt".

The notorious Mayor Daley of Chicago Convention fame has modestly announced that money to help the refugees should be sent to him, and he will send it to the Irish Red Cross. He is trying to make sure that money doesn't wind up in the "wrong" hands — the C.R.A.

All of these problems are real; a serious education programme must be organised for the new recruits both on Irish and American politics.

The N.A.I.J. is having its first convention in Boston in early October. The movement in Ireland must appreciate the prime importance of that event and send out their best people to speak at the meeting. All manner of political literature should be sent out immediately, and constant communication and direction must be maintained.

Majority for public ownership



● Two dead salmon from the estimated one million fish killed by pollution on the Munster Blackwater.

The campaign for public ownership of Ireland's rivers and lakes was carried a step further recently when an emergency meeting of Galway County Council agreed to request the Agriculture Minister, Mr. Blaney, to buy the rich salmon fishery of the Corrib on behalf of the people.

The Corrib fishery, owned by the British firm of Cahill and Young Ltd., and leased by them to H. Barber and Co. Ltd., Billingsgate, London, has been the object of many demonstrations during the summer of this year by the National Waters Restoration League. The League have maintained that such a rich fishery should be used for the benefit of the Irish people and not for that of private companies of foreign origin.

Special Meeting

The special meeting of Galway County Council was called by the two Sinn Fein councillors, Frank Glynn and Paddy Ruane and a Labour

councillor, when information was received by them indicating that Cahill and Young were engaged in negotiations for the sale of the fishery. The Sinn Fein proposal was that the fishery be purchased by the County Council but this was opposed on the grounds that the expense would be excessive. All present, with one exception, agreed that the fishery should not be in private hands but should be used to benefit all the people.

Coogan

Alderman Fintan Coogan, Fine Gael T.D. and Mayor of Galway, opposed the idea of the purchase by the council, saying it was a matter for "private enterprise".

It has now been reported that Cahill and Young Ltd., are asking for £130,000 selling price for the fishery. It was bought by them in 1954 for £50,000. However, there is not exactly a queue of prospective buyers lining up as the recent large scale demon-

strations have made private ownership of the fishery a risky business.

Pollution

The death of thousands of fish in the Munster Blackwater was commented on by the NWRL in a statement in which they promised "full support to the Munster Council of Trout Angling Associations in their demand for a public sworn enquiry into the pollution that has killed thousands of fish in the River Blackwater.

"Since the formation of this League in 1965, we have on numerous occasions asked for a campaign to combat pollution but, to date, no effective action has been taken.

"We call on the government to undertake immediately a national campaign to combat this threat to the fisheries and obstacle to the future development of this natural asset".

I.R.F.U. A 32-COUNTY BODY

The Irish Rugby Football Union is a 32 County body. It and its supporters take great pride in this fact.

But in case any gullible person is led to believe by this that the IRFU is really a nationally-minded or even a Republican body, we must investigate the true situation.

The Irish Rugby Football Union is one of the 'home' countries i.e. it has a special place in the International Rugby Football Board with England, Scotland and Wales.

When the 'home countries' team tour Australia, New Zealand or South Africa, the Irish Union players join with the others under the name of the *British Lions*, and it is only the Irish newspapers which charitably refer to the "British and Irish Lions". (No doubt this is the kind of thing that will happen if Eddie MacAteer's misbegotten dream of a federation of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland comes true).

Union refused to cancel a single match.

The IRFU claims to be non-political and non-sectarian, but by its silence, the upper-class Protestants and the castle Catholics who make up its executive have shown themselves to be thoroughly in support of the Establishment in the North, concerned more with keeping up its good relations with the English RFU than with the interests of Ireland.

Another nasty feature of the IRFU is its complete and utter capitulation to the racists in South Africa. Next month, a so-called "South African team" tours Ireland. It plays in Belfast on November 29th, in Limerick on January 14th and at the international match against Ireland on January 10th at Lansdowne Road.

Few readers of the *United Irishman* need to be persuaded about the evil nature of apartheid and racism in South Africa.

South Africa is the *only* country in the world where the official policy of the State, supported by nearly all of the whites (English and Afrikaner) is to discriminate in every aspect of life against the vast majority of the population, African, coloured and Indian.

Majority

The majority have no representation in the South African Parliament, have segregated and inadequate schooling, a vast infant mortality (200-300 per 1,000 live births) and their political organisations, principally the African National Congress, have been banned. There are at least 8,000 political prisoners and an all-embracing network of machinery of oppression based on the Nazi pattern. Now, an armed guerrilla struggle has broken out.

Yet the masters of the IRFU have, unlike other sporting organisations, always kept quiet about the conditions under which their teams have toured South Africa. Some players (like Tony O'Reilly now earning £20,000 p.a. with Heinz in England and formerly of Bord Baine) have been active apologists for South Africa.

The IRFU, being stuck for arguments in support of its treacherous sell-out, has actually said, according to the

October newsletter of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, that to cancel the tour would be to practice discrimination against a team "on account of its racial colour." Now, if a black African country selected a team as South Africa has done, would the TRFU use the same argument?

We must not let the IRFU speak in our name. If the tour takes place successfully, Ireland's reputation will be soiled not only in Africa but in other European countries also. Even in Britain, agitation for the cancellation of the tour has grown apace.

Can Irish men and women remain silent? Remember, the African National Congress, now actually fighting on the borders of South Africa, has asked us to do everything to stop the tour. If we fail in this then we must make the IRFU, its hangers on and the white racists of South Africa as uncomfortable as possible.

Civil Rights protest

The Strabane Committee, Civil Rights Association last month issued a statement saying that they are deeply concerned at the continued detention, under the "Special Powers Act", of Mr. Malachy McGurran, Lurgan and Mr. Francis Card, Belfast.

The statement reads: "We are aware that Mr. Card is being charged with the possession of firearms and Mr. McGurran with being in possession of documents relating to Republican Clubs. The above committee find it difficult to fathom your sense of justice; when the persons mentioned are continually remanded in custody under the "Special Powers Act" while a number of extreme Protestants have been charged with being in possession of firearms and were allowed bail.

If Mr. McGurran is to be compelled to face the charges in relation to Republican Club documents the above committee have no alternative but to believe that Republicans are to be continually denied the basic civil right freedom of political expression, and that this denial is to be enforced by the absurd "Special Powers Act". "While this situation exists the above committee can have no confidence whatever in the administration now in control". The statement was signed on behalf of the committee by Liam Mac Elhinney, Secretary.

SIT DOWN AND BE IGNORED

Sit Down and Be Counted: the Cultural Evolution of a Television Station. By Jack Dowling, Lelia Doolan and Bob Quinn. Wellington Publishers Ltd. 30s.

Bob Quinn, Jack Dowling and Lelia Doolan, by their stormy resignations from R.T.E. and articulate expressions of revulsion for the station's policies, revealed an ugly-looking wound in the hide of the R.T.E. monster at the time. But now, it seems that their long-awaited explanation-cum-apologia may fall on rather deaf ears.

The actual carnage has abated and the public turns to other things for amusement—until the bell for the next round reclaims their attention. The monster itself has long since grown a brand new layer of flesh and today looks as unperturbed as ever.

One can only hope that the festering sore in R.T.E. will erupt again before too long—with more disastrous results than the publication of one erudite, well-written book.

Mr. Lalor, the new Minister responsible, in his answers to the pitifully few Dail questions on this important book fully reflected his predecessors in his refusal to answer, or even entertain, serious criticisms.

A great part of the book is devoted to recounting the sequence of inter-office memos which led up to the various scandals of R.T.E.'s chequered history—the Haughey phone-call, the Dev biography, the Special Branch, Mount Pleasant Square, Vietnam, Biafra and so on. These, the authors claim, are only the

outer manifestations of the deeper, structural malaises which afflict R.T.E., chief of which are its terms of reference—to pay its own way through advertising and to provide at the same time a national television service, propagating national ideals and safeguarding national traditions against the eroding influence of foreign television stations.

R.T.E. has failed miserably to reconcile these two conflicting commitments. They are hardly to be blamed. It was an impossible brief anyway. As it is, R.T.E. is eroding our national consciousness far more efficiently than B.B.C. could ever have done.

More Irish language pro-

grammes are vitally needed; farmers are hardly served at all by R.T.E.; more religious programmes are needed to raise the very poor quality of religious faith and awareness in this country.

The desire is there to make television serve the people — instead of, as at present, constantly oppressing, degrading and exploiting them. The talent is there; so is the intellectual drive; but the money and the freedom are withheld. Under the present circumstances it might almost be as well if the alleged U.V.F. plot to destroy Montrose were to succeed. If thy right hand offend thee . . .

Convicted for being republican

The long battle in the courts over the legality of the Six County Republican Clubs ended in a Magherafelt Court in early October.

For 15 months the case has occupied the courts of British Justice right up to the House of Lords in London. The House of Lords decided in favour of upholding the ban on the Clubs, introduced by Mr. William Craig when he was Minister of Home Affairs at Stormont.

When the case came back to the local court the three Republicans involved were convicted and given a conditional discharge for 12 months. John McEldowney of Slaughtneil, Swatragh was convicted of being a member of Slaughtneil Republican Club; Denis Cassidy, Swatragh, of assisting to promote a con-

cert by a Republican Club in Slaughtneil Hall on Sunday March 3, 1968 and of being a Republican Club member; Sean McEldowney of assisting in the presentation of the concert and of attending meetings of a Republican Club. All the prosecutions were brought under the Special Powers Act.

After the court decision was made known the Republican Clubs Executive issued the following statement:

"Irrespective of decisions emanating from the British House of Lords, or court proceedings, Republican Clubs exist and will continue in existence.

"It is ironic that at a time when Mr. Callaghan visits our shores again advocating 'British Justice', a purely political organisation is denied the right of political association

Wasp

The International Board is itself a predominantly WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) body, which, for instance, has excluded national teams such as the Rumanians altogether, and has denied others, such as the French, voting rights.

During August and September, nearly every sporting organisation in Ireland set up relief machinery to provide some form of humanitarian assistance to the refugees in the north. The IRFU was remarkable in this respect only for its silence. During the worst part of the sectarian violence in the North, the

and expression. However, as Republicans, we know from bitter experience the true nature of 'British Justice'.

The Clubs have not stopped their activity because of the court decision. They will, in fact, organise more public activity under the Republican banner.

SYMPATHY

Is oth le Poblachtoiri ar fud na hEireann cas mna agus clainne an fhir a fuair bas ag Staisiun Ginte Beal Atha Seanaigh, Thomas Campbell McDowell. Is cuid de thragoid na hEireann e agus de'n dochar ata deanta ag an teorann nach in aghaidh fion-naimhde na t're seo a chait se a dhuthracht. Ta sean taidhi ag Poblachtoiri ar thimpisti uafasacha ar nos an ceann a d'fhulaing fear cheile na mna seo agus ta trua na hEireann ag dul di fein agus da clainn. Ni maith linn a mbris.

British troops sit on Belfast rooftops but 26 Co. Army is . . .

PREPARING TO JOIN NATO



In line with Fianna Fail general policy of national sell-out over recent years, the Free Trade agreement with Britain, EEC membership application, the introduction of foreign capital, the 26 County military forces are being drawn closer to the aggressive NATO bloc.

The process can be dated from the first involvement of 26 County military in international affairs with the UN forces in the Congo in the early sixties. The number of stripes in NCO's rank insignia was changed to correspond to those of other countries with units in the Congo at the time. The 'international standard' referred to by the government at the time, in their explanation of the change, is in fact the NATO standard. There is no 'international standard'.

Ammunition supply

The uniform for military policemen was made to correspond exactly to that of the NATO standard, which is based on that of the British Army. Again, the reason given was to conform with other countries on UN service. The black and white 'MP' armband, which came to NATO from the USA, has meant that a military policeman is no longer referred to by the traditional term 'PA' (Poilini an Airm) but as 'MP'.

Infantry weapons are being replaced by NATO standard weapons. The Lee Enfield rifle, Bren light machine-gun and FN medium machine-gun all English made and all .303" are being replaced by, respectively, FN light automatic rifle, FN light machine-gun, and Vickers medium machine-gun (all 7.62mm calibre — the standard NATO small arms calibre) made at the Belgian arms factory—Fabrique National d'Armes de Guerre.

The rifle has been completely replaced in the regular army by the FN. Pending the gradual replacement of the other weapons, these are being 'sleeved' (having their calibre reduced) to 7.62mm—.300". This means that even before all the weapons have been replaced, all the small arms ammunition will be NATO standard, which is imported from Belgium with approval of NATO HQ. Thus if NATO did not approve of any activity of the 26 County military, the ammunition supply could be cut off.

Different colour

Mechanised units have been painting their vehicles a different colour recently, from the traditional colour to matt bottle-green, which, by a strange coincidence is also the NATO standard. Some vehicles are being given unit identification marks, a departure from previous practice, based on a simple system whereby anyone familiar with it can tell to which units and formations different vehicles belong.

Uniforms are being marked with a system of unit flashes similar to those on vehicles so that division commanders (who might not always be Irishmen, if the Governments plans are what we think they are) can recognise their men.

Changed concept

Junior officers of combat units have been to the USA on 'anti-guerrilla' and 'anti-insurgent' battle courses. On their return 26 County army units have been conducting anti-guerrilla exercises under the watchful eyes of American army 'Observers' and 'Advisers'. It appears, therefore, that the official idea of the 26 County Army as a defence force only has changed, from the traditional concept of a guerrilla army committed to the defence of 26 County territory, to that of an anti-guerrilla army. The forces are now being trained as such under US Army supervision.

The government is thus committing its forces to NATO ideas and concepts in preparation for the day when they can safely announce their intention of joining this aggressive bloc. A recent issue (July) of 'An Cosantoir', the 'Irish Defence Journal' is full of articles by unidentified correspondents glorifying NATO and its attack potential.

The articles, written in a childish unscientific manner, talk of organising resistance movements in Eastern European countries "against the Red oppressors" and that when these resistance movements rise up against the "Red Yoke" the politicians must not be "allowed to muddle things up for their own ends". An interesting line of thought for armies allegedly under civilian, political control. Mr. Lynch had better keep a close eye on the Generals in the Curragh.

BRITISH STANDARDS OF JUSTICE

Patrick Christopher O'Sullivan (25), of Loreto Park, Lower Friars Walk, Togher, Co. Cork, and Conor Lynch (19), a student, of Earlwood Estate, Togher, were each sentenced to seven years imprisonment at the Old Bailey in London.

A jury had found them guilty of assaulting a security officer with intent to rob a sub-machinegun factory, the Sterling Engineering Works, at Dagenham, Essex. They had each pleaded not guilty.

Before passing the savage sentence of seven years, Judge Neil McKinnon made remarks in open court which clearly showed the mood of vengeance underlying the verdict in this case.

Judge McKinnon said to O'Sullivan: "You are a member of the Irish Republican Army".

Turning to Lynch, the Judge said: "You are a member of Sinn Fein, which seems to have as its object a 32 County Irish Socialist Republic, and the IRA appears to be a part of Sinn Fein, a specialist branch of it".

The Judge added: "To my mind the evidence against both defendants was absolutely overwhelming".

He added significantly: "I have got to pass sentence on you which is going to discourage any attacks on any sort of gun factories".

O'Sullivan and Lynch said in evidence that they came to England to conduct a political course for young Irish exiles at a camp in Essex. They denied that they had any part in the raid.

After the verdict, Detective Chief Inspector George Leslie said in reply to the judge that there had not been any reported I.R.A. activities in England, Scotland and Wales for many years, before this offence.

The same day in Lurgan, Co. Armagh, two Protestant youths, Ronald Adamson (19) and Alan Green (17), who threw petrol bombs which set fire to the home of a Catholic family, were each sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

MORE TROUBLE IN R. T. E.

Recent events in Montrose make it clear that the episodic conflict between programme staff and the RTE authorities has not ended with the resignation of that creative trinity, Bob Quinn, Lelia Doolan and Jack Dowling.

The suppression of Father Herlihy's 'Outlook' broadcast was followed by the circulation of an anonymous news-sheet giving what sounded like highly plausible details of the ins and outs of this unsavoury affair. A second issue is promised giving the truth about various newsroom scandals—again said to be close to the bone by those in the know. And although the Autumn schedules raised no bark from the Government's kept language-watchdogs, the staff of 'Féach' made their own protest against inadequate facilities.

New book

The next occasion for unrest is likely to be the publication of the Doolan-Dowling Declaration. The book will reveal the full details of a lot of dirty washing. But there is no sign that the authors are even beginning to understand the real significance of the simmering discontent in RTE. Their analysis is in terms of personalities all through—one man was weak, another was power-hungry, and so on. So what we really need is dedication, communication and a firm (but understanding) hand at the top.

This is nonsense. The official function of RTE is to provide a broadcasting service answering the needs of the Irish people. Its actual function is to brainwash and manipulate the people in the interests of the small group of politi-

cians, businessmen and bishops who act as local managers for foreign capital. The contradiction between these two functions leads to a built-in hypocrisy.

Parallel

The parallel between the universities and RTE is close: neither can be liberated fully until the system which shackles them is broken. Tension and frustration is inevitable. The actual individuals involved in running the service are largely irrelevant. Different people would have to run it in much the same way—or lose their jobs. (It is worth remembering that Lelia Doolan, as Head of Light Entertainment, was responsible for the notorious Teach Furbo programme last year).

This doesn't mean that good programmes cannot be made, or that it isn't worth protesting about bad ones. But it does mean that the kind of campaign being carried on by RTE programme staff at present isn't much use.

Resignations on grounds of (middle-class) principle, anonymous exposés, hit-and-run explosions—all these would make sense if the fault lay with a few evil individuals or a few unwise policies. But since the abuses are part of the whole function of the service, they can only be fought by conscious and open activity among large sections of the staff—political activity. Undercover conspiracies get nowhere and alienate potential and essential support.

Anonymous

A case in point: at the moment, pressure is being brought on some of those responsible for the anonymous news-sheet, to prevent the next issue coming out. Normally, people being intimidated in this way could rely on fairly wide support from the rest of the staff. But precisely because they have remained anonymous, there is no way in which they can ask for this support!

Meath debates damage claims

Last month the Meath County Council debated malicious damage claims lodged by foreign owners of farm property in the county who were burned out early in August as part of a campaign against foreign control of Irish land.

The majority of the councillors agreed that the rate-payers should not have to pay for any damage and that the Malicious Injury Act should be abolished. The Land Commission was strongly criticised for allow-

ing so much land in County Meath to fall into the hands of foreigners.

Senator D. Farrelly, who raised the matter in the council, said that the Malicious Injury Act was introduced by an alien government to protect the planters and was now being availed of to subsidise the insurance companies who, while all the time collecting premiums on insured property, called on the rate-payers to foot the bill for any damage caused.

An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

Published by Republican Publications,
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Fon: 41045

Deireadh Fomhair, 1969

Is í An Phoblacht ar guspóir.

True or False?

Those who say we should have a spurious Irish unity by being silent on social policies are saying we should accept the type of freedom we have in the 26 Counties and extend it to the 32. This is acceptance of the Fianna Fail line and it is also accepting the British Imperial line.

If Britain is forced to withdraw her physical presence from Ireland after a struggle against "Republicans" with no ideology or policy beyond getting rid of British troops, she will still be in a position to maintain her control over the whole island by her economic domination of a society which accepts slavishly the social concepts laid down by Britain. This is precisely her position in the 26 Counties and while she will fight to maintain her direct control of as much of the country as possible she will be prepared to accept less political control, as envisaged in Lynch's Council of Ireland or Federal idea, or in fact she will be prepared to accept no political control at all so long as she is assured of continuing economic and social control.

Any of these solutions would be acceptable to Britain in some degree. But they would not be acceptable to the Irish people who know the meaning of Freedom and Independence and they certainly would not be acceptable to Republicans with any grasp of what Republicans have traditionally fought for whether as United Irishmen, Fenians or Sinn Feiners.

Connolly's warning is even more valid today. Political independence and no change of ownership is meaningless as the denuded population of the West are at last realising.

It is therefore of vital importance that Republicans spell out clearly what type of society they want. They must identify themselves as differing fundamentally from the new Fianna Fail or Blaney type of pseudo-Republicanism and show that they stand squarely for the traditional revolutionary Republicanism of Tone, Lalor, Pearse and Connolly.

Article 44

In October, 1968, the "United Irishman" made its first appeal for the deletion of sub-sections 2 and 3 of the 1937 Constitution.

In our editorial "Advice and Consent" it was stated: "Recognising that religious divisions are strongly pronounced both North and South of the artificial border dividing our country it is now imperative that Republicans demands legislation to implement non-sectarian Constitutional provisions." That "Advice" is even more imperative today.

Almost two years after the unanimous recommendation from the three-party committee on the 1937 Constitution Jack Lynch says he "may remove Article 44."

It took ten deaths and one of the greatest national tragedies our country has ever seen for Lynch to risk a fight with the Catholic Hierarchy on this matter. What more positive proof of Fianna Fail-Hierarchy collaboration could there be than a two-year deafening silence?

What of Dr. Simms and the Twenty-Six County Protestant elite? They too have been silent through the years although individual clerics and laymen tried to arouse public support.

Republicans do not wish to be seen to uphold the 1937 Constitution; as Tomás MacGiolla said, we stand for its abolition.

However, in the immediate future, from a short-term point of view, Republicans must continue to champion all non-sectarian causes to show where they stand.

The question of divorce apart, the deletion of Art. 44 (1), 2 and 3 is now a realisable goal after a long period of moral cowardice.

The Party Pregnant

Criticism has been expressed in Labour Party circles at the terms of the attack made on the Parliamentary Labour Party's call for more British troops and direct rule by Westminster in last month's issue of the UNITED IRISHMAN. We have no apology to make, but we might expect some apology or explanation from the Parliamentary Labour Party for their extraordinary stand on the crisis in the north.

The Republican Movement policy is best expressed in Tone's dictum: "To break the connection with England—the never failing source of all our political evils." Less interference and not more is our policy. A call for direct Westminster rule as made by the Parliamentary Labour Party is a call for more interference, not less.

The ordinary unconsulted membership of the Labour Party are reacting. In Cork, resolutions condemning the call for the involvement of British troops by the Labour Lord Mayor and his Deputy have been sent by Labour Party branches to their H.Q. in Dublin. Many Labour people with Republican sympathies are at a loss to understand how a person now sitting in the Chair once held by McCurtain and Mac Suibhne could advocate such treachery. Which leaves a lot of persuading to the Parliamentary Labour Party.

In former times when Ireland appeared to have made peace with British imposed slavery poets took to comparing the country to a prostitute. The poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth century is full of the allusion. Parliamentary Labour appear to be the only section of the body politic anxious for the role in the twentieth century. Very well then. If the Parliamentary Labour Party insists on whoring with British Imperialism because of Harold Wilson's alleged socialism nothing the Republican Movement can say will stop them. But they had better beware of the people.

THE GREAT HINDSIGHT
STORY

As a delighted reading public wondered how Nusight could possibly provide 84 glossy pages for only 1/- a small number, including at least one trade union are wondering what is going on behind the scenes. Nusight editor, Mr. Vincent Browne's dramatic and well publicised expulsion from Fine Gael was matched by not so well publicised expulsions and witch hunts among his own staff. Mr. Browne has been reinstated by Fine Gael. This has not happened with his staff.

The Nusight staff row revolves around the special September issue on the Six Counties. The bulk of careful research that went into this was the work of John Dowling and Rosita Sweetman. David Shanks was commissioned to do an article on the position at Stormont; Anne Harris wrote an article on the IRA; John Feeney who had recently joined the staff, was responsible for an historical analysis.

As copy date approached Northern Ireland political tensions seemed to reproduce themselves among the Nusight staff. The article by David Shanks, critical of the old Nationalist party and especially of Mr. Austin Currie, M.P. was rejected by Mr. Browne. Anne Harris' article on the IRA had tried to counter the prevalent mythologies of the national press by

showing that the Republican Movement had an early and consistent involvement with Civil Rights. This article was rejected by Mr. Browne and rewritten by Mr. Feeney. In its final form it was a garbled polemic about the IRA's alleged failure to indulge in military action.

Anne Harris has since been dismissed from the staff of Nusight.

On August 31st, John Dowling and Rosita Sweetman walked out in protest and David Shanks resigned all connection with Nusight. They were objecting to Mr. Browne's interference in their work. This took the form of treating all individual articles as research material, to be rewritten by Mr. Browne himself, together with whatever emendations, additions and political corrections as he saw fit.

John Dowling and David Shanks asked that their names be removed from the credits.

Their particular objection was that Nusight was introducing into Irish Journalism the disreputable re-write techniques of the Springer Press and Time magazine.

Since this might have revealed a split between those 'loyal' to the management, like Mr. John Feeney and those in dispute, Mr. Browne forgot to delete their names. John Dowling and David Shanks then wrote to the National Press, repudiating their responsibility for the Northern analysis as rewritten by Mr. Vincent Browne.

To the astonishment of Mr. Dowling and Mr. Shanks, the Irish Times, Irish Press and Irish Independent failed to publish the letter.

Next month Nusight, a subsidiary of Usitravel, will perform its usual miracle of producing a large, glossy magazine with little advertising.

There will however be a slight difference; three of their most talented contributors will be missing and it will cost twice as much. Mr. John Feeney, however, will still be writing for it.

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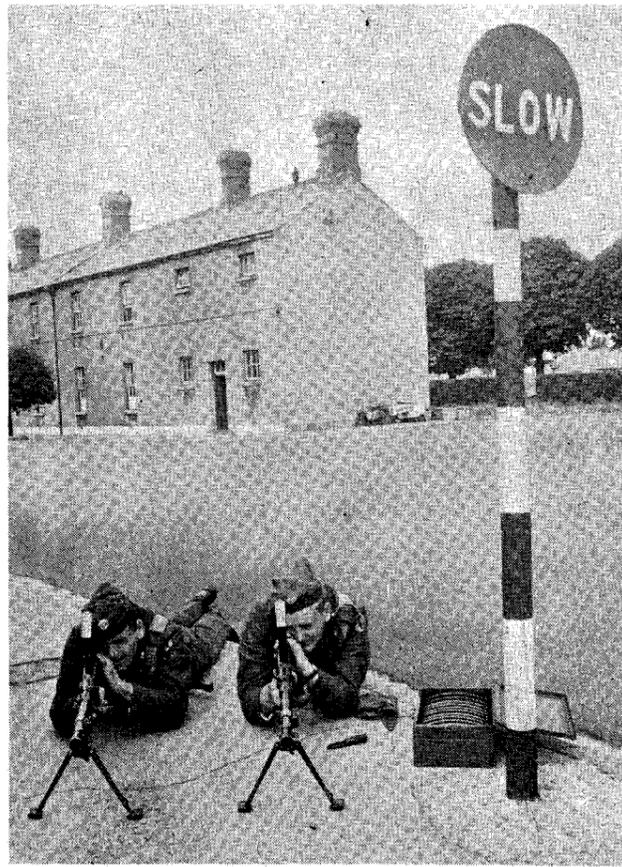
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Write for Book List



● Lynch rules out force in Tralee as Free State Army Reservists train in Cathal Brugha Barracks. During September 400 fully equipped Irish soldiers were displaced to Cyprus to help clear up the mess left by Britain there.

Letter to the
Editor

A Chara,

Recently, while on the staff of Nusight, I interviewed some members of the Republican movement in connection with the role of that movement in building up and guiding the Civil Rights agitation in Northern Ireland.

I wish to make it clear that the article "What ever happened to the IRA?" in September's issue of Nusight was not in fact written by me.

On the instructions of Mr. Vincent Browne and against my protests it was re-written. The person who re-wrote it was Mr. John Feeney.

The article as printed may strike Republicans as meretricious, confused and badly informed.

This is possibly because Mr. Feeney had to re-write it at very short notice and against the protests of some members of the staff, including that of the only trade union member, myself.

Mr. Feeney is reputed to be a socialist. His conduct

in this matter would make a good feature for next month's Nusight under the general title, "Whatever happened to John Feeney?"

Sincerely yours,
Anne Harris,
48 Booterstown Ave.,
Blackrock.

ORGANISERS FUND

A special fund has been established to help finance the large number of organisers now on the road. It is expected that each area will make an effort to raise some of this finance. Contributions should be sent to: "ORGANISERS", 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

SINN FEIN

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SLIGO TOWN HALL
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