

# THE UNITED IRISHMAN

Has the Civil Rights Movement outlived its usefulness? A very dangerous attitude of complacency among some sections of Civil Rights supporters in the North would seem to suggest that all the aims of the Movement have been attained and that some form of political organisation should take its place. Such a suicidal mood is sheer lunacy at a time when both Stormont and Westminster are backsliding on recommendations made by Commissions established by them.

Local authorities are to be deprived of much of their present powers under the new dispensation while the power withdrawn will be concentrated at a higher political level where Unionist hegemony can never be challenged as long as the Border exists.

A new Gerrymander is to be foisted on the area to replace the old while the sectarian B-Specials are to be divided into two forces and their reign of terror in rural parts extended indefinitely into the future.

The Special Powers Act is to remain intact and Republicans, who have done so much to guard the integrity and forward the demands of Civil Rights, are to be abandoned to their fate. Malachy McGurran and Francis Card are still being held in Crumlin Road Prison under the Special Powers Act. Almost everything has been promised — but nothing yet achieved. Now, more than ever, the Civil Rights Movement must remain united, alert and watchful.

In the South, Fianna Fail's betrayal of the Nation's right to full independence received a setback from an unexpected quarter. Craig's speech on Federalism where he urged that Lynch's Tralee speech on the same topic deserved examination to "see how much it reflected thinking in the Republic and in the British Government" highlighted the Fianna Fail manoeuvre as reported in last month's *United Irishman*. Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtaran Sinn Fein, in

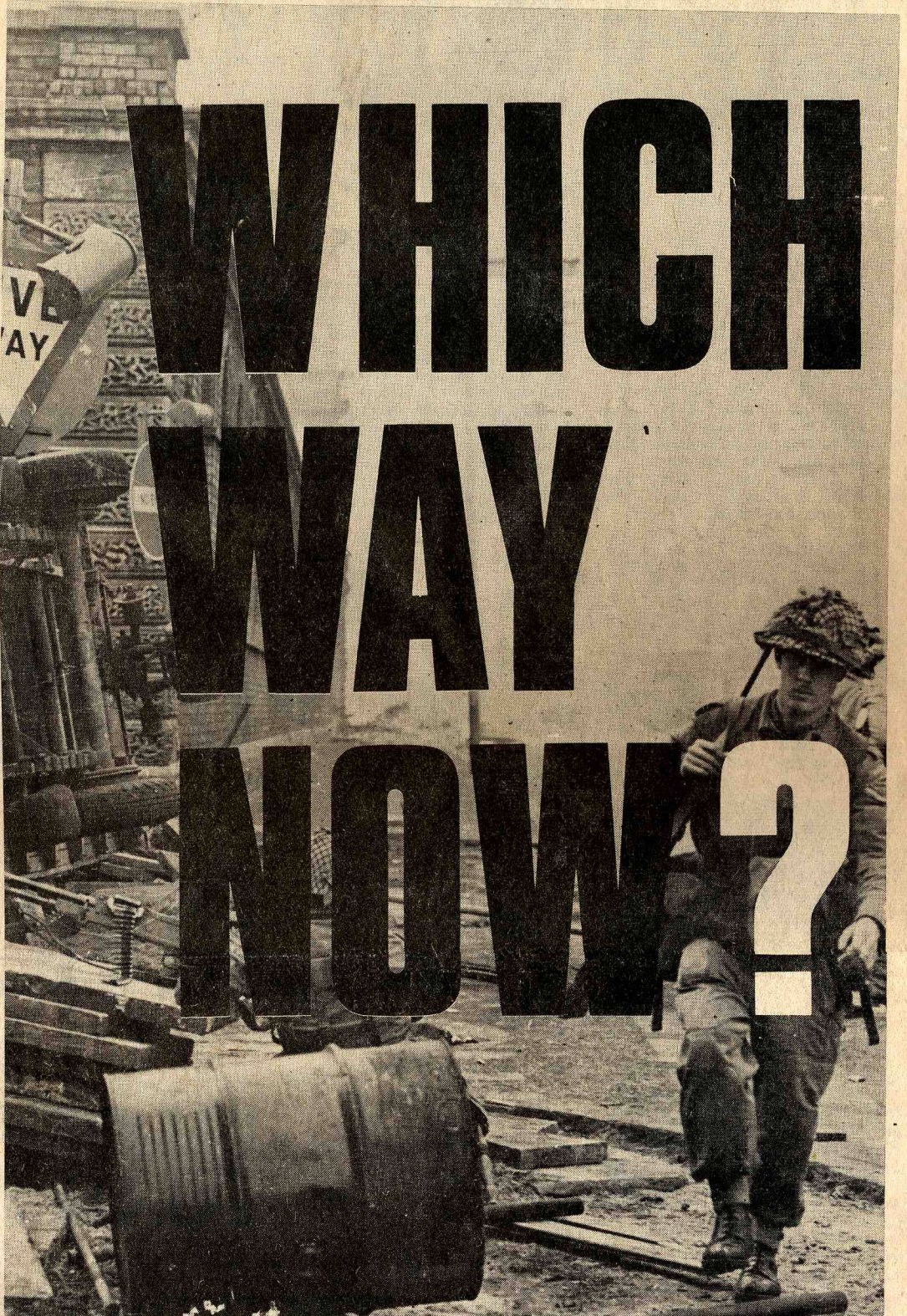
an important speech given in Waterford also spoke about the British plan for a united Ireland, when he said:

"The overall strategy of the British Imperial Government is to establish a federal government in Westminster, with provincial governments in Wales, Scotland, Belfast and Dublin. Messrs. Lemass, O'Neill, and Eddie McAteer all agreed to fall in line with this strategy, and when Lynch succeeded Lemass he also met O'Neill to confirm that Fianna Fail policy had not changed in this matter."

"Terence O'Neill spelled out very clearly the type of "Federation" which was envisaged and Eddie McAteer showed he was in complete agreement by advocating "a little United Nations of the British Isles." Lemass slowly flew the kite of federalism but left it so vague as to give the impression that he had in mind a federal system of government within Ireland. However, a close examination of his statement and subsequent statements of Mr. Lynch reveals that they were gradually preparing the way for the imposition of Britain's final solution on the Irish people."

"The most frightening aspect of Mr. Lynch's statement in Leinster House, on October 22, was not that he finally and formally abandoned the objective of an Independent Republic, but his statement that the government had no firm objective in mind and were seemingly prepared to allow Westminster and Stormont to produce the ideas. Not surprisingly, Fine Gael could not think beyond a Council of Ireland and the Labour Party could not think at all."

"Let Mr. Lynch, Mr. Blaney, Boland, Haughey, Colley and the other members of Fianna Fail who believe in a Federation with Britain be honest with the Irish people and particularly with their own party members. Let them now form a Federation Party to advance their ideas rather than to continue to advance them behind the cloak of Republicanism," he concluded.



## TAKE-OVER OF CIVIL RIGHTS PLANNED

Messrs. Blaney, Haughey and Boland are seeking to buy their way into control of Civil Rights policy in the North so as to ensure there will be no opposition from Civil Rights while Fianna Fail concocts the Federal deal with Britain which is now being planned.

This amazingly bare-faced plot was investigated over a two month period by the *United Irishman* special investigation team who unravelled the web of conspiracy and intrigue spun across the country by Fianna Fail and the Donegal "Mafia" in an attempt to turn Civil Rights supporters into political Judases.

Spearhead of the Blaney-Haughey-Boland conspiracy to subvert the Civil Rights movement is the Aidan Corrigan group in Dungannon and Seamus Brady, a journalist up to

recently attached to the Dublin Government's propaganda corps.

The finance for the take-over job involves large injections of Fianna Fail money channelled from Messrs. Blaney, Haughey and Boland through Brady, former P.R.O. of TACA, who has been given a huge sum of money per week by his masters to induce Civil Rights people and others to follow the Fianna Fail Government's line and go along with it when the sell-out to Britain comes.

The infiltration of Civil Rights is being conducted on many levels. The method is to provide money, services hard to come by and to undertake the printing of propaganda for the Civil Rights cause.

At first the Civil Rights propaganda is intended to be plausible and innocuous; but as its influence is built up over a period of time it will be able to swing large sections of Civil Rights opinion behind the Southern Govern-

ment line when the moment comes.

The rather obvious mixture of Civil Rights news and Fianna Fail image-making in "The Voice of the North" paper brought out by Brady and Corrigan is proof of this progression in the moulding of public opinion.

It is hard to believe that Mr. Jack Lynch is unaware of this cynical double-dealing by his Ministers. These Fianna Fail politicians are doing their best to disrupt Civil Rights and anti-Unionist forces in the North whose successes have been politically highly embarrassing to them.

Other questions arise. Is this plan an official Government or an official Fianna Fail plan? How much of this work has been financed directly by Government money? How many people do Fianna Fail want to elect on the Executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association at next January's annual meeting?

SEE SPECIAL INVESTIGATION TEAM REPORT ON PAGE 2



The chief agent of the Fianna Fail attempt to take over and control the Civil Rights movement in the North is Mr. Seamus Brady.

Brady was one of the truth squad appointed by George Colley, acting on behalf of the Taoiseach, to tell the "right facts" about the North to world opinion. He relinquished his position with the Government Information Bureau around mid-October. Officially, as long as he was on the press corps, Brady was to be at all times at the disposal of the Director of the Government Information Bureau, Eoin Neeson. Or so it seemed at the outset.

Brady's background leaves no doubt as to the suitability of the appointment; more than 20 years journalistic experience with the Daily Express, followed by two years as top political writer for the Irish Press.

### P. R. O.

More recently still Brady founded Press Associates of Ireland Ltd., with an address at 21 Upper Mount St., Dublin, not a stones throw away from the Fianna Fail national H.Q. Since that date a variety of interesting and challenging jobs have come his way.

Apart from running the Irish Farming News, the Fianna Fail farmers counterblast to the Irish Farmers' Journal, Brady has acted for a time as P.R.O. for TACA, carries out public relations work for the Fianna Fail party, and still finds time to write speeches for the fireball of the North, Neil Blaney.

Since his appointment on the Southern truth squad Seamus Brady, working ostensibly as a journalist, has paid numerous visits across the border. He is not



● Aidan Corrigan

as concerned with collecting facts, however, as he is with doing political work. Civil Rights and Republican people all over the North have been visited by him.

Money is no object with Mr. Brady. Backed by the Boland-Blaney-Haughey consortium, he also draws on his official Government allowance. The activity of Brady and a host of Fianna Fail agents inside the North has involved the spending of thousands of pounds to harness Civil Rights workers so that the people so duped will look to Fianna Fail for leadership in the impending crisis.

Seamus Brady has attended meetings of the Derry Citizens Defence Committee and, in the past ten days, has entertained leaders of that committee including Paddy Doherty, its vice-chairman, in Dublin's exclusive Russell Hotel.

### Offer

Seamus Brady approached the Monaghan Civil Rights Information Centre and offered to finance the publication of a newspaper. This offer came after the people manning the centre had themselves decided to launch one. He envisaged a newspaper that would not be official Civil Rights or Republican. Brady's inspired offer was not taken up and the Monaghan office, which has no direct connection with the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, has since published its own news sheet, "The North".

Time taken off from wooing grass-roots people by Mr. Brady is spent wooing actual and potential leaders of the struggle in the North. Paddy Devlin, Northern Ireland Labour M.P. for Falls is one target.

# FIANNA FAIL PLOTS TAKE- OVER OF CIVIL RIGHTS



● Seamus Brady

Thousands of copies of a 19 page booklet, "Terror in Northern Ireland — the true story", written by Seamus Brady were distributed at the Labour Party Conference in Brighton by Devlin.

Mr. Devlin was embarrassed by queries from British Trade Unionists attending the Brighton Conference as to why the booklet had no imprint on it to indicate where it was printed or whether it was printed in a T.U. house or not. Neither was there a publishers address attached.

"Terror in Northern Ireland" did, however, come from a trade union house — the Cityview Press, with an address at 32 Portland Place, Dublin. The omission of the imprint was not caused by the rush to print the booklet but by Brady's concern that the source remain unknown.

### Dungannon

The next person to benefit from Mr. Brady's expertise was Mr. Aidan Corrigan, prominent member of Dungannon Civil Rights Committee, a supporter of closer integration of the North with Britain through the abolition of Stormont and running the Six Counties by a commission. He is also a strong Fianna Fail supporter.

Corrigan's booklet, "Eye-Witness in Northern Ireland" was also printed at the Cityview Press and seen through the press by Brady. But the inside back cover of the booklet bears the following legend: "Printed and published in the Province of Ulster by the Voice of Ulster Publications". The cover of Corrigan's 36 page booklet carries the same photograph as that of Brady's own "Terror in Northern Ireland".

"Eye-Witness in Northern Ireland" was launched at a press conference in Dublin organised by Brady on Sunday, October 5. Corrigan's booklet, like Brady's own booklet, is a factual account of what happened in the North in recent times with statistical evidence of discrimination and with no political message as such contained in it.

### 'Restructure'

But at the Dublin press conference Mr. Corrigan spoke of the need to restructure the Civil Rights movement in the North. He said that the constitution of the N.I.C.R.A. was at present a stumbling block, as it did not permit satisfactory representation from Civil Rights groups outside Belfast. An ominous statement in the Dublin setting. He went on to say that an altered constitution would tighten the organisation and permit discipline and control to be maintained.

Almost at the same time N.I.C.R.A. headquarters in Belfast were receiving heavy affiliation fees from the Dungannon area. It was reported in Belfast at one stage that 50 £1 affiliation fees were handed in at the one time.

Co-operation between Brady and Corrigan reached new heights shortly afterwards with the publication of the first edition of a new Civil Rights newspaper — "The Voice of the North". Brady had at last realised the dream he spoke of in the Monaghan Civil Rights Information Centre. An analysis of the dream appears elsewhere on this page.



● Haughey: He knows.



● Boland: He knows.

## 'THE VOICE OF THE NORTH'

The publication, "The Voice of the North", is an Aidan Corrigan-Seamus Brady joint undertaking and represents one of the main prongs of the Fianna Fail infiltration of the Civil Rights Movement.

Published weekly since Sunday, October 12, it claims to speak for "a group of people who have decided that there is a need to speak out fearlessly for the Irish people of the Six Counties".

In fact, as any analysis of the three editions published to date shows, it speaks out for Fianna Fail, is financed by Fianna Fail money, and seeks to equate Civil Rights in the North with Fianna Fail in the South.

### Beamed at South

Printed at the Anglo-Celt in Cavan its distribution indicates that it is beamed primarily at the South.

The first edition of "The Voice of the North" contained four pages and sold at 3d. The following two editions since published contained eight pages with the latter one selling at the increased price of 6d. On all three editions the names of Paddy Devlin and Aidan Corrigan are linked as sponsors of the

paper in an appeal for funds to help finance it. Work on the paper is almost entirely done by Seamus Brady or people recruited by him.

The October 12 edition carried a lead story in Aidan Corrigan's name about the new gerrymander and two of the four pages were given to Civil Rights reports of an innocuous nature; the two centre pages are given over to large extracts from Brady's "Terror in Northern Ireland" with a block of the new cover in which it was bound for its Belfast edition. It is stated that copies of the booklet



● Lynch: Can he not know?

Printed and published in the Province of Ulster by the Voice of Ulster Publications.

Copies of this booklet may be obtained—2/6d. post free—from the author:

Aidan Corrigan,  
4 Orpheus Drive,  
Dungannon,  
Co. Tyrone, Ireland.

### ● The lying imprint on Corrigan's "Eye-Witness in Northern Ireland"

itself may be obtained for 2/6 from the Citizen's Defence Committee 47a Cyprus St., Belfast.

### De Valera

The October 19 edition carries an illustrated front page story with the heading "Special Powers Act is still being used" but fails to mention the most blatant proof of its continued use i.e. the imprisonment of Frank Card and Malachy McGurran. An inside page is devoted to Paddy Doherty of Derry, described by "The Voice" as

"perhaps the most outstanding leader thrown up by the crisis in the Six Counties".

On page six a two column advertisement asks "What did Eamonn De Valera say 30 years ago in a memorable speech on the Six Counties and the way in which a united Ireland could be achieved?" It states that De Valera's statements have a remarkable relevance to the present situation in the North and invites the reader to look forward to "Dev on the North" in the following edition.

The October 26 edition duly appears with a beautiful

picture of Paddy Devlin M.P. on page one and two centre pages devoted entirely to a speech by De Valera to the Dublin Senate on February 9, 1939, and a two column picture of "Eamonn De Valera, President of Ireland". Much innocuous Civil Rights news and comments also appears as well as a column by "a Dail correspondent". The second and third paragraphs of the report reads as follows:

"The Labour and Fine Gael parties, which had demanded this debate, occupied most of the time allotted in indulging

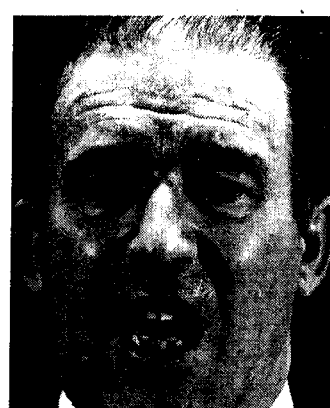
in party political attacks on the Fianna Fail Government.

"Indeed, it was a pity that Mr. Blaney, the most outspoken member of the Dail on the Partition question, by what appeared to be a Labour device to 'talk the debate out'. This in spite of the fact that one Labour was prevented from speaking speaker complained that Mr. Blaney and Mr. Boland had not spoken in the discussion".

All in all, the "Voice of the North" sounds suspiciously like the voice of Fianna Fail.

### Mystery

Also, in the third edition new ground was broken when the first advertisement that could not be described as a house ad appeared. It was a 2 1/2" single column ad. According to the advertising rates of "The Voice" this would net £2 10/- revenue for a paper which must cost hundreds of pounds weekly to produce. Apart from those earnings the financing of the paper must remain a thinly disguised mystery. The ad in question publicised a Civil Rights meeting in Cookstown on October 29.



● Blaney: He knows.





**brave tom  
williams**

(Dedicated to the memory of volunteer Tom Williams, "C" Company, Belfast Brigade, I.R.A., who was executed by Stormont on September 2, 1942)

(Air: 'Hammer hits the anvil')  
Oh, time may pass as years roll  
onwards,  
Still in my memory I will keep,  
Of a night in Belfast prison,  
Unshamefully I saw men weep,  
For the hour was fast approach-  
ing,  
A lad lay sentenced unto die,  
And on the second of Septem-  
ber,  
He goes to meet his God on  
high.

II

As he marches to the scaffold,  
Head erect, he shows no fear,  
And while standing on the  
scaffold,  
Ireland's cause he holds most  
dear.

III

Now the cruel blow has fallen,  
To Ireland he has given all,  
He who at the flower of man-  
hood,  
Proudly answered to her call.

IV

Brave Tom Williams we salute  
you,  
And we never shall forget,  
Those who planned your brutal  
murder,  
We vow we'll make them all  
regret.

V

Here's a word you Irish soldiers,  
If from this path you chance to  
stray,  
Keep in memory of that morn  
When Ireland's cross was  
proudly borne,  
By a lad who lies within a prison  
grave.

**cath cheim an  
fhia**

Cois abhann Ghleanna an  
Chéama i nUibh Laoghaire  
'sea bhím-se,  
Mar a dtéigheann an fia san  
oiche chun síor-chodladh  
soghail,  
Ag macnamh seal liom féinig ag  
déanamh mo smaointe  
Ag éisteacht i gcoilltibh le binn-  
ghuth na n-eón:  
Nuair a chuala an cath ag teacht  
aniar,  
Glór na n-each ag teacht le  
sians,  
Le fuaim an airm do chrith an  
sliabh  
Is nór bhinn linn a nglór.  
Thánadar go namhadmhar mar  
a thioctadh gárda de chonaibh  
nimhe  
Is mo chumha-sa na sáirfhir do  
fágadh faoi bhrón.

II

Níor fhan fear bean ná páiste i  
mbun áitribh ná ti aca  
Ach na gártha do bhí aca, agus  
mílte olagón.  
Ag feachaint ar an ngárda ag  
teacht láidir ina dtimpeall  
Ag lámhach is ag líonadh is ag  
scaoileadh ina dtreo:  
An liú gur lean i bhfad i gcian,  
'Sé duirt gach flaith nur mhaith  
leis triall;  
"Gluaisídh mear ta an cath  
dhá riar  
Agus téimis in a chomhair."  
Thánadar na sáirfhir i gcuim  
áthais le Clannaibh Gaoidheal  
Is chomáineadar na páintheigh le  
fánaidh ar seol.

III

Is gairid dúinn go dtáinig lámh  
láidir i n-ár dtimpeall  
Do sheol amach ár ndaoine go  
fíor-mhoch faoi'n gceol,  
An Barrach ina bhumbáille,



Barnet agus Beecher,  
Hedges agus Faoitigh is an  
mílte eile leo:  
Rí na bhFeart go laga iad,  
Gan chlú, gan mheas, gan rath,  
gan séan  
I dteinte teasa imeasc na bpian  
Gan faesamh go deo!  
Céad moladh mor le hÍosa nar  
dhíolamair as an dtóir  
Ach bheith ag déanamh grinn  
de is 'á innsint ar sógh.

IV

Is a Chlanna Gael na n-árann,  
ná stánaidh is ná stríocaidh,  
Is gearr anois gan mhoill go  
mbeidh crích ar bhúr ngnó.  
Tógaidh suas bhór gcráiste, tá  
an t-ál so le díbirt  
Go h-Ífreann 'á dtíoradh idir  
theinteacaibh teo:  
Bíodh bhúr bpící glana i gceart  
i ngléas,  
Téighidh 'on chath is ná fanaidh  
siar,  
Tá an chabhair ag teacht le toil  
ó Dhia  
Agus léirídh na póirc:  
Sáidhidh isteach go dána i  
n-áitreabh a dtáinig rómhaibh  
Is mithid díbh é fháil is tá an  
cáirde maith go leor.

Maire Bhuidhe Ni Laoghaire.

Cath Cheim an Fhia' is a graphic description of a battle fought between local Whiteboys and a combined force of Yeomen and Redcoats at Ceim an Fhia in Uibh Laoghaire in Co. Cork in the year 1822. The success of the insurgents in this engagement ended the payment of tithes in the area.

The first verse above describes the first noise of battle bursting into the glen of Ceim an Fhia. The second describes the panic among the people at the approach of the soldiers firing their guns and the rally by the Whiteboys which drove them back.

The third verse describes the sequel when James Barry (An Barrach), Landlord, Tithe Collector and High Sheriff of Cork county arrived, the following day with strong reinforcements to evict the inhabitants of the area. The final verse urges on the people to further victories, advising them to arm themselves with pikes to drive out the pigs (poirc) or planters.

**nelson's farewell**

(as sung by the Dubliners)

Oh, well, pew-er auld Admiral  
Nelson is no longer in the air,  
Too-ra-loo-ra-loo-ra-loo-ra-loo.  
On the eighth day of March, in  
Dublin city fair,  
Too-ra etc.  
From his stand of stones and  
mortar,  
He came crashing through the  
quarter,  
Where once he stood so stiff and  
proud and rude;  
So let's sing our celebration, its a  
service to the Nation,  
And poor aul' Admiral Nelson,  
too-ra-loo!

II

Oh, fifty pounds of gelignite that  
sped him on his way,  
Too-ra etc.  
And the lad that laid the charge,  
we're in debt to him today;  
Too-ra etc.

**THE  
REBEL  
BALLAD  
SHEET**

In Trafalgar Square it might be  
fair,  
To leave auld Nelson standing  
there,  
But no tells the Irish what they'll  
do;  
So the Dublin Corporation can  
stop deliberation,  
When the boys of Ireland showed  
them what to do.

III

For a hundred and fifty seven  
years it stood up there in state,  
Too-ra etc.  
To mark aul' Nelson's victory o'er  
the French and Spanish fleet,  
Too-ra etc.  
At one thirty in the morning,  
Without a bit of warning,  
Aul' Nelson took a powder and  
he blew:  
So at last the Irish Nation has  
Parnell a higher station  
Than poor auld Admiral Nelson,  
too-ra-loo!

IV

Oh the Russians and the Yanks,  
with lunar probes they play,  
Too-ra etc.  
And I hear the French are trying  
hard to make the blast-away.  
Too-ra etc.  
But now the Irish joined the race,  
We have an Admiral up in space,  
Ireland, Boys, is now a world-  
power too!  
So let's sing our celebration, its a  
service to the Nation,  
And poor auld Admiral Nelson,  
too-ra-loo!

**i followed  
henry joy**

An Ulsterman I am proud to be,  
From Antrim's Glens I come.  
And though I labour by the sea  
I have followed fife and drum;  
I have heard the martial tramp of  
men,

I have seen them fight and die,  
Ah lads, I well remember when  
I followed Henry Joy.

II

I pull my boat in from the sea,  
I hid my sails away,  
I hung my nets upon a tree  
And I scanned the moonlit bay.  
The boys were out, the red-coats  
too,  
I kissed my wife good-bye,  
And through the glade, 'neath the  
greenwood shade  
I followed Henry Joy.

III

Alas for Ireland's cause they  
fought,  
For home and sire they bled,  
Though our swords were few still  
our hearts beat true,  
And five to one lay dead.  
And many a lassie missed her lad  
And mother mourned her boy,  
For youth was strong in the gallant  
throng  
That followed Henry Joy.

IV

In Belfast town they built a tree  
And the red-coats mustered  
there.  
I watched him come as the beat  
of drum  
Rolled out from the barrack  
square.  
He kissed his sister, went aloft,  
Then waved a last good-bye,  
O God, he died, I turned and cried  
They have murdered Henry Joy.

**god bless  
england**

(Air: Whack Fol The Diddle)  
I'll sing you a song of Peace  
and Love  
Whack fol the diddle lol the  
dido day.  
To the land that reigns all lands  
aböve,  
May peace and plenty be her  
share,  
Who kept our homes from want  
and care,  
Oh, "God bless England" is  
our prayer,  
Whack fol the diddle lol the  
dido day.

Chorus:

Whack fol the diddle lol the  
dido day.  
So we say, Hip Hurray  
Come and join the I.R.A.  
Whack fol the diddle lol the  
dido day.

When we were savage, fierce  
and wild  
Whack, etc.  
She came as a mother to her  
child,  
Whack, etc.  
She gently raised us from the  
slime,  
Kept our hands from hellish  
crime,  
And sent us to Heaven in her  
own good time,  
Whack, etc.

Chorus:

Our fathers oft were naughty  
boys,  
Whack, etc.  
Pikes and guns and dangerous  
toys,  
Whack, etc.  
From Beal'n-ath Buidhe to  
Peter's Hill  
They made poor England weep  
her fill.  
Whack, etc.  
But old Britannia loves us still.

Chorus:

Oh, Irishmen forget the past,  
Whack, etc.  
And think of the day that is  
coming fast,  
Whack, etc.  
When we shall all be civilised,  
Neat and clean and well advised  
Oh, won't Mother England be  
surprised,  
Whack, etc.



# HOME RULE IS

# ROME RULE



B'e mana na n-Oraisteach i gconai gurb ionann fein-rialtas agus riail na Roimhe. Shean i gconai— agus seanann fos—furmhor na gCaitliceach gur fíor seo ainneoin colscaradh, frith-ghiniuint, Ne Temere, cearta oideachais agus abhair eile conspoide mar iad.

Ar chlar telefise B.B.C. ag deireadh Lunasa duirt an Cairdineil Conway go raibh se de nos ag sagart an lae inniu fanacht glan ar chursai polaitiochta. D'admhaigh se nár bhfeidir, sa chead seo caite ach dhearbhaigh se go bhfanann siad amach on a leitheid anois agus nach nimrionn siad tionchar ar bith ar an bpolaitiocht.

Tharla rudai i mBeal Feirste idir an Satharn, Mean Fomhair 13 agus an Ceadaoin in a dhiaidh sin a thabharfadh le tuiscint nach raibh iomlan na firinne a insint ag an gCairdineil. Ar chaoi ar bith, ní thagann

caint an Chairdineil go ro-mhaith le gníomhaíocht Father Pat Murphy agus Dr. William Philbin i gceantar an bhFal san treimhse sin.

"He (Fr. Murphy) sees his role as one of 'liaison': the military came in at the request of the Bishop," he said.

"Dr. Philbin pleaded with them to do as the Army wanted, and agree to take down the barricades—but he met some opposition."

"For God's sake, if you want to put yourself in the right, take them down," he said. "Do the big thing. They are coming down anyway."

Rinne an Dr. Philbin agus Fr. Murphy a ndícheall muintir na bhFal a thabhairt faoi'n a n'anal fein agus deighilt a chothu idir iad agus a gceannairi, an Coiste Cosanta. Ghlac siad leis na manai ceanna a bhí ag Paisley agus ag Chichester-Clarke: "law and order", "return to normality", "the barricades must go". Ach ce'n chaoi d'fheadfa filleadh ar "law", "order" agus "normality" nuair nach raibh a leitheid riam sna Se Chontae don mhionlach?

Ce'n fath go raibh Dr. Philbin agus Fr. Murphy chomh togtha sin le baint anuas na mbacannai? Ce'n fath go raibh siad ar chomh-fhocal le Paisley sa sceal seo? Nach aisteach an chuail cnamh a rinne siad in aon leaba. Tuige ar chuidigh siad go diograiseach o thus le Arm Shasana agus ag an am gceanna gur dhein a ndícheall aontacht na ndaoine faoi'n gCoiste Cosanta a bhriseadh?

## THE NORTHERN CRISIS

### — WHICH WAY FORWARD ?

The Northern crisis — Which Way Forward? is the title of a new pamphlet issued by the 'Solidarity' organisation.

Written by Anthony Coughlan, Lecturer in Social Administration TCD, the pamphlet deals with the causes of the present upheaval in the Six Counties and also with the question of 'Direct Rule' from Westminster.

Mr. Coughlan believes that to abolish Stormont would be a mistake and would be an obstacle to a solution of the Northern crisis along democratic lines for the following reasons:

"Firstly, it would substitute rule by the Governor-General, by a special Secretary of State or by an appointed Commission for rule by Stormont so far as the present transferred powers are concerned. There might will be prominent Catholics on such a Commission, an idea which has been canvassed recently in the British press. But that is hardly sufficient reason for democrats to look for the abolition of an elected and representative assembly, however gerrymandered the elections or however bad the representation, and go over instead to a situation where the only elected representation for the North would be ten Unionist M.P.s together with Mr. Gerry Fitt and Miss Bernadette Devlin.

Secondly, it would surely be paradoxical for the Civil Rights Movement, having struggled so hard for the acceptance of the principle of One-Man-One-Vote and an end to gerrymandering, to look for the abolition of the very Parliament in which these reforms would give them more of a say and more influence than ever before. In effect the abolition of Stormont would mean that instead of One-Man-One-Vote there would be a situation of One-Man-No-Vote, which is essentially the position in Derry City today where local government is carried on by an appointed Commission and where there is no elected authority.

Thirdly, to demand the abolition of Stormont and direct rule by Westminster is to make essentially the same demand as that made by Carson, Bonar Law and the

Unionist leaders in 1912. To look for this today is to seek to have the North even more integrated with the United Kingdom than hitherto.

Fourthly, this demand is an expression of despair. It tends to be made by those who lack confidence in the ability of the people to force through progressive change, even against the entrenched forces

of right-wing Unionism. It forgets and underestimates the tremendous things that have already been accomplished by the Civil Rights Movement during the short first year of its existence."

The pamphlet, price 1/- plus 4d postage is available from the United Irishman office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

### STILL HELD IN PRISON

Two Republicans, Malachy McGurran and Prionnsias Mac Airt, are still held in Crumlin Road prison under the Special Powers Act. McGurran is charged with possession of illegal documents, Mac Airt with possession of firearms.

Bail has been refused to both men while all Paisleyites up on arms charges are out on bail. Another triumph for British standards of justice.

Mar gur thuig na sagairt, chomh maith ceanna le Westminster agus Stormont, gurb e togáil na mbacannai an gníomh polaitiochta ba thabachtai agus ba chontuirti (doibh fein!) o 1923 i leith: bacannai in aghaidh gear-leanuint, an-smacht agus cleasaíocht mhi-chneasta chuile dhream ar den "Establishment" iad. Ní de thaisme a tharla scrios an Phairti "Naisiunta" i dtús na bliana. Bhi oiread ceanna imni ar na sagairt is a bhí ar Stormont agus Westminster roimh "the risen people". Thainig forsai an fhrith-ghnimh le cheile.

Ta moladh tuillte ag an gCoiste Cosanta nar gheill siad d'obair polaitiochta na sagart. Rinne Fr. Murphy a dhícheall, i ndiaidh do filleadh on gcrúinniú le Callaghan i Londain, mi-thuiscint a chothu faoi ceard a socraíodh agus ceard a bhí a dheanamh ag an gCoiste. Thug se seo deis do Callaghan teacht amach go laidir ar thaobh Stormont faoi baint anuas na mbacannai.



● Paisleyites in action at Burntoltet.

### CUNAMH

Bhi iontas ar chuid mhaith againn an mhi seo caite nuair a chonaic muid Conradh na Gaeilge, Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann agus Cumann Luthchleas Gael ag teacht le cheile chun airgead a chruinniú don Red Cross—dream a bhí go follasach a n-usaid ag an Rialtas chun airgead an phobail a cheilt ar 'dubious elements,' 'illegal organisations' agus feithidí eile da leitheid.

D'fheadfadh se, is docha, nar thuig an Conradh ceard a bhí ar siúl, no nar fhead se diultu do thairiscint on da dhream eile. Sin a shíleamar ar aon nos.

Ach ní fheicimid aon mhíniú carthanach ar an sceal is deanai ata faighte againn faoin mbailliúchan ceanna. I mBearla ar fad a deineadh an fhograíocht sna ceantreacha Gaeltachta. An t-aon fhocal Gaeilge a bhí ar na posters i gCois Fhairge na an ceanteideal —'CUNAMH.'



Federalism is a word that has been bandied about for some time now; at first with caution, now with increasing assurance. For, in their frantic efforts to find an acceptable solution to the Six Counties problem before the Irish people themselves decide to take a hand in the matter, the British capitalist classes and their Irish clients are coming round to recognise in the federal idea an answer to their mutual problem.

For Britain, the crisis in the North is an embarrassment both economically and politically. Britain's short term aim is to restore a superficial peace on terms as close to the status quo as possible. But the continuing tempo of violence in the North is clear evidence that the time has come when changes are necessary to protect the British interest. And so a long term contingency strategy has been worked out.

The long term strategy of Imperialism is federalism. British troops will be used to prop up Unionism as long as the party can control its U.D.I. right wing militants. If the Unionist party splits under the pressure of the Civil Rights demands then Wilson will take the trouble to coerce Stormont provided he can get the 26 Cos. into some sort of federal arrangement where Britain can get greater control over all of us, North and South.

Already the organs of British Imperialism have canvassed the idea. The London Times, The Financial Times, The Economist have all trumpeted the federal solution. The Irish Times takes up the cry in Ireland, echoing Terence De Vere White in The Telegraph, and asks the 26 Co. Government to state what form of federation would suit it. Hows does Jack Lynch fit into the federal plan of British Imperialism? Increasingly well, it would seem, after some initial sabre-rattling.

The Dublin Government's economic policies have already led to a sell-out of economic independence to Britain. Imperial federalism would fit neatly on the base already laid by Fianna Fail's Free Trade Agreement and Common Market policies. Dublin's economic subjection to Britain — nothing else — ruled out the use of force by the South to help the oppressed people of the North. Mr. Lynch is already on the right wave-band.

The Lynch speech in Tralee and speeches by Boland and Colley prior to it were designed as a smokescreen to cover Dr. Hillery's retreat at the U.N. The content of the speech itself indicated tacit approval of the British federal solution. Did the ear of Kerry find anything jarring in a "republican" argument built entirely on quotations from Asquith, Churchill, King George V, and Craigavon — the very people who imposed Partition. Pearse and Mac Suibhne eclipsed by the apostles of Imperialism in Austin Stack's Tralee! It was Pearse who said that an Orangeman with a gun was a much less ridiculous figure than a Nationalist without one.

In the Redmondite/O'Connellite tradition Lynch once more assured his British masters in the name of the Irish people that there was no question of using force to free our country, whatever the circumstances. Clarke, replied in the same conciliatory tone.

The strange conduct of Dr. Hillery at the U.N. is of a piece with the federal plan. Dublin and Whitehall conspired to waste the time of the United Nations in order to satisfy public opinion in the 26 Cos. and to ease Fianna Fail over the points of the crisis.

Simultaneously Britain took a sudden interest in public opinion in the 26 Cos. and recalled her Dublin Ambassador to explain the position to her. Hillery himself, in the midst of the U.N. desolation brought about by ten years blind support of Anglo-American bloc policies, switched ground from Partition to Human Rights and eventually failed even to request the General Assembly to inscribe the Northern situation on the agenda.

There is a hideous consistency in everything Fianna Fail does. Economically they have already steered us well onto the path of federalism with the Free Trade Agreement. A political sell-out on federal lines is now the logical move. The pressures on Ireland's enemies for federalism are obvious. There is the need for a quick solution, acceptable to British imperialism, to the Northern question; the urgency of the E.E.C. entry demands that these islands present a united front; adverse trade figures show the unmistakable failure to date of Fianna Fail's economic policy and the need for closer ties with Britain is clearly seen by government "advisers".

All may not be lost, however; for, when the outlines of an impending North-South sell-out become clearer, we may well see a strange and, at present, unimaginable alliance. If the Protestant labourers, barmen, fitters and unemployed at present being prosecuted in Northern courts for intimidation of their Catholic neighbours do rise in arms against Britain for their kind of Ulster they will have moved nearer to Ireland and further from Britain. The oppressed working-class Protestants of the North will have been finally and openly betrayed by the Clarke junta. Their objective position will be very close to the equally betrayed Republican working-class of the South. Stranger things happened in the period 1795-1798.

Such an alliance, although highly unlikely at the moment, would provide the strongest antidote to federalism. It would do more. It would restore a dynamic lost to Irish history since 1798. And federalism involves the coercion of the Northern Protestant in the interests of the British Empire.

# 'IRELAND UNFREE SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE'

— P. H. PEARSE









**ECONOMIC RESISTANCE AND THE NORTH**

There are people who still do not understand how the work of the Movement in recent years has been of help in strengthening the forces for national unity and independence and weakening those of unionism and imperialism.

Specifically, the work of the Movement in the 26 Counties has included:

- ★ resistance to the Free Trade Agreement and to EEC,
- ★ housing agitations, including the ground rent question,
- ★ land ownership and fishing rights.

None of these look as if they are directly connected with the Six County question at first sight. Indeed, some shortsighted people refused even to listen to the arguments as to why they had an important indirect connection, and refused to help, regarding these as diversionary.

When the Six County question 'blew up', these people rushed out of their hiding places and started lecturing the Movement on how they should not support the civil rights movement, and that the Movement was to blame for not having enough guns.

Fortunately, the Irish people and the Movement have matured, learned by experience, and few will take seriously such drivel.

The point is that because the Movement

had been involved in this work in the 26 Counties, it is in touch with the people. It is no longer isolated and crying for the moon. The people, who are used to hearing Republican spokesmen come up with practical immediate demands in matters close to them, such as housing, jobs, wages and land, are prepared to listen to them also when something crops up that is outside their experience.

Because the national instincts of the people are sound, and Republican spokesmen were able to give voice and organisation to these instincts through meetings and the special issue of the paper, it was politically necessary for the Dublin Government to take the stand it did in the United Nations and by moving up their army.

As Eric Jacobs reported in the "Sunday Times" at the height of the crisis: "The startling pugnacity of Dublin's reaction to the violence in Ulster was an attempt by Prime Minister Jack Lynch to head off dangerous splits in his own country—specifically those threatened by an upsurge in Irish Republican Army strength and by disunity within his own Government".

However, now they have done this, they are in a spot. They cannot keep up sabre-rattling and at the same time continue their

servile attitude to foreign (mainly British) capital. They are embarrassed by the support given by the Soviet Union. Lack of a consistent anti-imperialist policy over the years has left them at sea.

They will try to pull out of it by seeking a face-saving arrangement with Westminster. This will coincide with Westminster's desire to make a face-saving arrangement to revise the Government of Ireland Act.

All the pointers are towards a revival of the Council of Ireland, or some London dominated arrangement, with green letterboxes, that will look like unity but be combined with a de-facto all-Ireland unionism. We meant it when we invented the term 'neo-unionism' to describe what Fianna Fail were up to.

The test of the recent years work will come now; if we have done our spade work and established standing and influence with the peoples' organisations, as well as fraternal links with the Labour radicals, we will be able to stop this by forcing the Dublin Government to keep the pressure up on Westminster and bring about an interim revision of the Six County constitution that will open up democratic possibilities.

That it is possible to force the Government to retract is proved by the history of the Criminal Justice Bill.

**LAND PROBLEM**

If and when Ireland gains her freedom it would be desirable that some Irish people be around to see the day dawn.

For the past few years Republicans have been engaged in a campaign of Economic Resistance designed to assist the ordinary working people, small farmers and small business people in resisting the takeover of Irish resources by the new cheque-book conquest and in combatting and driving out the longer established conquerors and exploiters who control the wealth and economy of this country.

In the past five years conquest by cheque-book has proceeded with great rapidity. Our mineral resources are almost entirely in the hands of foreign mining companies. Foreign supermarkets have control of the major share of our distributive trade and therefore can decide what the Irish people can buy. Trading figures issued in September show that these are never Irish goods.

The Fianna Fail government give every inducement and incentive to foreign industrialists to establish themselves here and control Ireland's manufacturing industry while Irish industries are neglected, or in some cases, such as Erin Foods, are treacherously handed over to foreign monopolies.

Foreigners are continuing to buy up some of the best land in Ireland and are pushing the price of land beyond the reach of small farmers who are being forced off the land at the enormous rate of 9,000 per year (vide Third Programme for Economic Expansion). Our rural population density of 97 per square mile is now the lowest in Europe.

The life blood of the Irish nation, Wolfe Tone's nation, James Connolly's nation, the "men of no property" who have always remained loyal to Ireland, is being drained away as a result of the deliberate economic policy forced on

Fianna Fail by their subservience to Britain and America.

All over rural Ireland we can see the ruins of cottages and houses destroyed as surely as if a charge of gelignite had been placed under them.

In town and country hundreds of thousands of our own people have been torn from their families and transported abroad as surely as if a gun had been put to their heads. Nowhere in the popular press have their been editorials condemning this violence done to our own people or calling for the arrest of those responsible.

The recent I.R.A. action on the land front was directed against big estates in areas where a division of the land in question would alleviate local small-farmer congestion and, as in the Lindsay-Fynn case, to spotlight the destinations of State grants to dairy farming. Attacks of this nature help to spotlight these problems and encourage local Land Leagues to fight the case of the small farmer.

It is not claimed that these attacks are the solution to the problem. They are not.

But these attacks have one other major objective and here they can and are succeeding. Speculation by foreign buyers in Irish farm land which was driving land prices well out of the reach of the average farmer, has taken a knock. Continental buyers will be much slower to take the risk — as provided by the I.R.A.—of buying land in this country. People who can tear themselves away from the condemnatory editorials of the Irish Times should watch the declining traffic of land sales to foreigners.

Perhaps now, due to the action of the I.R.A., the rate of land buying by foreigners which amounted to 72,000 acres since 1961 will show a distinct decline and that land values, in the absence of the foreign stimulus, will reach levels nearer the pocket of Ireland's small farmers.







## GROUND RENT

The Dublin auctioneers Allen and Townsend are this month selling the ground rents of 89 newly-built houses at Ballinakill, Dunmore Road, on the outskirts of Waterford City.

These newly created ground rents total £1,326 per annum and will be sold en bloc in or about nine times purchase which is the current market price to wholesale buyers. The individual tenants, if they opt to buy out, will pay up to fourteen times purchase for their freehold under the terms of Fianna Fail's Ground Rent Act of 1967.

The ground rents on this estate are broken up as follows: 24 houses at £12 per annum; 44 houses at £15 per annum; and 21 houses at £18 per annum. A tenant buying out a £12 ground rent, for example, will pay up to £168 plus his own and the Landlord's legal fees.

But while a free market exists at the Landlord level the freehold purchase price to the individual is fixed by law and is not subject to the same fluctuation in price.

The 1967 Ground Rent Act provides that a tenant may "buy out" his freehold by paying the landlord a capital sum of money the interest of which at 7½ per cent will equal each year the annual amount normally payable. In other words, a £10 annual ground rent is "bought out" by paying the landlord a sum of money which yields interest of £10 per year on a 7½ per cent National Loan, i.e. payment in advance forever.

This year an estimated £10,000,000 will be paid out in ground rent in urban Ireland. Upwards of £5 million of this rent is paid to members of the Irish Landowners' Convention, the union of the bigger landlords of Ireland.

For dark centuries now urban

dwellers have been quietly paying to the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Rosse, the Earl of Meath, the Earl of Lucan, Viscount de Vesci, Sir Richard, Peter and Claud Proby, Lord Longford, Lord Inchiquin, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Richard Vernon, Capt. Gaisford St. Lawrence, Lord Roden, the Earl of Cork and Orrery, Lord Donoughmore, Commander Bagwell, Lord Powerscourt, etc.

It has been pointed out that ground rent is not paid exclusively to the Old Ascendancy: the Post-Treaty Ascendancy have invested heavily in this immoral rent.

Prominent in the van of the *nouveau riche* are the directors of the Irish Life Assurance Co. (Paddy Lenihan, father of Brian), the directors of the New Ireland (Eoin O Riain, leader of Fianna Fail in the Senate, and James Ryan, ex-Minister for Finance) and the Beltons of Fine Gael.

The majority of the people paying this rent would like to help their fellow countrymen in the North who are suffering from British Imperialism. Yet, year after year, they continue to embalm one of the relics of that same imperialism with their hard earned wages.

If people in the South cannot free the groundspace under their own houses from the grip of British imperialism how are they fitted to help free their oppressed fellow countrymen in the North? And is the political party that upholds this rent in the South fit to help the people up there?

British troops in the North is oppression. So is ground rent.

People interested in fighting ground rent should write to: An tEagarthoir, An tEireannach Aontaithe, 30 Plas Gardnar, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

## FISHING WAR

The 1969 summer campaign by the National Waters Restoration League was the most successful since the League was formed in 1965.

The robber barons of Ireland's rivers and lakes were hit in counties Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Donegal, Tyrone, Louth, Kildare, Waterford, Kerry and Cork. Particularly successful was the "Nationalise the Fisheries Week" held in July. As a result of that week of demonstrations more people throughout the country are now aware of the extent of the control held by the Lords of the Conquest in the "free" Ireland of 1969.

It is evident to many that the continuance of the present situation which allows the English Lords freedom to plunder one of our richest natural resources is incompatible with the national interests of the Irish people. Apart from the rich fisheries in the grip of these parasites there are also the many rivers and lakes which have been allowed go derelict which could with proper development equal the present richest fisheries.

The case for nationalisation is clear; what could be a great national industry is dying from neglect and from plunder of raw material for the sake of quick profit. The West of Ireland in particular would benefit from public control of the fisheries. In an area of poor land with large-scale emigration of the native population, lie some of the best fisheries in the country. Proper development of these under public control would ensure a decent living for thousands who now have to emigrate.

The control of our fisheries by English Lords means that the profit derived from them goes into the

English economy, and the English economy pays the wages of the RUC and B-Specials in the Six Counties. So, indirectly, the natural resources of the 26 Counties are being used to subsidise murder and terror in the North, and all with the blessing and protection of the Fianna Fail "Republican" Party.

The National Waters Restoration League campaign can thus be seen as a very important part of the Irish people's struggle against British imperialism. As James Connolly said: "each extension of the principle of public ownership brings us nearer to the re-conquest of Ireland by its people; it means the gradual resumption of the common ownership of all Ireland by all the Irish—the realisation of freedom."

In the Drogheda area this is now being put into practice. Since the NWRL demonstrations in July the people of the area have enjoyed free fishing on the section of the Boyne formerly controlled by Major D. H. Coddington. Major Coddington and his bailiffs have made no attempts to interfere with the fishermen and have apparently abdicated their claim to ownership. Fishing has continued almost every night since the July demonstrations.

This means that public ownership of a sort has been established on an Irish river by militant action of the NWRL, Republican Movement and the local population. This is an example for all other areas of the country to follow. Although the fishing season is now over the propaganda campaign can be continued and intensified and the organisation of the NWRL strengthened. Prepare for the 1970 campaign now.



# DERRY'S STORY



● The forces of "Law and Order", Northern style.

## Sligo Cumann re-formed

Sligo Cumann of Sinn Fein was reformed recently at a special meeting in Sligo Town Hall.

Speaking at the meeting, Paddy Kilcullen, Ballina, Mayo Comhairle Ceanntair, said: "The struggle by Sinn Fein to achieve national unity and independence, to establish the Workers and Farmers Republic, and to lay the basis for a socialist society in our country is a worthy task for all Irish men and women who love their country and their people. It is a continuation of the struggle of Pearse, Connolly and Markievicz, it is the struggle for freedom and democracy in Ireland

in the conditions of the latter half of the Twentieth Century and is part of the struggle of mankind as a whole for human emancipation and social justice."

### Change

Anthony Coleman, Enniscrone, secretary of Sligo Comhairle Ceanntair, said that "when we reach the position of driving the British out of Ireland, if we do not take the necessary steps before and during the revolution to ensure that the power and control of all the resources of Ireland are transferred to the people, then the

Bankers, Landlords and gombeen men will use all their considerable influence and power to see that although the flag may be changed and the superficial appearance of the state may be changed, the lot of the common people would remain unchanged. We would then be faced with two alternatives; one of acceptance and one of making another revolution. In other words, the first revolution would have been a waste of life, time and effort."

Sean O Cionnaith, Ballinasloe, Sinn Fein organiser speaking on the present work of the movement, said that "in all the campaigns in which the Repub-

lican Movement is leading the people, or simply encouraging them to fight on their own behalf, we are showing them in practice that the fight for freedom is a class struggle and cannot be divorced from the fight for better working and housing conditions any more than it can be divorced from the fight for the land and the fisheries."

The cumann has been named "Cumann Countess Markievicz" and the following officers were elected for the coming year: Cathaoirleach, Daithi Mac Gabhann; Leas-Cathaoirleach, Charlie Dolan; Runai, Paul Jennings, 14 High Street, Sligo; Cisteoir, John Trotter.

## New Land League in South Galway

A meeting of small farmers from South Galway has decided to form a Land League to agitate for the division of large estates in the area. Elected to the committee of the League were: Ignatius Craven, John Clarke, Dermot Caulfield and John Joe Ruane.

At the meeting it was pointed out that thousands of acres of good land in the area were in the hands of

a few rich men while hundreds of small farmers exist on tiny pieces of land and many are forced to emigrate. The league will agitate until all the land is owned by the ordinary farmers and managed in the best way possible.

All those who wish to help either financially or actively are asked to contact Ignatius Craven, Craughwell, Co. Galway.

In Uachtar Ard, West Galway, the local Land League is stepping up its campaign against the plan to turn the 160 acre Willis Estate, Uachtar Ard, into a golf course. The League is demanding that the estate be acquired by the Land Commission for division among local smallholders.

At a crowded meeting in the Corrib Hall in the village the members of the

League decided to organise "sit-ins" in the Dublin offices of Bord Failte and the Land Commission if these organisations continued to support the golf course plan.

The militant smallholders of County Galway will be a source of strength to the National Land League at present being organised throughout the country.

## Kerry Council majority favours IRA

Seventeen out of a total of twenty-six members of Kerry County Council sponsored a motion which called on the Lynch Government to "remove its ban on Oglagh na hEireann as a gesture of unity and goodwill."

An amendment proposed by Mrs. Kit Ahern (F.F.) led to the withdrawal of the original motion by Councillor Reamonn O Suilleabhain, Sinn Fein, the

proposer, and Councillor James Courtney, Independent, who seconded. They withdrew in the interests of having a unanimous decision by the special meeting of the Council on the situation in the North, being given liberty to re-enter the motion at a future date.

Other sections of the motion demanding the withdrawal of British troops, an all-Ireland election under U.N. supervision, and that

the 26 County Government use all its resources, including military, to defend the people in the North were passed unanimously.

The original motion which called for the rescinding of the ban on the I.R.A. was signed by Councillors Reamonn O Suilleabhain, Cristoir Mac Suibhne, Micheal O Beaglaoch, T.D., James Courtney, J. J. O'Sullivan, Eamonn Walsh, Gerald Lynch, T.D., Edward

Hayes, Michael Long, Tom Fleming, Pat O'Connor, Arthur Lenihan, Dan Kisanane, Thomas Cahill, Mrs. Mary O'Donoghue, Dan Barry and Jack Larkin, Chairman of Kerry Co. Council.

Three Councillors had refused to sign the motion when support for it was being canvassed and six other members were not available when called upon.

Since the brutal batoning of demonstrators, women and children included, on that now historic date, October 5, 1968, the citizens of Derry had been faced with severe hardship and intimidation from marauding bands of R.U.C. and extreme right-wing Protestants belonging to the Paisleyite movement.

Each period of calm was considered a mere lull in the struggle as no one was prepared to accept peace at the price of social injustice.

Since October 9 the Derry Citizens Action Committee, which embraced all shades of religious and political beliefs, spearheaded a campaign for full civil rights in the occupied area. The mandate given by the citizens of Derry to the Committee after the November 16 march, in which 26,000 people participated, was to conduct a non-violent, peaceful protest campaign.

### Attack

Great pains were taken to recruit stewarts for marches and also in emphasising the non-violent nature of the campaign to the people. This non-violent attitude was seized upon by the Paisleyite element as a sign of weakness and on each march they appeared with Union Jacks, crash-helmets and cudgels, and attacked small groups of civil righters returning home after demonstrations.

The attack by R.U.C. on the Bogside in the early hours of January 5, the day following the march of the Peoples Democracy and the Burntollet ambush, struck terror into the hearts of the people who afterwards had grave doubts as to the policy of non-violence which to many now appeared as if they were not to defend themselves when attacked.

Hundreds flocked to join a defence committee established to guard against similar attacks in the future. For the first time since the campaign began the policy began to change.

### Defence

On July 12, fierce fighting broke out in the city between R.U.C. and youths. The fighting lasted four days with a high number of casualties and with extensive damage to property.

From this point on, the people began to call for the setting up of a Citizen Army, a militia, a peace corps, and a host of other titles, but it was clear a vacuum existed that must be filled.

A small group of twelve came together after approaches were made to the local James Connolly Republican Club, and at this meeting it was decided to send a deputation to the Citizens Action Committee to

put forward their views and enlist support.

The decision of the Civil Rights group was that they could not as a body support the defence of the area as it might involve taking violent action although the members as individuals were free to lend their support towards defence.

A director was elected to take charge of the Peace Corps as the defence body hoped to police the streets to endeavour to avoid an outbreak of violence as a result of the Orange demonstration on August 12th. The meeting agreed that the organisation be known as the Derry Citizens Defence Committee, and that as well as other preparations, a fire brigade would be formed to fight possible outbreaks within the Bogside area.

Other decisions included the holding of indoor and outdoor public meetings to appeal for peace over the week-end of the 12th, and that if an attack took place, provision would be made for the erection of barricades and the collection and manufacture of missiles which would be necessary to defend the area.

On the night of August 11, while bonfires blazed in the Fountain St. area to celebrate the 12th, Peace Corps members kept a large crowd of nationalists within the area in which they had gathered in fear of an attack from the Paisleyite element which had come into the city from as far as forty miles away.

### August

R.U.C. formed a chain in the bonfire area and the efforts of the Corps were successful until Paisleyites began to throw stones and bottles into the nationalist area.

As a result an elderly woman was rushed to hospital bleeding profusely from the head and legs. No retaliation came from the nationalist district as scores of Peace Corps stewards rushed to help their comrades on the 'borderline' between the two areas. Peace was kept during darkness and for some hours on the following day, being the 12th.

As the parade of Orangemen, accompanied by large numbers of drunken women, many wearing Union Jack dresses, waving Union Jack flags and singing such songs as 'Dolly's Braye' with such words as: "We kicked 10,000 Papishes all over Dolly's Braye", passed the bottom of William St., stones were thrown from the march and were returned in larger numbers.

R.U.C. immediately attacked nationalists with batons, wearing helmets and shields. The inevitable had happened and the fight was on. The rest is history.

## COLLABORATION

"Collaboration" is the cry often raised against the Twenty Six County Government in its flirtation with British imperialism, in the context of Free Trade.

However, at the O Liathain Hall recently the Anti-Apartheid Movement pointed the finger at the 26 County Government in its economic dealings with the racist regime of South Africa.

The Conference unanimously passed a motion condemning the activities of the State-sponsored body Coras Trachtala, which for the past eight months has actively pursued a policy of increasing trading and financial links with South Africa, and pointing out that the increase in trade of 100% in the past year would, if maintained, make it even more difficult to disengage from South Africa. The motion called on the 26 Co. Government to instruct Coras Trachtala to stop its collaboration with South Africa, and also that it

support the repeated resolutions of the UN General Assembly to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, as so many other countries have done.

The Conference also expressed its solidarity with the people of the Six Counties in their struggle for civil rights.

At a public meeting following the AGM the guest speaker was Ruth First, the well-known South African writer, famous for her expose of the Transvaal "potato death camps" where prisoners were interned and forced to work to ward off going to "prison."

Speaking on "The Struggle in Southern Africa" she said that it was vital that the Irish people express, at every possible level, their repugnance to policies of apartheid in order to give moral support to those who were actively challenging racist policies at the front in the guerrilla struggle.



# letters to the editor

## Sean Sabhat

A Chara,

Tá mé faoi chomaoín agat as athchló a chur ar an dán seo le déanaí, faoi mar a bhí nuair a d'fhoilsigh sibh don chéad uair é sa bhliain 1957 tar eis don *Limerick Leader* agus do fhoilseacháin eile diúltú dó ar chúiseanna nár bhain leis an bhfilíocht.

However, in an English preamble to the poem, you stated: "The poem . . . was last month censored from secondary schools text by the 26-County Minister of Education, 'Peaitín Bréan' Faulkner". While I appreciate your support in attacking the Department of Education's secret and unconstitutional censorship of literature, I must point out that you have, in fact, been misled by Faulkner himself. When questioned by Conor Cruise O'Brien in the Dáil as to the reasons for this secret-police style suppression of my book of poems, Faulkner spoke touchingly of the "rights of parents and children" to be protected from the outpourings of these writer chaps. By adroitly linking my book with the Máirtín Ó Cadhain anthology, which was specifically intended for use as a secondary school text, Faulkner gave the Dáil and the people of Ireland to understand that both books were obscene, unsuitable, dangerous, etc., and that he and his censors (I wonder who these secret agents in Marlboro St. are?) were only doing their Christian and national duty in keeping immoral writings out of the schools of the Island of Saints and Scholars.

The truth, as any saint or scholar can find out for himself if he will go to the trouble — and truth is never an obvious thing — the truth is that Faulkner was lying without telling lies. He was also slandering both Ó Cadhain and myself. Faulkner, as a teacher himself, knew full well the harm he was doing me, a teacher also, by implying to the nation, and having recorded in the Dáil debates, that my book of poems had to be suppressed because of its immoral content. He knew also that the poems in question did not even deal with such matters. They are poems on political and social themes, and their really offensive content in the eyes of Faulkner and his serfs in our Department of Education (God bless the mark!) is that in one I contrast the Young Fool, (Sean Sabhat, with the New Wise Men, our blathering "Free State" politicians who are enlarging their hoards and holdings while our Irish nation evaporates from off the face of this island, and in the other I listed the Archbishop of Dublin among the people who live in the most expensive area of Killiney Hill, a fact which is more demonstrably true than any line in any gospel.

My book of poems, many of which had already been published in Irish magazines and newspapers, and some of which had won first prizes in the Oireachtas literary competitions, was submitted to An Gúm as a book for adults, just as was *Oineachlann*, my collection of short stories published last year by An Gúm (the Publications Branch of the Department of Education). There was never any question of it being a book for use in schools, nor would I allow it to be prescribed for reading by children of any age (including some of the barbarian backbenchers of Fianna Fáil). The

fact is, therefore, that in the Department of Education in Dublin there is some person who has decided that the adults of Ireland must not be allowed to read my poems — and this judgement has absolutely nothing to do with literary values. It is a political verdict. Its effect on literature can be seen. Its implications can be appreciated by any thinking adult.

I have stated to Faulkner that I will not write another poem, play or story in Irish until he withdraws his slanderous allegations about the moral quality of my writing and revokes his Department's suppression of my book of some forty poems because they wanted to kill two. Faulkner has replied to me, through his secretary, that he sees no reason to change anything. Unless the adults of Ireland think the matter worth bothering about, it is simply another page in our history, recorded for posterity and for American thesis-writers in the pages of the Dáil debates.

In conclusion, I would ask you to refrain from using vulgar nicknames when attacking Faulkner or any other citizen. Vulgarity in argument is a boomerang. However much of his actions in suppressing my book, *Ó Fhás go hAois*, and giving an untrue and slanderous reason for that suppression belie the fact, the baby Faulkner was christened and placed by his fond parents, under the patronage of our great national Apostle from Wales, who drove all the snakes and reptiles out of this island to make room for the English. For reasons best known to himself, Pádraig mac Calpruinn overlooks a snake or a *sleamhnán* here and there.

Mise, le meas,  
Críostóir Ó Floinn.

## Hindsight

A Chara,

I would like to point out some errors in an article you carried on Nusight and in an accompanying letter from Anne Harris. Since the article carried allegations which are extremely serious and damaging for any socialist I think it was a gross breach of journalistic practice that you printed one version of a dispute without attempting to verify or check it with me or any other interested parties. Furthermore since the National Union of Journalists was carrying out an investigation at the time and has since refused to endorse Miss Harris' claims I consider your article to have been an intolerable intrusion into a dispute when it was sub judice.

I would like to list some matters in your article which I find incorrect:

(a) The vast bulk of the story on the North was not done by David Shanks, John Dowling and Anne Harris. Nothing was contributed to it by either Anne Harris or David Shanks.

(b) I did not re-write any article on the I.R.A. by Anne Harris.

(c) Articles for Nusight are not re-written by Vincent Browne. He has never re-written any articles. Contributors are asked to expand points and to clarify sections of an article. But they do it themselves and are at liberty to refuse.

(d) The termination of Anne Harris' employment at Nusight had nothing to do with me or her article on the I.R.A.

(e) You remark that three

of the most talented people in Nusight will no longer be contributing to it. I suggest you look at issues of Nusight earlier in the year when Anne Harris and David Shanks were contributing. To me, at any rate, the magazine was right wing and lacking in any depth.

(f) I can assure Anne Harris I am still a revolutionary socialist.

(g) I was a member of the NUJ for nine months before joining Nusight. Every employee of Nusight is unionised or has applied to be.

The article was especially unfortunate in that readers might consider that I had a particular hostility to the Republican Movement. This is absurd as I am sure the editor of the *United Irishman* knows.

Yours sincerely,  
John Feeney.

*There is no question that anything personal is held against you, John, but we must distinguish between our respect for you and our annoyance at the ill-disguised attack on the Republican Movement which appeared in Nusight.*

(1) *The NUJ brought a charge of "wrongful dismissal of Mrs. Anne Harris" against Nusight which is still in the process of negotiation.*

(2) *The U.I. never stated that the vast bulk of the story on the North was done by John Dowling, David Shanks and Anne Harris. Anne Harris was very ill at the time and was only responsible for an article on the I.R.A. The vast bulk of the Northern Story was, in fact, done by David Shanks, John Dowling and Rosita Sweetman.*

(3) *The U.I. never stated that "contributor's" articles were altered. Nusight has a policy of treating STAFF journalists as researchers, witness the case of John Dowling, Rosita Sweetman and David Shanks. (See last month's U.I.).*

(4) *The two specific reasons for the termination of Anne Harris's employment concerned John Feeney.*

(5) *At the time of going to press last month Nusight's situation vis-a-vis the NUJ was that the only member of that Union in Nusight had been fired.*

## QUESTIONS TO JOHN FEENEY

1. *Could you please tell us if Nusight received a grant from the Government for the September issue of Nusight, and if they did, was it before or after alteration of the original IRA article?*

2. *Could you also tell us whether the dis-affiliation of T.C.D. and U.C.D. means that students have realised that USITRAVEL, supposedly Students Travel Service, and financial backer and official publisher of Nusight, is merely a capitalist, profit making organisation?* —Eag.

## Sean Treacy

The annual Sean Treacy commemoration ceremony was held at his graveside at Kilfeacle on Sunday afternoon, 12th October. The speaker, Liam O'Connor of Limerick, was introduced by Tomas O'Sullivan. During a stirring oration Liam O'Connor referred to the present strife in the northern province of our country and stated that Sean

(Continued on page 12)



● Eamon O Fearghail, Rúnaí an Dubháin Housing Action Committee a ghabháil ag Gardáí ag aoid fe thithíocht i mBaile Átha Cliath an mhí seo caite.

# BUILDING SOCIETIES ON THE RUN

Tathar ag admhail go poiblí anois gur ga obair na gCumann Togala a iniuchadh feachaint an feidir na rataí uis a laghdú no fiu an choir iad a naisiúint. Sin go díreach an t-eileamh ata an t-Eireannach Aontaithe ag deanamh le bliain anuas.

Ainneoin cur isteach in-díreach o na Cumainn Togala iad fein lean muid orainn ag foilsiu na firinne faoi'n lear mhór airgid a chaitheann na Cumainn seo fre cheile ar fhograíocht agus ar chomisiúin.

Rinne muid cuntaisi ceithre cinn de na Cumainn seo a shuimiu le fail amach ce'n bealach go díreach a caith-eadh an tairgead a thug siad isteach in imeacht bliana. Caitheadh 55 fan gcead ar iocaiochtaí le infheistioiri, 18 fan gcead ar chain ioncaim, 20% ar bhainistíocht (foirne, fograíocht agus i.r.), agus an fuíollach de 7% ar mion rudaí eagsula no mar chultaca airgid.

## Fograíocht

Sa mbliain 1967, chaith an Irish Permanent £71,277 ar Stiurthoiri, Foireann agus Cuntasoiri agus nios no na dha oiread airgid—£155,538 —ar fhograíocht agus comisiun. Chaith an First National £34,211 ar Stiurthoiri, Foireann agus Cuntasoiri le hais £23,618 — trian nios lu — ar fhograíocht agus comisiun. Chaith an Educational Building Society, £67,541 ar an gcead ni agus £108,767 — tuilleadh agus uair go leith nios mo — ar an gceann deiridh.

## Naire saolta

Mar sin is leir nach ionann rata caiteachais aon cheann de na Cumainn Togala ach gur leir go gcaitear an tuafas airgid ar fhograíocht agus comisiun. Bhi £287,923 caite ag na Cumainn ata luaithe in imeacht bliana ar an gcaoi seo. Ni h-iontas go gcaithfidh an t-iasachtóir an oiread sin airgid a dhiol ar iasacht agus teacht isteach ard a bhith aige le cailiu, go fiu, le haghaidh iasachta. Ni h-iontas, da bharr san, liosta tithíochta an Bhardais a bheith plodaithe mar ata se.

Naire saolta e don chomhlúadar go gcaithfidh ceann teachlaigh a shaol ar fad a chaitheamh ag ioc as didean ti da chlann. Ach measann George Colley go foill, is cosuil, nach ga na Cumainn seo a iniuchadh na airgead Stait a chur ar fail le haghaidh tithíochta ar rata uis iséal.

# LAND SALES TO FOREIGNERS

Some interesting figures relating to land sales to foreigners were released in a statement from the Government Information Bureau recently.

According to the statement 72,533 acres of land was taken over by foreigners in the period 1961-'69. Of this total, 7,999 acres was for industrial use. The Finance Act of 1961 with its provision of 25 per cent stamp duty payable by foreigners buying agricultural land was not effective in preventing foreigners from buying good Irish land.

This duty could be avoided if the foreigner was buying what was considered useless land, or a stud farm. In that case the foreign buyer could seek a recommendation from the Land Commission to have the duty reduced to 3 per cent. Land which was certified by the Minister for Industry and Commerce was entirely duty free under this 1961 Act.

Foreigners also avoided duty by first buying control of shares in "Irish" companies which were merely names on the companies register, and then buying what land they wanted through these "Companies".

## 36,603

In the period 1961-1965 Land Act, 36,603 acres were sold on which 25 per cent duty was paid. Sales involving 9,336 acres were exempted from duty of 25 per cent by recommendation of the Land Commission. These sales paid only 3 per cent duty, 7,999 acres were sold duty free as being land for industrial use. Since the 1965 Land Act, 18,615 acres have been purchased by foreigners. This figure does not include lots of land under five acres.

Despite all regulations foreigners were able to outbid Irish farmers and could well afford to pay the 25 per cent stamp duty. Thus, over the years, they were responsible for forcing up the price of land beyond the reach of most Irish farmers. The land

agitation however, has changed all that. The incidents in Meath this year and the formation of Land Leagues in many counties has made the purchase of Irish land less attractive to foreigners. Land prices are now falling to a more reasonable level. In some cases recently, auctioneers in Meath have been forced to withdraw farms from sale because their prices were not up to the expected level.

The success of 'economic resistance' has been proved. The new Land Leagues can become a powerful weapon in the struggle for ownership of Ireland by the Irish people.

## EDENTUBBER COMMEMORATION Dundalk,

Sunday, November 9

Parade leaves Roadhouse, 3 p.m. sharp.

Commemoration Concert  
(same evening)

Town Hall, Dundalk,  
8.30 p.m.

## NATIONAL WATERS RESTORATION LEAGUE

GALWAY: Sunday, November 9, Odeon Hotel, 3 p.m. Symposium "Fisheries Development — the way forward". Speakers: Frank Flynn, Cllr., Seamus O Tuathail, U.I.

ATHLONE: Sunday, 23rd November, Prince of Wales Hotel, 3 p.m. Teach-in on Inland Fisheries.

## LAND LEAGUE RALLY Sunday, November 30, 3 p.m.

at Derryhiney Castle Estate, Portumna, Co. Galway. Rally in support of the division of large estates.

EAST GALWAY LAND  
LEAGUE



## An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

Published by Republican Publications

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Samhain, 1969

Is í An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir.

## Blame Free Trade

Storm signals are flying all along the economic front in the 26 Counties. A serious crisis is upon us, we are told, as the trade figures register serious imbalances. With a trade deficit well over the £60m. mark, the classical remedies of a capitalist economy are prescribed by the doctors of finance—wage freeze and squeeze. Inflation and consumer spending is blamed but not a word is heard of the root cause of the whole crisis—the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement.

Because of the Free Trade Agreement the rate of increase in Britain's exports to the 26 Counties is double that of the rate of increase of our exports across the water. No wonder the trade figures are so bad as the rate of integration between the 26 Counties and Britain increases with terrifying speed to the disadvantage of domestic industry and employment.

In the short space of four years the 26 Counties have moved from being Britain's ninth best to being her fourth best customer! The 32 Counties as a whole makes Ireland Britain's second best customer after the U.S.A. and shows why, in the political field, it is in Britain's best interests to keep this island divided in order that both segments be weak and dependant upon her.

Fianna Fail, by increasing our dependence on Britain through the Free Trade Agreement has effectively killed any hope that the political independence of the South could be used to reunite Ireland.

The immediate consequences of the Fianna Fail folly are now upon us. So weak is the economic position of the 26 Counties vis a vis that of Britain's that the British are trampling on the terms of the Agreement itself with impunity. Twice in the past two years has Britain breached the Agreement, first with the imposition of the import deposit scheme and now its extension for another year. Mr. Colley complained bitterly of this breaking of the Agreement but did nothing about it. Such courage!

Why not kill two birds with the one stone, Mr. Colley? Why not adopt Britain's policy and impose a compulsory deposit scheme on British goods entering the 26 Counties? This would be an effective protest at Britain's flouting of the Agreement and would considerably reduce imports.

But no, Mr. Colley has no courage because the Government has no conviction. Anything that would offend Britain, be it a little tit-for-tat about trade or the inscription of the 6 County question on the agenda of the U.N., might jeopardise Britain's help in getting us into the Common Market. Barkus is willing but cannot bite.

## One League - One Vote

The announcement of a Commission on inland fisheries to investigate the question of public ownership puts a crowning wreath of success on the summer campaign of the National Waters Restoration League: the movement, begun in Paddy Kilkullen's back-kitchen in Ballina, has forced a reluctant Cabinet to move!

Commissions, however, are often an instrument of Government used to hedge or compromise on an issue. The result of last year's inquiry into drift-net fishing is proof of this.

The League rightly queries what the composition of the proposed Commission is to be. Is it to be another Conroy Commission on Ground Rent with all the vested interests sitting around the table disembowelling every progressive proposal?

Will all the branches of the angling fraternity have fair representation? Will An Iontaobhas Iascaireacht Intire, which plays such a major role in stocking and conservation, have a voice? Or will the Commission be packed with owners and their semi-State Bord Failte friends who last year waged an unremitting war against the sea-fishermen?

The League, by demanding that one representative nominated by it should sit on the Commission, has applied its own litmus test to the proceedings. It is only fair that the body which mobilised the public opinion leading directly to the founding of the Commission be represented thereon. Five Co. Councils, the Council of Co. Councils, and numerous public bodies throughout the 26 Counties as well as people within the 6 Counties have supported the demand as formulated by the League. To deny the League representation, therefore, is to deny the concerned Irish public a voice in whatever decisions are arrived at.

The success or otherwise of the Commission's findings will be judged against the principle of the League's stand; that the rivers and lakes of Ireland are nature's gift to the whole Irish people to be held in common ownership and to be operated by them for the benefit of all.

## Off the hook

Speaking on the Northern debate in Leinster House on October 23, Jack Lynch evidenced once again Fianna Fail's lack of political integrity and principle. On that day he repudiated his Tralee speech of September 20 when he promised to the Nation that Article 44 of the 1937 Constitution would be repealed.

What he said was: "I do not think it necessary to dash in because we felt there was a need to examine the special conditions of the Catholic Church". What, in fact, he meant was: "I am assured by my tame Protestants in the Twenty-Six Counties that they won't embarrass me over Article 44. I might also invoke the wrath of a Right-Wing Catholic backlash, despite Cardinal Conway's backing, and, all in all, I just cannot risk it".

Lynch's withdrawal was made possible by the Church of Ireland Gazette's assurance that the repeal of Article 44 was not a pressing issue. This much publicised statement of the Gazette, made in the great tradition of 26 County upper-class Protestant apostasy, has effectively sabotaged for a long time to come any advance towards Civil Rights for Protestants in the South. In effect, the Gazette has become the unconscious voice of 26 County Unionism.

Recently the Church of Ireland Bishops expressed their concern over the Ne Temere Decree. Do they not realise that the philosophy behind that very decree has its inspiration in Article 44? A golden opportunity of testing public opinion has been thrown away.

It is a cause for national regret that Mr. Lynch got off the hook on grounds of expediency and because of the utter stupidity of the Gazette's spoilt child attitude. Could it be that not enough people have died?

## RINGSEND WORKERS' UNITED STAND

Workers employed on construction work at the new ESB station at Ringsend, Dublin, have been on unofficial strike for the past three weeks.

The decision to strike was taken after long and protracted negotiations, during which the workers showed infinite patience and restraint. The demands were for travelling time and an equal site allowance for all.

The patience of the workers was exhausted, when, on Wednesday October 8, the bosses made a final offer of TT and bus fares, plus 1s. 1d., to some craftsmen on the site. To other craftsmen they offered the 1s. 1d. only, and to the unskilled they offered only 9d. site money without the travelling time and bus fares.

Due to the manipulations in the wage structure, this meant a rise for some craftsmen of one hour per day and 10d. per hour. For others it meant the 10d. per hour alone and for other craftsmen no rise at all. For the unskilled it meant, in most cases, a rise of 6d. per hour. This was a deliberate attempt by the employers to create an even wider gap between the wages of the various groups of workers, thereby causing jealousy and friction and smashing the unity between all workers on the site, which still exists.

This attempt failed and all, including those who would benefit most, rejected the offer. The amount of money involved in bringing those who were offered least up to the level of those who were offered most is a mere pittance considering the fact that the contractors on the site have imported craftsmen from such places as France, Italy, Germany, Holland and other European countries, and are paying them from £70 to £90 per week. It seems strange that

Irish industry can afford to pay so much to foreign workers and almost nothing to Irishmen. In some firms on the site the imported workers outnumber Irishmen by 3 or 4 to one and, at the same time Irishmen who have applied for jobs there have been refused employment.

The strikers are demanding a just and equal site allowance bus fares, and travelling time for all. They are also demanding that Irishmen be given first preference when seeking employment, that if any foreign labour is employed on site then any qualified Irishmen cannot be refused a job; advertisements to be placed in all labour exchanges and in the national press.

An aspect of the situation at the Pigeon House site which should cause concern to trade unionists in Ireland is the importation of large numbers of foreign workers to the site. These workers are paid much more than Irish workers because they are willing to engage in more than one job at a time — "flexible labour". They are willing to collaborate in the bosses' plan for "increased productivity" and "reducing labour costs" by taking on extra jobs which could have been allocated to Irishmen at present unemployed.

This trend would increase rapidly if the Fianna Fail Government succeeded in their aim of getting the 26 Co. state into the EEC. This case emphasises the need for progressive trade unionists to actively engage in opposition to the Government's EEC plans within the the trade union movement.

As we go to press the strikers have agreed to return to work pending an investigation of the dispute by the Labour Court.



● E.S.B. workers marching through Ringsend on their way to protest at the Department of Labour.

## Fogra

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

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Our uniqueness lies in the fact that we stand on circulation and do not depend on advertising for our viability. This allows the United Irishman maximum freedom to expound Republican policies and to criticise at will the operations of British Imperialism in Ireland.

Such freedom must be guarded—even at the cost of a price increase to our readers. We know we can rely on our readers understanding when the inevitable occurs.

The United Irishman  
SUBSCRIPTION RATES 12 MONTHS  
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## SEAN TREACY

(Continued from page 11)

Treacy had not given his life for a divided country, run by two puppet Governments, and he wondered how the men who had fought with Treacy felt now as they sat at their fires at night and heard of the killing and burning going on presently in the north.

A wreath was laid by Maitiu O'Riain on the grave. A colourful addition to the large parade which preceded the ceremony was the Ceannt Pipe Band who had travelled from Fermoy for the occasion.

The commemoration was organised by Sinn Fein.

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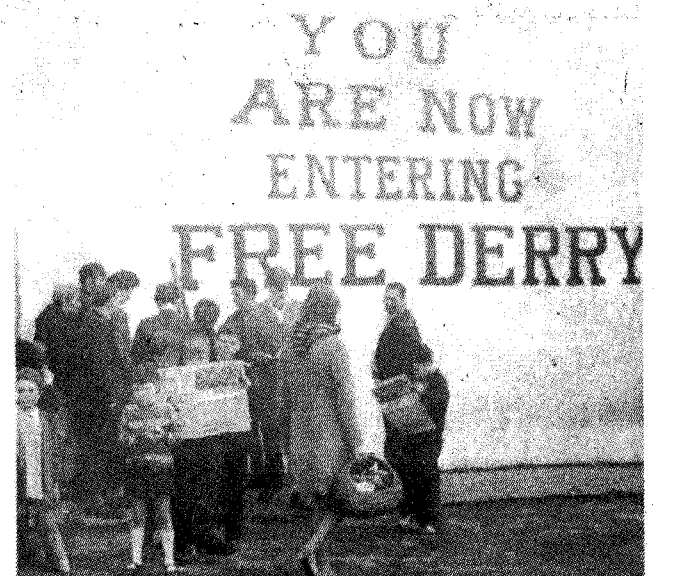
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## BOGSIDE REPUBLICAN APPEAL

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

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

## Irish Book Bureau Seosamh O Cleirigh (Joe Clarke)

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