

An Phoblacht

Iml.4 Uimh.41 5p 23SAMHAIN 1973.



NO PEACE UNTIL THEY ARE FREED



Marion Price (19)



Gerald Kelly (19)



Paul Holmes (19)



Robert Walsh (24)



Martin Brady (22)



Dolores Price (22)

By MAIRE CRAIG

THE sentences imposed in the Winchester bombs trial have been described variously, around the world, as "savage," "hysterical," "excessive," "overdone," "over-reaction," "barbaric" and so forth; but they hardly surprised any Irishman who knew his history.

This time, however, things are different in a really important way: no peace pact will be signed with Britain until the Winchester victims and all political prisoners in Britain or any part of Ireland, regardless of the causes for which they have been jailed, are released.

That pledge has been given, time and again, by Republican leaders, but it does no harm to stress it at this particular time, if only to add to the consolation of the prisoners and their relatives.

The prisoners are not forgotten and will never be forgotten. They will not be left to rot in jails controlled by aliens as happened in the past. The war in the north-east is part of the final struggle for Irish independence. It is the most impressive since the 17th century and Ireland is winning. Indeed, the Winchester sentences themselves are an indication that Britain recognises she is losing this war, as the Americans and the French lost in Vietnam against the risen people.

A powerful enemy, self-confident, and obviously winning, has no option but to be magnanimous to its enemies. He ensures a fair trial. He sees to it that, if the evidence is such that guilt has been established, the sentences are just and reasonable.

Stark hatred

But there must be few reasonable persons anywhere, Britain included, who could defend the Winchester sentences on any basis other than stark hatred and revenge.

They are the last kick of a dying empire, going bankrupt before the world, threatened with extinction by its own death wish expressed in its obsession

with the obliteration of the family by abortion and other means, led by a small group of ruthless capitalists who are interested in holding power only for the length of their own life spans and too blind to see that most of them cannot hope to survive even that long.

By one thing they understand clearly: if Óglaigh na hÉireann succeed in the north-east, the other subject classes and nationalities will take consolation from that victory, will learn from it, and will arise, to overthrow monopoly capitalism and to bring freedom to the subject masses. Ireland, not for the first time, is leading a war of liberation which extends beyond our shores, into Britain and into the continent of Europe. That this is recognised is made clear, daily, to leaders of the Republican Movement from radical groups with the same humanitarian and democratic aims, from all over Europe and from places further away.

Republicans grateful

Support for the Irish cause and not only in the battle for the minds and the consciences of just men increases with every hour, every day, and not least within Britain itself. Republicans are grateful for this recognition and support and proud to be once again in the vanguard of democracy and justice.

The Winchester sentences will increase that international support and pressure on the sick men of Westminster. A few months or years jail would have failed to make any great impression abroad, regardless of the "evidence" which produced the "guilty" verdict. But, as the cartoonist, Doll, pointed out in the "Irish Independent," justice had to be seen not only to be done but to be over-done; and that stirred the conscience of the world.

There is a growing opinion that, in cases of this nature, so obviously political, the only chance of obtaining justice is to be enabled to go outside the control of the politicians and the class they represent. Winchester has added to that body of opinion and the demand for the reform of the International Court of The Hague. The Irish Civil Rights Association could well add its voice to the clamour for international jurisdiction in such matters.

Meanwhile, nine brave Irish citizens are taking the only means left to them to fight for the only possible concession from a degenerate government: recognition as political prisoners and transfer to Irish soil to serve their sentences.



William Armstrong (29)



Hugh Feeney (21)



William McLarnon (19)

They are not begging for mercy. They are not down on their knees for reductions of their sentences. They are demanding the minimum, the right to join their fellow prisoners at home and share in their few privileges. Who, except the most bigoted, could oppose that demand?

Pressure needed

But, ever since Ireland was first invaded 800 years ago, the rulers of the neighbouring island have been bigoted and barbaric in their relationships with the Irish people; and it is extremely unlikely that the present Westminster leadership will bend even those few inches in compassion and give way gracefully unless tremendous political pressure is brought to bear on them, at home and abroad.

The matter will not be let rest at that, as far as the leadership of the Republican Movement is concerned, according to statements issued. Retribution has been promised and we are given to understand that in this, as in other areas, Óglaigh na hÉireann will pick their time and place, using only that amount of controlled pressure necessary to bring the wild men of Westminster to their senses.

I.R.A. statement

Óglaigh na hÉireann, in a statement on the sentences in the Lodon car-bombs case, declared: "The day is long past for Irish people to lie under the lash of British imperialists. In due course, retribution will be exacted from the people who inflicted such callous punishment on Belfast youth in Winchester today."

The statement was signed: "P. O'Neill, Ruairi." Sinn Féin issued this Statement on the Winchester sentences: "British imperialism has excelled itself in the sentences on Dolores and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and their six comrades in Winchester. The effort to exceed the maximum sentences permitted under British law clearly

demonstrates that anti-Irish prejudices and hatred reigned supreme on the bench.

"In the dock, on the other hand, stood the nine prisoners, in all their youthful idealism and promise, determined to end in their lifetime all the injustices, wrongs and sufferings inflicted on Irish people at home in Ireland.

"They, in their turn, became the accused of a tyrannical system. Love of the Irish people and of all mankind motivated them in their belief that 'my enemy is my brother who is estranged from me' (Terence McSwiney). Tonight, Irishmen and women around the world salute them for their courage in the face of the enemy and their total dedication to duty which is so typical of their generation.

"Sinn Féin in Britain is organising a campaign in support of Irish political prisoners there."

Students protest

Students from St. Mary's and St. Joseph's Training Colleges in Belfast, formerly attended by three of the defendants in the car-bombs trial—Dolores and Marion Price and Hugh Feeney—held a protest meeting shortly after the sentences were announced and passed a resolution condemning the "particular savagery" of the sentences.

A number of students staged a token one-day strike.

The Ulster Executive of the Sinn Féin, in a statement, demanded that the Price sisters and their comrades be returned to the North as political prisoners "to continue their sentence, pending a general amnesty for all political hostages".

The Andersonstown People's Democracy added its support to the call for political status and Westminster M.P. Mr. Frank McManus also supported the call.

Mr. McManus described the sentences as savage and said that what happened at Winchester was not enforcement of the law but an act of naked revenge.



Doll's comment in "Irish Independent"

BLAME E.E.C. FOR HIGH MORTGAGE RATES

ONE of the least understood but most fundamental and far reaching consequences of Ireland's membership of the Common Market trade block is the necessity to move in the direction of a fully fledged monetary union with the other seven member states (Luxembourg already has a monetary union with Belgium) by 1980.

This commitment requires a rapid diminution of national sovereignty in economic planning and social priorities.

As the barriers prohibiting the free transfer of capital between member countries continue to come down — and this is an area where, unlike the proposed Regional Aid Fund, considerable progress has already been made — it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the savings of the less developed, peripheral regions in their own country.

Rather than serving the immediate needs and priorities of the regions in which they originate, these funds rapidly find

their way to the already highly developed, central areas, where voracious demand for capital enables them to pay a more attractive interest rate.

Rate forced up

As a result, the only way left open for an underdeveloped, poorer region, such as Ireland, to compete for her own savings, is to offer a still higher rate of interest, a rate of interest which, being poor, she can least afford to pay.

It is true, of course, that, as a result of full membership in the E.E.C., some new capital is likely to arrive from abroad. But such foreign capital is always earmarked for investment in high-profit, quick-return ventures, such as office blocks or tax-free export industries.

Foreign capital is never invested in supplying such social and human requirements as housing.

Thus, being stripped of our economic sovereignty, to decide and control for ourselves what priorities are best suited to our own needs and resources, we are forced to compete in the open market with highly industrialised economies for our own savings.

Given the vast difference between the sizes of the competing economies, it is an unequal contest from the beginning, and one which we in Ireland must always lose.

Price of membership

For even when we do succeed in retaining some portion of our savings, it is at the cost of extraordinarily high mortgage rates which hang like millstones around the necks of Irish families.

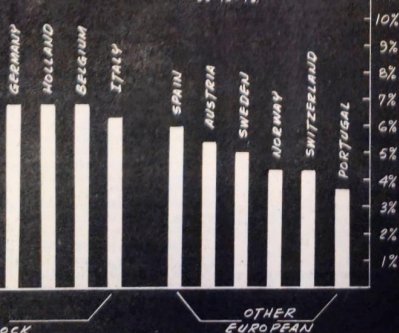
Such is the price of E.E.C. membership.

Should the reader doubt the credibility of the connection between Common Market membership and high mortgage rates, and considering the massive propaganda campaign of the establishment extolling the virtues of membership, and it is only reasonable to expect some scepticism, let him cast an eye over the graph below which shows the prevailing interest rates of countries in the E.E.C. trade block, and prevailing interest rates in other West European countries.

The reader will be able to determine for himself some of the benefits enjoyed by the citizens of those countries who maintained control of their economic sovereignty by remaining outside E.E.C. trade block.

— E. O'Connell.

INTEREST RATES
CENTRAL BANK RATE OF EACH COUNTRY
SOURCE: "FINANCIAL TIMES"
29-10-73



Ó Brádaigh at Ard fheis

"NO move towards a more equitable distribution of wealth in the community could be expected when one considers that before the general election of February last a National Coalition spokesman promised a small and influential number of bankers, financiers and stockbrokers that (and here I quote from the uncontradicted article in "Hibernia" of March 30 last): "There will be no dividend control; no profit control; no change in the company tax structure, other than that foreshadowed in the Fianna Fáil pre-election white paper."

"Banks will not be nationalised and the finance and other credit institutions will not be taken into public ownership. There will be no major moves to end the mining exploitation."

"All the stated ambitions of the Labour Party, when in Government, are going to be denied. Fine Gael's own speculative gains tax is to be left on the shelf. There will be no early move to regulate mergers and takeovers. There will be no intervention by the Government on the outflow of cash from Ireland for investment overseas, especially in Britain."

"The Labour Party have not only let down their supporters on

Continuing extracts from presidential address

the economic and social questions but they have sold out politically as well. They participate in the operation of the O.A.S. (Amendment) Act where the mere "belief" of a Chief Superintendent is sufficient to send a citizen to jail for up to two years, they continue through their Minister, Dr. Cruise O'Brien, to reinforce the R.T.E. ban on Sinn Féin and other radical spokesmen — here we are told that Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act is to be replaced by something we will not like any better.

Irish history

"They acquiesce in the proposed re-writing of Irish history, or its 'de-contamination', as Mr. Burke has called it; they assist through their Local Government Minister in sacking and banning from public or semistate employment for seven years of citizens sentenced by the Special non-jury courts; they take part in active collaboration along the Border with British forces and attempt political extradition; and then, to crown it all, they have the gall to grant an audience to a supporter of the late Dr. Allende's Chilean government, the overthrow of which all-right thinking Irish people condemn — and collect for him £500. No doubt the prime consideration

here is that Chile is 10,000 miles away.

"I might add that Republicans expect all of the foregoing, with the exception of the Chilean interlude, from the Fine Gael party. The Irish folk-memory recalls many of the terrible events set in motion by a previous generation of Cosgraves, FitzGerald and O'Higgins in following up their 'grim path of duty', as they saw it.

"But such repression is not in keeping with stated Labour Party ideals and objectives. Sinn Féin must be to the fore in pointing out to disillusioned supporters of that body that the Democratic Socialist Republic is and remains our ultimate objective. We will not be deflected from our pursuit of it and our record in adhering to principle speaks for itself.

Political education

"To increase the political awareness of our members and deepen their understanding of our policies and the means to be adopted in furthering them, comprehensive political education course has been prepared and is already being put into operation in several areas.

"Instructors are being trained and considerable enthusiasm has been engendered for the politicising of our Movement. With the rapid sequence of events in the North there was a tendency to jump from the first stage of mobilising the emotional response to the third of presenting the alternative way of life, in our case, 'Éire Nua', without passing through the intermediate stage of thoroughly educating the new members politically.

"This omission is now in the process of being made good and the Ard-Chomhairle, in setting up the Education Department, insisted that the course be made compulsory for all members.

"The achievement of this objective will be followed up by the appointment of full-time organisers in all provinces who will work through regular briefing and reporting sessions. Next will come the surveying of the local areas in preparation for the local elections and then the election campaign itself.

"In this connection it is well to refer to Sinn Féin's decision not to participate in the 26-Counties general election last February. The election was called by Mr. Lynch when he had harassed Sinn Féin as a political organisation for 12 months during which time 22 of our public speakers were jailed, half of them being Ard-Chomhairle members."

— J. Moran,

Manchester.

Protestant workers being screened, following demands from sectarian politicians, north and south. Republicans demand an end to harassment of ALL Irishmen by the British, Catholic, Protestant and Atheist. All we want from the Brits is their departure, without delay.



Chile repression, following the U.S. — inspired fascist coup, as seen by a cartoonist in the French newspaper, "Le Monde".

Campaign for prisoners

Resolution 135 (Amendment) passed at An Ard fheis, instructs all Cumann to carry out a campaign in the next six weeks to secure the prisoners' demands. They are instructed to organise such a campaign in their areas.

"You should hold a short public meeting (indoor or outdoor), equip yourselves with banners, posters, etc. and proceed to the homes of all T.D.s, Councillors, bishops and clergymen and call on them to grant the simple Christian demands of the prisoners. Use other means such as newspaper advertisements, leaflet distribution and road painting to publicise the Curragh conditions," according to a Sinn Féin circular.

A HAPPY BIRTHDAY, BERNARD

WELL, I've heard of fellows being carried out after parties and even fellows being carried out in the middle of parties but I never saw a fellow being carried into a party until that Tuesday night.

The tall, shy, reluctant boy was Bernard Donogh, who was 20 years old on Oct. 23. Mick O'Connell, Clare, led the raiding party to Bernard's cell and had him carried by about 37 prisoners to his own birthday party in the middle of D Wing. J.B. O'Hagan lit the candles. Seamus Twomey wanted to know if he could toast his bread on them and the heat coming from the cake.

I think Bernard must be nearer my age (31) than 20. One blow did the job. The lights (candles) went out and the king landed on Joe Cahill's head. Bernard then took the cake, the good wishes of all and marched up to his cell to eat the cake all by himself.

Between mouthfuls, he was heard to mutter: "Bloody Heaphy, Bloody Heaphy". Later on, Bernard gave the cake crumbs to John and Liam McIlhinney while Gerard Graham kept muttering: "Bloody Donogh".

During all this, Kevin Mallon never raised his eyes from the snooker table. He was out to pocket the pink ball. Kevin is very good at pocketing. Later he rocketed Gerry O'Hare's bacon ribs, Lucky Coady's hair oil, and Dave Kelly's dirty books.

He said he was a firm believer in the co-operative policy of Sinn Féin: "Like, do you know what I mean like, like, do you know what I mean?"

We sure do, Kevin. We all know you're mean.

Mountjoy sounds

The Derry Boys ripping trousers,
The Triangle's jangle and jingle.
The Armagh boys shouting,
The Tyrone boys singing.
The Belfast boys laying down the law (as usual).

The wing sounded like the province of Ulster. However, the 27 Dublin G.P.O. men soon put a stop to that caper, and about bloody time, too.

Well, the wing that sounded like Ballymurphy now sounds like Ballyfermot due, thank God, to the lovely sweet voice of the Coyle kid, Richard the third (Errol O'Flynn) O'Reilly, Johnnie, get your gun, Jordan, Jesse James Caffrey, Peter and Paul Doyle, Declan T.V. Hickey, Séan (Joe Hill) Gannon, the Byrnes, the Burkes, the O'Rourkes, and all the other great clans that came from Dublin.

Biddy Brewster.

Well, God love you Biddy, how do you make a shilling, at all, at all?

I had to give up the marriage bureau. The English and Irish papers exposed my jail racket.

Tish Holland, Armagh Jail, never replied. The clann girls the newest in their phlo, the country men in here, all over 33 years of age, said their mammy said they were too young to go with girls.

Would someone please send a message to Liberty Hall. Get a shop steward up here quick. Tear the beef, his Royal Highness, Baron O'Hare, who is all hair, is a slave driver, who has a boss man named Mc Loughlin and spies named Nolan and Brown.

Just imagine getting men out of their beds at 10.45 p.m. It's really inhuman. God help the men

when the co-op gets off the ground.

The Mountjoy Wall

Post no bills.

We can't get a bricklayer for Mountjoy walls.

The weeping, half-built wall outside D Wing is weeping because no one will build it up. Already, four different groups of bricklayers have done tools.

"Are ye the I.R.A.? Well, they can build the wall themselves".

We asked the Governor why he was building a third wall around the yard. He said that after the visit of Mr. Cooney, the Minister requested another wall to keep out the wind coming from Leinster House. He told the Governor he was worried of the night of the Big Wind, when Liam, Brendan, Stuart Keating, Tony Burke, "Congo" Cooney and O'Brien and Riches Mint met to discuss the danger of Mr. Fleming bringing them before the Special Criminal Court for speeches they made after Bloody Sunday.

However, Mr. Fleming was too busy to bother about them. He was still working on Jack ("Forget-Me-Not") Lynch's job, to pick off 10,000 berries in Raspberry Lane, Derry.

All love Josephine

Our apologies to Napoleon, the girls in Armagh Jail, English jails, Clann, Na Fianla, Anne, Leita, Pezev and Cumann na



By Éamonn Mac Thomáis

mBan. And if you knew Susie like we know Susie;

Oh boy, what a gal, in or out of Bodenstown".

Everyday, Josephine has a new boy-friend in D Wing. Here's someone who asks a little more than the others about her. Today's boy-friend is from Burtonport.

I won't tell you his name but I know he would like to make you a ward of court, or give you a little pat on the cheek.

Another new tunnel of love (across to Josephine) has started, this time by Gerry Quinn, who keeps giving the tunnel "little pats", "Little pats" with his toothbrush.

Shay Dowling and Tony Ballintine are learning to play the guitar, to serenade you, and Michael Quinlan is learning to sing so that he can yodel over to you from the cell window.

Michael has no faith in the tunnel. He said: "If cool hand Luke O'Hara couldn't dig it or Mick Fox and Paddy Fox couldn't burrow it, and the captain, McCaffrey, wouldn't fit into it, and Liam Heaphy wouldn't wash the clay off the spoons, bowls, and cups quick enough, no one could do it."

Josephine, just keep watching the cell floor boards. If you see them moving - run like hell.

• This contribution was written by Éamonn before he was moved to the more luxury situation of The Bog Hotel, Portlaoise. But maybe we'll be hearing from him from there, too, despite the brandy, sirloin steaks and cigars.

Le féar Féire

CLEARLY, the U.D.A. no longer are as easily coddled by the politicians, who thrive off them, as they have been in the past. Only a foolish 100 or so turned out for the big Border seal-off, planned for Oíche Shamhna.

They showed their wisdom and good military sense in declining to attempt something that had beaten the might of the British. Why should they risk a casualty toll that the Brits considered too high?

But the failure of the proposed big operation had even more significance in its revelation of the true strength of the old bogymen of the British and Dublin politicians - "the Protestant Backlash".

Previously, I have claimed that the big spate of assassinations, so well dealt with in the recent Lehan-Dillon expose, was the worst of the "Backlash". The Hollow Fen U.D.A. military debacle proves that.

Of course, many dithered observers in the North never really believed in the seriousness of the "Backlash" threat. Very likely the politicians didn't either, but it was a useful scarifier of those who thought British should take her nose out of Irish affairs and an excuse for the Dublin politicians to duck their responsibility to the honour of the Irish nation and the safety of its members in the Six occupied counties.

But, of course, the big fear of the Dublin regime is not that of having to deal with a backlash but having to cater for the induction of 500,000 new voters with a healthy disrespect for Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil and our Dublin brand of Labour.

Collaboration

There are all sorts of collaboration along the Border these days. Most ominous is the open co-operation of U.D.A. and British forces.

Recently, a U.D.A. road-block was set up in Aughnacloy village in South Tyrone, under the eyes of U.D.R., British army and R.U.C. There was no interference.

There also have been instances in this same area of U.D.A. and U.D.R. road-blocks operating in harmony on the same road.

If you told the U.D.R. you were searched by the U.D.A. further on you were passed through, and vice-versa.

What now seems likely to happen in east Belfast has been happening in some rural Border areas in which there is a minority Catholic population: the squeeze out.

Ar leantúin: cúl-leath.

'Doherty was a torturer for R.U.C.'

We are utterly astounded to see in this week's "Ulster Herald" (Nov. 3) the denial that the executed policeman Doherty, was working with any political section of the R.U.C.

Since when does this non-political section not deal in interrogation in depth, physical ill-treatment and general abuse of innocent people arrested?

One instance of this is: Last January, following the execution of an U.D.R. man. Six innocent men were arrested in Castlederg and brought for interrogation to the infamous Ballykelly Barracks, on the instructions of Doherty.

There followed the usual torture, attributed to the R.U.C. This was proceeded by the sticking of needles into the gums of these men.

All the men subsequently were released. Is this the non-political side of Doherty's work? Several political prisoners in A-Wing can testify to the brutality of this man, Doherty.

Another instance of his non-political work was the defusing of a bomb in Killeter, Co. Tyrone. The defusing of bombs is not carried out by the C.I.D. or R.U.C.!

C.I.D.-man Doherty was executed for his crimes against the Irish people, as will all others who take part in such "non-political" work.

-L.L. Sinn Féin Cumann, A Wing, Belfast Jail.

At ease

A new organisation to campaign for the withdrawal of British soldiers from Ireland is to be formed in Britain. It will be called "At Ease" and will intensify efforts already being made by the British withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, mainly by advising soldiers of the various methods which can be used to leave the British army.

THE officers of the Order of St. Lazarus Emergency Ambulance Corps, Derry Division, would like to make the general public aware of the difficulties they have to face when carrying out their first-aid duties in Creggan Estate and Bogside, they say in a statement.

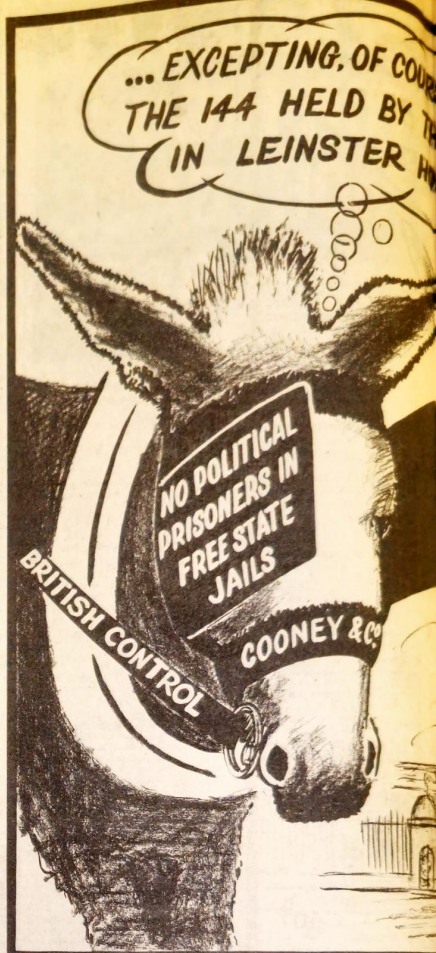
"Since the Order started work in Derry in December, 1972, they have had in general a working agreement with the British Army. Basically this agreement was: no soldier would handle first-aid dressings, etc.; 2, when volunteers made a call and were stopped for a check by the army the check would only be a cursory one, and so allow them to continue in as brief a time as possible; 3, both the I.R.A. and the British Army were approached and asked to recognise the Bogside first-aid post and the Lazarus ambulance as a true zone. This was agreed by both parties.

"The British army has kept very broadly to the agreement, except on occasions when a first-aid car was shot at by them in Creggan.

"Two members wearing white coats and helmets bearing red crosses were beaten up by them in Creggan.

"Officers and volunteers have been lifted for no reason whatsoever in both Creggan and Bogside.

"The ambulance has been held for long periods when the British



BLINKERS

British patrols break Derry 'truce'

army thought we might be carrying a civilian with gunshot wounds or going to such a casualty.

"During the past three months the post and the ambulance have been used as cover by the British army patrols, even though the I.R.A. have refused to do so.

"We have complained to the British army about this and have been told it will not happen again.

"We have been told this on four or five occasions by Major Barden, Saracen Camp, Major Yates, Saracen Camp, and Capt. Rushton, Saracen Camp, but it still continues to happen.

"We wish to state that we are not prepared to allow the British forces to use truce zones and red crosses as cover for their patrols, knowing the I.R.A. will not fire upon them.

"If the British army does not cease forthwith from these activities we shall have no option but to ask that the truce no longer operate in the areas originally agreed upon."

The statement is signed by J. Daly, captain; T. Lynch, lieutenant; and T. Hutton, lieutenant.

Warning to vandals

THE FOLLOWING statement has been issued by the First Batt., E. Tyrone Command, Ogligh na hÉireann: "We have learned that, recently, in our command area, certain individuals and groups have been issuing threats and boasts in dance halls and other public places, in the name of the Provisional I.R.A. As well, acts of violence, vandalism and intimidation have been performed against persons and property in our name.

"We wish to make it clear that those responsible are in no way connected with our organisation. "We solemnly warn all those involved in these activities that we will deal severely with anyone found using our name as a cover for misconduct or violence.

"Some of these individuals are already known to us and we wish them and all others involved to take special note that this warning is final."

The statement is signed T. G. Néill.

CORMAC MAC AIRT

by Bertolt Brecht speaks for itself:
to take meat from the table
ment.
whom the taxes are destined
sacrifice.
eat their fill speak to the
ful times to come.
to lead the country into the
too difficult
ary man.

Freeman says

LIAM de Paor is a stimulating writer on Irish history. He ranges from the remotest past to the immediate present with a nimble style, wide learning and an independent mind. Underlying his writing, and often breaking through to the surface, is an engaging moral concern for man, for Irishmen, and for the truth of things. So he is worth arguing with, even when he loses his cool — as he persistently does in regard to present-day Irish Republicanism.

Clearly, there is something about the fight in the North and Republicanism today which worries Mr. de Paor profoundly. He is not sure what it is, or where it is. Is the trouble in himself or in the Republican Movement?

Usually he limits his attacks to a nasty aside or a handy cliché, both equally uncharacteristic. But recently he treated the matter at some length in an article entitled "The People's Choice". It was his most exhaustive attempt yet to find a logical basis for his hostility.

He argues, in this article, that orthodox Irish Republicans, over the past 50 years, have not been real republicans at all. I know this may irritate some people right away, for what is a "real republican"? It sounds terribly theoretical and unhistorical.

Surely, some will say, there are only French Republican, Italian Republican, American Republican, Irish Republican, and so on, each as their particular national history has made them. Perhaps, but listen first to Mr. de Paor's argument.

Real republicans, says Mr. de Paor, are democrats who regard "the popular will as the source of political authority". But latterday Irish Republicans (and typical Northern Unionists, he adds) have adhered to a different principle of political authority.

Divine right

They have been "obsessed with legitimism, a political attitude more appropriate to believers in the divine right of kings, or in the processes of divination" by which the true Dalai Lama is discovered.

The Northern Unionists gave their legitimist allegiance to the "constitution of Ulster", the Republicans, to the all-Ireland Republic of the First Dáil.

While the 26-Counties state received "the general assent of its population", somewhere there was "a group of people in a back room who were convinced that they were the true government of the Republic". "For all I know", says de Paor, "they may still be such a group".

Very different, he says, was the republicanism of the Fenians. They gave their allegiance "to the Irish Republic virtually established when Ireland was under British rule".

"But this", he argues, "was

A Republican's notebook

essentially an expression of aspiration and determination. It depended on the sense that the majority of the people of Ireland shared the aspiration, and that, therefore, in terms of democratic theory, the Fenians were giving their allegiance to what the general will desired."

There are "flaws" in this argument, says de Paor. But "the Fenians, nonetheless, could claim to be republicans in the full sense of the word". Moreover, he continues, the Republican leaders of 1916 were true republicans.

When they organised the (unpopular) Rising, "democratic parliamentary procedures had been successfully thwarted by a combination of armed Unionists and conspiratorial Tories". And they were "justified" — received the seal of popular approval — "not only by the result of the conspiracy crisis of 1918 and the subsequent election, but by the total discrediting of the Redmondite party".

Fundamental basis

However, he says, in the election of 1918 the people of Ireland were not really voting to establish the proposed Republic; "basically they were deciding whether they wanted to be ruled at home by Irishmen or ... from London by Englishmen. Our present-day 'republican' legitimists err, in regarding that decision as the fundamental basis of an Irish state".

"The living Irish people, who plainly do recognise our courts and government in the 26 Counties, are not regarded as a source of authority by the supporters of the divine right of 1918. Thus, in support of their fundamentalist political bigotry, they have intervened, with disastrous results, in the constitutional crisis in our island", Q.E.D.

It is certainly not de Paor at his best, and for a very simple reason: he is trying to do the impossible. He is trying in some way, by some manner of means, to adhere to the Irish Republican tradition while rejecting its living embodiment. This attempt leads him into such an absurd line of argument that even to comment on it is embarrassing.

To begin with, Mr. de Paor argues as if he himself believes that "popular assent to a state" makes it a legitimate state, deserving of the loyal allegiance of all "republicans". But he believes no such thing. Like every other thinking and moral man, he regards popular assent as legitimising a state only if certain other conditions are also fulfilled.

For one thing, as a secularist who regards the 1937 Constitution as "sectarian" and therefore illegitimate, Mr. de Paor looks forward to a "non-sectarian" Republic in the future to which he can give his allegiance. His "legitimate" Irish Republic is in the future.

Secondly, if the Fenians could ignore the repeatedly displayed

assent of 19th century Ireland to the United Kingdom and yet remain true, democratic republicans (in Mr. de Paor's eyes), how can he use popular assent to the 26-Counties state as an argument against the democratic republicanism of present-day Republicans?

The Fenians gave their allegiance to "the Irish Republic virtually established". Latterday Republicans have given their allegiance to an Irish Republic actually established and operative in living memory, and never destabilised by the Irish people.

Successful thwarting

Thirdly, when Mr. de Paor says that the 1916 leaders did not deviate from true republicanism because, among other things, "democratic parliamentary procedures had been successfully thwarted by a combination of armed Unionists and conspiratorial Tories", is he suggesting that this "successful thwarting" has since 1916 been enshrined in the Partition settlement.

The last occasion on which "democratic parliamentary procedures" operated throughout Ireland was the election of 1918 and the subsequent meeting of the First Dáil. As hardline democrats, present-day Republicans stand by the decision of that election and that Parliament against its "thwarters".

And what was that decision of the Irish people, Mr. de Paor? You yourself say it was "basically a matter of the Irish people deciding whether they wanted to be ruled at home by Irishmen or ... from London by Englishmen". True enough.

As for Mr. de Paor's statement, that "the living Irish people plainly do recognise our courts and government in the 26 Counties", that is best regarded as a slip. "The living Irish people" have never done any such thing, nor will they ever do it. Mr. de Paor knows it.

"By their fruits you shall know them". Having defined, according to his lights, the essential sinfulness of contemporary Republicanism, Mr. de Paor caps his argument by pointing (Q.E.D.) to the "disastrous results" of their "intervention in the constitutional crisis in our island". What on earth does he mean?

Objectively, there are three major results so far of Republican action these last few years: the fall of Stormont; the present attempt by the English to establish a power-sharing Northern Executive; and the revelation of the true nature and function of the 26-Counties regime in Irish affairs.

Gageby view

Mr. de Paor has yet to tell us which of these results he regards as "disastrous".

Certainly, the editor of the paper which he writes for sees no disasters, present or looming.

In a recent radio interview, Douglas Gageby was asked: "How do you see things moving in Ireland today?"

"Very sensibly", said the editor of "The Irish Times". "The trouble in the North will be settled and we'll get a united Ireland".

It may not have been the brightest answer imaginable to the question put, but when you hear a man such as Douglas Gageby talking so unflinchingly about the condition and prospects of Ireland after several years of Republican "intervention", and while that "intervention" actively continues, you wonder what on earth — what "disasters" — Liam de Paor is talking about. He must tell us soon.

Micheál Ó Treasaigh

FUAIR Micheál Ó Treasaigh bás le déannaí agus is boichte de sin a bhaile dúchais, Inis Chórthaidh, a bheith ina éagmáis. Ba chuid den bhaile cois Sláinge é is ba é bhi mórálach as an traidisiún a dháil 1978 air féin ar Loch Garraí uile.

Fear ciúin ab ea Micheál, ach fear ríghn seasmhach, freisin. Sheas sé i gconal ar thaobh an chirt is ba é cara an té a bhi thíos leis an saol an Treasach aon lá riamh.

Nocht a mhuintir a n-ómis go raibí a bhaile siad thart go hionann ar a chuid tairi ar an mbéalach go cill is teitl dóibh.

Leagadh an Tridhathach ar a chónra, an bhrathach cheanna a bhi uair anuas ar Sheoinne Mac McBride — nò bhi saol ionlain foirfe caite agus ar son na Poblaichta, ar son na saoirse, is go haintrí ar son na Cúis.

"Nobody ever had a bad word to say about Mike Treacy"; this remark from the lips of a fellow townsman in Enniscorthy said it all.

Generous to a fault, the late Michael Treacy, despite failing health, threw himself fully into all that was great and good for his own historic town, his country and, above all, for Ireland.

True Republican

Though not great of stature there was a big heart there, a great pride, too, in all that was traditional and Irish.

A true Republican who always gave rather than sought, Michael was never partisan nor biased in any way, always lending a sympathetic ear to the weak, the aged, the victimised, especially those who had occasion to come from occupied Ireland.

He had a great interest, too, in Fianna Éireann and held as a special wish the day when every town in his native Wexford could muster a group.

Belonging as he did to an old Enniscorthy business family, Micheál was known and respected throughout his native county, a fact which was borne out by the very large cortege and guard of honour on the day he was laid to rest beside his old friend, George Keegan.

At dheis Dé go raibh a anam uasal.

"(We apologise for the delay in publishing this tribute to a fallen comrade).

Shock to family

Deep and widespread regret was evoked by the death of Enniscorthy's best-known public figures, Mr. Michael Treacy, U.C., Main Street.

Aged 49, he had been ailing for only a short time and the sad news of his death came as a shock to his family and friends.

A member of an old and esteemed Enniscorthy family, he was son of Mrs. Nora Treacy and late Mr. John Treacy, Fairview. He took a deep interest in politics and was a member of Sinn Féin, which he represented for 14 years on Enniscorthy Urban Council.

On two occasions he was elected Chairman of the Council.

He was third of seven children of a well-known business family. The Treacy family have been general wholesalers for many years and late Mr. Treacy was a director of Messrs J.J. Treacy and Co., Ltd. Just over a year ago he purchased the Farmers Inn licensed premises.

He was married to the former May O'Leary, Armstrong's Range, The Shannon, a niece of another prominent and popular Enniscorthy politician figure, the late Senator John O'Leary.

He is also survived by a son, Seán. He is also mourned by 36 nephews and nieces, of whom the most prominent is Miss Mary Treacy, Dublin, the famous international athlete, who represented Ireland in the Olympic Games.

FEAR CIÚIN SHEAS AR THAOBLACHAN CURT

An appreciation by Diarmuid Ó Súilleabháin

Deceased was a man of quiet and unobtrusive disposition, but pursued his interests with single-minded determination.

All his life his main interest remained at the political level, and his life-long aim was to see a united 32-Counties Republic.

He was keenly aware of the plight of the ordinary individual and his political career was increasingly concerned with bettering the lot of others.

Former chairman of Enniscorthy Cumann, Sinn Féin for many years, he was the cumann's joint treasurer up to his passing.

Up to recently he was organiser for North Wexford when he was elected vice-chairman of Wexford Comhairle Cheannair.

He was chairman of Enniscorthy branch of the National Graves Association and was the principal figure behind the branch's annual Easter Commemoration.

Mr. Treacy helped organise the initial meeting of Enniscorthy branch of the National Association for Tenants Organisation (NATO), and was a founder member and first chairman of the local craobh of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann.

He was a founder member of Enniscorthy Credit Union. In his earlier years he was interested in Gaelic games, and was keen in promoting all forms of sports. He donated the trophy for the annual Keegan-Pator Senior hurling tournament.

Sympathy votes

At a special election of Enniscorthy Urban Council a vote of sympathy was passed to the family of deceased.

The concluding session of the conference of the Municipal Authorities Association, held in Enniscorthy adjourned for five minutes as a mark of respect.

At a special meeting of the local Sinn Féin cumann, a vote of sympathy was passed with the family, friends and comrades of deceased. Tributes were paid by his colleagues at the meeting adjourned as a mark of respect.

Huge funeral

There were extremely large and representative attendances at the removal of the remains and funeral, bearing witness to the popularity of deceased. The attendance in St. Mary's cemetery was amongst largest ever seen.

At the funeral an oration was delivered by Seán Óg O'Dubhail. Amongst the attendance were: Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, president of Sinn Féin, Walter Lynch (general secretary, do.), and Seán Keenan, the veteran Derry Republican.

Chief mourners: Mrs. Mary Treacy (wife); Seán Treacy (son); Mrs. Nora Treacy, Fairview (mother); Declan, Dublin, Maurice, Fairview, John, Rectory Road, and Jos. Treacy, Dintin (brothers); Mrs. Peggy, Wexford, Mrs. Breda Windsor, Fairview (sisters); John Lowney, Wexford, Paddy Windsor, Enniscorthy, John O'Leary, England (brothers-in-law); Mrs. Kathleen Treacy, Mrs. Peggy Treacy, Mrs. Nancy Treacy, Mrs. Mary Treacy, Mrs. Peggy Treacy, Mrs. Agnes Mulligan, Mrs. Ann McBride, Mrs. Catherine Murphy (sisters-in-law); Mrs. Martin O'Leary, The Shannon (niece); Mrs. Mary Treacy, Fenlon, 15 Bellefield Road (aunt); nephews nieces and cousins. — R.I.P.

Graveside oration

In a graveside oration, Seán Óg O'Dubhail, Enniscorthy, said: "We are all here today for a

common purpose — to pay our last respects to the memory of Mike Treacy. We who were his comrades will always respect his memory, will always remember with pride his dedication to the cause of Ireland.

"It was Mike Treacy who kept us active when we were inclined to despair. He inspired us by energetic example. Never a robust man, yet he hung himself into any activity that would bring about the freedom of Ireland.

"As a member of Enniscorthy Urban Council for 14 years, he paid particular attention to the weaker sections of the community.

"His fellow Councillors made him first citizen of Enniscorthy on two occasions when they elected him chairman. He sincerely felt it to be a great honour.

"It is appropriate that his mortal remains should lie in the same sacred soil with the body of George Keegan, because George was his hero, and he never missed that November visit to lonely Edentubur in Co. Louth for his annual tribute at the spot where George Keegan died.

"It was Mike Treacy who always organised our annual trips to Edentubur and Bodentown Commemorations. The event that he cherished above all others was our own annual Easter Commemoration in Enniscorthy. He was solely responsible for what it has become today.

"He made many sacrifices for Ireland but he would not want me to emulate them here today. I will mention one — when in very bad weather he fasted with his comrades for 12 hours last year in Market Square for the release of Republican prisoners.

"We who knew him well will often recall the good days we spent in his company — his personality, his sense of humour, his generosity and above all, his unselfish support for the Republican dream, which he tried to make a reality — a free and progressive Ireland.

"To his wife May, his son Seán, his relatives friends and comrades, our deepest and sincere sympathy.

"May the soil of his beloved Enniscorthy, stained with the blood of his heroes, rest lightly upon him. A Tosa Críost Céasta, dean trócaire ar a anam."

THE CROPPY

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i nDOIRE

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Help to give the children of Derry Republican Prisoners a happy Christmas.

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Bígfí fial

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50,000 copies sold

by Christmas?

BUAIL BUILLE INN

Conway's challenge

CARDINAL Conway and two Northern Priests, Rev. Father Faul (Dungannon) and Rev. Father Brady (Belfast) have just told Dublin politicians that a "carefully organised and planned campaign" of harassment, torture and assassination is being carried out against Catholics in occupied Ireland.

The Cardinal has also challenged the ubiquitous Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. FitzGerald, in no uncertain fashion: "This is official comment on all this so muted?"

In a joint statement both Father Faul and Father Brady had this to say: "If Dr. FitzGerald is not prepared to help Catholics in the North by telling the world the truth of what is happening then we should ask him not to co-operate with the British Government in suppressing the truth."

This is the most serious allegation made in recent history against a Minister of State.

Cardinal Conway and his priests know what they are talking about - Brigadier Frank Kitson's "pseudo gangs".

William Whitelaw, for all his bland smiling, knows that the clerics are at, too. These were the very same English murder tactics used in Kenya during the era of British genocide among the so-called Mau-Mau.

In Belfast, S.A.S. have used special taxi-services when they wanted to liquidate Catholics - proof of this is the taxi with which such murder-cars, were able to move to and from past army checkpoints.

No doubt the "pseudo gangs"

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement.

Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

a chara

work hand in hand with extreme Loyalist gangs thus assuring the latter "safe conduct".

At this goes back to Operation Motorman and the Four Square Laundry: it is by no means unconnected with top British Secret Service agent Wyman in the South and his "plant" in Dublin - (C3) - Det. Garda Crinnion. Like the Dublin "Bill-bombs" (2 killed: 127 injured) the killing of Catholics as revenge-killing is a very potent British army tactic against Republicans and is specially geared to damage the L.R.A.

Could it be that this is the very reason Colonel Warren Silbtoe has played verbal British propaganda in such low-key of late?

Why issue anti-IRA statements when well-organised army murders can do the trick?

Leaving party politics aside, surely it is time the Irish people in the South woke up to the Murderous British. At least we have been given a lead about what goes on in the name of security in the North - and that from an impeccable source.

Diarmuid O'Súilleabháin, Guair, Co. Loch Garman.

Open letter

Dear Cardinal Conway,

I'm sorry I can't in all honesty address you as 'Your Eminence'. You are not very eminent person in my estimation at the moment, or have been over the past four years. Please read on and don't dismiss this as another crank letter.

I am a Catholic mother of five children. My youngest son was arrested on his 17th birthday (not for the first time I might add) he had been constantly harassed by the so-called "peace-keepers" since the age of 15.

After he left school he started to serve his time as an apprentice and we were very happy for him; but alas, our happiness was short lived, and because of British army harassment this child of 15½ years had to leave home.

I as a mother was heartbroken. Now this child like all children would get home sick and would come home to see us and the merry-go-round would start again, our home would be invaded by these interlopers, my husband and sons arrested, my younger children dragged from their beds to listen to the foul and abusive language of these emiseres of peace.

At that stage our protectors

did not intern children under 17 years and their constant threat was "Just wait, we will get you when you are 17" and that promise was kept.

On his 17th birthday morning they "got" him and he now resides at Long Kesh.

And now, apparently, the age for arrest and internment has dropped to 15 years. We now have a 15 year old interned.

I'm sure you must read the papers so you can't say you don't know about it, or do you shut yourself up in your Palace? (where, I'm sure, you have every comfort). If you don't read the papers I'm sure you have TV. Perhaps you read or watch the only items concerning yourself (dinner and such which you have attended).

Please remember, Cardinal Conway, that although we may appear to be a down-trodden people now, the down-trodden have the uncanny knack of rising and we have been slowly getting up off our knees over the past few years.

You by your apathy have not given us the support we cry out for. We as members of the Catholic Church have that right, the God-given right to expect it from the Church, and as a principle of the Church you have failed us.

Where is your voice? Why are you not demanding the release of all the innocent - women, boys and girls who are imprisoned without charge? And the victims of ragged justice and a corrupt judicial system?

Where are you as mothers and wives need comfort when their husbands and children are assassinated by British army and other extremists?

I as a mother am not asking, I demand that you do something immediately to obtain the release of all those innocent people.

Remember in the eyes of the world they are all innocent. They are there without charge or trial and you by your silence condone the immoral act of internment.

Remember, too, that two poor souls have died in Long Kesh. How many more must die before you do something?

I can assure you I am not alone in my thoughts about the Church's attitude towards internment and I thank God for the few priests who care and are willing to speak out.

They, to my mind, are true princes of the Church. They give spiritual help and guidance to those imprisoned as Christ said they should.

How often have you visited those in prison? Are you afraid of what your important friends might think or say of you?

Forget these so-called friends. Identify yourself with the ordinary people. They matter much more. They are the people who have to suffer the injustices, day in and day out.

Wake up, I say, or some day, when you finally realise yourself, you will find that it's too late, for the people will have done the job for you and your services are no longer required.

— Concerned Mother of an Internee.

• Reproduced from "Andersonstown News", Belfast.



The Mayfair Bar, at the junction of Leeson Street and Grosvenor Road, Belfast, blown up by the U.F.F. (or the British army).

Nationalisation

IS Sinn Féin serious about nationalisation? Do we want to have everything over to the inefficiency and heartlessness of the faceless civil servants? Surely, if that happened, we'd be really worse off than at present?

Disgusted at the antics of the present circus I have bought and read some of your literature in the hope of finding an alternative.

Then I come across the remedy for all ills, nationalisation. What good has this done in the neighbouring island? What good has it done anywhere?

— J.B. Redmond, Terenure, Baile Átha Cliath.

• No harm in the world for Sinn Féin to answer this correspondent, Over to Seán Ó Brádaigh - A.Ed.

Censorship

I attack W.G. Hog's letter in "Irish Independent" to which I replied the same day and, of course, was not published. Yet they could find space to publish another ridiculous letter from E.T. Kennedy. It goes to show how the dice is loaded against the Republican view.

If you publish all I will leave it to Republicans to judge whether my reply or Kennedy's follow-up for Hog should have been published.

Also, I would like to hear from your readers if both dailies and Sunday papers and even provincial papers are refusing to publish anything from the Republicans; or have certain writers been "blackened" through voluntary censorship by editors or by pressure from the state?

Numerous letters written over the past year have not appeared in print.

— Joe Moylin, Co. Clare.

• We are no point in reproducing the shonken letters supplied. If censorship is a fact in certain papers Republicans are numerous enough to make the managements pay a heavy price, through boycott and other measures.

Worker's struggle

AS THE present struggle is the most sustained and intensive fight for independence since the 1918-22 period, I think a few comparisons between the two campaigns should be pointed out to British workers.

When the Irish people showed the British workers that English capitalism could be beaten, workers co-ops, strikes for better conditions and intense political activity took place, culminating in the general strike of 1926.

After the surrender of the workers' leadership widespread imprisonment and harassment of union militants followed, attempting to smash the workers' movement.

Troops were out on the streets and were used as "black-leggers" on jobs. Today, troops are "black-legging" on the Glasgow firemen's wage dispute, being used to break the strike.

As before, the methods used to put down rebellion in Ireland will be used in England. Therefore, it is essential that British people watch closely the

"Irish problem" and actively support the freedom fight.

A plea for "fair play" is not needed but an argument to show that our victory is their victory and not a defeat for British workers, is necessary as they will learn from our struggle for their own forthcoming struggle.

The Irish question is the gravedigger of British imperialism. Antoine O'Madagain,

Fitzsimmonds and McIlhone Cumann, Birmingham.

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Support Éamonn Mac Thomáis

THE GREAT AIM in life of our editor, Éamonn Mac Thomáis, was to make "An Phoblacht" a daily paper. One of his last acts, before being whipped up by Cooney's Special Branch, was to launch "A Million Shilling Fund" for the purpose of getting the £50,000 necessary to make that dream come true. You remember the announcement in a recent issue. The fund was launched under the heading: "GIVE US A BOB".

Well, will you give us that bob? That is the best way of showing support for Éamonn. Make sure that your paper, "An Phoblacht", comes out daily. Make sure that the voice of Republicanism becomes stronger and clearer. You owe it to the men who are suffering for you: Éamonn Mac Thomáis and Gerry O'Hare.

WHY NOT ADVERTISE WITH US?

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Arrested for firing at the bombers

A MAN who fired his double-barrelled shotgun at the Clones cross-border raiders was arrested by Gardai for unlawful use of a firearm.

Oglaigh smeared

By our TV Correspondent

ON Sunday night there was an illustrated supplement to the news devised and presented on RTE by Rowan Hand about the bombings of public houses in the Markets area of Belfast.

Whether intentionally or otherwise, the effect was to put Oglaigh na hÉireann, British fifth columnists and the British army undercover bomb squads all in the same category (though care was taken not to mention such British activities) and to earn Oglaigh na hÉireann the illfame merited by the present series of blackmail bombings undertaken at British instigation or through British connivance.

The programme appears to miss a new departure for RTE in that it is allowing itself to be used openly as part of the British propaganda machine.

Should we continue to pay licencees to support such a service? Should we be content to allow RTE to act thus in our name? So-called "loyalists" (fifth columnists) were allowed time to slander Oglaigh na hÉireann but no attempt was made to redress freedom of speech and to prevent distortion which can benefit only the collaborationist politicians and their lackeys.

Action must be taken at once by trade unionists and election holders to nip this latest treason in the bud. Technicians and journalists have the power to ensure freedom of speech and to prevent distortion which can benefit only the collaborationist politicians and their lackeys.

U.U.A. FIASCO

Ar lean, ón léir

In the Carmel area of south Tyrone, near the Monaghan border, Fr. McCaughy survived a murder attempt, a booby-trap bomb in his buying a site for a G.A.A. park at the rear of Aughnacloy R.U.C. station. The purchase was made in face of strong "loyalist" opposition.

Mr. McCaughy and his brothers are prosperous farmers in the heart of a "loyalist" area. The bomb was a move-out message, probably precipitated by Mr. McCaughy's having acted for the local G.A.A. in buying a site for a G.A.A. park at the rear of Aughnacloy R.U.C. station. The purchase was made in face of strong "loyalist" opposition.

Earlier this year Mrs Ellen Downey was injured when shot at through the window of her home in this area. On Sept 26 her home was destroyed by a bomb.

Contradicted

First Battalion, East Tyrone, L.R.A., states that their investigations into the Coalisland bombings have convinced them that there was no truth in the British army statement that shots had been fired at them in Coalisland on the night the bomb went off.

The U.V.F. claimed responsibility for the bomb but if any shots were fired they were fired by the soldiers themselves. All rather puzzling!

Recent East Tyrone operations include: Rocket attack on power station at New Mills; blocking of roads in Omagh, Sixmilkcross and Dungannon areas; bombing of the Clogher pleasure house of B.A. and U.D.R., the Trident Inn.

Incursions

This column already has expressed grave fears about the increased incidence of reports of suspicious movements of sometimes identified Unionist extremists in the 26 Counties Border area.

The tragic explosion along the Cavan-Clones road, where it passed through the tip of Fermanagh, which caused the death of a young man and serious injury to an elderly woman, confirmed our fears. So did the bombing of the Twenty-six Counties Customs hut at Clones a few days later.

The young man whose car was hi-jacked has stated that the man who held him up at gun-point, half a mile on the Clones side of the bombed house, spoke with a Scottish accent. The only other man he heard speak was a man with a Fermanagh accent.

The man, a neighbour of the bombed out family, was Mr. Sean Kinsella. The arrest, and the lack of security in the area, caused considerable ill feeling among the local people against the military and police.

Our local correspondent writes: At approximately 11.30 p.m. on Sat. Nov. 11, two light-coloured cars crossed the Border from the Fermanagh direction. They stopped outside the house of Mr. Noel Thornbury, a 30-year-old painter from the North. From the cars jumped eight masked and armed gunmen who entered the house by both the back and front entrances.

Once inside, they held the occupants, who included three other men, and Noel's wife, Stephanie. Mr. Thornbury was forced upstairs by two of the armed men and was made watch while they desecrated holy pictures and personal objects.

Furniture broken

Meanwhile, the other men broke the furniture. The four men downstairs planted a bomb. They ordered the men outside to shoot them. Once outside, Noel made a break for it but was immediately fired upon. While this was going on the other three men made their escape.

Still running, Noel reached shelter in the house of Mr. Francis O'Heart, who found that Noel was suffering from wounds in the chest.

After the shooting, the raiders lit the fuse and made off again in the direction of the Border.

On hearing the commotion, Mr. Kinsella took out his shotgun and fired at the raiders.

Much later, gardai and troops saturated the area. Verbal abuse was exchanged between the locals and the gardai when they arrested Mr. Kinsella for unlawful use of a firearm.

BRITISH ARMY BLAMED

THE Clones bombing was politically motivated, according to Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, in a statement.

"Last week-end saw the re-emergence of politically-motivated bombers in the 26 Counties when the home of Northern refugees Noel Thornbury and his wife, near Clones, was demolished in an explosion and Mr. Thornbury himself seriously wounded by machine-gun fire.

"The pattern which has obtained since the activities of the Littlejohn brothers in Co. Louth and elsewhere in September of last year keeps repeating itself.

The bombs in Dublin last December pushed the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill through: the further bombings of Clones, Belturbet and Pettigo, together with a return blast in central Dublin, were successful in forcing the implementation of the new repressive legislation.

Help for Cooney

"Again, when considerable tension was generated by Mr. Cooney's false alarm at Mountjoy Jail on September 28, that night another car bomb was put across the Border into the 26 Counties at Pettigo.

"The intention was clearly to supply justification for Mr. Cooney's 'bombs in the street' scare earlier in the day, but the destruction caused received scant notice on the publicity media."

The latest attack on defenceless people at Clones is timed to spread fear in the Monaghan constituency and strengthen the so-called 'law and order' elements in the current by-election.

"The calculated manner in which the outrage was carried out, the professionalism with which the dwelling was demolished, the use of the sub-machine gun in the attempt on Mr. Thornbury's life and the number of attackers involved all indicate British army involvement."

"Apart from previous bombings in Clones, a British army plain-clothes unit of six men, armed with rifles, and travelling in a civilian vehicle, was arrested by Gardai in the town earlier this year."

"In view of the fact that they were merely entertained at the Garda barracks and then escorted back across the Border, it is not surprising that such units should now feel free to bring death and destruction to residents of the 26 Counties with impunity," the statement ends.

Free Ireland's political hostages

The campaign will be launched in England by Sinn Féin, London, at a public meeting in Conway Hall, London, E.C.1., on Friday November 23, at 8 p.m. to focus attention on the plight of political prisoners.



O.C. killed in attack on Keady R.U.C. station

In the attack on the R.U.C. station in Keady, Co. Armagh, the commanding Officer of the First South Armagh Battalion was killed. The barracks, as seen in the picture above, was virtually destroyed.

The dead man was Michael McVerry (23), a native of Skerriff, Cullyhanner, Co. Armagh.

The attack was carried out by about 20 men in battle dress. A bomb, believed to contain more than 100 lb. of explosives, was planted by two men inside the barracks hallway, minutes before the attack. It exploded seconds later, causing extensive damage.

The blast was followed by heavy automatic fire. Mr. McVerry, hit in the battle, was carried away by his friends. He was taken to a hospital across the border in Co. Monaghan, where he died within a short time.

In the shooting, one policeman was reported by the British as having received a shoulder injury but not being seriously hurt. He is detained in hospital.

The same day one British soldier, at least, was killed and two seriously wounded in Derry.

'Stop probing spy nest'

Journalists in the 26 Counties have been told by their editors, apparently following a government request, to end investigations into the Littlejohn brothers spy scandal, not to pursue any line into the Donovan-Garda circular or connections between Donovan and the Littlejohn brothers.

The entire affair, as we forecast, like so much else, is being fished under the carpet. To date, no N.U.J. action has been taken on this.

Derry Prisoners' Dependents' Fund

The demand on the above fund is increasing weekly with the ever growing number of arrests.

We would appeal to the Irish people for subscriptions to help the families of internees, detainees, remand and sentenced Republican prisoners.

Subscriptions should be sent to: B. McFadden, The Cottage, Stanley's Walk, Derry;

or to: Sean Keenan, C/O 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, 1.

PEN-FRIEND

American boy, aged 18, wishes to correspond with boys or girls of about the same age. He is interested in Ireland, especially current events, the history of the country, its culture, etc.

Replies to Box 126, An Phoblacht Office, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Helicopter Song

"Up and Away", recorded by the Wolfe Tones, is available at the Craft Centre, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, at 50p.

Ballad of Joe Cahill—50p.

Visit our Showroom

Cartai Nollag: Christmas cards and calendar

Sinn Féin is publishing Christmas cards and a calendar again this year. The details are as follows:

Christmas card—design No. 1 (new design). Christmas card—design No. 2 (new design). Christmas card—design No. 3 (same design as last year with black map of Ireland and Tricolour lily-flame).

Calendar for 1974; same design as last year, i.e. as card No. 3.

Prices, which include envelopes, are as follows: Cards: 6p each, 60p per dozen, 65p by post. Special rate of £22.00 per 500 for large quantities. Minimum order by post is one dozen. Eire Nua Calendar: 10p each, £1.00 per dozen, £1.10 by post. Special rate of £8.00 per 100 for large quantities. Minimum order by post is one dozen.

Please state your requirements and send cash with orders. Early ordering is advisable.

We also have a limited number of Súgradh Yearbook—160 fun-filled pages in colour—1972 bilingual edition for children up to 10. Reduced to half-price—25p, by post 30p.

ORDERS SINN FÉIN Publicity Department, 2, a

TO: Sraid Chaoimhín Iocht, B.A.C.