

An Phoblacht

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VIGILANTES OR BLUESHIRTS?

By DARA MacDARA

UNDER the proposed local security forces of the Dublin regime, designed, we are told, to provide official vigilantes, to maintain a watch for car-bombers in the 26 Counties, is there a threat to the tattered remnants of democracy?

It depends on just how the new force is to be organised and to whom the members are to be responsible, as well as their terms of reference. If they are to be responsible directly to the Special Branch, or even to the uniformed Gardai, such a threat will be present. (See Sinn Féin view, page three)

Here is what Liam Cosgrave is reported to have said on the matter in Leinster House: "We are setting up in each city and town voluntary local security service units, based on the local Garda stations, to carry out rostered patrolling and to report to the Gardai any activity arousing suspicion."

Increasingly, the uniformed Gardai are being used as the eyes, ears and tools of the political police, a role many of them resent, especially in Border areas or when told to go into court to swear alleged membership of "illegal organisations" on the part of active political enemies of the puppet regimes, north and south.

Destroyed posters

During the local election campaign, for instance, Gardai in plain clothes were sent out during the hours of darkness to tear down Sinn Féin posters and to mutilate or destroy the Michael Gaughan posters, as well as to delete painted political slogans. So much for the pretensions of the Dublin politicians that they would welcome normal political activity by Republicans.

The Sinn Féin campaign during the local elections was hampered in many ways by both uniformed and plain clothes Gardai, including even the detention without trial of election workers, afterwards released by court order. How hypocritical can the Dublin politicians get?

Is it so very unreasonable to assume that the new force — which provides a valuable excuse for the return of the B Specials in the north-east — will not be used gradually to further the political interests of the traitor politicians?

After all, who could have foreseen, five years ago, that the ordinary Gardai would have been used so blatantly for political purposes as they are today? It shows the danger of a police force being controlled by a central government instead of by local communities, a danger, incidentally foreseen and largely avoided in Britain.

Civil liberty people and civil rights members, as well as trade unionists and the ordinary citizen concerned for the survival of democracy, such as it is, in Ireland, have every right to be perturbed, especially in view of the creeping, unofficial censorship of the media.

Shameless censorship

This censorship was bare, without any apparent shame by anyone involved, during the publication of the local election results: every dishonest method possible was used to hide or disguise Sinn Féin successes.

If action is to be taken to guard against the political mis-use of the proposed new force it must be taken at once. The necessary guarantees must be sought and obtained, otherwise another stone may well have been cemented into the growing Irish police state monolith.

All this is not to suggest that there is no need for a genuine vigilante force to guard the community against car-bombers. The safest way to organise such a force, with the preservation of the remnants of civil liberties in mind, is to use, perhaps, the traffic wardens as a model, making members of the new force responsible directly to the local government authority, subject to control by the local, elected representatives.

On that basis, full co-operation with the local Gardai could be ensured but local representatives, through special watch committees, also could ensure that they were not being used as a branch of the political police, to sabotage legitimate political action or to harass political activists.

Another question arises: what has happened to Civil Defence? Has it been allowed to wither by an inefficient Department of Defence in Dublin? Could not Civil Defence workers be trained to spot the car-bombers? Military control might be preferable to police control in all the circumstances, the military, apparently, being under less political pressure than the Gardai. Or is the Dublin regime's objective to revive the Blueshirts under another title?

Dangers to tattered Irish democracy



Standing idly by, 1974...

It is clear that Óglaigh na hÉireann, at present operating vigilante units along the Border, apparently well trained (see report, page three), could be expected to welcome an efficient, local, vigilante force, free of political bias and under firm, local democratic control, as this would release volunteers for other duties.

Republican concern

The concern of Republicans is that, as at present envisaged, and as outlined by Liam Cosgrave, the new force may not be trained properly to stop the car-bombers and all too easily could be used as an extension of the political police, bringing us ever closer to a Chilean situation.

The Republican Movement has proved it has the interests of the people at heart. God knows, the prisons, north and south, are full enough to prove it, and the list of fallen volunteers is tragically long. It is to be hoped that the newly elected Sinn Féin public representatives will awaken public opinion to the dangers of the new force, touched upon but briefly here.

If the Dublin authorities had listened to and acted upon the advice of the leadership of the Republican Movement from 1969, right down to Sunningdale, instead of surrendering so shamelessly on every vital issue, the entire country would not be in the mess it is today.

But that mess can be made even worse if the Blueshirts are to be revived by the Blueshirts' own party under the guise of vigilantes.

BORDER PEOPLE FIGHT FOR ROAD

BY NOW, the Brits probably are sorry they blocked the Flagstaff Road into Omeath. For they have raised a real hornet's nest against them and rallied even the most timid in the area behind the Republican cause.

Their vindictive blocking to the people's by-pass road, around their "Berlin Wall", with local people's cars, lights kept blazing to run down batteries, didn't help to improve their image, either. Once again, the Brit PRO slipped up badly.

The local people issued a statement on the matter. Copies have been sent to Gauleiter Rees and his Dublin allies.

The British action in blocking the Flagstaff Road had aroused the anger and fury of the whole population, the statement said.

"The men and women of Omeath are united on this issue as never before," the statement added, "and consider that the motives behind the closing of the road were political, with the British authorities being influenced by sectarian pressures within the North."

Last Sunday

The unapproved road was blocked last week with a wall of concrete and iron. Villagers worked for two

Ar lean, ar chúil.

'Terror raids'

RAIDS BY troops on compounds in Long Kesh were described as "terrorist incursions" at the weekend by the Association for Legal Justice.

The Association is to urge the international committee of the Red Cross to make a special visit to Long Kesh, as a matter of urgency, to investigate complaints.

A statement said it was regular practice to send in British troops on "terror raids" on internees and there seemed to be no obvious purpose other than to terrorise the internees and vandalise their property.

In a typical raid on two cages in the camp on June 28 named prisoners were beaten up, ill-treated and had personal effects destroyed.

An area in the camp, recently used as a chapel, had been vandalised and Mass vestments were strewn around. The damage, it is said, was reported to the assistant governor, along with a list of articles alleged to have been stolen.

CRAFT
CENTRE

44 Cearnóg
Pharnell,
Baile Átha Cliath

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 5. A Iúil 5, 1974 4. Uimhir 27
44 Ceardnóg Pharnell, B.Á.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

Loyalist dilemma

AT LAST it is clear to all interested that a substantial number of Loyalists want to talk to representatives of the Republican Movement. It may have disappointed Republicans that the talks did not take place because of a majority vote against the proposal. But this was to be expected, firstly, because the professional, middle-class politicians, including Paisley, Craig and West, see in such talks an end to their reign which is based on ignorance, bigotry, fear, suspicion and hate; and secondly, because the working class element has not worked out its politics and has not had time to find its leaders in the course of the analysis and debate which must come before a policy is decided.

Paisley, at the weekend, was using every trick in his hand to try to restore the old Unionist monopoly under a different label. But one united Loyalist party, at present, must mean one dominated by the middle-class, by its professional politicians, by the Lodge masters, and a return to 1969.

The clock cannot be put back, however, and the workers know it. Loyalist workers have stated often enough recently that they realise how they were exploited by the Protestant middle-class in the name of religion, loyalty, civil and religious freedom. It is unlikely that they can be fooled again unless Republicans lose their heads and act very stupidly.

Republicans now must make an even greater effort to understand the dilemma of the Loyalists and to help them see where their best interests lie. A study of Loyalist literature will help towards an understanding of the various strands that make up loyalism today and its many startling contradictions. In these papers we find racism, fascism, superstition, bigotry, ignorance; but we find, also, an instinctive reaching out towards socialism without using that word, so astonishingly suspect, and, also, a striving for identity, a growing interest in Irish history, even an appreciation of the importance of the Irish language.

It is a confusing mixture, reflecting the confused minds of the Loyalists who write and read it. But it must be remembered that, until very recently, the Loyalists' thinking, if such it could be called, was fashioned by the Orange wardhealers, men incapable, perhaps, of any great intellectual effort, but cute enough to realise, anyway, that such was not needed. To keep the workers down and under control all they had to do was to repeat the old clichés, slogans and lies about the "other side."

Such working class thinking as was done was confined, usually, to trade union matters or to abstract politics, or to politics as it applied to Britain and as it never could apply to Ireland, the facts, the realities, of the home situation being so conveniently ignored.

What was happening to Loyalist workers, of course, was happening to nationally-minded workers, too. For more than 50 years we had this sort of make-believe until finally the most oppressed members of the working class rebelled. When they rebelled they saw that their enemy was the class enemy, regardless of religion, which held them down.

This truth now is beginning to penetrate to the miserable dwellings of the deprived Shankill and Sandy Row, as we were allowed to see recently during a RTE television programme. But something else is happening to the Loyalist working class, apart from some appreci-

ation of the reality of the class war. The Loyalist worker is passing through a crisis of identity. He is beginning to realise the shallowness of that identity which is labelled British and the depth of that which is labelled Irish.

What can Republicans do to help their fellow workers, fellow Irishmen, on the other side of the present divide? They can take advantage of every possible platform to ask and answer questions. They can write letters to the papers, particularly to Loyalist publications. They can examine the other man's culture and try to realise how much of it will be needed in the new Ireland. And they can examine their own culture and ask themselves honestly how much they are doing to see that it survives: the Irish language, Irish music, dance, games; the traditional Irish spirit of co-operation and hospitality. How far are we prepared to go to get rid of our neighbour's fears and suspicions - in integrated education, for example?

The recent London meeting, under the auspices of the Irish Civil Rights Association, to try to get Loyalists and Republicans talking, without any compromises on either side, has got considerable publicity. One might be tempted to think that such an attempt was unique. It is nothing of the kind for many times over the last five years Republicans and Loyalists have met, in secret, of necessity, because of the danger of assassination and worse, at the hands of the S.A.S. These contacts will continue.

Shallow-minded critics of Óglaigh na hÉireann have complained that "just when it appeared that there might be talks between Republicans and Loyalists the I.R.A. destroyed everything by a new offensive," or words to that effect. But the offensive is not directed against Loyalists. It is against the occupying force. No Loyalist ever has accused Óglaigh na hÉireann of selecting sectarian targets, of bombing factories or plants because they were "Loyalist" or "Protestant" or "Orange."

On numerous occasions, when it appeared that there was a possibility for an honourable peace or when it seemed likely that sectarian clashes might occur, the bombing campaign has been diminished or suspended. The most obvious recent example was during the U.W.C. strike. When the enemy withdraws the war will end and no military action will take place except in defence of people of whatever domination under attack. Surely that is clear to all people genuinely seeking the truth?

There is one obvious way in which, regardless to war, Loyalists and Republicans can co-operate: a campaign to end internment without trial and better conditions for the prisoners while they are behind the wire. There are other ways: a fight for better housing; co-operation on the shop floor in the fight for better wages; the mental preparation of workers so that they can fight the oil and gas monopolies and prevent them from robbing the people of their resources when the time comes.

If people get together on such matters it will hasten the day when the more difficult task can be accomplished, of meeting politically. The first step is to realise how mutual are our interests and how much one needs the other to win the coming, united fight for a better deal for our children. We have got to get to know each other. After that everything will fall into place, le cúnamh Dé.



Scrúdú grinn? No leithscéal? Spoof? Féach "Débé".

Drochchosaint in éadan na buamála

MEASAIM go bhfuil an dá rud le rá faoi iarrachtaí stait chun an lucht buamála a choinneáil amach ó na 26 Chontae: níl i gceist ach Baile Átha Cliath a chosaint, i ndáiríre; agus níl na hiarrachtaí leath ná éifeachtach.

I mBaile Átha Cliath atá éanaí ormsa agus ó am go chéile tá orm an chathair a fhágáil agus filleadh uirthi ní ba dhéanaí. As an taithí tá agam an chosaint na nGardaí ar an gceathrú ar an gcló seo a leanas scríofa.

Maidir leis an gcead chuid, is minic mé ar fud na tíre, ag labhairt lenn chuid agas ar gur ceist-canna faoi chosaint Gaeilge, faoi chosaint Phoblachtais agus faoi chosaint cheoil. Ach go nuge seo ní fuaire mé, ach dháinne thart timpeall cathrach na baile mór ar bith fé mar atá thart timpeall ar Bhale Átha Cliath.

Is é a chiallaíonn sin, dar liomsa, gur cuma sa ríach leis na "fórsaí slándála" faoi áit ar bith seachas Baile Átha Cliath, áit na boic mhóra ina gceanaí inti.

Ach má tá fáinne "slándála" thart timpeall ar an phríomh-chathair, ní dóigh liomsa, go bhfuil se slán. Uair amháin, d'éirigh liomsa, agus mé ag tiomáint carr, dúid tríd gan ach cainteas a thagann. Comhtharlú, a deir tú? B'fhéidir é. Ach ní shín an chuid is measa faoi.

Is féidir le daoine a dteastaíonn uatha abhar pléasacha a ionpar, isteach i mBaile Átha Cliath é a dhéanamh go héasca agus nóisanna scrúdaithe fé mar afaid faoi laibhair.

Ach se go bhfuil buama sa mbuít agad agus go dteastaíonn uait é ionpar go Baile Átha Cliath (gur cuid den S.A.S. thu). Beidh tú lán go dtí an teorainn. Ach piosa ruid an teorainn cathrúil tu an buama a aistriú amach on gearr agus ó pháirc go páirc, cupla ead slat ar a mbéid, agus arís amach ar an mbóthar, áit a mbéid carr ag fanacht ort.

Carr é seo a bhfuil clár-uimhir dhá Bhale Átha Cliath agus, 'chuide sheans, sa chloinnach stop far é uair ar bith idir an teorainn agus an gheallachán. Nó, má stopfar, is beag scrúda a dhéanfar air.

Is é an rud a dteastaíonn uaimse a chur in iúl nach bhfuil na Gardaí ag stopadh de dháith, ach na caranna a bhfuil clár-uimreacha on tuascar agad nó, b'fhéidir (agus níl cinnte faoi), clár-uimreacha ó ceanntra thart timpeall ar an teorainn.

Ach is feascadh dom go rímháth go ligtear saor, gur scrúdaí dá laghad, na caranna a bhfuil clár-uimreacha de chuid Bhale Átha Cliath acu.

Teastáinn ó Cooney agus a gceard sa Ghardaí Siochána a chur iúl go bhfuil cosaint sífachtaí deanta acu ar Bhale Átha Cliath. Ach, fé mar atá leithne agamsa, ní fíor é sin.

Tá bob a bhualadh ag Cooney agus an meiceoir eile ar an bpobal agus, mar gheall air sin, tá faillies ort, beidh ar mhuintir Bhale Átha Cliath foc go daor ar, aghair. Agus, ar ndóigh, ar Óglaigh na hÉireann, fé mar a tharla an uair sin, is ea a chuirfeair an míleann.

A Thiarachas, tá mo chuide ráite. Tethi Dé na chuidhe crutha amach anseo le seoras a bhíodáid stop a chur leis ach a bheith réadúil tuiseanach.

Domhnach Phádraig
GIBBSTOWN an Béarla tá air. Goidé an Ghaeilge ar an áit? Baile Átha Domhnach Phádraig? I ndáiríre, ní mé agus bheinn

amh leis an dream eile chun tion-
scailiocht a bhunú i nGaeilge
na Mí.

Sinn Féin Béarlach?

AIMSIR an tógacháin theastaigh
ó Shinn Féin vótai a chnóthu i
nGaeilge na Mí, go mór nóir i
Ráth Cairn, an áit is láidre don
teanga, áit a sheas le Máirtín Ó
Cadháin tá blianta ó shin nuair a
d'iarr se ar mhuintir na háite gan
vóta dá laghad a chaitheamh iad
is a dhéanfaí dearmad faoi Ghaeil-
ge. Agus sheas Ráth Cairn le
Máirtín.

Meabhraíocht do mhuintir
Ráth Cairn go bhíodáid ceist na
Gaeilge difriocht mhór a dhéan-
amh: d'fhéadfaí ionadaí suíoch-
án a bhuaicáid nó a chailleadh
faoi cheist na Gaeilge ar Chomh-
airle na Mí.

Seól é seo nach dtuigean, is
cosúil, Sinn Féin: go fóill. Bhí
vótai le góthu i Ráth Cairn, ach
dream éicint a dhéanadh bol-
scuireacht rí Ghaeilge ach, faoi-
air, níor bhac Sinn Féin le bál-
eogáil Gaeilge a chlo do mhuintir
Ráth Cairn.

An é sin an fáil dháiríre
leis an bhfaracht do chuid Sinn
Féin an suíochán a ghnóthu? Is
beag de vótai a bhí i gceist, idir
bua agus teip. B'fhéidir go smao-
neódh Sinn Féin faoin ghné sin
den seól an chéad uair eile mar
is féidir vótai a ghnóthu mar gheall
ar Ghaeilge, aisteach go leor.

Ar ndóigh, tá thart ar 28 faoin
gcead de mhuintir na 26 Chontae
ina nGaeilgeoirí iolta, de ríir a
Gaeilge fóilsithe ar rialtas Bhale
Átha Cliath. Creidimse fein gur
fíor gur fíor do na fíorúir sin.

Deir Sinn Féin gur ar son na
Gaeilge atá sé. Má tá, ní thuigim,
ar thalamh an domhain, goidé an
fáth a mbéid na bíleogai idir
i dtéanga na saighdiúraí galla.
Bhíuim míniú ag einne?

Club Uí Chadhain

FÉ mar a dúras cheana, sílim, tá
an dara club Gaeilge ar an saol i
mBaile Átha Cliath gach oíche
Shathuair agus gaeilteanas againn
gurb í an Ghaeilge a bheas in
uachtair an áit, gconat, agus tost
nuair a bhíonn amhránaíocht nó
ceol ar aistí ann.

Síráidíocht ar an dá ríal sin
coicis ó Dé Sathuair seo caite.
Béarla a bhí in uachtair agus
bagarrach, Níor tugadh dísteacht
dá laghad don cheol Gaeilge. Rud
ní mheasa, b'fhéidir, cuireadh
Gaeilgeoirí ó dhúchas ó dhoras.

Greannúithe a chuir an club sin
ar bun, ach dúradh liomsa, Gaeil-
geoirí, faoin am, go mbéadh ar
dteanga sa chéad áit i gconat fad
a thairfeadh an club, agus meas
romh ar gceol ann. Ba shín an
fáth ar thug muid tacaíocht don
áit. Ach feich, anois, an féall.

Bhí mé féin ann an oíche sin
agus labhair mé le muintir Chom-
airle a bhí ar balle fiontar tharla.

Bíodh an dara seans acu. Ach
má theipeannaisid orain air, ach
deanaimis dearmad glan orthu.
Ceart? Ar aon chaoi, deas an fear
Cóláin Mac Adháin, agus ionais
lena chois sin.

Faesta

PÁDRAIG Ó Snodaigh atá ina
uachtair nua ar Chonradh na
Gaeilge, fé d'áit ríne, agus
Ar lean, ar chúil

Thank God we're surrounded by water?

Lenáir gComhlúthraíocht Folaíúil

DUBLIN politicians have known for more than 50 years that, under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and the subsequent Treaty and Boundary Commission, the Dublin regime had full jurisdiction over the entire territorial waters of this island.

The British politicians also were so aware, as were their colleagues in Stormont. And there was a "gentleman's agreement" (or rogues' pact) to keep it dark until it could be "helpful" to talk about it publicly.

The Dublin regime, which had adopted a "beal bocht" attitude to its more obvious coastal waters and inland waterways over the years, was not particularly interested in taking over responsibility for additional areas, never having been sufficiently interested in protecting the rest of the Irish coast from, for example, poaching foreign trawlers.

But there is even more to it than that. Navigation all around Ireland is protected by an organisation called Irish Lights, controlled from London which also pays the considerable cost. The London headquarters, in Trinity House, also houses the headquarters of the organisations looking after such affairs around the coasts of England, Wales and Scotland.

Nor was any Dublin government sufficiently honourable, or in possession of sufficient national dignity, to attempt to cover the other side of that coin, sea rescue, until very recent years.

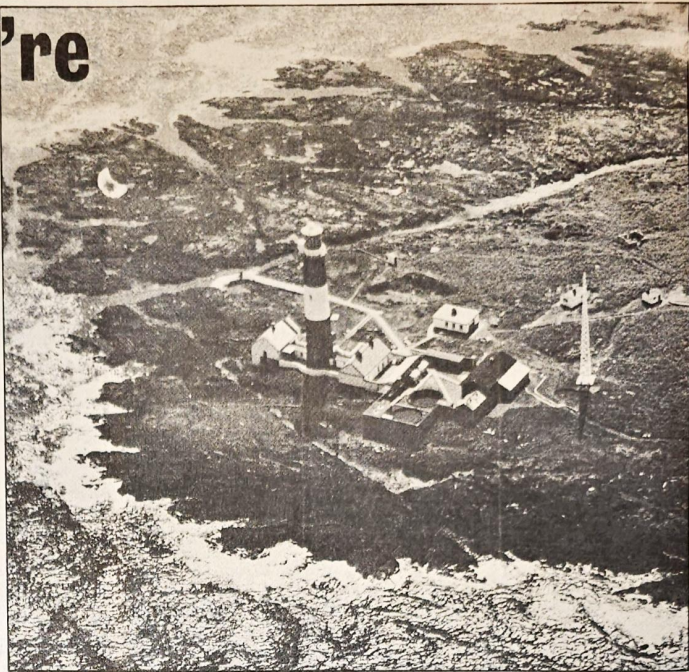
Even today the Royal National Life-Boat Institution, British-based and British-subsidised (except for insignificant funds

made available in Ireland through collections and bequests) does the major part of rescue work.

International Court?

The question as to who, in international law, should have jurisdiction over the entire territorial waters of Ireland, may be referred to the International Court of The Hague. Because of the strong possibility, now, of mineral finds in such waters, the issue is likely to be contested with some spirit.

Under international law, however, Britain stands a good chance of having her jurisdiction recognised through the default, over the years, of the Dublin regime to exercise such jurisdiction.



The Men Island Lighthouse, pictured here, is on the Cope-land Islands, off Co. Down, in an area likely to contain rich mineral deposits.

Nuaíocht na gCumann

Cosgrave plan suspect

LIAM Cosgrave's call for the setting up of a new "local security force", under the direction of the Gardaí, was considered at a meeting in Cavan of the 12 newly elected Sinn Féin councillors for the border counties of Louth, Cavan, Monaghan, Leitrim and Donegal.

The President of Sinn Féin, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, and Uilleall Ó Lúinigh, General-Secretary, also attended.

It was recognised that there is a definite need for organisation to protect peoples' lives and property, especially in Border areas, and the belief of the meeting was that this could be done best by organising citizens' groups of vigilantes, responsible directly to the local communities or even to the local authorities.

The whole direction of 26 Counties state policy on security had been one-sided and was being concerned only with giving aid and comfort to the occupation forces while allowing British and pro-British agents to do their deadly work without let or hindrance.

Confidence test

The force proposed by Cosgrave has been welcomed by extreme Unionists in the North who are agitating for the return of what they saw as a parallel body, the old B-Specials.

Cosgrave's force would not be effective in preventing car bombs in the 26 Counties as it would not enjoy the full confidence of the public.

Rather would it be an extension of the present political Special Branch, making for an elaborate network of people engaged by the state to spy on their neighbours throughout the 26 Counties, the meeting agreed.

Statements refuted

LEAS-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, Dáithí Ó Conaill, has sent copies of the following letter to news media which reported his movements inaccurately in Ballina at the Gaughan funeral.

"I have no desire to become involved in the controversy surrounding the remarks made by Father Keane at the Requiem Mass for the late Volunteer Michael Gaughan.

"However, in view of the allegations of 'being a country priest', please permit me to put the record straight.

"The journalists who reported that I had walked out of the Cathedral were guilty of sloppiness, shoddy reporting. At no time was I in, or near, the church."

Soldier shot

A British soldier shot and seriously wounded in the Falls area of Belfast on Saturday night last was named as Corporal David Smith (26), a married man from Lancashire.

He was hit in the stomach when a volunteer fired at a patrol outside Kelly's Bar at the junction of Springfield Rd. and Whitecross Rd.

The previous Saturday night another soldier was shot dead in Belfast: Gunner Kim Ian Cameron MacCunn, Fourth Light Regiment, Royal Artillery.

SWIFT action by an Óglaigh na hÉireann vigilante unit saved the heart of the Border town of Clones from being devastated by a 400lb. car-bomb last week.

An Óglaigh explosives expert dashed to the bomb-car and removed the detonator from the charge - with less than three minutes to go, before it was scheduled to go off.

Later, the Mid-Ulster Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, issued a statement confirming that the bomb, which a local farmer was order to drive into the town had been defused by a volunteer on "vigilante duty".

The statement revealed that an Óglaigh unit had been on vigilante duty in Clones and other Border towns as a result of intelligence reports and the particularly good showing which Sinn Féin candidates had received in the recent local elections.

The statement said that bomb attacks or assassination attempts were feared from undercover British troops operating under the guise of "loyalists".

The Clones bomb later was claimed by a group which described itself as a U.D.A. "breakaway" organisation.

"We consider vigilante patrols necessary in most Border towns and our volunteers are available to maintain a watch and ensure

I.R.A. ACTION SAVED CLONES TOWN

By a Special Correspondent

protection in any area where the demand arises," the statement added.

The young Óglaigh member involved in the defusing of the Clones bomb outlined his actions on Monday morning and answered questions put to him at a subsequent press conference.

He said he was a member of a vigilante unit operating from midnight in Clones town.

"We were immediately alerted about the car which had gone through the checkpoint and was driven into Fermanagh Street and I rushed to the scene," he said.

The farmer who had been forced to drive his vehicle with the bomb into the town, had jumped out of the vehicle and shouted there was a bomb in it.

Risked life

"I ran to the door of the vehicle and opening it, I saw the two milk trucks inside connected up with cortex to the detonator and timing device."

"I saw there was only a few minutes to go - about three minutes - and I had to work feverishly to release the alligator tape which was used to connect the detonator and the cortex."

"I had just severed the connections and had the detonator removed from the car when it went off - if it had gone off earlier I would have been blown to bits along with half the street!"

Replying to questions, the young man said he "knew exactly" what to do, when he saw the bomb had been wired up. He said he was an "explosives

expert" with Óglaigh na hÉireann and had more than two years' experience in dealing with bombs.

He said that if somebody without a knowledge of handling explosives had gone to the car, they might have set off the bomb.

"You don't use a knife or do anything that would cause a shock or a spark, or the whole thing would blow up", he stated.

After disconnecting the bomb, he said, he disappeared again into the crowd that was gathering on the street.

Locals intervened

"For a while I thought my effort was in vain because the 'Free State' soldiers who came on the scene were insisting that they blow up the bomb where the vehicle was parked on the street. This would have been a disaster. I nearly went forward again to identify myself and show them how to take the bomb away from the area; but luckily, the locals intervened."

He said he thought the bomb itself had been wired up in "very anti-climatic fashion" and there was undoubtedly a great risk that it might have gone off, if the vehicle had struck a bad bump on the road while it was being driven into Clones.

Asked by a Monaghan journalist if he considered he should be entitled to some bravery award for his action in "saving the street" the young man replied "I haven't been thinking of awards. We are more concerned with the lives of the people and my reward

Sinn Féin demands access to RTE

THE SINN Féin director of publicity, Seán Ó Brádaigh, has written to RTE's news director to complain of misrepresentation of the local government election results on RTE news bulletins.

In all bulletins, following the local elections, the impression was created that Sinn Féin had gained only eight seats on local government bodies whereas the total number of seats won was 26.

In his letter, Mr. Ó Brádaigh also demanded, in the name of the people who had elected the Sinn Féin councillors, that the ban on Sinn Féin spokesmen on RTE be lifted and demanded confirmation that Sinn Féin is entitled to the same rights and facilities to news bulletins and current affairs programmes that is enjoyed by political parties in the 26 Counties.

No reply has been received by Mr. Ó Brádaigh as this paper went to press.

Prayers for Gaughan

Sinn Féin members in Strabane gathered at the Grotto, Townsend Street, to say the Rosary in Irish for the repose of Gaughan's soul.

At the weekly meeting of the Strabane branch of An Cumann Cabhrach, a vote of sympathy was passed with his relatives. A vote of sympathy also passed was by the Eugene Devlin Sinn Féin Cumann, Strabane.

Volunteers' funerals

ABOUT 1,000 people attended the funeral in Derry last week of Gerard Craig, Drumleck Gardens, Shantallow, one of the two teenagers, members of Óglaigh na hÉireann, killed when a bomb exploded prematurely outside a supermarket at Greenbank Road. The funeral followed Requiem Mass in St. Patrick's Church, Pennyburn.

Afterwards the military set up checkpoints at the exits from the cemetery. People leaving were asked for identification.

Road blocks were also set up at the entrances to Creggan Estate and Bogside.

There were allegations that troops had "roughed up" young people at some of the checkpoints.

The funeral of the second victim, David Russell, a Protestant, of Steelstown Road, took place privately the same day.

Melbourne picket

Recently, pickets were placed on the British High Commissioner's Office in Melbourne, protesting against the death of Michael Gaughan in Parkhurst prison, and in support of the demand of all Irish Republican prisoners in British jails for political status.

The picket, organised by the local Sinn Féin cumann, was at Leam, ar chúil

Dr. Dugdale and the little

WHEN R.T.E. censored the most important and most newsworthy sections of Dr. Rose Dugdale's speech from the dock of the Special Court last week it was the last heavyhanded move in a deliberate campaign to hold the young Englishwoman incognito from the Irish public, a process which had begun immediately on her arrest, some weeks earlier.

While she was held on remand in the Bridewell in Dublin the building was transformed into an armed camp, with Political Police and military in full battle gear at every corner.

No visitors were allowed in to see her and her solicitor, Myles Shevlin, was forced on each visit to turn out the contents of his brief case.

While still on remand, she was transferred to Limerick gaol, ostensibly for "security reasons". As so often happens the first casualty of the establishments' mania for "maximum security" has been the rights of the prisoner.

In the case of Dr. Dugdale conditions have fallen short of the minimum standards for prisoners required by the European Commission of Human Rights, and this before being found guilty by a court of law, so-called.

Myles Shevlin, her solicitor, remarked that in 25 years experience he had seen nothing to compare with such treatment.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

She is virtually in solitary confinement. As a remand prisoner she was allowed neither to write letters nor to receive letters. The transfer to Limerick was partly to pressure her into dropping her courageous hunger-strike by isolating her from even her one contact with the outside world, her solicitor.

While on hunger-strike in solidarity with the cause of the Irish political prisoners in Britain she desired to settle her own affairs and sought permission to have her English solicitor visit her with the intention of making her will.

However, even this simple request was turned down.

On Monday, 17 June, she was whisked by helicopter from Sarsfield Barracks, Limerick, to Dublin, to face new charges. Neither she, nor her solicitor received prior notice of the development - and the latter only managed to rush to court after receiving the news from a B.B.C. reporter.

In the subsequent trial, her solicitor was grudgingly conceded a short conference period with his client in a cell in Mountjoy after the hearing before his client was again hurriedly airlifted back to Limerick. One of these sessions - when the 200 page book of evidence was being read - was rudely broken off by the police after half an hour.

On that day there were approximately 200 military and 200 uniformed and plain-clothes police in the grounds of Mountjoy and St. Patrick's. As one sergeant explained: "It's not so much who we are trying to stop getting out as who we are trying to prevent getting in".

THE TRIAL

The trial, where she pleaded "proudly and incorruptibly guilty" to liberating paintings from Sir Alfred Beit on 26 April last, is now a matter of history.

Like many before her who stood in the dock of Green Street Courthouse she held "that the whole people of Ireland have, and are solely entitled to the wealth of this land which they laboured to produce. The wealth of this land may not be appropriated from them".

She went on to condemn the Leinster House politicians for their policy of collaboration with the British government and their policy of internment, where "without the semblance of a trial several hundred men who offered their lives in the fight against the terror of British rule in the Six Counties" are imprisoned.

INDICTMENT

Summing up Dr. Dugdale said:

"Yes, I am guilty and proudly so. If guilty has come to denote one who takes up arms to defend the people of Ireland against the English tyrant who would deprive the people of this land of their wealth which they produced and their right to live in freedom and to control their own destinies, then I am guilty."

Ar lean, lch. 5, col. 5



Authentic Ireland and her music

"Seisúin", the national series of traditional entertainment organised by Comhaltas Céol-tóirí Éireann, commenced on July 1 and will continue for eight weeks. This year the scheme will incorporate a record 28 centres, according to a supplied statement.

In 1973, Seisúin was attended by more than 40,000, including tourists from all parts of the world. Throughout the year, also, Seisúin groups were invited to perform for visiting groups.

The scheme was initiated experimentally four years ago to minimise criticism of tourists that they could not find exhibitions of authentic native entertainment. Comhaltas,

however, refused to organise events specifically for tourists as this would be bordering on the artificial. Seisúin was designed to involve the local population of the area at which visitors would find a ready welcome.

The following centres will have Seisúin performances this year: Arklow, Birr, Cashel, Cork, Corofin, Drogheda, Dublin, Dundalk, Dungarvan, Dunmore East, Emly, Ennis, Gort, Killinane, Kilkee, Limerick, Mallow, Monaghan, Murroe, Nenagh, Newcastlewest, Portumna, Puckane, Scariff, Waterford, Wexford and Whitegate.

"Some men fight for Silver..."

The tradition that commenced when the Free State Army accepted guns from the English forces in Dublin in June 1922 in order to open a war upon Republicans still lives in the "Irish Army" of to-day. Two pounds a week they paid to recruits then, and in the poor economic conditions that prevailed they found plenty of takers.

There were more than 30,000 troops on active service against a few hundred Republican insurgents by the time the 'Cease Fire, Dump Guns' order came from De Valera and Frank Aiken in May, 1923.

Some fell in the proud red rush of war And some by a treacherous blow Like martyrs four in Dublin town And their comrades at Drumboe.

Once Richard Mulcahy and the fathers of many of the present-day States launched themselves upon this war there was no let up, and no talk of peace or reconciliation. They fought it bloodily to a finish, 700 died in the south while they allowed 500 of their fellow countrymen to be wickedly killed in the north.

There were 11,000 gaoled here (some thousands more in the north), though compared with the present day the duration and term of sentence was remarkably light. Almost all prisoners were out by January 1924. Judges were less than paid hirelings of authority, perhaps, and Courts less the

predictable sausage machine they now are.

NEW MERCENARIES

But the mercenaries of the Free State Army were sorry to see the war ending. Economic conditions were bad; they wanted to prolong the war. Many of the fake raids and ambushes that were set up to keep it going. But, eventually, it ended, and the poor boys, ex-British soldiers, the former weakling Republicans who were conned by the sight of Collins to take the wrong side, the dead-end kids from the city slums, were cast upon the scrap heap by the new bosses, W.T. Cosgrave, Kevin O'Higgins, Blythe, and Desmond Fitzgerald.

There were top hats and garden parties in the Vice Regal Lodge for them, and the dole for the youngsters who put them there. It was the beginning of the new aristocracy of the Free State.

Though defeated, vanquished, and sent across the sea, a thousand songs and poems survive

from the Republican Army of these days:

Ireland Divided, Never Shall Be Free, Take It Down From The Mast Irish Traitor, Who Dares to Say Forget the Past, Maire O'Kelly of Galway, Martyrs of Drumboe, and hundreds more.

A SINGLE SONG?

Is there a single song surviving from the 30,000 mercenaries who were paid to fight for the Irish Free State? Has one heard an old mercenary boast ever of his "struggle for freedom" against the Republican insurgents of 1922 and 1923? Is there a single monument - apart from the ones paid from public funds at Béal na Bláth and Leinster Lawn?

No, there is a feeling of shame among even the lowest intellect at being involved in that struggle. No one wants now to boast of his part in the suppression of Republicanism in that period.

Which brings us to the trauma of the present day. The cruel may say of to-day's mercenary army, what else can you expect? It is a shoneen army with no pretensions at being Irish. A costly local security force devoid of the thing called tradition. What tradition have these mercenaries to call upon? The unglamorous tradition of 1922 from which not even a song survives?

The tradition of the

"Emergency" when their military police supplied the firing squads that shot Hartie, McGrath, Goss and Maurice O'Neill? How many to-day recall that more than 40,000 Free State Army troops deserted in the forties to join the British Army, because pay and allowances were higher. Search the pages of An Cosantóir for an allusion to that one. Could they have deserted, could they have left their homeland if there had been the slightest shred of a tradition or philosophy among them?

An Army which had to commission Dick Forbes, the son of the old Theatre Royal, to write their one and only marching song - "On the One Road, Sharing the One Road, on the Road to God Knows Where" doesn't have much of a tradition or philosophy to fall back upon.

So it is to-day.

CROMWELL MAN

The "Irish Army" of 1974 is epitomised well in the personality of the bullish millionaire who leads it, Patrick Sarsfield Donegan. It was a Donegan - the family is Cromwellian - who first commissioned Sarsfield in 1678 (hence the middle name).

The current Donegan is the one who took guns to the tinkers on his estate at Monastereboice five years ago, and who has painted on his grain stores in

Castleblinham - hardly a lair for skinheads or bootboys - the telling words: - NO BALL PLAYING, NO LOITERING, G.A.R.D.A. INFORMED. Up-the-transom Donegan is not man who believes in soft words or parleys. If Liam Cosgrave needs a man to do the job that Richard Mulcahy did in 1922 then he need go no further than his cabinet than Patrick S. Donegan.

But times have changed, and the mercenaries of to-day are harder to find. Despite a wage of £35 a week all round, and an annual expenditure of 40 million, Donegan can't push the figure of his army much above 11,000. And of those three or four thousand are rheumatic barrack square files.

Still they do look good when called out as an aid to the civilian army. Helps to heighten the war psychosis so dear to the heart of men like Donegan.

Thank goodness for one thing though: they are not going to sully the sod of Bodenstown ever again. At least he can be thankful to the new Blueshirts for that.

BY
JAMES HOPE



People

NOTEBOOK

Anything but
Vote for Them

IT HAS BECOME more or less accepted as an axiom of Irish politics that "people will do anything for Republicans but vote for them". A more accurate way of putting it is that, while most Irish people will help an IRA man in trouble, or even oblige the IRA in other ways, this practical sympathy with militant Republicans is not reflected in support for Republican election candidates. There is a great disproportion between the one and the other, to put it mildly.

Down the years there have been notable exceptions to this general rule—Rusiri O Brádaigh and Tom Mitchell, in one sense, Frank McManus and Bernadette Devlin, in another sense. But as a general rule the axiom is valid and it is worth taking a look at why it is so. The recent local elections in the 26 Counties have made the matter topical.

huge propaganda campaign directed against Sinn Féin. The main target has been the IRA in the North, but Sinn Féin has been tarred with the same brush, as the "support group" or the political disguise of the IRA.

True, but again that is not sufficient reason for a poor electoral showing. There was a huge propaganda campaign directed against Sinn Féin in 1918 when it won a majority in all-Ireland elections! Sinn Féin won those elections because it represented an alternative Ireland which most Irish people wanted, and because it succeeded in persuading the voters that this was so by means of its own propaganda.

At first sight, it seems relevant to point out that Sinn Féin is not, primarily, an organisation geared for winning votes, let alone elections. Unlike, say, Labour, Fianna Fáil or the SDLP, its main purpose is not the creation of an effective electoral machine.

But this in itself does not explain why Sinn Féin does badly. Aontacht Éireann is organised for the sole purpose of winning elections, and it gets an even lower vote than Sinn Féin. Consequently, even if Sinn Féin were to direct all its efforts to getting votes at election times, this would be no guarantee that it would do better. We must probe deeper.

At present, and for some time past, there has been a

Those would seem to be the two essential factors which cause voters to make a radical change in their established voting habits. For that is what we are talking about, really, isn't it? In 1918 the voters broke with their established voting habits. A majority vote, or even a large vote, for Sinn Féin today would involve a similar break with established voting habits.

To put it another way, Irish voters will continue to vote more or less as they voted in the previous election, and for the same parties as previously, unless Sinn Féin succeeds in making them break this habit and vote for Sinn Féin. And the way in which

Sinn Féin has done that on one occasion, and could do it again, is by representing an alternative Ireland which most people want and by persuading them that they really do want it.

Fianna Fáil did that in the early 1930s. That was how it broke the voting habits of the early years of the Free State and began its own long hegemony.

We can simplify the two factors which cause radical voting change into a single factor. A political movement can cause the Irish electorate to change their voting habits in its favour if it represents for them, in effect, an alternative Ireland which they want.

If it represents that for them, in effect — or effectively — by putting it that way, we include the work of communicating with the people, persuading them and so on, we take all that for granted and refer simply to the end situation, the net effect. If the movement — by one means or another and for all sorts of reasons, including the quality of its leadership — effectively presents the people with an image of an alternative Ireland which they want, they will change their voting habits and support it in the hope of getting that alternative Ireland.

Note what I'm saying: if that movement presents this image effectively — not merely the words or printed policies of the movement, but the movement as a whole through all that it is,

says and does. In other words, the movement must look like and sound like the alternative Ireland, thus putting that Ireland, so to speak, within reach and making it seem like a possibility, like a really "alternative" Ireland, not like some fancy Ireland seen in a dream.

Now we can get the answer to our original question by standing this on its head. Aontacht Éireann is not doing well at the polls — despite its good electoral organisation — because it does not, in effect, represent in the voters' eyes an alternative Ireland which they want. And the same applies to Sinn Féin, not merely now but for many years past: it gets little electoral support because it does not effectively represent an alternative Ireland which the Irish people want.

Its members, its organisational structure, its spokesmen and language, its activities and the activities of its members, its publications, its stated policies and displayed enthusiasm — all of these together, all that hits people's eyes, whether locally or in Ireland as a whole, does not effectively add up to an image of an alternative Ireland which a majority of Irish people want. This is not a "criticism" it is something much more important: a statement of simple fact proved by election results.

Another simple fact

follows from it. Sinn Féin will win the support of the majority of Irish people only when everything it is, says, does and conveys, locally and nationally, adds up to an image of an alternative Ireland which the majority want. Failing this, the people, being people, will see no good reason to change their voting habits. More, there will be no good reason for them to do so.

Knowledge is power, and getting hold of this knowledge — and discarding all illusions to the contrary — is the beginning of political power for the revolutionary Movement in our country. Get hold of this knowledge by testing it on your own experience of "Sinn Féin" or "The Republican Movement" over, say, the last three months.

How has it been appearing to the people around you? What does it seem, on the face of it, to be about? An alternative Ireland which the people around you want? Or if not, then what?

When the people you know think of a Republican, what sort of person have they in mind? What sort of things do they imagine him doing? What kind of things do Republicans do, in your own experience?

Taking the people around you as they are, and as you know them, can you think of good reasons why they would be more likely to vote for Sinn Féin than for Fianna Fáil or Labour?

FREEMAN

Dr. Rose Dugdale

6 col. 5, 1ch. 4.

"But you stand accused and are found guilty in the judgment of the people of Ireland who must suffer the English rule imposed by the foreigner on his right to live. Here you are guilty of treacherous collaboration and you stand accused and guilty of betraying some of the bravest men and women who in the history of this country have gone out to fight for the rights of Ireland to be free.

"You cannot deceive us for ever. The tyrant will be brought down. Victory is with the army of the people. For how long you sentence me has no relevance to anything and no importance. I regard it with the utter contempt that it deserves."

Returning by air — "security" again — the helicopter performed a *tour de force* and landed in the prison yard itself.

So now Dr. Dugdale, the English revolutionary, shares the condition of hundreds of Irish prisoners in Belfast, Armagh and Portlaoise. But not quite — for they at least have the company of their fellows, whereas she is incarcerated with the wretched outcasts of society, who traditionally have little respect for

the strength of character of the political prisoner.

SECURITY AGAIN

Limerick prison has changed since Dr. Dugdale's incarceration there. There is now a central control tower fitted with bullet-proof glazing from which the rifles of Irish soldiers follow their target below as she exercises for two hours in the yard below each day.

On the wall is a new pill-box, presumably to ward off rescue attempts and at the base of the wall yet another military post — all to guard one woman, for nine years.

MURDER: 'ARREST THOSE RESPONSIBLE'

In a statement the Tomas McCurtain Sinn Féin Cumann, Tullysarran, Armagh, draw attention to the murder of John Patrick Cunningham and call for the immediate arrest of those involved and the withdrawal of British Crown Forces from our country.



Why do they disown the North? (2)

FUTURE historians may consider the role played by these party leaders as being naive if not downright knavish, with a bogus "Dail Eireann" in the seventies playing the party of Vichy France during World War II.

They will see all the open flirtations with the ancient oppressor, England; and the acceptance in all but part of the neo-colonial status, the better to retain power.

Duplicity and downright nepotism there certainly was during Lynch's premiership. TACA has become a dirty and therefore relegated word. Those who propped Jack are now buying their way, possibly with more difficulty, into the "party in power".

Lenihan, like certain other nonpolitical animals knows when a ship is sinking. This is the very man who accepted "Operation Motorman" without as much as a welly as mere year or two ago, the same Brian who told Welsh Nationalists on their own soil "to forget about it".

He beat a rather hastily retreat then, too. Now he hopes to climb aboard the bandwagon on the evaporation of Sunningdale.

In the main, the roasts run deep, Fine Gael being the landed gentry or at least gentleman-farmer type, the old established businessman, the family-professional class.

Somebody once said that if a man possessed a pedigree herd or a fashionable line of bloodstock one didn't have to ask his politics.

New wealth is not sought after so much, rather the consolidation of the old. The hunger here is after power and the fascist wielding of that same power once obtained. Inbuilt in that complex is a pathological hatred of Republicanism.

One political journalist summarised it very neatly not so long ago when he stated that, at the mention of the Price Sisters and the Provisionals, in Leinster House, Garret FitzGerald turned pale with rage, the living embodiment of Kevin O'Higgins.

How sad in 1974? Perhaps the same FitzGerald exemplifies the Fine Gael party as presently constituted to a more accurate degree than does Cosgrave, its leader. One senses that Cosgrave knows his Brit. With FitzGerald it is quite a different matter.

Sometimes a man's inner feelings are betrayed by even the most simple comment on ordinary matters.

A few months back when the



By Diarmuid O'Suilleabhain

devious side of the Brits was taking quite a lot of stick FitzGerald rushed to their assistance in the letter columns.

Viscount disaster

Anxiously he pointed out the humane work done by British lifeboats along our coast (as if our life-boatmen had not more than reciprocated) and then went on to what he termed the "exhaustive search" carried out by the British navy after the Viscount disaster in St. George's Channel, March, 1968.

Only the other day a Wexford trawler completed the task, by bringing up the wing of a British fighter plane in the same area. Needless to say the devious Brits

did not report any R.A.F. plane missing six years ago!

The find did not occasion any real surprise along the S.E. Wexford coast as onlookers, speaking of that disaster, always held that there were two aircraft involved in a collision, the planes falling into the sea miles apart.

In this case the R.A.F. was covering its tracks, having caused the crash of a commercial aircraft and the loss of all passengers aboard.

Unlike Silken Thomas, Garret will never throw his sword on the Council board, whatever about his hat and Sunningdale.

His running mate, the Second Lord of the Pale, Cruise O'Brien, gradually is unfolding himself, much to the annoyance and frustration of his leader, Cosgrave. The conflict here is both deep and bitter.

For some inexplicable reason, the image here (to me) concerns an old woman with apron a-flapping, "fostering" after scurrying young chickens. The background music is constant: "If we only had old England over here".

Political honesty?

Sunningdale, black face that it was from the outset, has now set the Pale Lords and their ilk a-thinking. The job "done for our lifetime" has been swept away from the men whose bondage is of the soul.

There may well be rank and file members within the three political parties in Leinster who can say with righteous indignation: "I am no cipher, no 'Me Feiner'! I hold a vision, noble and generous, for all the people of our country, at heart".

Yes, but where then is your voice? Party loyalty and loyalty to one's country at climatic moments of her history are not necessarily synonymous: good men and true never yielded to Whip or whips.

To those politicians who still speak of "Sunningdale" somehow and hold its sundering a grievous loss I say: examine carefully now the clause concerning "joint security".

Surely it is obvious to you, if only by hindsight, that the proposed link between the R.U.C. and the Garda Síochána, the British army and "Free" State soldiers, inevitably would have led to civil war, the Gardaí and "Free" States, becoming the cockshits of both Loyalist and Republicans north of the Border?

Was this what Mr. Donegan's recruiting TV advertisement had in mind when it roared "Come on! ? And would they go? And if not, what punishments for 'treason' and 'mutiny'?"

It should be remembered that, in a similar position, the Brits and the R.U.C. did not move an inch. It should be remembered, too, that behind "Sunningdale" was the crafty Tory Whitelaw, who saw real gain in: "Teague policing Teague, Mick killing Mick".

a chr/och san



Right meets Right: Mr. Childers arriving in Brussels some weeks ago is greeted by Belgian Defence Minister Van der Boeynants, the noted extreme right wing leader. Mr. Childers evidently feels more at home in this company than amongst his fellow-countrymen in the Six Counties - he has yet to pay a visit to the Creggs and Ardoyne.

TUPAMAROS IN DUBLIN

Film Review: "STATE OF SIEGE"/Costa Gravas - Adelphi 4
by Roisin Ni Dhomhnaill

"Z" WAS the story of the fascist coup in Greece in 1967. "The Confession" recalled the fight of the socialist opposition to the Stalinist wave of repression in Czechoslovakia in 1948.

For his third film, "State of Siege" the Greek socialist film director Costa-Gravas has chosen Uruguay and the fight of the Freedom Fighters - The Tupamaros - against a puppet government financed, advised equipped and exploited by the U.S.A.

The theme of the film once made the headlines of the papers the world over. Dan Mitrona, a CIA adviser under the cover of the Agency for International Development (played by the French Actor Yves Montand in the film) was kidnapped and the demand put to the Pacheco Arco government was for the release of more than a hundred Tupamaro fighters.

The situation was then so critical, that the president was on the verge of resigning. In spite of extensive bombing of the capital, Montevideo, the police and the army were unable to find Mitrona.

But at the last moment, the

This second point is stressed

heavily in the film. The complete subordination of Uruguayan economy to the US interests is so important that all policy-making decisions are almost taken in Washington.

The Uruguayan police was completely infiltrated by CIA advisers, who taught them how to use widespread torture, to organise provocations against the trade-union movement, to crush student unrest, to set up death squads to "liquidate" popular leaders, etc.

These manoeuvres of the CIA, the manipulation of media, the infiltration within the national police, the strengthening of a fascist force, are becoming all too familiar in Ireland.

We need only recall the infiltration by the British MI 5 at the top level of the Garda Síochána with the Wyman-Crimmon affair, and how the British intelligence services planted bombs in Dublin in 1972 to get an infamous legislation through the Dail, and are linked in one way or another to the recent bombings.

What "State of Siege" shows is that these facts are not isolated, they are nothing but a prelude to more repression and to systematic organised state terror.

French actor, Yves Montand as the U.S. Central Intelligence Agent in the film "State of Siege" now showing at Dublin's Adelphi 4 cinema.



Unprecedented Murder-Charge

A NINETEEN year British soldier, trooper Alex Fury of the Life Guards, made history when he was remanded in military custody at a Derry Court until 29 July, charged with the murder of a civilian, Mr. Hugh Devine of Strabane on Saturday, 22 June.

Mr. Devine, aged 33, was married with four children. Mrs. Mary Gurney of Creggan, Derry, was reported to have lost a finger in the same incident.

Fury is the first British soldier on duty in the six Counties to be charged with murder while on duty.

SET FREE

And no doubt trooper Fury will be given the honour of being the first soldier to be found not guilty of murder while on duty in the six Counties.

For on the day previous to the murder of Hugh Devine, Lance-Corporal Francis Foxford

of the Hampshire Regiment was set free by three judges in the Court of Criminal Appeal, having previously been found guilty of the "unlawful killing" of 12-year-old Kevin Healey of Newry in February, 1973.

Pending appeal against his three year sentence, Foxford was first transferred to Britain where he was subsequently released on bail, before returning to the Appeal Court in Belfast.

Despite intractable evidence the judges reckoned certain technicalities regarding evidence which two other soldiers refused to submit against their colleague "introduced an impunity into the stream of justice which no procedural steps could, thereafter, extract".

Guerilla War a legitimate political tactic

THERE is hardly anyone I am aware of that has done more to show the logic of the "Provisional" resistance campaign in Ulster than Deasun Fennell.

Disregarding the consequences to himself he has, when there were only the few to come forward, defended the resistance in the North against the massive injections of black propaganda into the brain of the body politic.

He was one of the very first (if not the first) to advocate the idea, common in Europe (since the mid 50's) but hitherto unknown in Ireland (even in the 60's) of REGIONALISM. Not only has he written on the subject, (he is competent to write on it, since he studied it abroad for years) but he has been active in putting the idea into practice in the West in general, and in one of the Gaeltacht regions of the West, in particular.

All this admitted; however, I must disagree with him on the basic logic of the argument in his letter (L. Press 19/6/74). It is, of course, a matter, not of direct contradiction of principles between us; it is more a matter of a point of view. Politics is "the art of the POSSIBLE". What he regards as being the more "possible" alternative, I regard as less "possible".

He is correct in his analysis of the standpoint taken by T. Coulter, namely, that a declaration of intent by Britain to withdraw her forces from occupied Ireland, would not have as effect, political initiative coming from DUBLIN. He rightly points out that Dublin has never in any positive way worked for a solution of the Ulster Problem. It has worked against both the forces who are making the peace in Ulster, namely, the militant Loyalists (largely in conference) and the Provisional IRA.

It is these two "extremist" groups (right or wrong) who are making the pace, calling the tune. Deasun rightly sees power as being vested, largely, in the co-ordinating committee of the UWC, whose political weapon (a legitimate one) is the strike... another term is non-co-operation with the Administration. This is the way the Loyalists operate... There is no need for them to use the weapons of armed guerrilla warfare (economic demolition) the only weapons left to the Provisional IRA.

Both forms of guerrilla warfare are, and are shown, to be effective. They are both forms of POLITICAL ACTION. When the "political" administration is corrupt (undemocratic) the only form of "political" action open to the people is "street" politics.

AG TEASTAIL

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a chara

How the latter is carried on varies according to the nature of the groups involved, their history, the weapons at their disposal etc.

It is not traditional for Loyalist Ulstermen (at least, since 1798) to use force in the sense in which the Provisionals (Fenians) use force. The logic of the situation, their being part of the UNITED KINGDOM, makes it in respect to the strike weapon... to resort to the Administration, just as the TUC (legitimately) resorted to the strike weapon in Ireland recently... You cannot have it both ways: there are only two extreme positions - (a) Acceptance of the unjust system or (b) non-cooperation.

The Loyalists and the Provisionals have been blamed for doing exactly the same thing with different (legitimate) weapons. Each of the two groups, who hold the balance of power in Ulster, have acted in character, with the weapons that lay to their hands.

It is in this context that I have to disagree with Desmond Fennell. In the context of things as they ARE, the Dublin Government is irrelevant, hence, if Westminster does not give an intent to withdraw, the ONLY way open is the way the Provisional IRA are acting at the moment, stepping up the bombing campaign. The mid-Ulster Brigade of the IRA has stated their (political) intent clearly (cf. Free State papers 19/6/74).

Where I and Deasun (probably) differ is that he sees guerrilla warfare as NON political action, whereas I hold (with modern theorists in the strategy of modern guerrilla warfare like, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, Fr. Camillo Torres, Gris, Amílcar Cabral - Guinea and the Pope - Verde (cf. his "Guerriglia: il potere delle armi" - Italian version of Cabral's original).

The same basic principles underlie the thinking of General Abdul Haris Nasution, Defence Minister of Indonesia (cf. his manual published in 1953), which the only way political action can be effectively carried on. I have said above that what Deasun regards as more possible, I regard as less possible. The reason is simple. The Free State is not, as is Britain (Westminster) a sovereign State; hence the real war by Dublin is with the INDEPENDENT ULSTER (UDI) or Conhairle Uladh... (the names do not matter) will not be fought, it would be asking Dublin to sign its own death warrant.

Hence my seeing the present stepping up of the Provos bombing campaign as the only

WEST GERMAN SOLIDARITY

"AT the 1967/4, when Harold Wilson, visited Frankfurt (West Germany) to look at the world football games, the West German Ireland Solidarity Committee and the Internees Release Association presented him a protest list signed by more than 5,000 West German people."

The list called for an immediate release of all Irish political prisoners, for a total amnesty, and for an end of internment and all special powers.

It is not traditional for Loyalist Ulstermen (at least, since 1798) to use force in the sense in which the Provisionals (Fenians) use force. The logic of the situation, their being part of the UNITED KINGDOM, makes it in respect to the strike weapon... to resort to the Administration, just as the TUC (legitimately) resorted to the strike weapon in Ireland recently... You cannot have it both ways: there are only two extreme positions - (a) Acceptance of the unjust system or (b) non-cooperation.

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West German press reported the demonstration of the same strikers. "British troops out of Ireland" in the northern parts of Germany, where the garrisons of the Rhine army are. The West German press pointed out that the West German town Bergen 100 soldiers of the Royal Horse Artillery refused to go to Northern Ireland again."

— Hans Branschkeit
Westdeutsches Irland
Solidaritätskomitee

'IRISH' PRESS

Dear Sir, The continual advertising of the Irish Sunday Press in their appeal for even more financial assistance for the victims of famine in Ethiopia is a good measure of the lunatic fringe managing that newspaper.

Why do these people pretend to be unaware of the malnutrition which exists in the Republican held areas of the north of Ireland, I mean namely among the families of the concentration camp internees? These families have to exist, yes exist on £5 per week, yet the main concern of the Sunday Press is for a people in far off darkest Africa.

The Irish Sunday Press could follow the example of the British



A supplied photograph shows Irish guerrillas preparing to ambush the enemy.

National daily The Sun, no the Sun has no interest in Ethiopia, their concern is for British troops serving in Ireland. They launched their campaign for funds if the troops some week's ago and have to date accumulated the sum of 20,000 pounds. Surely then it should be the concern of the Sunday Press for the conditions under which our own people are living in British occupied Ireland.

I suggest to the Irish Sunday Press that they launch a similar campaign for funds, funds which will benefit the Irish people, the victims of terror, internment, homelessness the jobless, etc. Incidentally the Sun daily newspaper will counter any sum accumulated in their fund with a matching amount, I wonder if the Irish Sunday Press would do likewise.

Thomas Patrick Morrison
Patrick McAdory Sinn Fein
Cumann, Luton, Beds., England

POPULAR APATHY

SOME months ago, Gay Byrne, asked the Late Late Show audience if they would like to discuss the Northern troubles, and it was said to hear them say, they were "fed up" hearing about it.

Here people were having their pleasure interrupted - bingo, nights out, opera, dances, horse racing, beer festivals, yachting and perhaps pleasure pastimes of all descriptions.

They did not wish to be reminded that innocent people were being jailed in concentration camps, housed in cages, as battery hens. Here they were not all at the receiving end of the kicks and punches, hit with rifle butts, spat upon, spread-eagled, urinated upon, burned with cigarettes, put over electric fires, hooded, deprived of sleep, questioned and threatened, bruised and beaten, all this when arrested on suspicion only.

Never allowed a just trial, pulled from their straw beds and stripped naked, put outside their beds in freezing cold, while their beds were stripped to pieces, and their food parcels destroyed, then battened inside in complete darkness, and fed on bread and water.

Their visitors, wives and mothers, left waiting hours in suspense, to eventually see them bruised and battered, unable to speak and not able to shake hands across the wire barricades, while soldiers and warders stood on the ready with batons and rifles, aimed at them.

Daily their houses were searched, furniture broken, and armchairs ripped to pieces, even inflicted on interrogated, and terrorised by threats. All this harassment carried out by "Her Majesty's Peace-keeping Forces", while our army kept peace on foreign soil and never fired a shot there.

An Irish statesman, in power here, well aware of the atrocities inflicted on our northern people, just mouthed, "We will not stand idly by", yet he conveniently "forgot" that British ships were operating here. He had the heart, to shake the hand of the man who opened the torture dungeons. He "forgot", that he threatened to call in help from any source whatsoever.

The politicians of this state

succumbed to the British dictatorship and like Kadar, became "yes men".

We played that some statesman of honour would arise, and like the late President Kennedy said, with authority, to Khrushchev in the Cuban troubles, "Get Back" and he was obeyed, as Christ said to the rising waves, "Be Still".

In Malta Mr. Mintof also said "Get Out" and they packed their bags.

Here in our own land, Britain was appeased, and reared its claws all the more, and lightened its grip, to strangle our freedom, our right to Irish sovereignty. Our birthright is to be signed away without us having a say of approval.

Suffering, and cruel murder, has been inflicted on our innocent Dublin people here. Grief has struck the whole nation. Would the Late Late audience, now say, "they are not interested"? Yet the faces of those who long threatened, "God help those who get in our way", and "we will take whatever action we see fit", those who infringed the law of Incitement to hate, have twice appeared on our T.V. and still go free.

We beg the signatories of the Code of Human Rights to come to Ireland said at last.

— Una Tol
Co. Louth.

FRENCH PLEDGE

WE heard the terrible news saying that an Irish Patriot had died of hunger strike while some others lay dying in the English prisons. I take this very painful opportunity to express as a Frenchman all my sympathy sadness and compassion to the relatives of these courageous people as I also want to reaffirm once again all my support to the Republican Cause.

So the Loyalist terrorists rule Ulster in full light now, for an attentive observer it is clear that England is now well prepared to give them much more than what they demand, it was obvious since the beginning of Loyalist terror and "change" that England was looking for a pretext to give up Sunningdale, the Loyalist general strike gave her a very good one.

All those who had followed

the "new" English policy in N. Ireland knew that England would treat with the fascist Loyalist organisations ruling Ulster with the support of the Unionist police and British army, for England couldn't deny herself, the only surprise was in the speed of Sunningdale deal though she sincerely pretended having worked to build it, England gave it up with the same sincerity.

In fact cheating and confusing have always been a British tradition in Ireland to obtain what they couldn't get by terror and oppression. As a result of Sunningdale failure which didn't amount to much anyway, British and loyalists are now reunited and good friends again and are planning to perform another comedy to try to confuse the world opinion once more; but who will they succeed to confuse this time? Only those of course who are already prepared to be confused and cheated.

As a result of this tragedy the future of Northern Ireland can be nothing else but Republican. It is in this respect that my organisation and I reaffirm our sympathy and our warmest support to the Irish Patriots fighting in the Six Counties and express our deepest faith in their final success.

— L. Tchermnykh

Dún do bheál

CAINT a líonann na príosúin, a chuireann daoine i mbaol, a scriosann sífeacht na n-Oglach.

Silence saves lives. Don't discuss what should be left unsaid in the interests of security. Remember there's a war on. Bíd thost.

MOTORS

Repairs to all makes of cars at reasonable rates. Phone, 80815 after 7 p.m.

VISIT A PRISONER

FOR people in Baile Atha Cliath, who wish to visit prisoners in Portlaoise Prison, a bus leaves the office of this newspaper every Saturday morning at 11.30 arriving back in the capital at about 6 p.m.

Travel is free to all relatives of the prisoners to whom a visit brings a joy difficult to describe. It is essential to maintain their morale, by visits, by gifts, by letters, papers, books, musical instruments, records and similar material.

● Don't let the political hostages down. Bíg i flaitiúil daonna.

Solution to bus strike?

THE Dublin Busmen's Concern Group, in a letter, suggests the following formula as an interim solution to the present bus dispute, pending further negotiations:

Uneatable Kesh food

LOYALIST Assemblyman Hugh Smyth has called on the British to improve conditions in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp, where he claims the food is uneatable.

He spoke after going behind the wire for dinner and tea with some of the detainees.

Mr. Smyth said he was so "disgusted" by the "slaps" being served that he put it in a plastic bag and gave it to the Governor.

He said one piece of bread almost broke his tooth.

He accused the British of making up fancy menus but said: "Men don't eat menus. They eat food."

Mr. Smyth, one of the bitterest Loyalist critics of the internment system, warned that the conditions would not improve until the prison got more sympathetic management.

He also made allegations about long working hours, unhygienic bedding and pools of water lying on compounds.

Débe

Ó lch. 2

ansco cheana. Tá sé molta ar leathnach a hion de "Feasta" na míosa seo agus tá piosa scríbhneoireachta dá chuid san eagrán céanna.

Ar h-úachtaran de chuid Chionraí na Gaeilce, mar Mhaol-sheachláinn Ó Colla, coitíoir a bhí ann, plobaibí uilleann, ach, go bfuil dom, níor thug sé ceol d'fhionn anamh go poiblí. Beidh mé ag súil le ceol uaidh roimh dheireadh an tseachtain Tigh Mhar-chais, Cois Thuairisc.

Scríbhneoir agus staraí atá i bPádraig Ó Snodaigh. Agus, ar a laghad, tá rud éicint uaidh ar "Feasta." Ach fíor, thug bPádraig chomh maith: agus b'fheidir gur i ar bhliocht an rud is mó tá le tariscint ag Pádraigh don saol, laamhugh dá pháistí a bhíonn Gaeilge acu ó d'fhéas na tré i nDumhachtra, Baile Átha Cliath.

Leagan an dhuichais

CUID des na daoine ar éirigh leo sa tógachán ar son Sinn Féin, tá leagan Gaeilge dá n-ainmneacha agus dá slóinne in údair acu, baíl ó Dhia orthu. Mar sin féin, ní iontu ach an míonlach.

Ní choinnínn liom go bfuil leagan cén uair, ach níor aithní de chuid Si n Féin rún, nach n-úsáidfeadh ball an eagrais feasta ach leagan an dhuichais dá n-ainmneacha agus dá slóinne. Riall i sin, is comail, atá i ndearamad. Ach, ar an labhar má rithedh aon rún len é a chur ar ceal, tá sé i bhfeidhm i gceann.

Cén fáth nach gcuireann ar doifinn Shinn Féin i bhfeidhm i Cathairdh an de-shaighm a theacht ó áit éicint. Cén lucht ar a theacht ó Shinn Féin?

Faoín leaba

LÉIGH mé litir le Seán Ó Neachtá, eagraíocht "Comhar", ar an

The men would return to work on the old six-day rosters but work only five days;

They would retain their old rest-day but they also would have one rotating rest-day per week; and

To offset the costs of this interim solution C.I.E. could increase fares by, perhaps, one penny, pending a lasting solution.

"We feel that this is a very balanced solution and takes account of the grievances of all parties concerned. We hope that it will be discussed and put into being as soon as possible. Copies of this letter have been sent to all parties concerned," according to the letter.

An opinion poll was carried out, the letter states, by members of the Concern Group among a cross-section of busmen from all unions concerned. Results were almost all in favour of these proposals.

R.U.C. promise broken

THE Association for Legal Justice in Belfast has protested over the refusal by the R.U.C. to honour an arrangement to allow relatives to visit some of the 23 men held since early morning raids in the city on June 24.

Several women went to the RUC detention centre at Castle-reagh at 7.45 p.m. after the police had agreed with the ALJ to allow visits. An ALJ spokesman said that when they arrived they were refused visits, although visiting was normally permitted until 9 p.m.

The spokesman said that when the ALJ complained on behalf of one of the women, Castle-reagh police revealed that her husband had been taken to Long Kesh at 9.30 p.m. The ALJ said that when they complained to the Northern Ireland Office, a spokesman there said the RUC claimed that the women had arrived too late at Castle-reagh.

On June 27 the ALJ said that nine of the 23 men had been taken to Long Kesh.

esgrán deiridh den pháipéar seo. Tá greann ag baint leis an litir. Tá greann ag baint leis an teideal bhí leas an litir mar "Débe i dtóibh leat." Ag iarpar clainne, an ea?

Léigh arís an giotá seo a leanas ón Sean seo tá ach eáil on gine daonna.

B'fódh a thios ag Débe agus ag an saol mór nach "Greanna" mé agus nach Sealaich, Fine Gael-ach, Fianna Fáil-ach, Lucht Oib-ach, S.D.L.P.-ach, Aondach-ach, Comh-Chumannach, Carpi-leach, Liobrálach, nó chun focal amháin a chur orthu sin go léir - ní caora mé.

Ní caora é. An Duine é? Nó duine daonna? Nó mura caora é seans gur reithe é? Is dócha gur fear reithe (riú, roth) maith nó droch-sheasamh.

IN MEMORIAM

Laughran, Carty, Crowley

In proud memory of our comrades, Sean, Paddy and Dermot, who died for Irish Freedom at Omagh, Co. Tyrone, on June 25, 1973.

"You died that Ireland may live, in Freedom, Peace and Justice, Your sacrifice will not be in vain."

A Mhuire na nGael, guí air. Inserted by their friends in Portlaoise Prison.

IN MEMORIAM

Crowley

In proud memory of my friend and comrade Dermot Crowley, killed in action at Omagh, Co. Tyrone, June 25, 1973.

"For Ireland he has given all. He, who in the flower of manhood proudly answered to her call."

A Mhuire na nGael, guí air. Inserted by their friends in Portlaoise Prison.

2,000 plead for priest

A GROUP of Wolverhampton parishioners demonstrated outside the Catholic Cathedral in Birmingham last Sunday to press for the reinstatement of their parish priest, Rev. Michael Connolly.

About 150 people stood outside St. Chad's Cathedral, during Mass and displayed placards.

Father Connolly was suspended by the Archbishop of Birmingham, Most Rev. Dr. Dwyer, after he praised his cousin, Michael Gaughan, who died on hunger strike last month.

A petition signed by more than 2,000 people was handed in to a priest after midday Mass.

Mr. Michael Molloy, a spokesman for the group said: "This is not a political demonstration. It is purely religious. As Catholics we want to see our priest reinstated."

In a statement addressed to the Archbishop, he said: "Father Connolly must be reinstated as parish priest of St. Joseph's Wolverhampton, otherwise history

SINN FÉIN

Send your cumann news and pictures to Nuacht na gCumann, Sinn Féin, Straid Chaoimhín, Baile Átha Cliath.



LIKE WE SAID - "ABANDON HOPE ALL YE WHO ENTER HERE!"

Nuaiocht na gCumann

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supported by members of the Great Cross, the Connolly Association, the Irish Civil Rights Association, Amnesty, members of the teaching profession and of various trade unions.

A telegram, requesting that he intervene on behalf of the Republican prisoners in British jails was sent to the Australian Prime Minister.

A concert, organised by the Melbourne Green Cross, was very successful. Proceeds, totalling \$200 have been forwarded to An Cumann Cabhrach.

A raffle for a Long Kesh handbag realised \$300 for the same cause.

There was a large attendance from over a wide area at a Requiem Mass for Michael Gaughan, celebrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, on Sunday, June 16.

Bus held

A bus load of Andersonstown Sinn Féin members and relatives was arrested near Banbridge in the early hours of Monday morning as they were returning from the Wolfe Tone commemoration ceremony at Bodensown.

The bus, with 70 aboard, was halted at a U.D.R. road-check on the Newry side of the Co. Down town at 12.30 a.m.

After a search of the bus by U.D.R. and R.U.C. Special Branch men, all the passengers and the driver were arrested under the Emergency Provisions Act. Nothing incriminating was found on the bus.

Male passengers were taken to the British-U.D.R. camp in an advance factory near Banbridge. Women on the bus were taken to the R.U.C. Barracks in Banbridge for interrogation.

One young member of the Hail-Pettigrew Cumann said: "I was stripped, searched and interrogated by military policemen. Some of the other boys were questioned by R.U.C. Special Branch."

"They released us after an hour and a half, but they confiscated banners and flags we had with us, and they seized newspapers and pamphlets we had bought at Bodensown."

Fight for road

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nights to build a road to by-pass it but on Sunday the British moved in and tore up the road as well as dumping tons of earth about 15 feet high on the road just beyond the wall.

Last Sunday, almost three-quarters of the population of Omagh held a protest march to the wall where they heard their local Councillor, Mr. T. Elmore, read the statement.

The statement described the road as Omagh's lifeline and said that the village was a booming resort prior to the disturbances which began in 1969.

Due to permanent road check on the approved Newry-Omagh road and the blocking of the Flagstaff road, the village was now a depressed area.

The statement concluded: "We pledged ourselves to continue the struggle by all peaceful means to open the road and feel that the people of Omagh have been discriminated against."

Killed comrade

In Derry a soldier was shot dead by a comrade in the British post at Hawkins Street last week-end. The killer has been charged and his trial will follow.

**SUPPORT
THE MEN
AND WOMEN**

An Cumann Cabhrach

**IN JAIL
FOR IRELAND'S
LIBERATION**