

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 6. Uimhir 45. 8p. Samhain 7, 1975.



● Séamus Mac Osguir, late Director T.I.C., New Lodge Road.

## DIRECTOR OF T.I.C. SLAIN ON DUTY

**THE TRUE** nature of the N.L.F. activities (which have resulted, as we go to press, in four deaths and more than 20 people injured) was underlined by the murder shortly after 14.00 hours on the Eve of All Hallows of the director of the New Lodge Truce Incident Centre, Mr. Séamus MacOsguir.

There was nothing heroic about the killing. Séamus was about the softest target in the area. Everyone knew he did not carry a gun, that his job would not allow it. Everyone knew he didn't have bodyguards. And everyone knew his face, could identify him from his walk hundreds of yards away.

For Séamus was a TIC director who interpreted his job, "working for the people", to the letter: everyone got the same service, from the intimidated Protestant to the N.L.F. men or women looking for assistance in getting parole for a colleague.

The three killers — the identities of whom are known — most probably saw Séamus going into the Flats to interview women, planned to appear as living evidence of the brutality of a N.L.F. terror gang at a news conference later that afternoon. One of the women concerned was with him when he fell under their bullets, after they had crept up behind him.

Was his murder designed to stop the documentation and disrupt the press conference? Perhaps. To intimidate those organising the disclosures? Maybe. But it was more than that. The TIC director, in the course of his job, had documented not only these three cases but many, many more, previously. As well as that he was the most dangerous socialist and co-operative worker in the area, perhaps in all Belfast, as far as the N.L.F. was concerned: He practised while others preached.

Ironically, Séamus Mac Osguir also was the person who was more likely than most others to have succeeded in cooling the impassioned situation that led to his death, had he been allowed live a few hours longer. Séamus was anathema to him.

### HIS LAST ARTICLE

About three weeks ago Séamus told this paper, during his weekly incidents report, of the puzzling outbreak of N.L.F. robberies, of its black rent campaign, of the bullying and beating of women and youths: they were committing political suicide, he said, in this senseless campaign of terrorising working class people and small shopkeepers. But he didn't want anything published which might result in an armed clash between that organisation and the Republican Movement. He hoped that the repeated warnings would be heeded before it was too late.

Then two incidents brought the crises to a head: the N.L.F. killing of Sean MacNamee (24), founder of the Macweld firm in the Whiterock industrial estate, when he tried to stop a N.L.F. raid on the payroll, and the N.L.F. burning of a local co-op., Garaiste an Phobail. Mac Namee had planned to turn over the firm to a co-op founded by the workers.

One of the last acts of Séamus Mac Osguir was to write for this paper the background to the burning of Garaiste an Phobail: the article reached us in the post the day he was gunned down. The burning took place about the middle of October. Here are extracts from the Mac Osguir article.

"This garage, service station and supermarket was the delight of the Gaelic community in Belfast and a monument to their socialist ideals. It was one of their many co-operative enterprises and was sited on their

own industrial estate on the Springfield Road, at the top of the Whiterock; hence the name, Whiterock Industrial Enterprises.

"This was one of the few service stations that remained open during the Loyalist Workers' Strike and the staff travelled far and wide at great personal risk to make sure that there was a supply of petrol for all in west Belfast. They kept all the essential services supplied and it is thanks to them that all political prisoners got their food parcels regularly.

### SECTARIAN ATTACKS

"Three times they were the subject of sectarian attack and on one occasion the manager, Séamus Mac Séáin, was severely wounded when he gallantly intervened to try to save his assistant.

"But young Geraldine Mackin, not yet 20 years old, full of life and fun, was killed. This lovely young girl with the natural wavy blond hair, who had a smile for everyone, who lived and worked for the co-operative ideal, will never serve petrol to anyone again.

"This girl's funeral was attended by large numbers of her friends in the Republican Clubs of which she was a member. The dedication of this girl to the People's Co-operative was true to the last.

"All of those who were involved in the founding of Garaiste an Phobail had but one idea and that was the welfare of the people of Ireland and particularly of Ballymurphy and the Whiterock. These people have held different political views (Provie, Sticky or plain Nationalist) but they all had the same aim: full employment and ownership of the people.

"These men and women put into practice the socialist ideas of Connolly, Larkin and Lalor with the patriotic dedication of Pearse and Clarke. They are making the New Ireland of our dreams live today and showed to all

our enemies that dream in practice.

### ROOT THEM OUT

"Sad, then, that an organisation that claims to be socialist, that claims to want Ireland free and that claims to work for the people, should dishonour the memory of its late member, Geraldine Mackin, and destroy the place she worked for so dearly.

"If the aims of the N.L.F. are as sincere as the aims of this girl, those still left in it who are genuine and dedicated to those aims should root out and destroy those who burnt the people's garage and who are ruining the name, 'Republican,' in Ireland."

Garaiste an Phobail was burnt down for two reasons: because it refused to pay to the N.L.F. a weekly black rent of £15 and because it displayed in the window of the cashier's office a copy of the "Andersonstown News" report of the murder of Sean Mac Namee of Macweld, one which pinned the blame on a N.L.F. gang.

Why the "political suicide" of the N.L.F. terror and black-rent campaign? Partly, perhaps, because the N.L.F. support at street level is very low and, therefore, financial support at street level insignificant. Petty robberies, black rents and the terror campaign to force unwilling victims to pay up, followed. But the political thinking behind the campaign may have been more Machiavellian.

The N.L.F. had nothing much to lose in a virtually no-support area. But it might gain in other areas if it were to provoke the Republican Movement into an armed clash. Since its ceasefire of many years ago it has acquired "respectability" in the liberal media and could be expected, through strategically placed friends and agents, to have most of its propaganda published, that of its enemy excluded and its own version accepted.

If the campaign failed to provoke the Republican Movement, all the better: they would lose face and ground

(Ar leanuinn ar chúil)



Miss Marie McAlea



Mrs. Ann Callaghan



Mrs. Josie McAlea



Imleabhar 6. Samhain 7, 1975. Uimhir 45.  
44 Ceardóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

There are indications now, however, that western

Regular opinion polls in the neighbouring island show an ever increasing majority of voters in favour of imperial withdrawal from Ireland. The figure is so high, now, that both the Tory and Labour annual conferences did not dare to debate the Irish issue which was kept off the agendas.

Never before, perhaps, was it so necessary for a political education campaign so that the people's minds may be harnessed to their instinct—an instinct that terrifies the imperial politicians and their servants in Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.

Cuirfidh mé an chuid eile de  
chaint Aine Nic Ghilla Easpaig  
gló an tséachtain seo chugainn.  
cúnamh Dé maith dom a

Ná na polaiteoir!

I rith chogadh na Spáinne chuidigh cliarlathas na Spáinne, i gcoitinn, le Franco, agus go ceann píosa ina dhialdh. Ach faoi dheireadh, tamall i ndiaidh Vatacáin a II, tháinig náire ar an gcliarlathas agus ghlac sé pardún ag pobal na Spáinne as ucht taobhú le Franco chun an Tarna

Cuirfidh mé an chuid eile d'fháil Aine Nic Ghíolla Easpáigí glé an tséachtain seo chugainn. Tá cúnamh Dé maith dom a

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# A review of Ard Fheis '75

AN ARD FHEIS opened punctually on Saturday morning. Niall Fagin was elected Chairman and Brendan Magill, Vice-chairman. Standing Orders were adopted and the Ard Fheis was soon debating resolutions concerning the S.F. Constitution.

## COMHAIRLI CUIGE

The topic which dominated this section also foreshadowed some of the later resolutions on the Car. The Ard Fheis adopted the Ard Comhairle proposal for four Comhairle Cúige or Provincial Councils. Ruairí Ó Bradaigh stressed that not only would it improve the cumbersome procedure prevailing because of the size of the existing Ard Comhairle, but it would push power away from the centre back to local level. But Ruairí warned that it was in the hands of delegates and members to make the Councils work. The Ard Comhairle was handing them the power but they (the Councils) must shoulder the responsibility.

Following the raising of Standing Orders the delegates passed an amendment upholding rule 1c, of the Constitution. In this way the delegates upheld the traditional Republican rejection of partitionist institutions. In the resolutions on education, Armagh was to the fore with Cumann Tom Williams advocating that the Sinn Féin Education Course be expanded with greater emphasis on the Sinn Féin Social and Economic Policy. A Derry delegate proposed that each Sinn Féin Cumann should have a scholarship system, by which they could send at least five young persons or children to a Gaeltacht each year. Both motions were passed.

## AN GHAEILGE

Bhí an-suim sna rúin mar gheall ar an Gaeilge. Glacadh le rún ó Chill Choinnigh ag gríosadh lucht Sinn Féin níos mó spéis a thaispeáint sa Ghaeilge. Ba bhré an teanga a chlaistinn ar ardán ach ba cúis bhrón nach raibh níos mó gaeilge le cloisteach sa halla féin.

## FIANNA EIREANN REPRESENTATIVE ARRESTED

After lunch the Ard Fheis was addressed by representatives of the National Graves Association Fianna Eireann, Cumann na mBan, and Máire Lyons of Clann na nGael. Mrs. Lyons warned delegates that their children would not pick up a love of their country off. They would not learn it in the schools either she said. Now, with history being re-written it was more important than ever to put their children into Republican youth organisations. The Fianna representative who was to deliver their message was detained by the Special Branch, but he eventually delivered it to a receptive Ard Fheis.

Tony Ruane giving his Financial Report said that no one could deny that Sinn Féin was progressing. "We are a healthy, vigorous political organisation", he told the delegates.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT

The secretary, Ualtair Ó Loingsigh read a hardhitting report the theme of which was "Unity". It won him a prolonged standing ovation from the delegation.

In his report, Ualtair Ó Loingsigh said:

Sinn Féin is the political wing of the Republican Movement. We are the one political organisation that gives unequivocal support and allegiance to the Leadership of the Republican Movement, and we are the only political organisation recognised by that Leadership. The allegiance we give does not allow for haggling or hankering after other political groups be they large or small. Such haggling and hankering has in the past created more problems than was solved.



Sean O Bradaigh who was re-elected Publicity Officer for the coming year. A resolution was passed for the appointment of a full-time P.R.O.

In the 20s and 30s it created that monster, Fianna Fail, and in the 60s it left Belfast and Derry defenceless. What is wanted now more than ever is unity and a unified purpose. Our enemies are everywhere trying to split us. Openly in the media so called divisions are being created everyday. The Fianna Failers, the S.D.L.P. and pseudo left wingers try to sow the seeds of discontent by whispering campaigns. Too often our members latch on to those whispers and spread false gossip concerning the Leadership. An Ard Comhairle or other leading

members.

If you involve yourself in any of this, then you are not just knocking those you have selected to lead you, but you are cutting your own throats and helping the enemy to smash a great Movement that his intrigue, his concentration camps, his murders and his guns and bullets failed to smash.

There can be no room for dissidents and those at variance with the leadership. The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Féin supports all actions and decisions taken by the Leadership. We ask all members to do likewise. You cannot half-heartedly keep a foot in any other camp and truthfully say you are a Republican. Full allegiance is demanded and is the price that must be paid if success is to be achieved and there is room for everyone within our fold if that allegiance is forthcoming. Refuse to be intimidated. Intimidation in one form or another has in the past weakened the resolve to continue the struggle. Police harassment is now greater than ever. Be strong against it. Be bold, be firm, and one day we will slam their rotten laws back in their faces.

Our policy over the past five years has had tremendous influence on others. We have forced other political groups to change their policies. In 1972 we forced the S.D.L.P. to leave Stormont.

The success of our Boycott Campaign ensured that they could not sell the Nation down the river. But most recently we have new converts to our ideas. Fianna Fail now want a declaration of intent. But our purpose is not to reform the organisations or the systems on this island. We are not a group of philanthropists or a Society of reformers. Our intentions are revolutionary, to create a revolution and to win a revolution.

British presence and British influence must disappear from this country. That is our task and that message must be brought to every man, woman and child. We must build Eire Nua in all its greatness and splendour. We have the strength, physical and numerical, we have the brains and the intelligence. All is wanted is the will-power.

The Leadership has no doubt about where we are going. We are on the road to final British withdrawal. Lets ensure that the common man in Ireland will triumph in Ar leantain ar chúil.

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Ar leantain ar chúil.



Sean McGovern (left) and Jimmy (Hill) Smith acted as stewards at the Ard Fheis.

## Ard Fheis '75 could have been more progressive...

### A Visitor's View

A WARTIME ardfeis does not show a political party to its best advantage and thus it was at the 71st ardfeis of the oldest political party in Ireland and the only one today which covers the entire 32 counties. In wartime the vital decisions rest with the armed forces, especially when those forces have to wage a guerrilla campaign.

Nevertheless, the 71st Sinn Féin ardfeis could have been more progressive. The motions could have been better phrased, more definite and devoid of pious aspirations. The steering committee could have been more impressive democratically, giving the cumann a fair deal alongside the Ardcomhairle.

In the event, all the Ardcomhairle motions were given priority; the cumann had to take their chances. It should never be forgotten that the ardfeis is primarily the cumann's two days of say-so out of 365. There should be an obvious bending over backwards to show that that point is appreciated to the full.

Organisers could save a lot of time at ardfeiseanna by explaining to cumann what exactly the purpose of a motion is: to change policy; to strengthen policy; to introduce new policy. In all cases the motion should be as explicit as possible. The objective should be clear and the way to achieve that objective, just as clear, commonsense, eminently practical.

Maybe Sean O Bradaigh would think about having a leaflet on ardfeis motions prepared and sent to every cumann?

A typical example of the vague, indefinite motion was no. 42 on the Car. "The P.R.O.'s and secretaries of comhairle ceantair and cumann be more active" in supplying statements on economic and other issues to their local press".

The ardfeis, incidentally, made an important decision in deciding that a full-time public relations officer be appointed. The Eire Nua proposals got further endorsement and the organisation is bound by the ardfeis to begin an immediate publicity campaign, outlining the policy of regional government.

The creation of the new comhairle, cuige also should help to condition the minds of party members to the Eire Nua policy. We cannot hope for an instant Eire Nua or an instant republican government with the success of the revolution.

Eire Nua must be worked for - NOW. It must be given birth to, segment by segment, through increased use of the Irish language; through de-centralisation of the Sinn Féin organisation; through the creation of co-op. banks, insurance companies, factories, farms; and with similar action on every front.

It was surprising, in a way, that the T.C.D. cumann's motion on Irish was rejected. One reason was that the two T.C.D. cumann speakers understood the motion would be taken later than happened and arrived too late to explain it.

Here is the motion: "Os rud é gurb í athbhochain na Gaeilge darna baidis na h-eagraíochta, molaimid go gcuirfí feachtas ar bun le Gaeilge a mhúineadh do chuide dhúine san eagraíocht, go leagfaí síos teara ama a mbeadh Gaeilge ag chuide dhúine taobh istigh dí agus go gcaithfí amach na daoine siúd nach bhfuil sásta an Ghaeilge a fhoghlaim".

At one time or another most of the major political parties in Ireland had pious platitudes about Irish on their programmes. Fianna Fail was

the typical example. It never showed its sincerity about Irish by Irishising itself, but, in fact, by constantly using English, to the virtual exclusion of Irish, strengthened English in Ireland and weakened Irish.

Is Sinn Féin to follow the same path? The internees and the other political hostages have taken the trouble to learn Irish. Is it unreasonable to expect the same from Sinn Féin members? Either that, or be honest and drop this restoration of Irish from the party's objectives.

There was another contradiction. Motion 13 (that rule 1G be rigidly adhered to in all cases) was raised - but only after a strenuous tussle with the platform - and passed; but the following motion failed: "That Sinn Féin members who recognise the courts in the Six and Twenty-Six Counties be suspended from the organisation".

It is time that everyone recognised that recognition or non-recognition of courts is a tactic, not a principle; and that throughout the history of Sinn Féin members have been allowed - or forbidden - to avail themselves, or otherwise, of that tactic, by the leadership. The obvious case that comes to mind is a murder charge but this is not a solitary exception. The period when the recognition issue was rigidly enforced was when Sinn Féin had set up its own courts.

When a war is being fought would it not be wiser to leave strategy and tactics to the leadership of the Republican Movement instead of wasting time - and, as in this case, contradicting ourselves and holding ourselves up to ridicule - with these motions year in, year out?

For some reason could not fathom the platform turned its big guns on the innocuous motion No. 18 which, briefly, sought details as to background of those presenting themselves for election to the ardcomhairle: the voting was 89 v. 75 and the motion failed.

Many, many organisations supply such information to voters. The "Who's Who" publication relies on contributors to supply it with information, then cuts that down to size having, presumably, checked its accuracy. Is this beyond the capability of the Sinn Féin secretariat? If not, why the scare on the platform?

One could say, with truth, that last year's ardfeis moved slightly but surely towards the left. The same movement was perceptible this time - very slightly but surely. Consider motion 112 (passed): "We call upon the leadership of this Movement to encourage and direct the membership to become involved in trade unions, co-operatives and other workers' organisations" (it came from Patrick Adair Cumann, Luton).

Perhaps it occurred to nobody to move the motion that Sinn Féin approves and works for the control of production and the means of production by the workers? That would have been a big step to the left but perhaps everyone takes it for granted that this is party policy? If it is, it isn't spelled out clearly enough.

One, why not go through the Eire Nua policies, pick out the vaguely worded bits and make them less ambiguous? And change unsatisfactory paragraphs to bring them into line with the social state we have in mind? "Social state", incidentally, is a clearer image than "socialist state" and far less of a meaningless cliché.

## LUTON DELEGATES



Members of Luton Sinn Féin who took an active part in the proceedings.



# Oráid an Uachtaráin

IN his lengthy address to the 71st. Ard Fheis of Sinn Féin, An tUachtarán, Ruairi O Bradaigh reviewed the cause of the national struggle during the passed year and summed up the Organisation's hopes for the future.

"In the course of the thirteen months which have elapsed since the Ard-Fheis of 1974, the struggle to which we all have dedicated ourselves reached a new and higher plane and took on a greater significance; I refer, of course, to the fact that constant and unrelenting pressure on the enemy forced him to the conference table, and not just for one meeting but for many", An tUachtarán began.

He continued: As you well know, the unilateral Truce of goodwill on the part of Republican forces over the Christmas and New Year period did not meet with any worthwhile response from the British occupation Forces and therefore was not extended by the Republican leadership.

However, it did have the effect of bringing together face to face the duly accredited representatives of the Republican Movement - your movement and the representatives of the British Government. During the weeks of renewed hostilities a bi-lateral Truce agreement was worked out and accepted on both sides. Hostilities were once more suspended and Truce Incident Centres were opened by both parties and operated as the most practical arrangement possible to prevent an unintentional breakdown in the new situation.

Discussions were then embarked upon towards securing a permanent peace in Ireland and for the Republican Movement this meant and still means:

(a) a British withdrawal; (b) a New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves; and (c) a general amnesty for all Irish political prisoners.

In short, what we have been saying to the British is this: If you intend to leave Ireland then we will do everything possible to smooth your path and make it easy for you; but if, on the other hand, you intend to remain in Ireland and to re-structure British rule here, putting a more acceptable and perhaps more human face on it, then if this is your intention make no mistake about it - we will contest every inch of the ground with you. And we shall win, because we regard British disengagement from Ireland now as inevitable.

## PLANNED CAMPAIGN OF SECTARIAN MURDER

The Truce was marred in its early stages by breaches on the part of the British and by a deliberate and planned campaign of sectarian murder. On May 15 in the British Parliament Mr. Merlyn Rees admitted (and I quote Hansard Vol. 892, No. 126, col. 628): "In the past three months the amount of I.R.A. violence has been negligible", yet it emerged in the subsequent discussion that scores of people had been victims of sectarian murder in the same period.

It was about this time when a claim was made from a source outside the Republican Movement that a declaration of intent to withdraw had been agreed upon at the talks, that a spokesman for the Alliance Party - that paragon of peace at all costs regardless of justice - stated publicly that "the bullet and the bomb were preferable to political concessions to the Provisional I.R.A.". Apparently their brand of peace is akin to that of Mr. Paisley - "Peace through victory", British victory, of course.

## MURDER TRIANGLE

Later in the year when the scope of sectarian murder gangs had been extended outside of Belfast and the Murder Triangle of Portadown, Pomeroy and Aughnacloy - where alone 40 people have died - and when the toll went into three figures, the U.U.U.C. had the temerity to issue a statement saying that the figure of "one hundred and twenty deaths since the Truce was not acceptable". But who caused these deaths, the vast majority of them sectarian murders? Was it not the paramilitary friends of the U.U.U.C. and are not those paramilitaries themselves in some cases members of the U.U.U.C.?

## Speeches monitored by Special Branch



ABOVE: A special radio van monitoring speeches inside the Mansion House during the Ard Fheis.

## "PEACE MONGERS"

Likewise the "peacemongers" as they have been called, many of whom were quick to carry their crosses and finger their Rosary beads in public last Christmas and on other occasions, were exposed by the Truce for the arrogant hypocrisy they are. In typical one-sided fashion there was not a squeak of protest from them as \$60,670 and even 80 uninvolved and innocent people were methodically cut down in the early months of the Truce and the Nationalist people of the North were being driven demented with fear.

No, no ministers of state of highly-placed churchmen rushed to picket U.U.V. headquarters on the Shankill Road or U.D.A. headquarters in East Belfast when the McKenna family were slaughtered or Bleary darts club was machine-gunned, resulting in a multiple tragedy. It would appear that they find it much more congenial to beat their breasts under police protection outside our offices at Kevin Street, Dublin.

Similarly, the British Government did not rush extra troops from England in response to these outrages, they did not close off gaps in the Peace-Line in Belfast or surround and protect isolated pockets of Nationalist people in East Antrim. Also in the face of continuing sectarian murder, Mr. Rees was swift in releasing all remaining Loyalist internees, even those whom he himself had said were responsible for the greatest massacre and loss of life this generation has seen: I refer to the deliberate killing of thirty three people in a single evening in Dublin and Monahan in May 1974 in support of the Loyalist political strike which was taking place at the time.

Only a small number of highly-courageous priests diligently documented the sectarian murder campaign and exposed it to the world as a systematic attempt to break down the Truce and pressurize the Nationalist people into accepting a political settlement which would restore Loyalist supremacy.

To these men of integrity every credit is due but the great majority of the alleged "peace" crusaders have been shown up as two-faced people with double standards who rush to condemn by word and action Republican resistance while Loyalist and British Army killing is either ignored or just deplored "for the record". It was only when the Republican Army began to retaliate against the British for breaches of the Truce, including the shooting dead and wounding of civilians, the resumption of torture of prisoners and general harassment of the people that the "peacemongers" appeared on the scene once more in very self-righteous fashion.

## S.D.L.P. ATTEMPT TO WRECK TRUCE

Just as contemptible on the political front in their attitude to the Truce were the S.D.L.P. who called so persistently for peace, yet when an agreed and honourable Truce was entered into they were the first to criticise and condemn. They attacked the Incident Centres, the very legs on which the Truce stands, saying that the Republican Leadership had "sold out for six telephone numbers", and this from the politicians who in an effort to cling to temporary power fined the rent and rates strikers 25 pence per week and sent the bailiffs and the peelers to seize an ex-internee's cattle!

But the attempts to wreck the Truce were not confined to the U.U.V., the U.D.A., and U.U.U.C., the Alliance Party, the S.D.L.P. or even the British Tory party, hungry as ever to make political capital out of Irish suffering and death. South of the border there was no response whatever to the new situation from the Dublin Government or opposition.

## PORT LAOISE

The hunger-strike in Port Laoise Jail ground on for forty-five days until victory was wrung from a grudging and vindictive administration by the starving men, whose dedication won our warmest admiration and support.

During the escape attempt on St. Patrick's Day, Republican prisoner Thomas Smith was shot down in cold blood and his funeral here in Dublin made the occasion for a highly-provocative and over-bearing show of force by the Fine Gael and Labour Coalition. The fourth anniversary of internment was seized on to confront a Sinn Féin demonstration outside Port Laoise Prison and to baton the participants in a most brutal fashion worthy of the R.U.C. in their hey-day before the ordinary people subdued them.

No relaxation in harassment of Republicans or collaboration with the British took place. Quite systematically the Dublin Cabinet set up a special squad of the political police in April to hunt down our Vice-President Daithí O'Connell and privately promised "head-money" as a reward to whoever would arrest him. Three months later he joined two others of the Feakle peace-makers, J.B. O'Hagan and Kevin Mallon in Port Laoise. And so in a year when we welcomed home Ard-Chomhairle members Barney McFadden and John Joe McGrail, our Vice-President was removed from the scene at a most vital stage and Mary McGuigan was returned to Armagh Jail for resisting R.U.C. incursions into Ardoyne during the Truce.

## INCIDENT CENTRES

A word of appreciation is due to the ordinary people who manned the Incident Centres 24 hours per day and to the Sinn Féin members who assisted them; your work was out of the public eye but was an indispensable component in making the Truce work. In addition excellent work over many long hours was done by Sinn Féin members in staffing 20 Citizens Advice Centres throughout the Six Counties, thus forming links with the ordinary people and assisting them in their many problems of day to day living.

These Advice Centres which have set a head-line for the whole 32 Counties, the sale of literature, records, tapes and the showing of the special political education lecture for public viewing are the surest way to build political support among the people and prepare for the day when Sinn Féin will appeal to the electorate in every corner of this island.

This is vital work and the testing time may come sooner than many people think. Let us get ready. If we fail to make our mark with sufficient strength, then the situation may be gone beyond recall and the shape of the New Ireland may crystallise into a 32-County Free State.

## Returned unopposed . .



ABOVE: Tony Ruane who was returned unopposed as joint-treasurer.

## "A BROADER BASE"

As a follow up to our success in having 26 local councillors elected last year and to make good the deficiencies which the campaign exposed a pamphlet, confidential to members, was brought out, entitled "A Broader Base; the need for local involvement". This publication and the Publicity Handbook are ready-made weapons to be used in building local support. In addition, the booklet "Mining and Energy" joined the "Quality of Life in the New Ireland" and "Eire Nua" policy documents in outlining the kind of Ireland we want to build when the British have left our country.

The various leaflets and posters brought out by Head-Office and locally, the internal newsletter sent monthly by our Research Department to all cumann and Comhairle Ceantair Secretaries, the local news sheets and agitations in support of peoples rights, all form part of a pattern of struggle for the people's minds as well as for their hearts. It is not sufficient that Republicans are good enough to suffer and even die for the people; we must show the people that we are good enough for them to entrust their future to us. This may be the acid test; we must re-double our efforts to make up the ground in the coming months. Head-Office has provided the material; let us go out among the people with a missionary zeal and put across our ideas to them. It will be found that we have an unanswerable case. Let it be heard, then.

In passing I wish to refer to the case of the kidnapped Dutch industrialist, Dr. Herrema. Sinn Féin believes that the abduction serves no useful purpose and we call on those responsible to release him. At the same time, just as we have done in the past, we demand the release of all Republican prisoners by way of a general amnesty, and pending release, decent, human conditions and an end to petty victimisation for Dr. Dugdale and the Republican women in Limerick Prison and for the men in Port Laoise and every other prison, North and South, in England, in America and in Canada.

And while on the subject of prisoners I want to re-echo here the response of the people of the North and also in the 26 Counties and abroad to the burning to the ground of Long Kesh Concentration Camp by the heroic prisoners there twelve months ago. When the interested lies of Britain and of the Dublin establishment had diverted public attention from their plight, they themselves lit the flame which was literally seen around the world on every television screen.

We mourn the deaths in that prison camp of internees Hugh Gerard Carney and Jim Moyné; we welcome the repatriation of Dolours and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerald Kelly after their grim ordeal of hunger strike and forced-feeding for over six months; we aim at securing the transfer to prisons in Ireland pending their release of the other four Winchester prisoners and all their countrymen in English jails; and we condemn with every fibre of our being the continued inhuman ill-treatment, torture, forced confessions and savage sentencing of Irish prisoners in England.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

"At this stage some comment on other aspects of our national life is necessary, especially now that we have a record total this week-end of over 150,000 unemployed people in the 32 Counties", Mr. O'Bradaigh went on.

Referring to the failure of the EEC Mr. O'Bradaigh said: Well indeed may Tom O'Donnell, Ritchie Ryan, Michael Begley and others describe the EEC aid as a "pittance", totally inadequate and ridiculous even when compared with the modest outlay of the 26-County Board of Works. What they do not tell us, of course, is that they were the very people who toured the country before the EEC referendum promising manna from Brussels if only we would vote "Yes".

They now seem to want to make a virtue of the fact that they are screaming because they were sold a pup, which they in turn sold the Irish electorate. The only trouble is that it is the Irish electorate that have to pay the consequences in terms of a depressed economy, wholesale closure of long-established firms and the take-over of Irish markets and certain parts of the Irish economic structure.

Mr. O'Bradaigh continued: We need to look at the EEC however, not only in terms of a Regional Fund, which at least exists on paper, but also in terms of a Regional Philosophy, which does not exist at all.

In his address Mr. O'Bradaigh criticised the Free States hospitals' "rationalisation plan".

"The shape of the type of Ireland which can only evolve under current EEC trends is emerging daily. Mr. Corish's hospitals 'rationalisation' plan; C.I.E.'s body-blow to the rail system, particularly in the western counties; even the approach to development as seen in the recent announcement to set up a Western Development Board for the non-Gaeltacht areas of Connacht and Donegal", he said.



Did anybody ever hear of such an unnatural and ridiculous unit? When will Fine Gael realise that even their slavish collaboration in the Boundary Settlement of 1925 cannot remove the geographic realities, and that Donegal has about as much in common with East Galway or South Roscommon as it has with Cork? Where does Cavan and Monaghan fit into the new scheme of things? Or Kerry and West Cork? Or indeed whatever region you choose. For apart from the geographical nonsense of the proposals, the idea of setting up another semi-state Board to do what is essentially a task of regional government would seem to have more to do with the West Mayo By-Election than with any genuine new effort to come to grips with the problems.

## REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. O Bradaigh re-stated Sinn Féin's regional government policy: Sinn Féin has a detailed policy on the development of devolved regional government, with genuine political participation in all the areas which concern the citizen's life. We will continue to put forward that alternative for a new start in a New Ireland and will work through Comhairle Uladh, Comhairle Chonnacht and other provincial councils for the promotion of those ideals, in dialogue with any groups, of whatever colour, who are interested in the basic principle of the proposed structures.

In answer to the Dublin Government's new Board, we ask: Is it intended to take even further power from the local elected representatives and vest it in state bureaucracy? How can you lump "the non-Gaeltacht areas of Connacht and Donegal" together without a blue-print for the rational division of the rest of the country? Does this odd unit mean that Dublin is now writing off a seventh Ulster County for all time? Does it mean that Donegal is never again to look on Derry as its natural capital for trade, services and so on?

So much for talk about "cross-border co-operation" within the EEC!

## RTE AGUS AN GHAEILGE

Chéin an tUachtarán RTE as an neamart atá a dheanaimh sa Ghaeilge.

"Maidir le úsáid na Gaeilge ar RTE is fíréin a rá go bhfuil an scéal níos measa ná riamh an fóimheas. Is cóisú go bhfuil na dualgaís a leagadh ar Udarás RTE san Acht Craolta á sárú gan náire maidir leis an gceist seo. Is gearr go mbeidh caint ar na sean-laethanta geala úd nuair a bhí an 2.2% féin d'am na teilifíse i nGaeilge. Tá titim arís ó rinnadh an t-ádhaimh sin.

Ach ar ndóig, dála seasamh na Gaeilge sa saol poiblí agus seasamh na Gaeilge i mBunreacht na Sé Chéim Fíchea is fíréin lúis ar lár timpeall na nite seo a aimsiú ach cur chuige. Ní bhíom caint ar bith faoi "subversion" i gcás mar seo. Tá "subversion" ann ar ndóig - ag brath ar an té atá ag caint agus ar an dream atá ag gabháil de, a dúirt sé.

## DIAMOND JUBILEE

"The re-writing of Irish history continues unabated, and, unfortunately, some highly intelligent people in the media, have prostituted their integrity in this regard also. The trend is evident in everything from the re-habilitation of certain historical personalities, to the selection of persons for commemoration on stamps - to actual sanction of text-books in Irish schools which try to comfort young and confused minds with an assurance that this country was not always even a province, or a dependent neo-colony, but in fact a fully-fledged part of the United Kingdom and the Empire", Mr. O Bradaigh said.

Continuing he stated: It will be interesting to see what attention, if any, will be officially given to the commemoration of the 1916 Rising on the diamond jubilee next Easter. Easter Week has been politely dropped from the official calendar in the past two years, by people, whether they like it or not, who owe whatever pomp power and offices they possess today directly to the heroic and selfless sacrifices of the men of that Rising. But of course this situation will not continue.

The national re-think which sprang, particularly among the youth, from the commemoration of 1966, was in some measure responsible for the development of events in the North since 1969. Try as they may, North and South, the Leinster House establishment cannot turn back the clock or ignore the risen people. No country can allow the type of amoral official tyranny we have experienced in the attempt of recent years to suppress truth, justice and reality to continue indefinitely.

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, Dr. Fitzgerald, Justin Keating and other "intellectuals" of the regime would, no doubt, scream to high Heaven if a writer, imprisoned for whatever reason and after the most immaculately fair trial, in any part of the world, had his books and papers destroyed and his private possessions, including religious objects, smashed for spite. Except, of course, if it happens to be somebody like Eamonn MacThomáis. But this will not continue. Sooner or later a halt will be called, and the new barbarians hiding behind their masks of culture, toleration and moderation will be exposed. Sinn Féin's duty is to speed that day.

## Escapee welcomed



ABOVE: Eamonn Campbell, the Co. Derry man who escaped from Altnagavin Hospital last week seen during an interval with his wife Catherine. Eamonn was a sentenced Political prisoner in Magilligan P.O.W. camp.



ABOVE: Nancy McGuigan and Brendan Mansier manning the "An Phoblacht" stall in the Mansion House during the Ard Fheis.

## S.F. COUNCILLORS

Mr. O Bradaigh praised the efforts of the S.F. local Government elected representatives.

"While we continue to agitate for a reform of the system and the building of a New Ireland, our County Councillors, and other local representatives continue to represent those who elected them with dedication and distinction. These elected representatives of the Republican Movement now meet nationally on a regular basis to discuss common problems and to get a co-ordinated approach to specific problems which arise from our policy statements before the elections", he stated.

He went on:

Generally, it has been our intention to concentrate on the most urgent issues affecting our people which we feel can be altered within the present system's limitations.

In this respect, we suggest that the priorities of many many "development efforts" in local authorities, are entirely wrong. And while Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and Labour presented some form of election policies at the time, there is every indication that they have no real philosophy where local government matters are concerned and, apart from local attempts to win votes, make no real effort to implement programmes.

Sinn Féin representatives will continue to support any positive measures proposed by whatever side so long as they are in general agreement with our policy and philosophy. In this context we very much regret the cut-backs that the Dublin Government has made in most local authority schemes and we have been to the fore in trying to ensure that the pruned budgets are spent on the main priorities. For us these are simple: roads, water, sewerage, and other essentials of life which are basic to the future development of an area. We agree with the suggestions that increased spending on housing is not only socially desirable, but beneficial to the economy, and, because building is largely an Irish-owned industry, using local and Irish materials, it minimises imported inflation and balance of payment problems. Sinn Féin has recently suggested that the same is largely true of group-water schemes. These we see as the quickest and easiest way of bringing the basic comforts which most of us take for granted, to the less privileged areas. Our councillors are now engaged in a nation-wide campaign in all the local councils on which they serve to get support for a nation wide Group Water campaign, with 100% grants and technical assistance from local authority engineers. Such a campaign, we hope, will not only help the intelligent re-habilitation of the economy, in so far as that is possible in the present circumstances, but will also lead to a fundamental change in rural living in particular.

The pie-in-the-sky attitude of current development programmes - typified by payment of huge grants for new capital-intensive foreign industries of doubtful viability while many villages have to draw water during a warm summer like that we have just experienced - needs to be tackled and exposed at every level.

We can argue about the merits of television channels at a time when the cost of a simple ESM connection to a new house is becoming prohibitive. Even if Leinster House no longer believes in keeping smaller communities alive, they should allow those who opt to come back, - many of them from England - and rear a family at home, at least an equal chance to show basis as water and electricity. Packing people into single-generation housing estates is not only socially undesirable and criminal in the eyes of anybody who is committed to community-building. It also creates extra problems in the built-up areas themselves and leads to an environment which will reap a bitter and expensive harvest in due course.

## £30 MILLION FOR NEW PRISONS

"It is worth recalling that while the British authorities can vote some £30 million to build new prisons in the North, they could not find a single penny to build as one new house in Derry a short few years ago", Mr. O Bradaigh continued.

"Law and Order" is now not only a political slogan; it is a major growth industry, North and South. And our anti-social planning by local authorities, as well as central agencies, is seeing to it that the young generation are being reared in circumstances which will probably lead to their being alive, in due course, to avail of the "facilities" of Mr. Cooney and Mr. Rees - even assuming that the national political question will be solved in the immediate years ahead.

## ULSTER EXECUTIVE

The work of the Ulster Executive of Sinn Féin over the past years has been outstandingly significant. On March 25th, the day Mr. Wilson announced in Belfast the date of the new Stormont Convention, Sinn Féin indicated that its attitude would be one of "Boycott". There were two reasons for this:

(a) the Constitutional Convention was based on the artificial area of Six Counties and would inevitably re-produce the sectarian headcount and predictable result.

(b) the British Government would have the final say regardless of the outcome.

Ar leianúint sa chéad eagrán eile.

# Cumann na mBan address

"IT IS a distinct honour for me to address this assembly on behalf of the leadership, officers and Volunteers of Cumann na mBan, as we in Cumann na mBan always have considered it an honour, and a pleasure to speak to the delegates from the thirty two counties and abroad, who come here each year to formulate the policy of our Political Organisation, Sinn Féin", said a Cumann na mBan representative in an address to the Ard Fheis.

The Cumann na mBan speaker continued:

There is no need to dwell on the past history of our organisation, enough to say that Cumann na mBan is helping to create history today as we stand side by side with our comrades in Oglagh na hÉireann, in this our greatest struggle for freedom, a struggle we all firmly believe will be the last in the 800 year old fight, to regain our country from the hands of the invader.

The unfortunate point that comes across today is that we are not just fighting the British Army of occupation, but the tried and tested traitors who help the enemy from within the shores of our beloved island! We have come a long hard road since the present phase of the struggle began, and we feel it is important now that we do not fail to realise just how far we have come and just how near final victory is - we must therefore ensure that there is no stepping back - there is only one road to follow, that road fought for by our fathers and mothers, that road which has cost this nation so much, that road which our people have indicated they are prepared to go no matter how great the repression and oppression heaped upon them by the British or by the Quilings in Leinster House and their so-called Guardians of Peace.

Today we see some of our people engaged in the building of our Éire Nua and we pose the question to this Ard Fheis, are you all working for the same goal, or are some of you content to sit back and let others do the job you are elected to do.

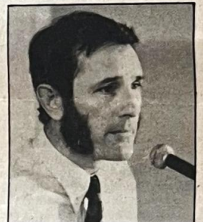
Sinn Féin holds the future Government of Ireland in their hands - are you ready to take over the reins of office and hold that responsibility for the Irish People? You know that the Republican Movement is behind you and certainly I can assure you that Cumann na mBan is there ready to be counted.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Féin for inviting us to address you; we wish you all well and May the good God go with you!

## Elected to An Ard Chomhairle



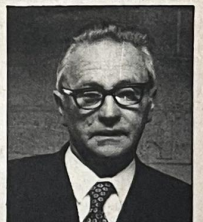
Aidan Corrigan,



Risteard Behal,



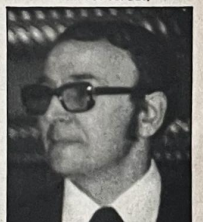
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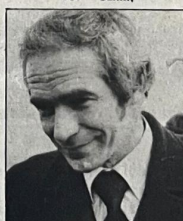
John Joe McGill,



Joe Cahill,



Seamus Loughran,



Brendan Magill,



Gerry Adams.



## NOTEBOOK

# The devolution debate in Britain

**THE LIBERAL ETHIC.** In Ireland today it's a fair rule of thumb to say that "liberal" means *seoinín* or conformist. A liberal is for croppies lying down and for BBC-1 rather than RTE-2. He is against "all this Gaelic stuff" — LFMers are liberals. He believes in supporting English policy in Ulster and in repressive legislation against Irishmen. In matters of religion, he is anti-Catholic (croppies are Catholics) and pro-Protestant. He regards the London view of things as the "normal", right and enlightened view. He is a provincialist, that is to say, a slave-soul and the direct opposite of a nationalist. He is all for law and order and for political censorship of the media, and a great supporter of "security forces" North and South. He is also, of course, in favour of freedom-fighters, and opposed to repressive regimes, all over the world — that's part and parcel of his mindless conformism. His mind is a sort of jelly swayed by prejudice and intolerance. He hates pluralism: when he uses the word, he means unitarianism — everyone going to the same schools, sharing the same liberal prejudices, buying the same products, and governed by the same central bureaucracy. He is a rabid centralist: centralism makes for conformity of mind, behaviour and consumer habits.

Liberals, in short, are the enslaved seeking to enslave others. They are persons very much in need of liberation.

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It is expected that the British White Paper on the devolution of government to Scotland and Wales will be published at the end of November. It will propose parliaments for Scotland and Wales with certain powers. The relevant legislation is expected to come before the House of Commons next March.

All of this means that a great debate about "devolution" is about to begin in Britain. This will have advantages and disadvantages for the freedom struggle in Ulster.

On the one hand, it will make many English politicians more determined than ever to hold onto the Six Counties. To withdraw, they will be reasoning, would set a dangerous precedent at this critical time.

The Scottish National Party is known to be bent on Scottish independence. Their English and Scottish opponents will be insisting on the necessity of preserving "the unity of the United Kingdom". So it will hardly seem the time to break that unity by evacuating Northern Ireland.

At the back of many Scottish — and some Welsh — minds is the question: if we went for full independence, would the English have the power to prevent it? At the back of many English minds is the awareness that Northern Ireland will be regarded as a test case.

On the other hand, it is very much to the advantage of the Irish freedom struggle that London should have to contend, at this juncture, with demands for national freedom from Scotland and Wales. The English will be fighting for their supremacy on three fronts instead of one.

Consequently, it is not merely because we believe in the freedom of nations that we should be supporting Scottish and Welsh self-government. By supporting these freedom struggles, we are furthering our own.

The real freedom struggle in these islands, as I have said before, is a common effort by the nations of the "periphery" — Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Mann — to free themselves from the control of the imperial centre.

It follows from this that Irishmen in Scotland and Wales who are not supporters of the SNP or of Plaid Cymru are *poor Irishmen* — no matter how much they may wave the

Tricolour or wear shamrock on St. Patrick's Day.

\*\*\*\*

**MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS.** "Croppies lie down" is never a moderate cry, no matter how it may be wrapped in plausible words or who utters it — politician, bishop or media hack. Don't let them fool you.

The man who says "Croppies lie down" is no moderate, but a ranting extremist. Similarly, "Planters lie down" or "get out" is the voice of extremism.

The voice of moderation is a respecter of all persons. It says: "Croppies and planters, rise up from your knees, shake off your fears, be men together!" And that, as you will recognise and as the world knows, is the voice of the Republican Movement. "Croppies and planters, rise up together, enter equally into your Ulster heritage and your Irish heritage".

\*\*\*\*

**ULSTER LOYALISM.** The Ulster Loyalist is an Ulster patriot. He is opposed to English rule and to Dublin rule. He believes Ulster should have its own parliament and government.

If such loyalty were widespread in the Three Ulster Counties, in Leinster, Connacht and Munster, we should be much nearer than we now are to the New Ireland. Or to put it another way: *without* such provincial loyalty, in the Three Counties, in Leinster, Connacht and Munster, *there can be no New Ireland.*

We need Connacht loyalists, Leinster loyalists, Munster loyalists, and a lot more Ulster loyalists.

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Mr. O Nuanain of Limerick (Deire Fomhair 17) has every quality, except one, that makes for a good debate. The one quality he lacks is that he is not prepared to accept the other man's statement of his position — and to proceed with the argument on that basis. He insists on ignoring the other man's statements i.e. on asserting that the other is not saying what he is saying.

For instance, he writes that Freeman (Lunasa 29) "says that the attitude of the Republican Movement of today is not fundamentally the same as that of the United Irishmen" and that Freeman "postulates two nations on this island".

But Freeman's printed words (Lunasa 29) — which anyone can look up — do *not* say the first and do *not* postulate the second. Indeed, Freeman's words — see them for yourselves — explicitly reject the idea that there are "two nations" in Ireland.

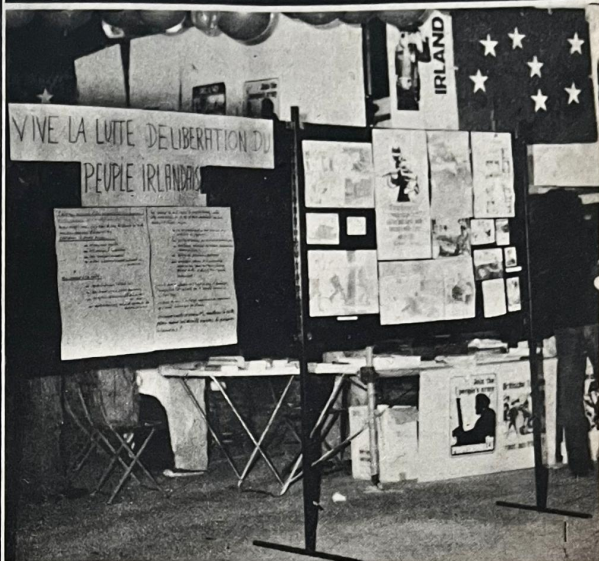
So there is really no point in debating with Mr. O Nuanain. I agree entirely with him that the Ulster British are *potentially* a part of the Irish nation. So are the Kerry Germans, for that matter, and the North Mayo Japanese. I have never suggested anything to the contrary.

But as I write that, I have the feeling that it's of little use; he'll probably come back in a week or two and tell you that I said the opposite.

by

**FREEMAN**

## Republican exhibition in Paris



The West German Irish Solidarity Committee held a Republican exhibition at the "Fete Raye" in Paris last weekend.

The Fete was visited by more than 150,000 people

from France and all over the world and more than 10,000 leaflets in the French language, giving the truth about the Irish struggle were sold.

Visitors who showed much

interest in the Irish situation included the Basque ETA, Portuguese soldiers, members of the Liberation Movement of Brittany and MIR (Argentina).

## Thinking of joining the Special Branch

- (1) Who won the Second World War?
- (2) Who came second?
- (3) What is a silver dollar made of?
- (4) (a) Explain Einstein's theory of relativity.  
or  
(b) Write your own name and address.
- (5) What time is News at Ten on?
- (6) Spell the following: 1) cat 2) dog 3) carrot
- (7) Approximately how many commandments were given to Moses?
- (8) There were six Kings of England named George. The last one was George VI. Name the other five.
- (9) Write down the numbers from one to ten. Marks will be deducted for any out of sequence.
- (10) (a) Who invented Stephenson's Rocket?  
or  
(b) Do you understand Newton's Law of Gravity? (Answer yes or no)
- (11) Of which country is Dublin the capital?
- (12) What instrument did Phil the Fluter play?
- (13) Spot the deliberate mistake. "An apple a day gathers no moss".
- (14) Who is the odd man out?  
(a) Cardinal Heenan, Pope Paul, Jack the Ripper, The Archbishop of Canterbury?  
(b) Seamus O'Toole, Sean O'Flaherty, Mahatma Ghandi, Patrick Murphy?
- (15) Name the winning jockey in the 972 Greyhound Derby?
- (16) In the 1972 Sheep Trials, how many were convicted?

N.B. Candidates found copying will be awarded extra marks for initiative.

## ICRA welcomes declaration

The Irish Civil Rights Association welcomes involvement of doctors in torture, the declaration from the World Medical forced-feeding and cruelty to prisoners and Assembly at Tokyo which strictly forbids detainees.

We pay tribute to those whose courage, spirit and will during several long months of brutal forced-feeding drew world-wide attention and made it imperative that World Medical Associations should

### TRIBUTE

lay down these strict ethical guidelines for members of their profession.

That tribute we pay to: Marion and Dolours Price, Gerald Kelly, Hugh Feeney, Frank Stagg, and to the memory of Michael Gaughan who died under the cruel treatment of force-feeding.

Write a prisoner a letter a week.

Subscribe to An Cumann Cabhrach.



# Republican Post Bag

## An Cumann Cabhrach

OUR SALE of work will be held in the Mansion House on the 5th, 6th and 7th of December. As funds are urgently needed, we request your help to make this sale a success.

We need groceries, hardware, fruit, vegetables, minerals, clothes, etc. New clothes only will be accepted.

Already preparations have begun. Streets and shop windows are being lit up. Food and drink are being stored. Children are writing to Santa. Excitement fills the air. In the midst of this activity, let us all in our Christian charity remember the innocent victims whose fathers are being held in jails at home and abroad.

These children like all others will write their letters, but only with your help can we give them the little things that may help them over the absence of their Dads.

—Peig Bn. Mhic an Ríogh.

An Cumann Cabhrach,  
44 Parnell Square,  
Dublin 1

## CHILEAN REFUGEES

THE Galway Branch of the Chilean Solidarity Committee protests strongly against the treatment given by the Argentine Government to Chilean Refugees in Argentina.

We also protest against the indifference of the U.N. Representatives in Argentina towards the obvious mistreatment of these refugees.

According to Chileans here in Galway, even though it is difficult to live here as a refugee, it is better than risking your life. Therefore we strongly urge that the Irish Government and the Irish people take in more refugees, and that the Irish Government get other EEC governments to grant political asylum to as many Chilean refugees as possible, particularly those from Argentina.

We call on Trade Unions, Tenants' and Residents' Associations and political parties to support our demand.

—Joe Stokes (Chairman),

Chilean Solidarity Committee,  
23 University Rd.,  
Galway.

## Buncrana

Visit your Éire Nua book shop at Lower Main Street, Buncrana.

We have now in stock latest books, crafts, badges, 1975 Christmas cards and 1976 calendars.

We have also a fine selection of Irish history books.

## An Cumann Cabhrach

### AONACH NA NOLLAG

at

### THE MANSION HOUSE

on Friday, Saturday, Sunday  
5th, 6th and 7th December;  
Open 10.00 a.m. to 10.00 p.m. daily.

The dependants depend on you.  
Support them generously.

there we were very fortunate to be able to purchase a copy of "An Phoblacht".

I see your paper understands the situation we have to endure here on the island. We would like very much to have a copy of every issue. We would gladly send a subscription. Would you please let us have the details also any collections we can make on your behalf for the cause will be forwarded.

—S.A. Moffatt (Mrs),  
J.B. Moffatt (Mr),  
65 Kerrow Coar,  
Peel,  
Isle of Man

## EMIGRANT SUNDAY

SUNDAY, October 5, was named "Emigrant Sunday" and sermons were given on this subject. The preachers found it convenient to make one omission — why emigration takes place.

Before the British invaded Ireland emigration as we know it today did not exist. The people were prosperous and happy. But foreign occupation brought starvation and coffin-ships.

What have the clergy done to bring back prosperity to our country — nothing except support imperialism and have denied the working class their God-given right, that is a decent standard of living in their own country. They tell us we will always have the poor. Of course we will, while we have robbers and exploiters.

All don't agree with their sort of brainwashing though few may do so. "If only a few faithful are found they must be more steadfast for being but the few. They stand for a right that is inalienable. One man alone may vindicate it and because that one man has never failed, it has never died".

We have been hearing of late that Conor Cruise O'Brien is giving us a second television channel, B.B.C.I, if we are stupid enough to accept it. The British Army still occupies six of our counties to stop the Irish, they say from killing one another. The same excuse was given about 800 years ago when they were sent over.

—Sean Shaw,

Corti.

## BLACK PROPAGANDA

THE Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin, our Irish Republican Movement care about the preservation of our impoverished people and are taking vigorous and enthusiastic action against the British Imperialistic Invader and the various elements that threaten the lives of men, women and children in Northern Ireland.

Thus it is only through our staunch support and participation that the Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin can achieve significant suc-

cess in the future for the Éire Nua.

Future challenges to the Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin (Republican Movement) stability by unscrupulous splinter groups plus the able assistance from the invaders known as British Military and the S.A.S. will be great. We are confident that their determination and ability to meet these challenges will be greater still, in light of the so called positive programmes instituted by the "Free" State Government and the British Government who are working in affiliation so as to exterminate the Republican Movement.

Major investigations into corrupt British practices have been launched by the Republican Movement, as regards the abuses of the British mongrels and our Freedom Fighters are seeking immediate correction.

The myopical approach of the American News Media — Press, Television and Radio — does nothing but slander and degrade the Republican Movement in Ireland. I find this kind of American Journalism to be an insult to the memory of our brave Irish who gave their lives for the defence of this country during the American Civil War. It is very difficult to fathom into the minds of the Irish and Irish Americans who are anti-Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin in the U.S.A. seemingly they are in favour of British Tyranny in Northern Ireland, which automatically denies the Republican Movement their main objective, liberty, freedom and a United Ireland.

The Irish Northern Aid (I.N.A.) Chapters are vital and very important as regards the broad life of the depressed — oppressed — homeless — impoverished families in Northern Ireland. It is a relief aid for the suffering people in British-occupied Northern Ireland, who are submissive (no choice) to the British Imperialistic Rule and sectarian terrorism.

I cannot agree that there is no easy answer to the complicated Northern Ireland issue. The answer is self-explanatory which happens to be the plantation of the British regime better known as the Invaders that stifle any settlement and just elongates the perpetual violence in Northern Ireland. The obvious QED to the Proposition is to get those parasites known as the foreign British intruders out of Northern Ireland, which is being handled diplomatically and astutely by our learned and very capable Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin. The Irish and Irish Americans who are for Ireland's unification are enthralled and intoxicated by the everlasting endurance — stamina and patience of our Republican Movement, they have maintained an oscillating Truce in the face of the British Army and S.A.S. who are instrumental in the creation of murderous provocations by sectarian bigots, secret agents, who are responsible for all acts of violence today and every day in

Northern Ireland.

To the Irish and Irish Americans in the U.S.A. who are anti-Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin and the Pro-British in Ireland the Republican Movement are a bone of contention and a bane to society. If the Provisional IRA should disarm or disband at the present moment it would be detrimental to the Irish people as the future would show no means of extrication or freedom from the clutches of British Imperialistic Tyranny. This consists of murder, Concentration Camps, poverty, imprisonment (no trial — no jury), degradation, ostracization and terrorism in Northern Ireland.

I shall now revert back to Irish Northern Aid which is a relief agency for our people in the North of Ireland. This active organization is surviving and will survive with the help of our ardent supporters. The generosity of our supporters has provided funds to support our impoverished people in Northern Ireland. I hope we can accrue more supporters to this vital cause, as their financial support will insure that we can take care of the necessary support and actions to realize our highest hopes for the future of the release of all prisoners and then proceed to the unification of Ireland.

—Patrick J. Keane,

Chicago,  
Illinois,  
U.S.A.

## A WORD FROM WALES

AFTER seven years detention most of it in a Category "A" Albany, Isle of White prison, John Jenkins, the Welsh patriot is to be released soon.

A good Welshman who wishes to be unknown at present has given John a house, so when he comes home again to Wales, he will have some place to call his own.

He was imprisoned for ten years for his part in the Welsh bombing of dams and water reservoirs, and has suffered a great deal for his convictions.

## Congratulations

and best wishes for the future to Tony and Collette.

—From Margaret.

## Ballad Session

at

### THE DONAGHMEDE INN

Tuesday 12th November

8.00 p.m. — 11.00 p.m.

Isteach 50p

Music by the "Dublin City Ramblers"

Fáilte roimh 6g agus aosta.

## Cabaret and Ballads

Old Shielling Hotel.

TUESDAY, 25th NOVEMBER '75

with

Tony Malone,  
The Dublin City Ramblers and Paddy O'Brien

ADMISSION ..... 50p  
8.30 p.m. to 11 p.m.

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.

As there is so much to do to get this house ready in time (the house is now in a bad state) a fund has been opened in Wales to help this very worthy campaign.

So may I ask any one of your readers who feels they can help us in this worthy cause to send donations large or small to me at the address below and they will be put into good use.

Thanking you

Maurig G. Roberts,

3, Bro Ffion,  
Caeawys,  
Llandysul,  
Dyfed,  
Wales.

## Learn Irish

Sinn Féin in Dublin has resumed its Irish classes in 5 Blessington Street and there is a céad míle fáilte for all.

If you have some Irish, here is a chance to better it. If you have no Irish, here is a chance to learn.

After each class there will be singing, dancing and conversation sessions in a congenial atmosphere.

Sibhsa a bhráil Gaeilge liofa saibh, bí linn agus liofaí sampla — agus mianach — déibh siúd atá ar bheagán Gaeilge. Ní neart go cur le chéile.

## Buíochas

An Cumann Cabhrach, Raheny Branch, wish to thank those people who attended their function in the Clare Manor Hotel on Sunday, 26th October and made it such a success. The proceeds, amounting to £200 has been handed to the Dublin Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach.



## News and Views from Around the Country

### £10 awarded for damage to a food parcel

AN IMPORTANT legal victory was won by the ex-internee Patrick O'Hagan against former Long Kesh Commandant Truesdale at Lisburn Co. Court on October 13 when Judge Browne decided that damages of £10 be awarded to Mr. O'Hagan for damage to a food parcel sent him while in the Long Kesh in November, 1971.

The decision opens the way for similar legal action by hundreds of internees and

other political hostages and ensures that, in most cases, damages will have to be paid by the Crown for wilful damage to food parcels and other properties.

Judge Brown ruled that, when warrants sign for food parcels or other packets, they are doing so as agents of the prisoner and, therefore, are responsible that the goods in question reach the prisoner safely.

Commandant Truesdale at present is in command of Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. Presumably he will not have to pay the damages in this or

other pending cases: the Crown is expected to make good the damage.

According to a statement by a spokesman for the leadership of the Republican Movement, the legal move in this case is regarded as a civil action and does not conflict with the Republican principle of refusing recognition to courts in political cases.

### Sligo's "Noble Six" remembered

THE SIX Republicans killed by (Free) State forces on the slopes of Benbulbin mountain in 1922 were remembered at the annual commemoration for Sligo's "Noble Six" in a parade and wreath-laying ceremony at the spot where they fell.

Orations were given by Mr. Anthony O'Malley-Daly of the Ballyshannon Town Commissioners, and Mr. P. J. Kearney, Sligo-Leitrim Ard Chomhairle Sinn Féin.

### New Cumann

A second S.F. Cumann, to be called the Neil Plunkett O'Boyle Cumann has been formed in Donegal.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, Hugh Clark; Vice-chairman, Charles Daly; Secretary, Etna Gillan; Treasurers, Hugh Kelly; Jerry Doherty; P.R.O. Brendan Gillan.

### Extradition condemned

THE Dublin Committee of the Irish Civil Rights Association bring to the immediate attention of the Irish people an alarming and most outrageous occurrence which took place on October 17. On that date a 23-year-old Derryman, Bernard Doherty, was extradited to the Republic only hours after being released from Long Kesh concentration camp where he had been a detainee for two and a half years.

One press report stated that Mr. Doherty was wanted by the Gardaí for questioning in connection with the attempted killing of a U.D.R. man in Donegal almost three years ago.

That this young man, an Irish citizen according to the Constitution, having spent the equivalent of a four year prison sentence in the Six Counties, should now be extradited to the Republic to be questioned about an alleged attack on a member of the Crown Forces, who themselves are presently arraigned before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg on charges relating to the use of vicious and obscene torture methods on defenceless internees and prisoners is truly appalling.

We call on the Irish people to demand that Bernard Doherty be released immediately. The Dublin authorities should stop this shameful collaboration with the British army, and concern themselves instead with the intense non-stop murder campaign being conducted against Catholics by Loyalist murder gangs in the Six-Counties.

## A review of Ard Fheis

(Ar leanúint ó leathanach 3)

this the final battle. But this final battle is going to be tough.

The enemy within will not surrender easily. His cunning must be outmatched with our cunning. His structures must be undermined and his intrigue must be counteracted by a greater devotion to all our tasks. We must be real revolutionaries. We must tear the systems asunder, and build a true Republican Nation.

"Let's have total victory in our time", the secretary's report ended.

### Full-time P.R.O.

The Ard Fheis agreed unanimously to forego the tea-break in order to continue the debate on publicity. The Ard-Fheis unanimously accepted a proposal from the Ard-Chomhairle that their should be a full time P.R.O. (Earlier, the delegates had re-elected Sean O'Bradaigh as Director of Publicity); The P.R.O. to be a member of the Movement working full time on publicity but not necessarily a

member of the Ard Chomhairle. Part of his function would be to liaison between the four P.R.O.'s elected by the four Comhairli Cuige.

### PUBLICITY REPORT

The Ard Fheis heard Sean O'Bradaigh deliver his report on publicity. A proposal condemning Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act was passed. One speaker, warned Cruise O'Brien that he was setting a dangerous precedent by imposing political censorship on R.T.E. "When a government increases its wages by £700 and threatens workers with a wage freeze the same day it is no surprise that they need censorship to thwart all real opposition", the speaker said.

### AN PHOBLACHT

Gerry O'Hare, speaking on *An Phoblacht* urged cumann to send in reports on their activities. He answered criticism that *An Phoblacht* did not carry regional news by asking "How can we publish what we do not receive? Former editor, Eamonn Mac Thomáis received a rapturous

reception from the delegates. He made it clear that he had been imprisoned because the establishment feared the success of *An Phoblacht*. He praised the work of Gerry O'Hare and urged the delegates to make their paper a daily.

Social and economic issues were not ignored by the Ard Fheis. A motion from Magilligan camp urged Sinn Féin to highlight unemployment and the other defects of the capitalist system. A national campaign is to be mounted to have all Irish Political Prisoners repatriated to jails in Ireland. Sean Keenan made a moving appeal for support for all political prisoners.

THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE ARD-FHEIS WAS THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF THE WORLD'S PRESS BY RUAIRÍ Ó BRÁDAIGH. A DETERMINED LOOKING Ó BRÁDAIGH DELIVERED A SPEECH, WHICH EVEN BY HIS OWN HIGH STANDARDS WAS BRILLIANT IN CONTENT AND DELIVERY.

## SLAIN ON DUTY

(Ar leanúint ó leathanach 1)

and the support of the working people who could be forged into tightly disciplined Stalinist units, terrified to step out of line for fear of the cudgel or worse.

The N.I.F. has considerable experience in getting the best of its dirtiest operations: of the murder of Charlie Hughes in the Lower Falls (the target was Proinsias Mac Airt in whose arms Charlie died) in March, 1971; and of their ruthless attempts to stamp out their splinter, the I.R.S.P., earlier this year.

Naturally, the active enemies of imperialism will get most of the blame for killings and maimings following these clashes, in the media which backs that imperialism, while sympathy is worked up for "non-aggressive Officials."

Censorship and "slanting" of news reports, so as to place the Republican Movement in the worst possible light at every opportunity, are now at their highest peak since the seven-year-old war began.

But the failure of the media, even at that, to refer to the report in the last issue of "Republican News" of the N.I.F. having beaten up three women in the New Lodge Road area as one of the sparks to the present conflagration, was astounding.

### WOMEN WERE BEATEN

The three women were Mrs. Ann Callaghan, Mrs. Josie McAlea and her 15-year-old daughter, Marie. One of these women was with Séamus Mac Osúir when he fell dead close to Artillery Flats. They had been attacked by cudgel-wielding N.I.F. thugs and beaten about the face and body. But the decision to smash the crime ring was taken by Briogáid Bhéal Feirste, Oglagh na hÉireann, after the murder of Sean Mac Namee and the destruction of Garaiste an Phobail.

The Briogáid statement says that the campaign to smash the crime ring and stamp out gangsterism in its area will continue until successful and that only gangster elements in the N.I.F. have anything to fear.

The funeral of Séamus Mac Osúir took place from Divis Flats, not from the Ardoyne, where he lived with his wife and two children, to St. Peter's Church on Sunday evening, so as to cause the minimum discomfort to mourners.

At 14.00 hours next day many thousands of mourners followed his remains to Milltown Cemetery, where he was laid to rest in the Republican Plot. The oration was delivered by Malachy Foots, Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle. Malachy lives in the area, was a close personal friend of Séamus and a fellow worker in the Truce Incident Centre.

Ar dheis Dé aguis le measc laochra na hÉireann go raibh an fear uasal seo a sheas le Gaeilge, le sóisialachas agus le daonnacht ar feadh a shaol.

### S.F. ARD-CHOMHAIRLE

The Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin at its meeting held recently decided to give full support to the people of Belfast in their efforts to bring to an end the gangsterism and extortion rackets which have been carried on by the so-called Republican Clubs for many months. The Ard-Chomhairle regrets the loss of innocent life, but recognises that drastic action was needed to halt the criminal activities of a vicious gangster element. Several brutal assaults, extortion and the burning of the co-op garage known as Garaiste an Phobail brought the matter to a head in recent weeks.

Sinn Féin condemns the cowardly murder of Séamus McCusker who was in charge of the New Lodge Road Truce Incident Centre and who had devoted all his time in recent months to endeavouring to preserve the fragile Truce in his area. It is significant that he was shot while in the course of organising a press conference to expose the brutalities of the Republican Clubs, and in the company of one of the witnesses.

### POLITICAL NOTES

## Why Jack Lynch decided to take the popular line

by MAREN

LYNCH'S about face on a declaration of intent by the British to leave the Six-Counties set the pro-British media hacks hammering their typewriters and RTE's "little English boys and girls" sharpening their tongues.

But none of them came anywhere near the real reason for Fianna Fáil's return to sanity. Believe it or not it was the West Mayo by-election.

Lynch was told in no uncertain terms at the hush-hush parliamentary party meeting that his "British must stay" line had two airings with the electorate and was an abysmal failure.

The public are turning to Sinn Féin, he was told, because from the President down they have the guts to articulate what the people want — an end to the British presence in Ireland.

West Mayo could be won, Lynch was persuaded, if Fianna Fáil took the popular line. Forget the media hacks, the public are fed up to the back teeth with them anyway. Lynch, like a good little politician, buried his personal views and did what he was told.

Media-men pounced on Michael Kennedy as the renegade — but sources say the hand of Brian Lenihan was on the tiller. Could be.

Some rumblings recently within the ranks of Fine Gael. Back-benchers and some life-long supporters are muttering criticisms of the political acumen of the boss.

Is Cosgrave's deafening silence on all matters of importance a deliberate policy or is it that he just doesn't know what to say — is he dead from the neck up?

Man watching the growing discontent with interest is Garret Fitzgerald. Ireland's "fastest run in the West" still has covetous eyes on the leader's mantle.

The mongrel foxes have broken cover but the hounds, this time, have not even left their kennels — a point noted by others than the ambitious Garret. Verily the crown sits uneasily on the Cosgrave head these dark winter days.

Down in the West something stirs. Reports have it that Mrs. Joan Burke is not happy with

what Jimmy Tully left her in the boundaries reshuffle and the Roscommon lassie is letting her petulance be known.

Further reports that RTE's roving ambassador Liam Hourican is sniffing around for a nomination have added to the ex-nurse's discomfiture. Liam is a native of Roscommon, where his late father was a popular teacher in the CBS.

Joan has lost much personal support in West Roscommon as a result of the boundary change and Liam, if adopted by Fine Gael, would erode her votes in Roscommon town and South Roscommon.

There are whispers that Joan may opt out altogether and re-marry but Joan is cagey on this point. Events here could be worth watching.

Also in Roscommon there is an interesting race on for the Fianna Fáil nomination now that Brian Lenihan has left for pastures new. Party members are jockeying for positions at the starting post and little feuds are being exaggerated.

County Councillors in the hunt are Brian Kelly; Paddy Lenihan, Brian's brother; Brian Mullooly; Des Bruen, and Sean Doherty. Terry Leyden, who ran as an independent after missing out on a party nomination and was successful, is making a bid to return to the fold and will also be a contender.

Doherty, who comes from Hugh Gibbons territory in North Roscommon, is an ex-Special Branch man and a tough campaigner. Friends say he fights with no holds barred so expect a few local fireworks. The Lenihan-Kelly rivalry in South Roscommon is an old story and the Kelly family would love to put one over on the Lenihans. Bruen and Leyden factions in Roscommon Town are at loggerheads and may cancel each other out.

Brian Mullooly is a Strokestown man, middle of the constituency, and the quiet contender who just might ease into the position — but a little bird whispers that an outsider, as yet untried at the polls, could be the man or woman to carry the colours.