

**Iml. 5. Uimh. 25. 6p. Meitheamh 21, 1974.**



# DUBLIN GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON NORTH

## Lenár dTuairisceoir

Ar lean, ar chúl.







# WEDDING BRITS TRIED TO STOP

ALTHOUGH the Brits swore it would never take place and did everything to prevent it, Robert McKeown (19) and Ellis Taggart (17) were married behind the wire in Long Kesh last Saturday afternoon, Rev. Sean Cahill, St. Malachy's College, Belfast, officiating. Go naire said an nuaiocht.

When the Brits heard of the marriage plans last March they set about wrecking them. They re-arrested the bridegroom to be and also locked up the best-man and bridesmaid.

Robert was one of those released from the Long Kesh Concentration Camp shortly after last Christmas, after 14 months behind the wire. It was one of those gestures to help on the people into accepting Sunningdale.

On March 13, however, as Robert left a club in King Street, Belfast, after booking his wedding for June 1, the Brits pounced and again he was behind the wire — to stay, said the Brits.

Both bride and groom are from the Divis flats, on the Lower Falls Road.

Robert's mother commented on the bid to prevent the wedding: "The military told him that he would never be free to marry if they had anything to do with it and told him that no M.P. would succeed in securing his release."

● The bride's sister, Mairead, is behind bars in Armagh Women's Prison.



Ellis Taggart (17) looking at a picture of her interned fiancé, Robert McKeown. Behind her is a handkerchief from Long Kesh which he designed and painted.

## Resign to save lives

WITH the collapse of the Six Counties Executive, the Dublin Government should resign forthwith, the Irish Republic Publicity Bureau urges in a statement.

"The Government's policy of abjectly supporting the British, surrendering the fundamental right of the whole people of Ireland to determine the nation's future and assisting the English war effort to the tune of £50,000,000 has led inevitably to the fascist victory of today, (May 28), the statement continued.

"The Government has no right to claim the leadership of the Irish people in view of the perilous position in which they have placed the beleaguered people of the North.

"The S.D.L.P. should in all decency leave the political scene for all time. The crime of smashing the unprecedented unity of the nationally-minded people in the post-interim period is all too evident to-night."

"It is ironic that Curry, Devlin and Hume should have been so vigorous in enforcing punitive measures on those who supported the rent-and-rates strike while, at the same time, proving themselves men of straw in resisting British fascism.

"The leadership of the Republican Movement calls on the people to unite behind the Movement in defence of the Northern people. If we all display one tenth of the courage of the Price sisters who, in their death agony tonight, truly reflect the soul of Ireland, we shall triumph over fascists, traitors and collaborators.

"The responsibility for defending our people from British fascist rule, North and South, rests upon ourselves alone," the statement concludes.

## Hounding Gaughan's cousin



Rev. Michael Connolly

For praising his dead hunger-striker cousin, Michael Gaughan, Very Rev. Michael Connolly, P.P., St. Joseph's, Wolverhampton, has been suspended by the Archbishop of Birmingham.

The suspension came after the hounding of the Roman Catholic priest by TV, radio and press and by pressure from Westminster and Leinster House.

Father Connolly is taking his case to an ecclesiastical court and is prepared, like another victim, Father Flanagan, to bring it as far as Rome, if necessary.

**SUPPORT THE PRISONERS**

## CRAFT CENTRE

**44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath**

## Republicans' decisive role since August, 1969

WITH the British Parliament meeting in special session to discuss the Northern situation, it is necessary to re-state the Republican position, according to an Irish Republic Publicity Bureau statement (June 3).

The Republican Movement has played a decisive role in the events of the last five years. Following the pogrom of August, 1969, the Movement set about creating a people's army to ensure adequate defence from attacks by Stormont and sectarian forces.

The increasing aggressive role of the British army in the summer and autumn of 1970 required a policy of retaliation. By that time, the British army had shed any pretence of being a peace keeping force. With the attack on the nationally-minded people during the internment week of August 1971, the I.R.A. swung to a policy of all-out resistance to British rule.

We have maintained that policy ever since, the statement continues. We have proved to the

British government that their forces cannot defeat a people's guerrilla army. Despite death, torture and imprisonment, the I.R.A. have come back repeatedly to strike decisive blows at the enemy and nullify the so-called policy of a military solution.

An opportunity was given to the British government in July, 1972, to lay the basis for a lasting political situation. The I.R.A. suspended hostilities and entered into talks with the British government. Those discussions were aborted when the British army used massive force to prevent homeless people being re-housed in Lendoeon.

### Blind Dublin

The action of the British army on that day was in sharp contrast to the way it behaved last week when it openly connived with Loyalist forces to bring about the fall of the Executive.

All the political solutions put

forward by the British Government have come to nothing. Despite the bkkd and abject support given by Dublin and S.D.L.P. politicians to Green papers, white papers and Sunningdale, British policy is now in a shambles.

So it will remain until the British Government recognises that the Irish people alone have the right, duty and capacity to fashion a form of society which will ensure peace and stability in this island. Such will not be possible while the British presence is maintained in Ireland.

Securing a declaration of intent from Britain to disengage itself from Ireland has been the keystone of Republican policy for the last few years.

We first made that demand in September, 1971; it was the main item of discussion with Mr. Whitelaw in July, 1972, and it still remains the primary objective of this Movement.

We recognise that significant sections of British and Irish public

## Generosity of Luton

Luton Sinn Féin is pleased to report that a 12-seater minibus will be leaving the Luton area in a short time, destined for the Belfast Green Cross.

This vehicle will be available for the families and relatives of Republican prisoners from the Ballymacarrett district, where there is, at present, a dire need for transport.

The Luton Cumann wishes to thank the Republican supporters of the area for their generosity and support.

## Garda blow to Belfast youth holiday

ABOUT 12 of Na Fianna Eireann, were arrested by uniformed Gardai during a collection outside a church in Churchtown, Dublin recently.

The group, whose ages range from seven to 16, were released after about an hour but their collection boxes were not returned.

The youths were collecting outside the Church of the Good Shepherd for funds to bring children from Turf Lodge in Belfast to Dublin for a holiday when the gardai arrived.

The secretary, Forsyth Cumann, Mrs. Margaret Langford, said the collection has held annually with the permission of

## Nuaíocht na gCumann

local clergy to bring about 30 children down for holidays in the area.

The Cavan Comhairlecheantar, in a statement, has condemned as "callous and sadistic" the behaviour of the "Free" State army whom it says is fast modelling itself on the British army of occupation in its harassment of the civilian population.

According to the statement, "Free" State troops arrived at the home of Liam Muimhneach at 10 a.m. on Monday, May 20.

As Mr. Muimhneach, secretary of the Cavan Comhairlecheantar of Sinn Féin was in a Dublin hospital, undergoing major surgery, his wife, who is expecting a second child in three months' time, was alone with her three-year-old daughter.

As a number of soldiers took up firing positions around the house, a second group entered and carried out an extensive search and questioned Mrs. Muimhneach, to whom a doctor had to be summoned as a result of her ordeal.

### Damage by Brits

There has been condemnation in Strabane and Glady at the action of a military unit during a full-scale military operation in the latter village during the early hours of June 8 last when the Smugglers' Inn, a popular singe-lounge was raided and many young people detained for questioning. All were released later.

Extensive damage was done to windows in the licensed premises to the toilets, to furnishing and glasses when a party of soldiers rushed into the lounge just after midnight. They were not gear and had several Alsatian sniffer dogs which, one customer alleged, were used to 'herd' some 300 people in the lounge, into corners.

The building in the village's Main Street and within a 100 yards of the Border, was ringed with barbed wire by other sold-

iers, who remained outside and "screened" the young men and girls as they were brought out in small groups.

Both male and female military personnel took part in the raid which was centred only on the one premises where a function was being organised by the Eugene Devlin Sinn Féin Cumann from Strabane.

### Girls punched

There were complaints afterwards by those "screened" that they were abused and young girls were "punched" and that the 50 or 60 who were taken to a military post at Sion Mills for further questioning, were made stand with their fingertips against fencing and legs apart.

One youth said he lost all sense of time. Others were struck with batons.

A middle-aged woman, a witness, commented: "Everybody got their back up last night. The story is not exaggerated. The language and abuse given by the soldiers was awful and some of them taunted us about the Dublin bombings."

"I would not like to experience a thing like this again but after seeing it, I could never have the same opinion of the army again."

A man said: "Words fail me; the behaviour of the army could only be described as ridiculous. That sort of conduct should not be allowed to take place. The soldiers must have been drunk or drugged."

### Protest March

That evening a protest march was staged in Strabane, organised by Strabane Sinn Féin.

Ar lean. ar chúil



# 'Breathed new life into Irish hearts'

*of my townsmen on the Mayo Bloom then nothing will stop them, so be warned and watch out!*

*This month I have spent 3 years in prison and looking back I believe I am a stronger republican (mentally, if not in body) than when I came in, so what good does prison do? It has not reformed me nor has it broken me. The road to freedom knows no STOP POSTS and is not a road for those who stop to rest.*

*Answer: Pol. I will stay here because I have*

One of the last letters written by Michael Gaughan to a friend, it typifies the spirit and the stature of the man in many ways. It begins "a chara Pol": Michael, as does Proinsias Stagg, realised the importance of Irish and uses it as often as he could.

In the section of the letter above he shows that he is as resolute a Republican as ever. Earlier he writes: "Today (May 14) is

the 47th day of the hunger-strike, a short time when you say it fast, but I know now just how long that is. When I think of the first "four" and the length of time since they started their H.S., I can only shake my head and wonder what they must look like and feel like, now. Whatever happens to any of us, now, while we live we will stand by our rights and force-feeding will not make us give in."



A Fianna Eireann youth shows the Flag outside the house of Roy Jenkins, London, during a Sinn Féin protest march.



LEFT: The coffin is taken from Adam and Eve's Church, Merchants Quay, Dublin, for burial in Ballina.

BELOW: Daithí O Conaill, leasuachtarán, Sinn Féin, gives the oration at the graveside. In the background is the officiating priest. Michael, said Daithí, had breathed new life into Irish hearts by his sacrifice.





## NOTEBOOK

# Liberating Michael Mills

THE DECLINE of "Dáil" politics into sheepish conformity (like the Supreme Soviet or the Spanish Cortés) has dragged a couple of good political correspondents down with it. Look at Arthur Noonan, who used to be crisp, subtle and independent-minded when he was on the "Independent". Now he just shovels out the hand-outs, keeps his bib clean, and goes home to bed.

But there's some excuse for Arthur, working as he does in two hothouses — as if Leinster House weren't enough. There is much less excuse for Michael Mills, writing for an Opposition newspaper.

I am not suggesting that "Opposition", in the parliamentary context, means much any more. It's simply that Michael has fewer pressures on him to become a hand-out man without a mind of his own.

I was thinking this recently as I read a piece of his, or rather, tried again to read him, having yawned myself out of the habit several months ago. I don't ask a pol. corr. to agree with me politically. I do ask that he supply what pol. corrs. are there to supply, namely, *informed political comment*. It's professionalism, I'm talking about, nothing more.

Note what I said: "comment" — that means the expression of personal opinion and judgment — and "informed" — that means being aware of all the facts and rumours relating to the matter you are talking about.

Now, sample this piece of Millsian prose (he was talking about the Loyalist strike):

"The Taoiseach, Mr. Cosgrave, has been criticised for placing the blame for the Protestant backlash on

the activities of the Provisional I.R.A.; but Government spokesmen claim that the Loyalist strike and the support for the strikers was a massive reaction by the Protestant population to the events of the previous four years".

Pol. corr. Mills offers no comment of his own at all. And note the *non sequitur* — the lack of logical connection between the two phrases I have italicised.

It's almost as bad as Michael McInerney at his sloppiest, when he used to spread his all-time-low of political journalism over the front page of "The Irish Times". It's downright lazy journalism. It's not fair to the readers.

This is what Mills would have said were he taking his responsibilities seriously:

"The Taoiseach has been criticised for placing the blame for the Loyalist strike and the collapse of the Northern Executive on the activities of the Provisional I.R.A. The criticism is justified. While the Provisionals would be only too happy to claim responsibility for the fall of the Executive — regarding it as a victory rather than as a matter for 'blame' — it is common knowledge that the strike which brought down the Executive was directed against Sunningdale and provoked by Sunningdale. So it would be more accurate to ascribe the fall of the Executive to the

Sunningdale Agreement (if 'agreement' it ever was).

"Of course, the Taoiseach knows this as well as anyone. The dig at the Provisionals is believed to have been inserted into the speech by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, whom the Taoiseach frequently consults when drafting statements on the North."

Dr. O'Brien's obsession with the Provisionals is well known, and this is not the first time it has been allowed to contribute a somewhat zany element to a Government statement".

See what I mean? Something along those lines would perform the pol. corr.'s job of actually informing his readers and increasing their political understanding.

Credit where credit is due, Dick Walsh tries to do this. But he's still fairly new to the job. He will need to be tough not to fall victim to the pressures that would make him end up a shoveller.

I'd love to quote you another paragraph by Mills and then re-write it with some information in it. It's a bit where he says (twice over) that the Government says a "United Ireland", caps and all, wouldn't be any nearer if the Brits left "Ulster". (You remember the old days when we used believe a "United Ireland", caps and all, was the be-all and end-all?). But I won't bore you.

Courage, Michael. The

sky won't fall if you express an *opinion* of your own sometimes, or say *occasionally* that a Government hand-out is inaccurate or untruthful.

One thing, throughout these bitter years, you have remained a decent man — unlike some others, Michael, unlike the Charlestown Ghoul. You heard the latest? He's running a "Corpse Count". Read him on Saturdays. He thinks killing and being killed is fun.

I was rather appalled by something I saw in a letter from David Patrick Simpson, Ipswich, Sasana, which appeared in this paper recently.

Mr. Simpson said he was "horrified" that an article by Desmond Fennell about a four-nation "Federation of Man" was printed in "An Phoblacht" without an accompanying statement from someone competent to speak on behalf of the Republican Movement, explaining where Sinn Féin stands regarding Mr. Fennell's scheme.

Does Mr. Simpson think the readers of this paper are children? Or does he think that this is the pre-Vatican II "Catholic Standard" or some such? That danger signals must be displayed, and cautions sounded, every time a new idea heaves in sight, lest the faithful be scandalised?

However, I found the

rest of Mr. Simpson's letter very interesting. He seemed to be saying, in brief, that the New Ireland must be socialist (everyone agrees), and that, therefore, the New Ireland could not form part of the federation with capitalist nations which Fennell proposed.

Now, I can understand someone rejecting Fennell's federal scheme for all sorts of reasons. But I must say, with regard to Mr. Simpson's argument, that I understood Fennell to be saying there could be no socialist Ireland unless Ireland entered an arrangement of the kind he proposed and obtained control over her *interdependence with England*.

He is probably wrong about the method of doing this, but I certainly agree that, in present-day conditions, a country cannot be "socialist" unless it has control over its interdependent relationship with neighbouring countries. For only then is it truly self-governing.

And the essential characteristic of a socialist country, as I understand it, is control over its own affairs by its own people.

For this reason alone, I believe that Cuba, with its extreme dependence on the Soviet Union, cannot be considered socialist.

So there: what does Mr. Simpson say to that?

**FREEMAN**



These scenes (above, Kilburn, London; left, Dublin) affronted Westminster and Leinster House as Michael Gaughan was given the traditional military funeral. Could he have been offered less?

Westminster's reaction is hard to understand: Belfast was taken over by uniformed men, during the strike and was a finger lifted against one activist? All Ogligh na hEireann did, in London, Dublin and across the country to Co. Mayo, was to honour with dignity a fallen comrade.

As for Cooney's lies: BBC TV showed the shots being fired close to the coffin and the firing party leaving, in direct contradiction to the ministerial statement.



LEFT: After marching from Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, the Irish Political Hostages Campaign demonstrated in front of Labour Party headquarters, London.

ABOVE: Stopped by R.U.C. at the junction of Clifton Street and North Queen Street, Belfast, the Republican protest meeting was held on the spot, attended by a huge crowd.



# Why do they disown the North?

RECENTLY, when giving a lecture at St. Patrick's Training College, Dublin, one of the trainee-teachers present asked me a pointed question: "Why do our present-day writers shy away from the North?"

Why indeed? There have been very few exceptions. The excuse commonly given is that we, the writers, are too close up to the screen; that there is distortion; that we are too near to be "dispassionate" and lucid in our art; that we are "too involved": the latter obstacle must surely be mentioned "tongue-in-cheek".

I am not impressed. I believe that there is a lack of commitment, a "funk", if you like, a "not-wanting-to-know-about-it" complex. For Dublin was art and Ireland and, of course, Dublin, too, was living, being with it ... "in".

It had a house of parliament, as in the days of Grattan and Flood; money houses, as in O'Connell's day; and horseshoe bars, not to mention select "at-in" houses" wherein oysters, the *escargots* and Rothschild vintages were guzzled, along with the game and beef of the land.

The capital was the high-alter of the Mullingar heifer and that in more senses than one. To my eternal credit I sat through a Saturday night Russell dinner party (two minor businessmen and their wives) once upon a time.

Across the way, Mr. Tony O'Reilly had some "friends", he looked suitably bored. Nearby Mr. Todd Andrews (*père*) was host to a holy supper full of guests.

I failed to play the part though: I got up and left. I had seen enough glitter, God help us, for one night. One sensed the rot, I had an oily smell which didn't altogether emanate from the unfortunate snails or the sole.

## Split personality

That same rot has made its presence felt since. All could stand idly by and mark time. As a people, we have arrived at a greater degree of schizophrenia than did the Norwegians, under Quindling, or the French, under Pétain and Laval.

They had, after all, the sounds of tanks and Nazi jackboots in their ears. We in the "Free" State, had not.

Yet our bondage, our betrayal of our country and its constitution, was, if anything, more complete. We abandoned a part of our people to foreign occupation as well as to colonial rule.

We saw them twice crucified and went on smugly, feeling thrice blessed. "Build a wall around them and keep the bastards up where they are". Did you not say that? Well, somebody did.

"There up there" in turn looked south and askance at the "Free" Staters. Small wonder. For years they had been stuffed with pup patriots, Kevinballadys and a surfeit of other men's wounds. They had been fed Pearse and Connolly in loud proclamations. We were the Boys who 'bated' the Black and Tans ...

Like bloody hell! We had used the dead to brag and boast, to salve our half-fried

## Galway draw

Results of An Cumann Cabhrach draw, Galway: first, Seán Walsh, An Spidéal; second, W. McDonagh, Gaillimh; third, P. MacSeagáin, Gaillimh; fourth, Brian Hanley, Claremorris; fifth, Mary Carney, Claremorris.



By Diarmuid Ó Súilleabháin

conscience, to hide our selfishness and inadequacies, to

apostate nationally. A little shamrockery was a good thing: it took the bare look off the fat bank account. We were still true Sons of Erin and St. Patrick, with a tear and a now-wide hypocritical smile.

No wonder the murderous "Free" State laugh fell on the ears of "them f..s up there". If all went to all in the "Free" State could always buy a Blasket.

## Smug scribes

This character shake — for this is what it is — was patently obvious in the attitudes of people, apart from our politicians. Perhaps nowhere was it better exemplified than in the "foreign correspondent" poses struck by

Rev. James Poland, C.C., stands amid the wreckage in St. Mary's Church, Kircubbin, badly damaged by a bomb planted, according to themselves, by the UFF (S.A.S.). Father Poland, in the nearby parochial house at the time of the blast, received slight injuries.

our journalists.

There was an unmistakable smugness about their attitude to the "security forces", a wishing-them-every-success aura about what had to be said and a very definite "serves them right" when things went wrong for the "men of violence".

Soon "the army" meant the British Army and "security forces", the grand amalgam of Crown Force and R.U.C.

On one occasion one such bespectacled political pundit took it upon himself to address the "Free" State from RTE! No opportunity was lost to heap opprobrium and British 1918 vintage cant on the I.R.A.

The "no-mandate" bit, which dates back to Pearse and 1916, dutifully was trotted out at every possible vantage point: so, too, were the more rabidly fascist elements of Freeistatry — the Pale Lords — but more of than anon.

Meanwhile, our TV fifth columnists kept doling out their daily doses of Thierville, straight from Colonel Sillitoe and the Home Office.

## Lunatic fringe

Republicans were made look "bloody impossible people" and, on occasions, "insane", the "nice" Mr. Faulkner was presented and projected as a sincere man in his suit of faces into the homes of the "Free" State.

All that stood between goodwill and peace in the North was the "lunatic fringe", the Republicans.

Gerry Fitt was the man who knew best. Mr. Curry of the Cows appeared daily and John Hume received TV canonisation, everything bar the halo (possibly lacking because of technical difficulties at Montrose).

Indeed, this writer, remembers Frank McManus's remarks before the British general election: "What chance have I when RTE has canonised Hume, Fitt and the S.D.L.P.? He proved right, not that it means so very much, now.

The British army had a field day with the "friendly station" granting "interviews" at will. One wit referred to a certain Raidió Éireann programme as "Britain's finest hour".

On TV, the British army "denial bit" became a joke. Bylecream-style British boys tell Paddy exactly how it all

happened "accidentally". "Sorry old chap". And always with a British Saracen for background.

## To the wall

On the rare occasion when Sinn Féin got an invitation to the inner sanctums, in programmes such as "7 Days", "This Week", and the "Owl Show", the firing squad was well and truly lined up; the "subversives" were sent to the wall.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh will understand, not that they found a soft target in the same Ruairí. Only very recently they descended on his home in Roscommon, the special RTE squad, to "get him".

That was the bald admission after O'Brádaigh had refused to remain staked as scapegoat. "We were sent down to 'get you' all in good cheer afterwards in a local hostelry.

Fair play to you, Ruairí: "nuair a bhíonn an bheoir istigh bíonn an chiall ann".

That was Dublin democracy at its best. In fairness to Cruise O'Brien, it should be remembered that the "republican party" man, Gerry Collins, proved himself an excellent media-muzzler and a loyal tool of empire.

Not that there were not a few nobler souls within the patchwork of RTE who did their best, despite harassment and threats to job, to present a balanced picture.

## Narrow mind

The "job threat" is probably the greatest single indictment of "Free" State rule since it expresses best the narrow mind born of hatred and civil war. It is as alien to the spirit of the men of 1916 as they were to the Crown bureaucrats who thought to "strike terror" into the hearts of the mere Irish with their "mailbags" and "sacks".

Personally, I found the Irish language programmes fascinating in that Blonidin, the famous tight-rope walker, could hardly have earned the crust any harder than did the "Féach" team, when it came to "keeping within bounds".

I suppose they did as well as they were allowed politically. Their choice of guest, however, always was very predictable: nice honest-to-God middle-of-the-road people, good or take a kick or two over the traces for the language.

Learned men they were, to be sure, but all too often of the "learning" we associate with acquiescence and platitudes.

At least one guest-spacer gave as much time to damning the Provos as he did the British army, even though the latter laid heavy hands on him once upon a trip to Belfast.

More often than not it was the official line.

Yes, the Gaelicoré was faithful, beautifully smooth as good Scotch on the rocks, Even

"Gairm" chose its guests very carefully and tried hard to avoid "matters of a political nature".

## The hypocrites

Seán Ó Riordáin spoke his mind on "Féach" one night and the Cruiser saw red. How dare a bard tell the people that the Provos were not one bit different from the Tom Barrys and Dan Breenms.

No doubt, had Máirtín Ó Cadhain lived, his views hardly, would have been any more acceptable to the telly nation-shapers. *Fírinneacht* (hypocrisy) was a word much used by O Cadhain.

Men of bondage came to daily print, too, in great numbers in the "Free" State. Usually, they were reduced to a childhood stance — "Baddies" (Provos) versus "Goodies" (security forces).

Death by crushing was forecast *ad nauseam* for the I.R.A.; such clichés as "thin-on-the-ground", "minority-within-a-minority", "losing-public-support" — but they speckled at each Crown Force "success". The phoenix is a much misunderstood bird by Liffeside and no great shakes either, in the Park.

Ar leiannt, sa chéad eagrain eile.

## Cearta na Gaeilge

IT was about time the right of Irish speakers throughout the country were recognised. *Pádraig Ó Snodaigh*, newly elected Uachtarán of Conradh na Gaeilge, told the annual meeting of the Carlow branch in the Foresters' Hall, Carlow.

The continued, persistent and insulting refusal of state agencies to do business in Ireland with those who so wished was no augury of democracy in action, he added.

Democracy did not involve the obliteration of difference, the enforcing of conformity, as the English language supremacists wanted, or the wiping out of minorities, he stated.

There was a phrase used lately, he said, which might put the issue in perspective: "Cherishing all the children of the nation equally".

## Ar dheis Dé

I ndífnechum Michael Gaughan, Ogligh na hÉireann, a dónmharadh dhé Láuin, Meitheamh 30, 1974.

Throid tú ar ár son. Fuair tú bás ar ár son. — Fianna Éireann, Baile Átha Cliath.





# Scandinavian support for Irish cause

IRLANDSKOMITTEN (Ireland Committee) has been in existence for some two years, now. Basically, we are a group studying the "Irish Question" from all possible angles in an attempt to educate the people of this country in the complex situation that exists in Ireland today.

Besides working with the news media, we collect money on the streets for the internees' dependents, arrange public meetings for speakers from Movements in Ireland and Sweden, organise panel debates and study circles, all in the attempt to clarify the "seemingly impossible" Irish situation that the British so often propagate abroad.

We do not support any political or military organisation in Ireland but we recognise that the root cause of the present and past civil and political strife rests firmly on the shoulders of the Westminster administration and its followers in Dublin and Belfast.

Our work is based on the following political platform: Fight Imperialism in Ireland; British troops out of Ireland; free all political prisoners; abolish all repressive legislation.

We wish to express our condemnation of the callous disregard of justice shown by the British courts following the outcome of the London bomb trials.

The convictions of these Irish citizens, we believe, were based on circumstantial evidence. Even if the charges could have been documented thoroughly, the inhuman sentences of life imprisonment are wholly unjustifiable. The British prosecution resorted to displays to influence the jury and the British public.

We refer to methods such as the massive show of force by the police to imply that these men and women were dangerous terrorists. In these circumstances talk of a fair trial is sheer hypocrisy.

The savagery which has marked such disgusting institutions as the concentration camps and the "peace-keeping" forces in the North have proven cancerous in Britain.

The last refuge of morality in Britain, the once respected British judicial system, has been exposed as thoroughly corrupt.

Internment is an institution

## a chara

which has men, women and children as its victims. World-wide public outcry against the injustices of Britain in Ireland is needed to bring an end to her imperialism.

We express our deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of the Irish political prisoners, Michael Gaughan, who has died on hunger strike.

We hereby give our full support to those who are on the verge of death, because of their simple demand to serve their sentences in the North.

—Irlandskommittén, Uppsala, Sweden.

## DAIL ULADH

IS Freeman realistic in his proposals regarding the setting up of Dail Uladh outside of the territory which he visualises being occupied by an Orange state on the withdrawal of British troops later this year?

He appears to think that groups or parties, hostile to the Republican Movement, would be willing to join Republicans and others dedicated to the institution of Dail Uladh. This appears unrealistic.

For Dail Uladh to operate would require the approval or tolerance of Leinster House. What evidence have we that either approval or tolerance would come from that institution?

Even where there was form of co-operation, how could Republicans, dedicated to a socialist Ireland, hope for success in setting up Dail Uladh within a capitalist state? Would this be principled?

In Leinster House politicians have abandoned the people of the Six Counties consistently and, in a "doomsday" situation, could be expected to abandon them again and to do whatever they are ordered to do by Westminster. A more realistic analysis by Freeman would be welcomed.

Poblachtoir,

Dún Laoghaire.

## POLITICAL HOSTAGES

AS a Christian, a believer in human rights and a member of an organisation which promotes such rights, I would like to be allowed space to say how much I deplore conditions doled out to Irish political prisoners in English and Irish jails.

I am especially concerned for the welfare of the "Winchester Hostages" as I know only too well what "tube-feeding" is, having carried it out on my own daughter (for medical reasons) for three years.

At the end of this time I had to seek psychiatric help, as the torture which I inflicted on my own flesh and blood preyed on my mind.

I am now cured and promised that I would not re-open that chapter of my life; but it has to be spoken of in order to bring to public attention what the "house-pipe" method of feeding is like.

## GARDEN

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It turns a human being into a depraved animal; and even if the Price sisters and others survive, they will suffer mental and physical side-effects forever, because the swallowing tract ceases to function, when food is poured into the body this way.

At the turn of the century, in Holloway prison, suffragettes were inflicted with force-feeding. It was kept secret but Lloyd George heard of it and had it stopped.

He commented: "To use this method outside the hospital ward is to perform a barbaric and savage task."

Apparently his words were soon forgotten or did they not apply to the Irish?

Many former British colonies have been cleared of the John Bull but he is still squatting in six of our counties. Other countries got rid of Britain when their politicians stood up in force.

What is the government of the 26 Counties trying to achieve? Are the Dublin politicians simply satisfied to be "refugees" under the thumbs of Britannia?

Why is the flower of Irish manhood being interned or arrested because their only crime is love of their country?

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

Shame on the "Free" State politicians who did not die in the G.P.O. in 1916 and, subsequently, in Cork, Derry and elsewhere.

But for the sacrifices those martyrs there would not be a "Free" State. Their blood is congealed on the hands of any man, woman or child who condones what is being done to our countrymen by British law which has now influenced Irish law.

Gardaí have the power to arrest men for being patriots. Do not these officers of the law realise that some of their ancestors have died in Ireland during the Famine and during the Black-and-Tan times.

What a terrible burden these Irishmen must carry, who arrest other Irishmen who want justice and freedom for their country and their countrymen.

Our army may be small but the blood which has been shed through the centuries will seep along our pastures until our 32 green fields will bloom and flourish on the nurturing of those who are gone but are too dearly loved to be forgotten.

— Catherine M. Herbert, (Mrs.) Friar Street, Corcaigh.

## PRISONER'S THANKS

I HAVE just received a letter from Paul Holmes, one of the "Winchester Eight".

He wishes to thank all the ordinary people for the expressions of support sent to him. He knows that this is not much to offer but it is all he can give at present.



He is allowed to send out only a limited number of letters per month so, much as he would like to, he is unable to reply to all those who have written to him.

— J. Hayward, Sallynoggin, Baile Atha Cliath.

## BACKBENCHER'S VIEW

BACKBENCHER in "the Irish Times" made interesting reading in a recent article. One of the strongest bastions of the "Free" State regime, Backbencher has a fine grasp of capitalist politics. In his usual half page he foretold a possible future for Ireland, a prophesy which I feel could be horribly accurate.

As we all know, the Brits will pull out. The only thing that has yet to be settled is the exact timing of the withdrawal. Roy Mason meant what he said sometime ago — make no mistake about that.

But what happens when the Brits leave? A political vacuum? Not likely? As Backbencher sees it, we will have two states, more or less united under a Council of Ireland.

In the South we will have, at present, a standing army to aid the civil power in "maintaining law and order". In the North will be created an army to assist the face-flicked R.U.C. in stamping out rebellion.

Cosgrave, Lynch, Corish and their ilk will rule in the 26 Counties. Faulkner, Fitt and Co. will rule in the Six; and Britain will continue her policy of neo-colonialism.

As a very real possibility, Faulkner, Fitt and their backers on both sides of the Irish Sea would have little difficulty raising their army.

Members of the U.D.R. would be perfect for the job; add to them some "non-Unionists" to make a balanced force.

Fitt, with a reformed R.U.C. and a Council of Ireland under his belt, could, I am sure, drum up enough of these.

This "New Ireland" would attract the support of the traditional pro-British elements; and certain "Nationalists", with the British army gone, would abandon the struggle, also.

Certain Loyalists, at present wanting U.D.I., would find some merit in a semi-independent "Ulster", loosely associated with the "Free" State.

But what of those Republicans who see the war as a revolution against the expropriating class? What will be in it for them?

Nothing! Instead of being robbed of the fruits of their labour by a British master they will have the pleasure of being robbed by an Irish one. Make no mistake about it, the bourgeoisie will stand together. Britain will pass on her power to a "safe" financial interest.

The Republican Movement will find itself on the horns of a dilemma with this "New Ireland". Could the military campaign be continued?

Remember there will be no British army to shoot at. Are we capable of pushing the revolution on through political action only? If not, what would we do in such a situation?

Look forward to comment through the columns of "An Phoblacht".

— Níoclás Cúis, Cluain Doleáin.

## ACT OF COURAGE

THE fight for freedom continues, and will be won, despite everything the English despots and the "Free" State traitors have done and will do to prevent its accomplishment. No true Irish man or woman can forget that the hands of the traitors are stained with the blood of patriots as are those of the "Tans" with whom they collaborate so zealously.

Great time and space have been given in the news media to the extent in infamy which the former Portuguese regime and the present U.S. President were and are prepared to go in order to retain power; yet, wicked as they are, neither Caetano nor Nixon could be accused of betraying their respective countries and people into the hands of their enemies. In Ireland, however, this "distinction" comes naturally to the leading members of the Flanna Fáil, Fine Gael and 'Irish Labour Party' groups.

Whilst the British imperialists, in their efforts to maintain domination of the country, were and are responsible for the agony of the Irish people by killings and torture and the hounding of the native Irish from their homes and lands and handing them over to families of their own kind (whose strong "religious" convictions did not deter them from taking stolen property) there is no doubt but that traitors in Ireland enabled the English corrupt and degenerate despots to maintain their continued subjection of the country.

The tragic deaths of the innocent people in Dublin is only the latest item in the legacy of misfortune which the English presence has brought and we will never forget that the hands of the "Free" State collaborators are red with the blood of these victims of imperialist and sectarian power.

The Irish people have the choice, either sit back and allow the English imperialists and their puppets, the Orange hoodlums and the "Free" State traitors, to bring the country to complete ruin, to retain their own privileged positions, or to take their place in the ranks of the Republican Movement and help to bring it to governmental power.

With the resources of the Nation's manpower and all other resources the imperialists' and

In Belfast, thousands came forward to sign a protest against the brutal treatment of Irish political hostages in British jails and to demand their repatriation. Our picture shows Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle member Maire Moore (standing, back, right), who organised the petition, and her two assistants.

puppets' ability to cause further misery in the country would be nullified.

Such a government, too, undoubtedly would command respect abroad, especially from such friends of Irish freedom as the probable future President of the U.S.A. and the present President of the Libyan Arab Republic.

After 50 years of betrayal, an act of courage is required now.

— S.O. Gallochobhair, Hillhead, Glaschu.

LETTERS to the editor will have a better chance of publication if they are short, written or, preferably, typed, on one side of the paper. Fáilte ar leith roimh Ghaeilge.

## Dún do bhéal

CAINT a fionnann na príosúin, a chuireann daoine i mbail, a scriosann éifeacht 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 host.

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## 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 í flaithiúil daonna.

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## Ceirníní

"WINCHESTER '73" with "The Wind that shakes the Barley" on the flip-side by the Freeman of Belfast. 55p.

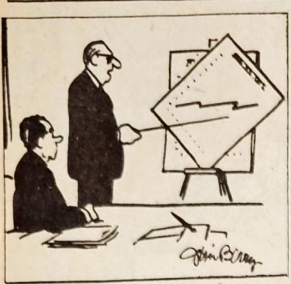
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# HUME HINTS AT ANOTHER SELL-OUT



... As you can see, the profit picture for oil companies isn't THAT bright ...

CHATTING in the bar during the recent I.T.G.W.U. conference in Bundoran, Mr. John Hume, former Minister for Commerce in the Northern Executive and special guest of the conference, disclosed his views on why "power-sharing" had failed. It seems the Executive had tried to move "too fast" for the Protestant population. This analysis of the situation came from one who, such a short time before, was vociferously declaring that there could be "no compromise with fascism", and is highly significant.

## Has the scuttle begun at last?

THE BRITISH Army has resumed its low-outline strategy in the North, one that was interrupted with extreme reluctance and embarrassment in occupying the fuel depots—and once again troops have virtually faded off the streets of central Belfast.

The 500 army and navy specialists drafted in during the "Strike" left the Six Counties within days of the strike's ending. These were followed by First Batt., The Light Infantry, and

First Batt., The Queen's Regiment, as they were expected to on the resumption of work. A surprise move, however, has been the withdrawal of 500 men of The Queen's Dragoon Guards from Derry city, particularly in view of the renewal of the campaign by Óglaigh na hÉireann in the region.

This leaves the British army, with 15,000 men, at its lowest strength in Ireland since 1972. While there are various interpretations of troops reductions—some see it as part of an overall withdrawal, others as a gesture to the growing "troops-out" lobby—it is more likely a response to N.A.T.O. allies' complaints about Britain's continuous watching on her "continental" commitment.

N.A.T.O. chiefs lately have been expressing "fears" of an increased military build-up in Eastern Europe which, whether genuine or not, is being used publicly to pressurise Britain back into line.

As troops become thinner on the ground in the North they are increasingly making their presence felt at home in Britain.

Our picture below shows soldiers of the Black Watch Regiment doing their "Ulster thing" in a quiet English neighbourhood, Willett Road, Colchester, Essex, and this just a few days after promising to desist from further provocative exercises.

The British spokesman's explanation: "It appears these men have unwittingly strayed off garrison land. All I can say is that they are new in the area."

The S.D.L.P. discredited itself because it traded certain fundamental political principles for limited social gains, and these, in their turn, for personal survival in power. Behind the present panic, when Devlin, Currie, Fitt and Co. frantically searched for the discarded mantle of principle, it can be seen from Hume's words that the leadership of the party sees its future chance of power lying with the policy of further concessions to hard-core Unionism.

There is, however, a split in the ranks over the issue for, at grass-roots level, there is now a serious questioning of the hitherto accepted role of the party as a conventional, middle-class interest group, with the required gestures towards reunification and interment.

There was a bitter row within the party recently when a number of back-bench M.P.s were found to be amongst the signatories to an open letter to the British government, calling on it to declare its intention of withdrawal from Ireland, together with other prominent public figures from North and South of the Border.

What outsiders might dismiss as a rather trivial matter of party discipline is, in fact, a matter of crucial importance for the future of the country as a whole, which is why the party leaders move swiftly and ruthlessly to suppress this "deviation".

### Unsympathetic Dublin

For the call on Britain to declare her intention of withdrawal implies a rejection of the Six-Counties gerrymander as a viable sphere of political action and consequently is the most serious threat to the leadership's concept of the S.D.L.P.'s role in the Mark Three Stormont.

Nor has the most recent trek by the leaders to Dublin helped matters. For the unmistakable message filtering back to the grass-roots in the North was "You are on your own from now on—it was nice knowing you", a message which will only deepen the division in the party.

There is, of course, much bad feeling over the party's failure to deliver on the Council of Ireland, on interment and on social matters. Can the leadership nip

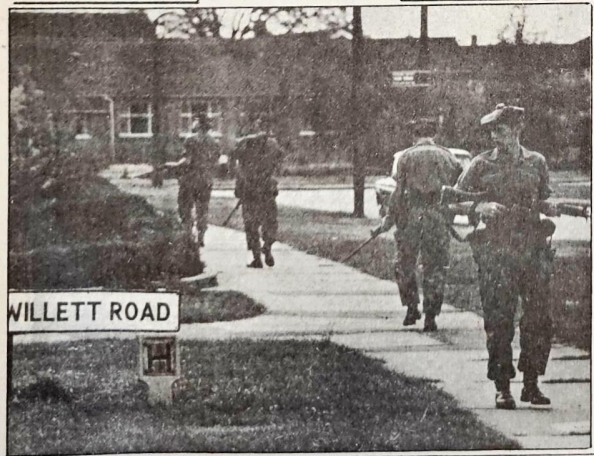
## Furore explained

WESTMINSTER furore at the wearing of uniforms by the guard of honour which accompanied the remains of Michael Gaughan over the British streets was nothing more than a deliberate attempt by England to smokecreen the reality of their guilt regarding the death of the martyr, according to a statement by Malachy Foots, P.R.O., Ulster Executive, Sinn Féin.

Their condemnation of Óglaigh na hÉireann and the calling for sterner measures was nothing more than a timely manoeuvre to try to shift attention of the world media from the circumstances surrounding Gaughan's death in Parkhurst to the more simpler affair of wearing uniforms, he adds.

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## March to home of Jenkins

REPUBLICANS have been very active in London in recent weeks, agitating tirelessly on behalf of the hunger strikers, whose simple demands have fallen on the deaf ears of the British Government.

Countless marches, public meetings and petitions have been organised to enlighten British public opinion.

Our photos show a recent protest march to the home of Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. Left: the parade leaves Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, and carries the message: "Send the Hunger Strikers Home."

The march, under the auspices of the Irish Political Hostages Committee, displayed the banners of Sinn Féin, People's Democracy, Irish Civil Rights Association and other groups. In the left foreground our picture shows London Metropolitan Police Deputy Commissioner, James Starnitt, who headed the recent police inquiry which white-washed the Special Branch in connection with the Lennon affair.

Maureen Maguire of I.P.H.C. giving an impromptu press conference outside Home Secretary Jenkins's house. Pictures: courtesy Cumann Wolfe Tone, London.

### Débe

Ar lean, 6 Ich, 2  
Iain, Léitear Ó Conghaile agus Ó Leabhbhair. Agus déantar dá réir.

Dá ndéarfainn a thuilleadh, bheadh Débe os comhair na cúirte i nGreen Street, Ach tuigean Tadhg Taidhín.

### Nuaiocht

Ar lean, 6 Ich, 3

About 400 took part and a protest was lodged at the Strabane R.U.C. station. A short meeting was held outside the barricade in front of the station.

A leaflet was distributed stating that during the search at Mr. Flanagan's premises troops "tore the clothes off innocent people's backs, trailed young people and adults over barbed wire and threw them into vehicles in which they were brought to Sion Mills."

the crisis in the bud or will they be embarrassed by some rebel M.P. in an autumn election jettisoning the party line on concessions to Unionism in favour of a demand on Britain for a declaration of intent as their election slogan?

And if, say, Frank MacManus and Bernadette McAliskey were to stand again with the same demand?

And suppose Republicans throughout the North were to go before the people on this one simple issue, can there be any doubt what would be the fate of Hume, Fitt, Currie and Company?

## Torturing has been resumed

AS THE torture hearings against the British army resumed at Stravangar Norway, despite increasing British and Unionist diplomatic pressure on the Dublin government to withdraw charges for the sake of "good-will", it came to light last week that many of the techniques which had aroused public opinion were still being employed in the North.

British interrogators appears to be particularly reluctant to forego disorientation as a means of psychological torture.

Recently, in connection with recent N.I.F. military activity in the south-Down area, a number of people were taken into custody.

They were hooded, punched and kicked while under interrogation. These happenings were documented and published in the daily newspapers by N.I.C.R.A.

Previous to this, at the height of the Loyalist strike, in fact, British troops took savage and unprovoked action against nationalists in the Fermanagh area.

In what appears to have been an attempt to spark off a confrontation with Óglaigh na hÉireann, to divert the Loyalists from their rebellion, the Brits picked up a number of citizens at gunpoint from their places of work.

They were bundled into Saracens and taken to an unknown interrogation centre where they were hooded and questioned for long periods (one man for as long as 12 hours) before being dumped on the streets again from moving Saracens.

No obvious lines of questioning were followed and the men regarded the whole business as an

## North abandoned again

Ó Ich, a haon

While the local elections and the Gaughan funeral have given the Special Branch great opportunities for excelling their humdrum day-to-day harassment of political opponents to the establishment, it is now known that they are preparing for an imminent "security offensive".

The secret meeting of middle ranks of the political police, chaired by Deputy Commissioner Fitzpatrick ("The Irish Times", June 12) was called to disclose an outline of the new strategy. Apart from "co-ordination of resources" instructions were issued on the compilation and checking of a comprehensive list of "subversives" in all areas.

In line with the new counter-insurgency-within-the-state approach the forces of repression are directed at one section of the population only. Thus the police, who are in possession of detailed descriptions of the car-bomber responsible for the South Leinster Street explosion (supplied by a Garda on the beat who saw him try to park in Grafton Street first) and of the two men who drove the Talbot Street car (description supplied by the mother of a Garda, who noticed them acting suspiciously and wrote down particulars) have suppressed the information so as not to divert their energies or public attention from Republicans.

While Mr. Donegan would be quite happy to implement a policy of interment Mr. Cooney is satisfied to intensify the existing approach so long as militant Republicans continue to identify themselves (and, he hopes, isolate themselves) by non-recognition of 26 Counties courts, marching in parades and the like.