

An Phoblacht

Iml. 5. Uimh. 39 6p Mean Fomhair 27, 1974.



"Together for Britain"

COSGRAVE DEAL WITH FAULKNER?

WHEN Cockroach Cooney, towards the end of last week, made his plea for full independence of the 26 Counties, in a plebiscite, to throw out articles two and three of the state's 1937 constitution, he was preparing his party for a full merger with the Faulkner Unionists and returning to the old Cumann na nGaedheal position of the 1924 Boundary Commission, when the Dublin regime recognised Britain's right to rule the Six Counties.

But Cooney was not making his plea on his own bat: he was primed by Conor Cruise O'Brien and Garret Fitzgerald and had permission from Liam Cosgrave to open his mouth. The original idea came from London, during the recent visit. Would the Dublin regime at least try it out?

Like so many other "initiatives", the Cooney waffle distracts attention from more embarrassing matters, steals the headlines, and puts those other embarrassing matters into smaller print and, hopefully, off page one. But it also gave Cosgrave a chance to manoeuvre for a position long dear to his heart, the heading of the united Unionist Party of Ireland.

What were the embarrassing items worrying the British propaganda experts? The military's murder of a Strasbourg torture-case witness. The unity between Republicans and Loyalists displayed in the three-week long campaign to destroy internment without trial and to improve conditions for inmates, particularly food, while the system is being dismantled. One good long push and internment can be pushed aside, given continued unity by Loyalists and Republicans.

Of course, the Cooney outburst also helps to distract attention from the steadily increasing cost of living, now being accentuated by government action in increasing telephone and postal charges, as well as by the rise in unemployment, the

harvest disaster, the cattle crisis, and the extinction threat facing the small farmer.

Cooney's clanger must do damage to the Fine Gael Party as well as to the Coalition in general. For now the seal has been put on the policy of collaboration with the enemy in the occupation of Ireland and now that collaboration may be understood even more clearly against the Cooney proposal that all Irish claims to the six north-eastern counties of the nine-counties province of Ulster be abandoned. There goes subversion and treason at its most impudent enacted by the Gilbertine creature entrusted with "law and order" in the Dublin state.

Cooney's statement is only the tip of the iceberg, as it were, for the rest of the iceberg is the callous determination of the Dublin administration to abandon the nationally minded people of the north-east to their fate rather than say or do anything which might risk the conflict spilling over once again into the 26 Counties. The SAS has done its job of intimidation well.

Cooney has shown what he and his fellow ministers think of any possible "Irish dimension" in the Six Counties. The only possible solution, in their view, is complete surrender. How much longer can they last in power?

Chart topper banned

CONOR Cruise O'Brien and the Dublin administration have become the laughing stock of Europe with the order to RTE to ban the top of the pops disc, "Nineteen Men," produced by Release Records, Dublin, and relating, in traditional ballad form, the escape of the Republican prisoners from Portlaoise Prison. The ballad is sung by Dermot Hegarty. The disc, selling at 60p., is available from most music shops in Ireland and also from the Crafts Centre, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath.

The fact that the disc reached the number one position in Ireland's top selling records — and held it — worried the politicians. It was further confirmation that the Portlaoise jail-break had had stirred the nation. It would be even more embarrassing if RTE were to help publicise the ballad tribute: for one thing, the British Ambassador would be bound to complain. So Conor decided to risk further jibes from his former Liberal friends and enemies of censorship and ordered that "Nineteen Men" should not be heard.

There was talk for a while of having the record declared a "seditious document" but, in the event, an element of common sense prevailed and the Special Branch was told not to pounce.

The RTE Information Officer, Mr. Louis McRedmond, explained away the banning and the censorship by saying the record was "not considered suitable for broadcasting," the usual cliché formula in such cases. When a record was so considered it would not be played. Q.E.D.

**Sinn
Féin**

ARD FHEIS

Mansion House, Dublin, September 28 and 29

SINN FÉIN COURTS RETURN

THE Sinn Féin courts of the 1920's have come into being again because of growing popular demand in the Nationalist areas of Belfast, and last June the Republican authorities could no longer turn deaf ears to the people's request.

Since then, more than 1,000 people have been "dealt with" by the courts, and recently an estimate made by one of the Sinn Féin judges put the outstanding cases at more than 30.

He explained that the demand for the Sinn Féin courts arose, primarily, because of the people's distrust of "establishment" justice and also because they could not afford through the present legal system to "buy" the justice when was their right.

The majority of the cases we try involve acts of vandalism and hooliganism. On conviction, the punishments awarded are corrective," he said.

Pensioners

The Judge explained that the type of punishment was meant not to "destroy" in any social sense the young hooligan or vandal, but to show him a better way of life through service to the community.

Typical sentences handed out

by the courts include compulsory visits to old age pensioners and lonely people, cleaning up pensioners' houses or gardens, supervising outdoor recreations for the young, helping with "meals on wheels" or stewarding at social and religious festival occasions.

For the more serious types of crime, he explained, the "courts" do not award punishments. The procedure for such types of crime as theft, assault causing grievous bodily harm and burglary are passed on.

Deportation

He said: "We do not have the power to award punishments and those who are carried out, but the military wing has and can ensure that punishments are carried out."

"Among the lesser of the punishments awarded for the more serious crimes is the deportation or exiling of an offender from the country for periods from six months upwards.

"A defendant is entitled to call all the witnesses he wishes and is also entitled to be legally represented by a solicitor, junior or senior counsel, and this has happened," he added.

The courts consist of three persons, and judgments are arrived at on a vote. Full records are kept by court clerks and stenographers and the archives of such trials are guarded with top security and are as mobile in their movements from place to place as are the courts themselves.

Strabane condemns harassment

THE Thomas Ashe Cumann, Strabane, has, in a statement condemned the continuing harassment by the British occupation forces of young schoolboys coming and going from school across the Strabane-Lifford Bridge, where troops maintain a permanent checkpoint.

Members of the Cumann wish to express their gratitude to the people of the Ballycolman estate for their generosity to An Cumann.



Another arrest...

Together against internment — BRUTALITY OF TROOPS EXPOSED

The struggle against the concentration camp conditions prevailing in Long Kesh has intensified as a new unity of purpose emerged within the camp itself between both Loyalist and Republican prisoners and on the streets of Belfast, between both communities.

And the I.R.A. in a statement issued at the weekend, asserted that unless the dispute is cleared up immediately, to the satisfaction of the prisoners, they would have no option but "to strike at those responsible for maintaining the situation".

"We must protect the prisoners' interests and the interests of their very many dependents", the statement said.

Other developments in the upsurge over food and conditions are:

- All visiting at the Maze banned after a new outbreak of protests outside the prison.
- More traffic chaos as Republican and Loyalist demonstrators again blocked main roads in Belfast in support of the prisoners.

Outrage

The strongly-worded statement from the Belfast Brigade referred to the Long Kesh situation as "an outrage perpetrated on the prisoners". The statement said this was "indicative of the callous, inhuman attitude of the governor, Robert Truesdale, and the sheer incompetence of the Northern Ireland Office in its handling of the needs and desires of the political hostages behind the wire."

The Brigade demanded the closure of Long Kesh, once and for all. But regardless of that, Mr. Truesdale must go.

The I.R.A. said: "He has waged a consistent war against the prisoners since he 'inherited' his job after the riot in Cage Two in October, 1971."

"We call on the prison wardens in Long Kesh to come out on strike—to leave Truesdale and the British Army holding the can—in the face of the massive support

for the prisoners from all sections of the community."

The "jet Truesdale out" proposal was also made by Loyalist Assemblyman for West Belfast, Mr. Hugh Smith, who claimed that the Governor refused to accept any suggestion that there was anything wrong with his prison.

There were angry scenes at the Maze yesterday when Republican and Loyalist women showed their displeasure and disappointment about not being admitted to deliver food parcels.

The women said the visits were suspended because, it was reported, prison officers refused to escort prisoners to the waiting rooms due to the accumulation of rotting food.

The food has been thrown over the compound wall by prisoners for the past few days as a protest against the poor quality.

Allowed in

Two of the women protesters were eventually allowed inside the prison yesterday to see an official. But a short time later they were escorted out by police.

They alleged they were kicked by police.

After the prison demonstration, the dispute spread to the streets of Belfast to grip the evening rush hour traffic.

At one stage, police reported about 40 barricades, which remained in place for about two hours.

Spokesmen for both groups who organised the traffic hold-ups, said that their protests would last for longer periods if conditions at the Maze were not improved.

The unity of purpose between Loyalists and Republicans in the protest is seen as "unprecedented."

In the Falls district, women relatives of prisoners marched down the road and filtered through military units at Chapel Lane to the city centre. Later, many returned to seal off the Falls at the corner of Albert Street and Cumberland Street. Delayed traffic stretched for about a mile.

In Belfast Mr. Malachy Foots, spokesman for the Ulster Executive of Sinn Féin, said they were demanding an immediate resumption of food parcels to the prisoners and the proper preparation of food.

'Grotesque'

Mr. Foots also complained that Long Kesh was being run as a concentration camp.

A spokesman for the Emmet-Legion of Fen Cumann in the St. James' area of Belfast said that, for a long time, leaders of the two working class communities had been finding common ground and that this was now true.

If the British got out of the North, the main cause of the division between communities would be removed.

Visitors attacked

Two members of the Long Kesh Board of Visitors, who revealed that they were arrested, abused and manhandled by British Troops and R.U.C. Special Branch men when they decided to become "willing internees" and stay overnight in the camp to experience conditions at first hand.

Mr. Michael Durey, a community councillor on Derry District Council, and Mr. Colm Cavanagh, a Derry solicitor, were released after being questioned by detectives on Thursday.

Mr. Durey — who was appointed



Recent visitors to our offices were the well-known Belfast Republicans, Billy McKee (right) and Prouinsias Mac Airt (left) who were recently released from the Long Kesh Concentration Camp. Pictured with them is former Long Kesh colleague Seán Ó Cianoin, now manager of An Phoblacht.

Same cause, same methods, same aims

The shooting last week of political court judges Conaghan and McBirney was widely condemned by the establishment political and church leaders in the North, the Free State and England.

Dún do bheál

Don't discuss what should be left unsaid in the interests of security. Remember there's a war on. Bid it thost.

Full publicity use was made of the circumstances surrounding Judge Conaghan's death but as yet no attempt has been made to see North a war between the British Occupation Forces and the Irish freedom fighters. British soldiers who are killed are not killed because they are British soldiers but rather because they are part of the British occupation of part of Ireland. But an occupation to be effective must have more than a military presence — the latter must be backed up by an occupation police force — the R.U.C., and judiciary — of which judges Conaghan and McBirney were part.

And make no mistake, it was because they were part of the British Occupation machine and therefore enemies of the Irish people that last week's events occurred.

But in terms of contemporary history, why have those who were so ready and willing to unequivocally condemn and express horror at these killings never been so unequivocal or horrified in their condemnations of the killings of hundreds of Irish people mowed down by the British Occupation forces during the last four years. Mr. Rees has said that "the murderers" should not be afforded sanctuary. But who is still giving sanctuary to the murderers of the 14 innocent civilians shot down by his troops on Bloody Sunday? Who affords sanctuary to those who shot down Harry Thornton in 1971 — or 13 year old Kevin Healey in 1972 — or Patrick McIlhenny this year?

In March 1920 an I.R.A. execution squad took Resident Magistrate Alan Bell off a tram in Ballsbridge, Dublin and shot him in the street. Bell — who was an elderly man — was involved in a conspiracy attempt to discover the bank accounts used by Sinn Féin. The Irish Times (March 27, 1920) carried the following headline:

"Another shocking crime in Dublin" and the report included the following excerpts:

"Mr. Alan Bell, Resident Magistrate, was murdered yesterday while driving in a tramcar from his home at Monkstown to his office... by a gang of armed men."

"The news of the tragic death of her husband was broken to Mrs. Bell at her residence by Lady Taylor..."

When the news of the awful affair became known in the city there were innumerable expressions

of sympathy with the stricken widow."

Now compare the above to the funeral of murdered magistrate" and this report (17-9-1974) "News of the deaths of the two men was greeted with universal and immediate horror... the most appalling in the long catalogue of Northern Ireland atrocities."

In 1920 the Irish Times reported that Magistrate Bell had "crowned a life of devotional service to Ireland by a noble death fighting in the cause of his country" (Lord Leitenant's telegram of sympathy). Last week, Judge Conaghan was the judge who restored the faith of the minority in the judicial process in the North."

On both occasions, that paper went to great lengths to emphasize the youth of the "murderers" and on both occasions denied coverage to any other point of view on the killings.

We know where the Irish Times stood during the Tan war and we know where it stands today. The same applies to the Irish Independent — now incorporating the Freeman's Journal, which would seem at least to have the virtue of consistency. But they and the well heeled politicians and affluent churchmen who condemned the shootings last week would not dare now to contrast the situations of 1920 and 1974.

Instead they refer hypocritically to the "patriots" of 1920 but to the "murders" of 1974. They cannot afford to be consistent because such consistency would involve admitting the fact that the I.R.A. today is the same organisation with the same aims and the same methods of the I.R.A. fifty years ago.

And finally, does the emphasis placed by the Irish Times and Co. on the fact that Judge Conaghan was a Catholic indicate that despite all their liberal inclinations their outlook is a basically sectarian one? It does not indicate that despite all their condemnations of sectarianism, it is a permissible weapon when used against Republicans. The religious beliefs of either of the two men did not enter into the I.R.A.'s action — the only reason and the only justification by the I.R.A. of the shootings was the political role of both men in the British murder machine. So who are the sectarians now?

DURING the immediate months following our entry into the E.E.C., agriculture in the south never seemed to have it so good. Yet the warning signs of an impending crisis were very visible. In recent weeks, the bubble has burst but yet neither the real nature of the crisis or the measures which must be taken if full disaster is to be averted are appreciated by the Irish people — be they involved in agriculture or not.

The present crisis in the Irish cattle industry is primarily a crisis for the small farmers but it is one which must eventually effect almost all sections of the population. It is estimated that the blunders in the cattle industry of the past five years will cost the country some £400 millions. Such a loss must have repercussion throughout the entire Irish economy — producers not directly involved in agriculture will be effected by higher costs and less employment, the consumer will have to pay higher prices and the public at large will suffer an even higher level of taxation than currently exists.

INCREASED OUTPUT

The crisis can be explained by the great increases in the output of young cattle in this country during the past few years. Cattle numbers increased more during the past decade than during the preceding century cow numbers, which remained virtually unchanged for 140 years prior to 1960 have since almost doubled. But these increases in cattle output have not been matched by a similar increase in either export facilities or supplies of fodder. Indeed, government policy has been to restrict exports and fodder supplies have actually decreased substantially in proportion to livestock numbers — from 2.354 acres per grazing livestock unit in 1970 to an estimated 2.001 acres this year.

BUT NO OUTLET

In practise, having been greatly encouraged to expand cattle output, small farmers are now finding that they cannot sell their increased numbers of young cattle even at prices much less than half of last year's level. There is every likelihood that hundreds of thousands of young cattle belonging to small farmers will starve to death during the coming winter. Large farmers, on the other hand, are profiting from this situation. Whereas in 1973, a large farmer bought animals per 10 cwt. for £100 from a small producer, fattened it and then sold it for £179, this year he can purchase at as little as £27 per 10 cwt. and sell at £157 (C.V.F. statistics) — which obviously represents a much greater profit margin.

The plight of the small farmers is made much graver by the great increase in their indebtedness to banks, the A.C.C. and hire purchase companies, which they were encouraged to do so. And in overall terms, the excessively rapid increase in stock numbers was at first sustained by using up various fodder reserves. These have now been exhausted and the cattle industry faces the coming winter with 7½ million cattle but fodder supplies adequate for only 5 million head.

That such a situation could evolve seems incredible in what is supposed to be an era of advanced economic planning. But is the present crisis the result of ineptitude or was it deliberately allowed to happen? To find the answer to this, we must first examine the precise factors involved in the crisis and discover where the responsibility lies. Only then can we attempt an evaluation of the behaviour of those involved.

WHO'S TO BLAME

The I.F.A. and I.C.M.S.A. are today raising a lot of dust and making a lot of noise about the crisis. And yet, primary responsibility for the present disaster rests on these two main farming organisations and on the banking system. Agricultural developments since 1968 have been largely dictated by such men as T.J. Maher who solely represent the interests of the large farmers. The E.E.C. beef intervention scheme has guaranteed high prices for the fat cattle which large farmers produce. The expansion of young cattle supplies six times more rapidly than the demand for these has provided the large farmer buyers of these with an

SMALL FARMER'S FACE R

abundant supply at prices lower than at any time during the past decade.

Between 1972 and 1974 the banks doubled their profits from £20 millions to £40 millions and the main factor in enabling them to do this was the increase in farm indebtedness to the banks from £123 millions to £230 millions in the same period. Taken individually, such loans may seem beneficial but in economic terms, the law of the composition of error means that what is good for the individual farmer can be bad for the agricultural community as a whole. The Central Bank of Ireland was guilty of gross negligence in its function as the national economic watchdog in failing to intervene once this trend became visible. The commercial banks and the A.C.C. abused their power in granting credit to the extent they did without taking into consideration the inevitable consequences of increased cattle output in the context of E.E.C. and Leinster House agricultural policies.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

The Department of Finance must be taken to task for its failure to perceive obvious consequences of an annual 6% increase in cattle numbers, while the underlying capacity to carry cattle was increasing at 1% or less annually. It must also be blamed for not intervening when the Central Bank did not fulfill its responsibility of requiring the commercial banks, the A.C.C. and the hire purchase companies to use their credit creating powers in a way consistent with the welfare of not only the agricultural community but the Irish people as a whole.

Another 26 county government department bears even more of the responsibility for the present crisis — the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. This Department has consistently followed policies which have been highly inimical to the interests of the small farmer producers of young cattle. Despite the clear lesson of the 1966/67 crisis, brought about by the Department for the past five years has energetically pursued a policy of increasing the numbers of young cattle produced while depressing the demand for these. In 1972, 19,000 Irish cattle were exported per week whereas for the week ending 17 August 1974, the figure was only 16,000. But while the small farmer has to sell at huge losses, his larger counterpart is able to buy young cattle cheap and sell at a massive profit level. Government policy would appear therefore to be directed towards benefiting large farmers at the expense of the small farmers. Of course, Mr. Clinton can hardly be said to represent the interests of the small farmers. His recent subsidy scheme which on cattle slaughtered rises from £9 per head in August to £32 per head in February — and which will cost Irish taxpayers £6 millions — is designed to encourage large farmers to retain fat cattle through the winter. (Off farm sales of prime cattle for the first seven months of 1974 were 68 per 1,000 head of cattle stocks compared to 89 per 1,000 head in the same period in 1972). In a situation where probably 30% of the national herd will starve this winter a policy geared towards fattening a small number of animals as opposed to starving the maximum number and of restricting instead of encouraging exports is suicidal for the national economy but in the short term, at any rate, beneficial to the large farmers — the backbone of Fine Gael.

THE E.E.C. FACTOR

The role of the E.E.C. itself in this crisis is difficult to evaluate. The disaster must be



← The recent I.F.A. protest in Limerick — will Maher again succeed in using the small farmers to achieve his own ends? →

At the National Land League press conference to mark the publication of a report by Mr. Raymond Crotty, on the crisis facing the small cattle producer. From left: Mr. John C. O'Mahony (vice-president, N.L.L.), Mr. Dan McCarthy (president N.L.L.), Mr. Crotty, and Mr. G. Coyle.

by GERRY O'DANACHAIR

FARMERS IN RUIN

attributed to the policies we have outlined rather than directly to our entry into the E.E.C. On the other hand, E.E.C. membership facilitated such policies by providing Mr. Clinton and Co. with an extra-national dimension with which to shrug off the responsibility. "My hands are tied my Brussels", said Mr. Clinton to the National Land League in 1973 when he refused to take the steps they considered necessary to avert the crisis. But he was not being completely honest. Under the terms of the Treaty of Rome, his hands were tied — and still are but so are the hands of every other agriculture minister. It has not prevented them doing as they considered best for their own national economies. So once again, the Irish people suffer because the Dublin government does as it is told — be it by Brussels or by London.

REMEDIES

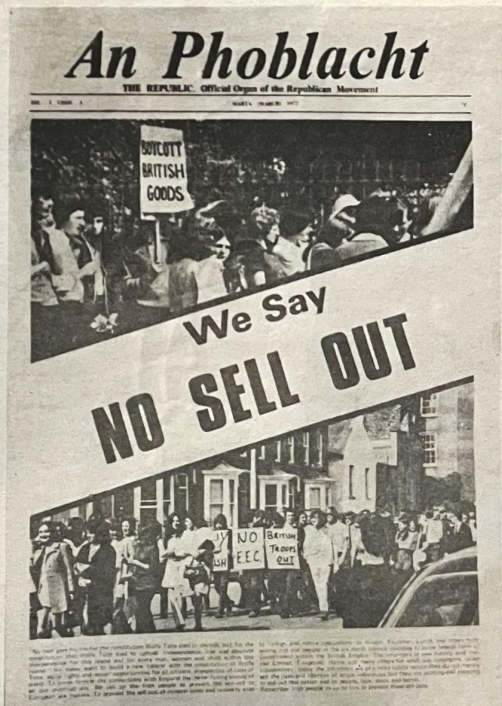
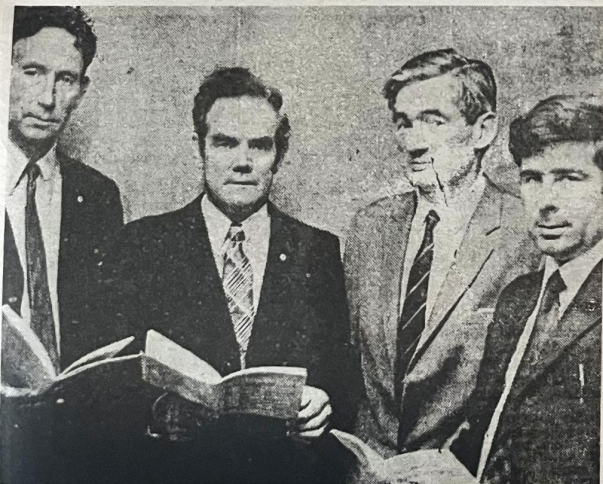
In his new book "The Cattle Crisis and the Small Farmer" (published by the National Land League, 30p) Raymond Crotty details the background to the present crisis and courageously affixes the responsibility where it must lie. But Mr. Crotty — interested as he is in people rather than in historical statistics — outlines the steps he considers must be taken to retrieve as much of the situation as we can and prevent it re-occurring. Basically, he calls for an agricultural policy of storing rather than fattening cattle this winter and increased exports. He believes that the debts incurred by the small farmers to the banks may have been unwisely contracted and were certainly morally wrong. From both economic and legal standpoints, he feels that these should be slashed. From specifically the small farmer's standpoint, Mr. Crotty advocates increased political awareness, withdrawal from the large farmers' organisations and a greater level of involvement in public life and on state or semi-state bodies.

ACTION — NOT TALK

Mr. Crotty's book is well documented and deserves careful consideration not only by the agricultural community but by our people as a whole. Economically, it can only be described as excellent. Politically, however, one might feel that while Mr. Crotty points out the governments failings and the benefits accruing to large farmers because of their policies, he does not link the two and draw the logical conclusion that the Leinster House government's agricultural policies have always and deliberately benefited the large at the expense of the small farmers. Neither does the National Land League (if one is to judge by their recent press conference in Dublin to launch Mr. Crotty's book) fully appreciate the real danger of the small farmers being used once again by such as T.J. Maher to advance not theirs but the latter's economic interests. Unless the National Land League is prepared to provide a viable leadership alternative to the I.F.A. and the I.C.M.S.A. and to work with such organisations as Sinn Féin, who like the N.L.L. opposed our E.E.C. entry and has as its primary concern in agricultural policy, the improvement of the lot of the small farmer, it will not win the support of the small farmers. And only as militant a policy as that of the large farmers, will force the government to act in the interests of the smaller producers.



OUR ATTITUDE then and now



IRISH POLITICS IN BRITAIN

I SEE that the Irish Civil Rights Association of Britain is putting up 13 to 20 candidates in the British general election. It seems that all of them will be standing in England — there has been no mention of any plans for Wales or Scotland.

The main election policy of ICRA consists of three points:

- (1) The release of all internees and a general amnesty for political prisoners.
- (2) A commitment from Britain to the idea of a United Ireland.
- (3) A phased withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland.

These three points are a direct appeal to the Irish voter in England. But Mr. Jim Curran, chairman of ICRA, says that they expect "sympathy and support from other immigrant groups". Moreover, "in view of the fact that our policies, if adopted, would save the British taxpayer £700 million a year, we expect support from the electorate in general".

Apart from advocating their three main aims, and pushing that supporting argument about the £700 million, ICRA candidates will be campaigning on "local issues", which, in some instances, will certainly include matters affecting other immigrants.

I don't know precisely how that figure of £700 million was arrived at, but it does indicate that ICRA have ruled out in advance any Irish settlement based on a continuing British subsidy to Ulster or to part of Ulster. So be it. I merely note the fact.

I am totally opposed to the idea now prevalent in Dublin's ruling circles that "the Irish must throw their weight around". I think the Irish must throw their weight around in Ireland, America, Western Europe, that is, in the world.

That space is a self-determining Ireland controlling its interdependent relationships with the political and economic powers around it. The first step in this direction is an Ireland liberated from the political, economic and mental domination of London.

Obviously, the Irish in England, Scotland and Wales can help to achieve this by organising themselves into a political force and by using that force to break London's domination of Ireland. And this is precisely what ICRA is setting out to do.

How can it best be done? Let me put the following considerations to ICRA and to all those Irish in Britain who want to break London's domination of Ireland.

An Irish political movement in Britain can best succeed in achieving this aim by doing two things: (1) by winning large support from the non-Irish population of Britain; (2) by directing its efforts to reducing the power of London in Britain.

Clearly, it can win some non-Irish support by giving leadership to the coloured immigrants on issues affecting them. But the way to achieve really large non-Irish support, while at the same time serving the cause of Irish liberation most effectively, is by reinforcing, leading and helping to lead all those forces in Scotland, Wales and England which want to reduce the power of London. In plain language, by allying itself with Scottish and Welsh nationalism and by leading English regionalism.

The London government has recently committed itself to elected assemblies for Scotland and Wales and for the English regions. The way to strength and influence for the Irish political movement in Britain, and the way in which it will

best serve Ireland's interests, is by pressing for the maximum devolution of power from London to these national and regional assemblies, and the creation of a Federal Britain.

This course of action would place the Irish political movement right in the centre of Scottish, Welsh and English politics, and make large segments of the Scottish, Welsh and English populations into potential supporters. At the same time, as it succeeded, it would help to disempower London, thus rendering England less able, and ultimately unable, to dominate Ireland.

When we say "London", in the political sense, we mean the political power, buttressed by economic and mass media power, which has been concentrated through the centuries in the London region or the English Southeast. This is the power which, because of its size and the relative weakness of Ireland, dominates Ireland, politically, economically and mentally.

Power is the capacity to influence the decisions of others in a desired direction. Reduce that capacity and you reduce both the power and the possible range of its domination.

If London's power did not exist at all, Ireland would not be dominated by it. There would be no English troops or government in Ulster. Dublin would not be politically subservient to London, nor the Irish economy controlled by London finance.

Equally, if the power of London were considerably less than it is — if it were considerably reduced — Ireland would not be dominated by it.

Of course, London's capacity to dominate political and economic decisions in Ireland, and its capacity to bend Irish minds to its way of thinking, could be reduced by a strengthening of Irish mind and will and of the Irish economy. But this strengthening would only go a certain distance towards reducing London's domination; and anyhow this part of Irish liberation can be accomplished only by the Irish in Ireland.

We are talking about the other part, and probably the decisive part, of Irish liberation: the Irish in Britain.

The power of London has not come about by accident, nor has it been derived, for the most part, from London itself and the English Southeast. The greater part of it has been taken, over the centuries, from the other regions of England, from Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

The principal instrument used in this transfer of power to London was the English state, and this is the principal force which holds all this power in London now. So we can say that the power of London is, in large part, the political impotence of the other English regions, of Wales and Scotland.

Put political power back in those regions, and in Scotland and Wales take from London and put it there, and you render London unable to dominate Ireland. It is as simple as that.

Am I saying that the best way for Irish Republicans to serve Irish liberation in Britain is by becoming Welsh and Scottish nationalists and English regionalists? Yes. And I am saying that this is the royal road to success and influence for an Irish political movement in Britain.

I am not asking ICRA's political strategists to abandon or suppress the three basic aims which they have stated. I am suggesting that they ask themselves what broader political aims, added to their programme, would enable them to achieve those three basic aims and to serve the cause of Irish liberation in a continuing and progressive manner.

For a start, I think it would be well worth their while to open the Kilbrandon Report at p.62 and read what it says there and in the following pages about English regionalism and the English regions. And there are a lot of other things in this Report worthy of their attention.

They might also glance at a letter from a Wessex regionalist in the "Cornish Nation" for Methven 1974 (I don't know Cornish, but Methven just might mean June). And there is a book called "Federal England" whose author I can't remember now, but I'm sure they could find it.

Election witch hunt to wreck Irish vote

ALREADY British Secret Service agents are preparing to discredit Irish Civil Rights candidates who will contest marginally held Labour seats in the forthcoming British General Election in a bid to shake the indifference of pipe-sucking Harold Wilson on the Irish question.

Dossiers on each candidate are being drawn up. The questions being asked of employers and political and personal enemies would do credit to Watergate. Does he (The candidate) ever drink to excess? Has he had any recent affairs? (Shades of the scurrilous campaign against Parnell). Has he been involved in organising strikes or other industrial action? (Don't mind that such activities are legal and that Labour traditionally champions trade union liberties).

Has the candidate ever shown himself to be impetuous or in financial straits? (Sometimes this is easy to answer "Yes" in a dying English economy whose experts freely predict two million unemployed by the end of 1975).

Tucked away in the questionnaire is the inevitable. Has the candidate any association with people involved in the Northern Ireland troubles? (Considering 60,000 have been uprooted from Greater Belfast homes alone, and nearly 2,000 are in jail there or detained without trial, quite apart from the refugee problem in the South, its 170 political prisoners, and those incarcerated in English prisons. There are heavy odds that the answer again will be "Yes" in many cases).



"Pipesucking Harold Wilson"

ICRA candidates in London are already aware that some sort of witch-hunt is afoot. But a source in the ranks of high Tories — in a word of power, and Harold Wilson, having resigned himself to this legalised subversion of the present government, has at last decided to allow its agents to be used for his own political advantage.

To unbelievers voices in the art of political graft, attention is drawn to the case of an Anti-Partition candidate in Lancashire in the forties. He had no chance of taking the Labour seat, but because he was highly respected by the exiled Irish community, political police were told: blacken his name.

The man was "trailed" everywhere too and from his Rochdale home. Police discovered he was a teetotal diabetic with no sordid sexual connections: a bachelor devoted to his aged parents.

But two nights before nominations officially closed, and after an exhaustingly long meeting with faithful supporters, a spy who had infiltrated the group by offering cash help towards election literature, lured the unwitting candidate into a public house for a "soft drink". By arrangement, it was drugged.

Alcohol was splashed around the face of the semi-comatose candidate, he was "helped" into a dark lane, where a notorious freelance photographer of pornography and a well-known Manchester homosexual were waiting with plain clothes police to create "a compromising position".

His agent and others received the photographs next day. Despite protests from the politically wise, pious supporters deserted in bulk. The candidate's nomination was withdrawn, and the seat went to Labour by default.

By a supreme irony, the victorious M.P. was later to lobby on the side of homosexuality between consenting adults. Before an interested Irish lawyer, none other than the "Pope" O'Mahony, could muster sufficient evidence about the frame-up, the bewildered and very sick candidate's diabetic reaction to the planted drugs had endangered his life. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment for alleged sexual offences in public and, if memory serves me, he was castigated by the judge for attempted assault on his persecutors.

Cosgrave surrenders to terror team

That pre-election jaunt to London in which Billy Cosgrave bleated his continuing faith in the British administration of a power-sharing assembly, would be funny except for the tragic implications

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

le TRAOLACH

for the besieged Northerners that he has once again acquiesced in face of British military terror tactics.

These have become all the more noticeable since a puzzled Merlyn Keefe, faced by an alliance between the Generals — Tories almost to a man — and revolting Loyalist voters, surrendered to the junta that still favours a military solution backed by industrial anarchy.

The military mutiny of high-rankers was in the same tradition as the Curragh officers' revolt in 1914 when the democratic decision to accede Home Rule to Ireland by the British commoner, was contemptuously opposed by threats of force, and the mutineers won.

With Cosgrave and company desperately clinging to the outworn hope that a post-election British Government will keep at least one of its promises, Wilson stuck the boot in by saying, soon after the London talks, that Labour and the Tories wouldn't make Ireland an election issue, and that a bi-partisan British policy on the north now existed between the two main parties.

Cosgrave hadn't a chance from the start, since it is an open secret that in the glow of the "relaxed and cordial atmosphere" of the London chats, he was reminded of his privately expressed ambition of leading a Commonwealth party back into the Union in return for a territorial unity that would guarantee a British "freeway" through the Irish economy. Unlike Childers, Billy takes after dad.

MacThomas and the journalists

On Friday, September 13, Cosgrave struck his latest blow for an Ireland acquiescent to reconstituted, and compulsory conversion from Republicanism to regal status within the sorely splintered Commonwealth.

Eamonn MacThomas, editor of An Phoblacht, and others were arrested at this newspaper's offices in Farnell Square, Dublin. Ostensibly, he was picked up on a charge of membership of the I.R.A., and possession of "an incriminating document". He appears in court again on October 2, and no doubt further remands will keep him out of the way until the Westminster elections are over.

MacThomas had planned an editorial campaign to expose British duplicity on election promises to the Northern Irish. As Eamonn told a preliminary hearing at Green Street: This was a frame-up designed to prevent him going ahead with his journalistic plans. It was an attack, said Ruairi O'Bradaigh, President of Provisional Sinn Féin, not on an organisation, but on journalism through a weekly newspaper with a circulation of some 40,000.

How did fellow journalists react? By a coincidence, Eamonn's application for membership had been passed by the Dublin Branch of the 28,000 strong National Union of Journalists for approval to Head Office and was raised again at the September meeting of the Branch, only hours after his arrest.

Members from at least three Chapels were vocal in favour of protection for Eamonn if it was proved that his journalistic work was the cause of his confinement, or if by defending the N.U.J. code of ethics which forbids the disclosure of story sources to the police and courts (where confidentiality could be impaired) he was put in legal danger.

It was pointed out that political 'offences' are no barrier to membership of the N.U.J., which has granted benefits to a Rhodesian journalist internecine, and fought against journalistic suppressions and arrests in places as far apart as Greece and the U.S.A.

The upshot was that the Dublin Branch Committee was empowered to pay a watching brief on Eamonn's case, and to take any action necessary, according to the evidence.

Friday, the 13th, may yet prove to have been an unlucky day for the enemies of a free press.



"takes after his dad"

NOTEBOOK

By

FREEMAN

Republican Post Bag

ORPHANED - BY REES

I HAVE read in a copy of the Daily Mirror of July last that the powers that be are "always as humane as possible". I would like to know what their interpretation of "as humane as possible" is when eleven months after my arrest and internment in Long Kesh, representatives of these same powers raided my home, and arrested and interned my wife, leaving our seven children to fend for themselves whatever way they were able.

We are both held without charge or trial - my wife in Armagh gaol and myself in Long Kesh. We have never been given the opportunity of answering in public the allegations levelled against us, nor were we permitted to see the faces of those speaking against us.

We now find ourselves in the

position of having to give up visiting time with our children (two half hourly visits per week) so that we may interview potential housemothers to care for our home and children now that we are not allowed to do so ourselves.

Things have recently been made more difficult than ever. My request for an intergal visit with my wife was turned down on the grounds that I was entitled to only one visit every 13 weeks, and that I had already visited her while on parole. Also it can take a letter up to twelve days to come from Armagh to Long Kesh (or what remains of a letter after the censors in Armagh and Long Kesh have finished with it).

So under these "humane" conditions how can my wife or I

possibly make arrangements for the care of our home and the welfare of our seven children aged between seven and sixteen years. If Mr. Merlyn Rees and the British government believe that the present treatment of my wife, my children and myself is "as humane as possible", then he is in direct contradiction of all standards of human decency including article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights which declares that internment should not result in the total disrupting of family life.

- Billy Kennedy.
 Cage 6, Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

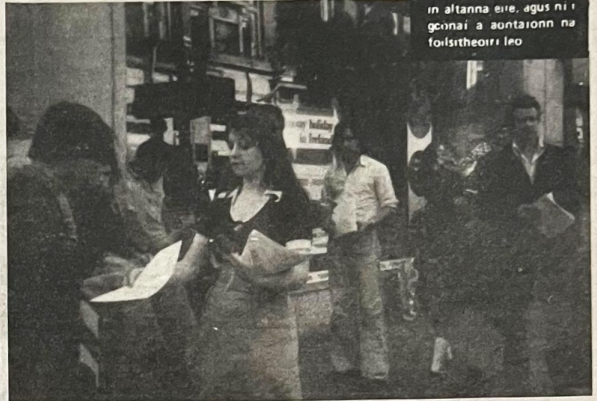
Any Comment Cardinal Conway?

am only able to do so once or twice a week. This is because of the condition under which I may celebrate Mass. Despite several requests from myself neither the local church or the Archbishops of Birmingham have taken any steps to remedy the matter. I should be permitted to say Mass each day.

Since my transfer here, on two separate occasions my outgoing mail has been mixed up into wrong envelopes and then sent to the wrong people. Martin Brady has had this happen on several occasions. Despite this being a maximum security prison I am denied the facilities of the sports pitch supposedly for security reasons. Martin was denied these but now has them. The one bright hope, is that I have been promised the opportunity of being able to pursue some worthwhile educational studies. These were totally banned at Wakefield, according to the Deputy Governor for security reasons, but

that man displayed a pathological which we receive aggravation from the authorities who have shown at times even provocatively their dislike for Republican prisoners. Whether one does or does not support the Republican cause and the aims for which we shall undauntingly continue to strive yet I hope that the Irish community in Britain would all support us in our demands to receive the same privileges and benefits as are accorded to other prisoners. There comes the time when every Irishman and woman must decide whether to support their own or to join with those who oppress our people in Ulster. Do not be fooled again by the old British trick of divide and conquer. As Republican prisoners we demand freedom and justice for our people. Meanwhile nothing will break our spirits.

- Rev. P. Fell.
 Hull Prison, Sasana.



Our picture shows members of Sinn Féin, protesting outside the offices of Aer Lingus in Regent St., London, the day after An Phoblacht's offices were raided.

They were protesting at the denial of free speech to Republicans, and in particular the harassment of Eamonn Mac Thomais.

Leaflets were distributed recalling the universal outcry against the victimisation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and calling upon those same people to protest in support of Republicans who raise their voice against a similarly repressive system in the 26 as well as the 6 Counties of Ireland.

Open letter to C.D.L.P. member

FOLLOWING is an open letter sent by me to Mr. Paddy Duffy, S.D.L.P. Mid-Ulster.

A Chara, Mr. Duffy.

Of all the surprising, startling and disgusting news we have read in a long time, your belief that England should retain six of our counties and that she should owe them henceforth, is almost

incredible.

Mr. Duffy, you have no respect for Tone, Emmet, Pearse and the rest of our greatest, when you say such traitorous things. We don't wonder too much though, as the S.D.L.P. have been questionable for long. Now however, the cat is really out of the bag and you show clearly what you are - traitors to our country. Not only that, but you

seem never to have heard of the Seventh Commandment of God!

The S.D.L.P. have shuttled between Belfast, Dublin and Westminster seeking cosy nests for themselves. They won't settle down yet, because now, Mr. Duffy, you have blown open an hornet's nest.

- Rev. P. Maloney.
 Clonbur P.O. Co. Galway.

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'Around the Country'

Le Maire Ni Bhaoill



AG TEASTAIL:

MUNTOIR le Gaedie a mhuinead nair sa tseachtain. Rang a cagur ag Dail Ceantair. Ath Chlath, Sinn Fein. Gach eolas le fáil ó Seán O Nualláin, P.R.O., Dail Ceantair Ath Chlath, 5 Blessington St. B.A.C. 1.

Na Fianna Eireann Raffle Result

Na Fianna Eireann Co-ordination Committee. Results of raffle held in the Embankment, Tallaght, Wednesday 4th September 1974.

- 1st. M. Jordan, Ticket No. 1928, 21, McAuley Rd., Coolock, Dublin
- 2nd. E. Conroy, Ticket No. 1331, 85 Killa, Rd., Cabra West, Dublin.
- 3rd. Mrs. Moore, Ticket No. 732, County Hospital, Dublin 4.
- 4th. Peadar Timmons, Ticket No. 872, 170, North Rd., Finglas, Dublin 7.

Seller of 1st Prize, Framed Mayo raffle

Winners in a draw in aid of the Mayo election fund were: 1st Prize: George Kimaroff, Salthill, Galway (harp), 2nd Prize: Michael Chambers, Westport, Mayo, (plaque), May Cullen, "Winsor", Monkstown Ave., Dublin, (handbag), Eamon Canavan, Rathdall, Balla, Co. Mayo, (handkerchief) and Jim Cannon, Carrowbally, Westport, Co. Mayo, (handkerchief).

All the prizes were products of the Republican prisoners' co-operative enterprises in Portlaoise prison.

In the An Cumann Cabhrach private members' draw the first prize of £10 went to Kenneth Greene, the second prize went to Joe Greene and the third prize went to Noelle de Barred. The next draw will take place on October 1.

Lurgan commemoration

The annual commemoration ceremony at the grave of Staff Captain Thomas Harter, I.R.A. took place in St. Colman's Cemetery, Lurgan. Staff Captain Harter was shot by a "Free" State firing squad on September 6, 1940.

The colour party was provided by uniformed members of Na Fianna Eireann who marched from the gates of the cemetery to the Republican plot where wreaths were laid on behalf of various branches of the Republican Movement.

Chairman at the graveside was Mr. G. O'Toole (N.G.A.). The N.G.A. were also represented by Mr. C. Lavery, Mr. T. Brady (Sinn Fein) recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish. The oration was delivered by Mrs. Noreen O'Hagan.

The ceremony was organised by the Thomas Harter Cumann in conjunction with the National Graves Association.

Belfast

The Robert Emmett-Francis Liggitt Sinn Fein Cumann, has said in a statement that admissions by the British Labour govern-

ment that £225,000 had been spent renovating 22 dwellings for British government employees and representatives in the North was another example of the "do nothing for the natives" attitude of successive British governments.

This recent example of the pursuit of self-interest on the part of the British serves to strengthen the resolve of Republicans," the statement concluded.

Coalstrand

The John Haughey Sinn Fein Cumann, Coalstrand, in a statement, congratulates the 19 men who made the daring escape from Portlaoise Jail. "We send them our congratulations and our support," the Cumann says.

The statement goes on: "Republicans have once again shown Mr. Cooney and the rest of his comrades that they shall not be fooled up because the Free State Government jump and bow to the English Government. It should be known by the Dublin Government that men like these who have breached prison security are a constant embarrassment (Lynch, etc.)."

Veteran's death

The death has taken place of Mrs. Annie Doyle (nee Jones) of Sandford. Mrs. Doyle served in the Citizen Army under Countess Markievicz and was a regular visitor to the Republican prisoners in Kilmahiney in 1916 and afterwards. She remained a staunch Republican until her death and had a fund of information and stories on the Rising and its leaders. Her death is regretted by a wide circle of friends and relatives as well as by her Republican colleagues.

Well done, Birr

Congratulations to Michael Kennedy and John Carroll who came from 14-year-old Brendan O'Carroll of Birr. Michael got a massive vote in the local government elections and was elected at the top of the poll to the Birr Urban Council. John Carroll did very well but did not succeed in reaching the quota. Brendan congratulates him on his magnificent election campaign and wishes both good luck for the future.

Wexford protest

The Padraig O'Pearail Sinn Fein Cumann held a token 12-hour hunger strike in sympathy with Paul Holmes, who is in Parkhurst prison and who had been refusing food in demand for improved conditions.

A motion condemning the callous indifference of the British Government towards Paul Holmes, who has been in solitary confinement since September of last year, was passed at a meeting of the Cumann.

A statement issued after the meeting said: "The memory of the late Michael Gaughan springs to mind once again in this instance. Michael was allowed to die, rather than be granted political status and be returned to prison in Ireland. We must not allow the name of Paul Holmes to be added to those of Terence McSwiney and Michael Gaughan. Now is the time

BEATEN UP IN COURT

At a district court hearing before Justice O'Huadhail last week, three Republican prisoners were beaten up by gardai when they refused to either recognise the court or stand up in the dock.

Sean Caswell, Patrick Shanahan and Frank Dilworth face various charges, including alleged membership of an illegal organisation. They were all remanded in custody for a week.

Mr. Caswell pointed out to Justice O'Huadhail that on their previous court appearance, they had been told that the hours of evidence would be ready. When O'Huadhail attempted to explain this way, Mr. Caswell was heard to remark: "a lot of bull".

At this, several gardai began punching Mr. Caswell around the head and neck and when friends and sympathisers of his attempted to come to his rescue they also were assaulted. Mr. Caswell was dragged from the dock into the prison basements below and O'Huadhail quickly adjourned the case.



North-South police co-operation?

COLLABORATION MUST END!

IN A supplied statement, Oglagh na hEireann have warned that continued collaboration between the 26 County "security forces" and the forces of the Crown will lead to serious consequences for the whole of Ireland.

According to the statement, issued on September 14 by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau:

"Mr. Cosgrave's recent visit to London was a humiliating and degrading exercise. Not a single measure was taken to ensure that the English Government has waged war on the Irish people. We have resisted that aggression by striking at the servants of the Crown, be they Military, Police or Judiciary."

"If the Dublin Government persists in integrating the 'security forces' of the Crown, then the consequences for the whole of Ireland will become very grave."

"We call upon members of the Southern Forces to refuse point blank any call whatsoever to co-operate with the enemies of the people."

"Stupid politicians have very little regard for lives and the welfare of those under their charge. The time has come for people who value their own esteem to take a stand against the treacherous policy of well-heeled politicians. It is in the interests of the Garda and soldiers of the Free State Army not to commit themselves to be used as cannon-fodder in serving the maintenance of the English establishment in Ireland..."



"The Irish Dimension"

to act, tomorrow may be too late."

This Cumann previously demonstrated their opposition to the British government's treatment of Irish political prisoners and their disgust at the callous attitude of the Dublin government to their plight by picketing the home of An Taniste and leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Brendan Corish, continuously, for seven weeks.

Resign call

A resolution seeking the Dublin government's resignation was passed at a meeting of the County Waterford Committee of Agriculture in Dungan. The reason given was the government's failure to look after the interests of the farming community and to control rising prices.

Ballymun shows the way

LAST WEEK saw a new dimension in Irish television. A half-hour broadcast from Ballymun and about Ballymun heralded the first experiment in community television in this country.

The programme was researched, directed and presented by the members of the Ballymun Community Council and a group of residents, and portrayed in the words of the Assistant Secretary of the Council, Mrs. Mary Prendergast: "What we have in Ballymun is what we want in Ballymun."

During the programme, there were discussions on the problems of facilities for youth and old people. There was also Irish dancing by the Comerford School songs by the Holy Spirit Choral Society.

Local control

Mrs. Prendergast, a mother of five children, is a force behind the community council. She was approached, along with other members of the Council to do the programme and an agreement was reached.

Fr. Livinius

His many friends in the Republican Movement have learned with regret that Fr. Livinius, O.F.M., a member of the Franciscan Community, Church St., Dublin, is critically ill in a Dublin hospital.

Fr. Livinius is suffering from cancer. He has been informed by his doctors that he has only a short time to live.

reached that the Ballymun people would take care of all aspects of the programme themselves, including technical direction.

Mrs. Prendergast has lived in Ballymun for eight years. In between working for the community council, involving herself in local politics and the Holy Spirit Church building fund, she manages to hold down her job as a telephoneist.

The concept of community television, involving as it must the active participation of the local people offers a practical example of how Republican policy - the whole aim of which is to give power back to the people and to give the people involved in decisionmaking etc., - if implemented, would affect Irish life for the better.

Sinn Fein refutes allegations

Allegations that acts of vandalism and hoodlunism in the New Ross area were being committed by Sinn Fein were refuted by the P.R.O. for the area, Mr. Robert Roman.

Mr. Roman said it had been brought back to them several times that people were succeeding in Sinn Fein with vandalism. It had also come to their notice that people apprehended by the Garda had mentioned Sinn Fein. "I would like to make it perfectly clear," he said, "that no person or persons have the authority from Sinn Fein to commit any acts of hoodlunism or vandalism."

HUNGER AND THIRST STRIKERS' VICTORY

Eight Dublin men who had been remanded in custody in Mountjoy and three youths also from Dublin, who had been remanded to St. Patrick's Training School, Dublin were transferred to Portlaoise prison after they had gone on hunger and thirst strike in demand for transfer and full political status.

They are: William McGuinness, Ceide Amnigh, Coolock; Peter Conlon, Millwood Villas, Coolock; Thomas Hickey, St. Margaret's Ave., Coolock; Joseph Kelly, Bally Road, 1st Wall; Michael Lennon, Clarnall Road, Artane; Cormac Flynn, Killester Park, Artane; Patrick Forrester, Bannfield Road, Killestarrick; Kenneth Keegan, Bannow Road, Cabra West and Patrick Despar, Holywell Crescent, Killestarrick, who had been remanded to Mountjoy, and Martin Toner, Rathmore Park, Ratheny; Cormac Flynn, Killester Park, Artane; and Declan Hickey, Howth Road who had been remanded to St. Patrick's.

The 11 had been charged with membership of the I.R.A. and failing to give an account of their movements.

Hours after they began refusing food and liquids the eight, who had been remanded to

Mountjoy, were transferred. The three youths, however, were forced to continue their painful protest for a further 24 hours before their demands were accepted to.

At midnight on the second day of their hunger and thirst strike, the Prison Visiting Committee, apparently summoned by the prison authorities, visited the youths in their cells and requested each one in turn to abandon the strike. In each case they were met with a blank refusal. Less than two hours later, the youths were informed that their demand for transfer had been granted. They were removed immediately and

arrived in Portlaoise at 3 a.m. It was an obvious attempt to camouflage the prisoners' victory and to cloak the embarrassment of the authorities, the 11 were again remanded to Mountjoy and St. Patrick's at two subsequent Court hearings. But in each case were brought straight to Portlaoise.

Rath Cairn

TÁ aras pobal a thógáil i Rath Cairn - an chad cheim de seim chin tithie, monacháin agus áis-canna eile a chur ar fáil do mhuintir na Gaeltachta seo. Beidh a lín cabhrach uathu. A gcuideadh t?

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