

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 5. Uimh. 13. 5p. Marta 29, 1974.



## DUBLIN—RUN S.A.S. ON THE WAY

GREAT play is being made by the newspapers, radio and TV that, at last, the enemy had admitted what we have been documenting here for months, that the SAS is operating in the Six Counties. The admitted figure is inaccurate: there are 500 operating in pseudo-gangs all over Ireland, north and south.

The media is unable or unwilling to dig further perhaps for fear of enemy revenge — or to follow up our reports that the 26 Counties administration is on the brink of being involved as deeply as the Brits themselves, under the same cloak of secrecy.

We mentioned the new terror manual and summarised some of its contents, showing that the Kitson technique is now Dublin Department of Defence policy. Twice we challenged Donegan or Cosgrave to deny it: there was absolute silence but various reporters were warned off.

What are editors afraid of? The Official Secrets Act? There is also the public interest and the peoples pride themselves on being

### By DARA Mac DARA

watchdogs of the public interest. Little by little the remaining shreds of democracy are being cut away, not by Special Powers, but by collaborating or timid editors. Censorship is being imposed by stealth.

The only way to fight creeping fascism is to make a stand, to publish and to take the matter to the highest courts, if necessary, international ones.

How much more do we have to reveal before the watchdogs bark and show their teeth? Or have they been muzzled by bribes (threats to withdraw state and semi-state advertising, as Fianna Fáil tried to do against the "Irish Farmer's Journal"), by hints (John Kelly), by secret telephone calls (Donegan, Cooney), by D.O.D. chief of staff dinners ("Irish Independent")?

### Army officers picked

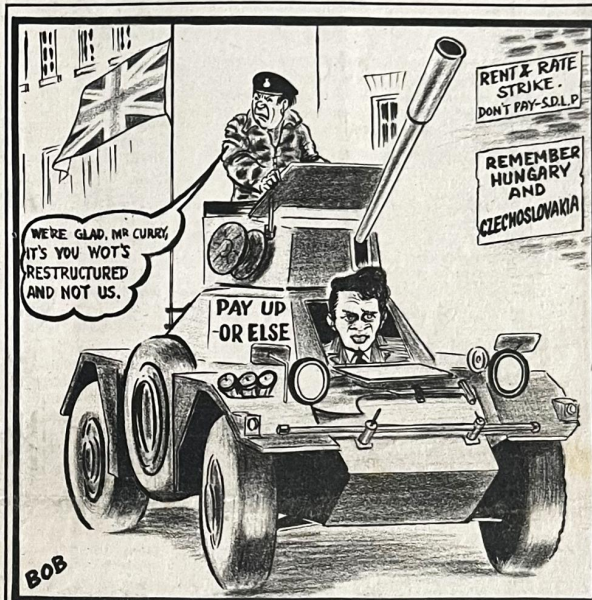
Do we have to name the "Free" State army officers picked for training in Hereford under Kitson and his top thugs? Do we have to disclose the complete plans to infiltrate and disrupt the national organisations that show any trace of militancy, including the trade unions, fishermen's associations, NATO, ACRA, land leagues and the rest of it?

There is a limit to what any one newspaper can do and this paper, under seccessive editors (too of them were jailed), has been as courageous as can be expected, in service of the truth and the democratic freedoms. But, in general, we have been virtually a lone voice.

When newspapers do decide to take belated action all too often the result is not the carefully researched and factual report but sensationalism, as was to be seen recently in reports in both "The Irish Press" and the "Sunday World" regarding the shoot-out between the SAS and the RUC.

According to both, an officer in Oglagh na hEireann set the "spiders fighting among themselves," an old tactic and, admittedly, a tempting assumption. But we have been unable to confirm this report (and we have made exhaustive enquiries among people most likely to know and only too eager to help).

It would have made excellent propaganda were it TRUE. We have been unable to



### THE NEW RECRUIT

confirm that it is, in fact, true. The truth, be it sweet or bitter, is what a paper lives by, especially a paper of this nature. If we lose our credibility we lose everything.

But it is true that the shoot-out is worrying every RUC man in the Six Counties and that it has dealt a very severe blow to the winning co-operation between military and police.

It is true, also, that the Gardaí are even more worried and have less inclination, now, than ever to operate the Sunningdale agreement on Garda co-operation. And they were never very enthusiastic.

### Real terrorism

Reporters could have got that information readily enough, without much digging. Perhaps it would not have been so sensational. Perhaps it might have been awkward for the newspaper proprietors. But it would have been valuable to the public, in helping the public to understand just what real terrorism, professional, state-backed terrorism, really is.

But now, it was glossed over.

R.U.C. and Gardaí are not the only uneasy people as a result of the shoot-out, wondering how soon it will be before they are used to achieve some British political end in a smearing operation — or some huge blunder — for which they may have to play with their lives.

For the options are wide open and every public figure, be he businessman, politician, prelate, must now fear for his very life, all the more so if he has troubled to read the Kitson terror books, or to have studied what the SAS or kindred bodies did in Aden, Kenya or elsewhere.

Nothing is barred to these units. The prime objective of Britain — under whatever government — is to break the resistance and the easiest way to that end, as they see it, is to end the people's support for the resistance by discrediting the people's army.

To achieve that everything is allowed, including assassination, torture, mutilation, desecration, horror of every kind: our word does not have to be taken for Kitson (like Hitler before him) spells it out.

The French used this technique in Algeria. The Portuguese are using it in their colonies. The Americans used it in Vietnam and South America. And the Brits have used it widely in the Six Counties, to try to get Protestants and Roman Catholics involved in a vicious civil war (VFF and all that), or to try to incite the Republican Movement into attacking the N.L.F.

### Known to all

This is known, now, to the Ulster Volunteer Force, to the Ulster Defence Association, to Paisley, Craig, Faulkner, Fitt, Currie; to trade union leaders and rank and file; to the Dublin politicians; to church leaders, north and south.

It is bad enough that this should have been played down so much for ten years by the media. It is bad enough that the shameless foreign bully should have been allowed to get away with it for so long. But it is much worse when the Brits are blackmailing the Dublin administration to take an active part in it by training their own soldiers in this ruthless, unscrupulous terror technique.

Go cúil lech.

## Bás ar son na hEireann

TWO brave soldiers who gave their life for Ireland were laid to rest with military honours in Co. Tyrone last week: Volunteer Kevin Murray and Volunteer Patrick McDonald.

They were killed accidentally on active service in Dungannon and a statement from the First Battalion, East Tyrone, Oglagh na hEireann extends sympathy to their families and relatives.

This Battalion also has claimed responsibility for wounding three British soldiers in an attack in Aghnacloy on the same tragic week-end as the two brave volunteers were killed.

Go ndéana Dia trocaire ar a n-anamacha



# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 5.

Márta 29, 1974.

Uimhir 13.

44 Ceardóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire.

Guthán: 47611.

## Whistling in dark?

WHEN the "Irish Independent" goes into the pulpit to preach from its self-complacent heights about peace, justice, charity, fairplay, Christianity, democracy or any other cause which is worth talking about, not excluding freedom of the press and censorship, all we can produce is a sour smile. For the history of that paper, and the history of very many of those controlling it, gives the lie to such pretences.

Even in the matter of freedom of the press and censorship where, in its own material interests, a newspaper might be reasonably expected to take a stand, the "Irish Independent" fails obviously and shamelessly, suppressing news reports, discriminating notoriously in letters to the editor, publishing statements from politicians and British army sources without bothering to check for veracity or to get other viewpoints.

When, however, that paper takes on the role of prophet, the stage would seem to be set for farce if one were to forget how, along with other media, it is helping to debauch the public mind, to confuse, to lower standards, in its headlong scramble for money in the gutter.

On March 18, in an editorial titled "One per cent", the "Independent" prophet writes: "... who other than the most limited in mentality could consciously decide day after day to perpetrate violence for a cause which is utterly impossible to achieve".

True to form, one might say. True to the attitude

taken in 1913, in 1916, in 1921 and so often since. True to its traditional ignorance or misunderstanding of Irish history or the history of subject peoples anywhere.

It is useless, it would appear, to ask the men of violence of the "Irish Independent" to cease to do violence to words: violence means "excessive force". The liberation forces in Ireland never could be accused of using excessive force against the enemy: they have never used sufficient or the job would have been completed long ago.

What it is intended to convey, apparently, is "physical force"; and what the editorial writer is trying to say is that the force being used by the liberation forces, or any additional force they are likely to employ, will not succeed in a victory for the cause: the freedom of the Irish people.

We reported about two years ago a British army expert saying that, at that stage, Oglagh na hÉireann could not be beaten militarily. This has long been accepted by the British. The hope is that the liberation movement may be beaten by political

means. Hence Sunningdale and all the rest.

The Irish options are far more open. Obviously, a combination of political and military means can force the enemy to withdraw. Britain can only worsen her situation and speed the day of withdrawal by putting in the boot against people in working class areas, be they Catholic or Protestant, because this is the only class that will fight. The political solution has failed because this class is solidly united against Sunningdale.

Meanwhile, the Irish military campaign becomes more destructive of the enemy and of property for which the enemy must pay by digging deep into capital assets at a time of grave economic crisis at home. As more and more soldiers are killed, maimed in body or mind or both, the demand grows at home to end this colonial war, to get out and let the Irish settle their own affairs.

The only dangers for the Irish would be a loss of nerve; a leadership crisis; a diversion of supplies, energy and personnel into a cul-de-sac; some momentary confusion clouding the main issue, which is to force the enemy to withdraw by wearing him, and his dupes, down in every possible way.

Neutral observers agree that this aim is being pursued with an iron will and that it is succeeding. Yet, against all the facts, the "Irish Independent" continues to whistle the song of despair.

Whistling in the dark?

## The Irish weapon

HOUNDED and harried, even by members of his own party and government, Conor Cruise O'Brien reviews and explains his attitude to the Irish language. He objects to it being used as a weapon.

When he says that a knowledge of Irish does not necessarily make for a better Irishman, there are few who would disagree. Have we not had Diarmuid na nGall, Castlereagh, Mulcahy, de Blaghd, de Valera, Lynch, Cosgrave, Corish, Ryan and many others to prove his point?

Have we not a good example in Cruise O'Brien himself, one who has a more than moderately good knowledge of the language, past and present, of its prose and poetry; and can he not speak it better than many of his colleagues in Leinster House? It would be difficult to encounter, nevertheless, one more devoted to England's interests in Ireland, one more ruthless against the cause of Ireland free.

Many of the men and women risking their lives daily and nightly for Ireland have very little or no knowledge of the language. It is only when jailed that many of them get their first opportunity to learn it, due to the national debauchery made possible by partition. Few if any of them, however, will not be glad to admit that they would be better Irishmen, better integrated people, if they had a good knowledge of Irish and were well educated in it and through it. To pretend otherwise would be to go against established psychological opinion.

A considerable part of the history of Ireland since 1169 is the history of the Irish people's attempts to retain their language amid disunity, defeat, famine, genocide, bribery and all kinds of bullying, including linguistic bullying. The Irish loved and valued their language. They used it as a defence, a ghetto, a weapon, as may be seen in centuries of Irish poetry; and the tradition was strong even to 1798 — "Maidin Luan Cincise", "Sliabh na mBan" — and even locally, much later, as may be heard in the songs of the Ribbon men, in the poems of such as Raiftearaí.

Cruise O'Brien must be as well aware of this as we are. He must be just as well aware that, from the earliest days of the invaders, first Norman French, then English, were used as weapons to defeat the Irish, to destroy their self-confidence, their feeling of separate identity.

He cannot be unaware, as an historian, of the words of Sir William Parsons, Master of the Court of Wards, designed to kidnap young Irishmen of leading families and turn them into compliant Englishmen: "We must change their course of government, apparel, manner of holding land, language and habit of life. It will otherwise be impossible to set up in them obedience to the laws and to the English Empire".

Decade after decade, century after century, we can see the same linguistic policy — cultural genocide — being pursued relentlessly, ruthlessly, by the enemy; and we can see it reflected in the works of Irish poets when they speak of the inroads of the enemy's language.

If, today, we have many people in Ireland speaking and understanding only one language, a variety of English, and who are unaware of the importance of Irish, who are apathetic to the restoration of the language or even hostile to that aim, it is mainly because the Parsons technique succeeded, that they have been Anglicised gradually over the centuries, brainwashed into thinking that the Irish ethos is doomed, that we cannot be ourselves, that we must become absorbed to a greater or lesser extent, into being something other than proudly, consciously, confidently, independently ourselves: Irish.

Hence, to a great extent, that sharp brake on Irish progress on all fronts, the inferiority complex (or the other side of the coin, as expressed in the arrogance and snobbery of such as Conor Cruise O'Brien, who should be pitied rather than hated).

Not that Conor Cruise O'Brien cannot or will not use language as a weapon, to confuse the Irish people,

to weaken their will to resistance, to demoralise them and besmirch their heroic leaders, past and present, and the cause they have served and continue to serve so selflessly.

Cruise O'Brien does not so use English as a weapon for the love of the language or because of a love for humanity but because he is paid well to do so, as a propaganda minister in a puppet administration, as well as by his British masters, through the Observer Foreign News Service and his books and plays.

It is right and just and wise that Conor should use the weapons of his English words and phrases against the Irish people; it is wrong, unjust and unwise for the mere subject Irish to assert themselves and their culture and to use the spearhead of that culture, the Irish language, against the enemy and the traitors at home who support that enemy. But Conor does realise that, traditionally, the Irish language has been a rallying point against regression and against the national enemy, so he turns viciously against it and those who work to make it supreme once again in the land of its birth.

The same mentality may be observed in those who applaud the right of Spaniards, Basques, Catalans, Cubans or Chileans to revolt against tyranny but deny that right to the Irish. In those who acclaimed the right of Britain to bomb her way out of domination by the Third Reich but pretend shock that the Irish should use bombs (though with far greater mercy: the bomb warning must be virtually unique in history). In those leaders of church and state who have never condemned the saturation bombing of Dresden, or the horror of Hiroshima, but wring their hands in horror when a soldier or policeman is blown to pieces by a bomb planted by a soldier of the Irish resistance.

The Irish language is Ireland's greatest weapon and Irishmen can be proud to use it as a weapon. As Máirtín Ó Cadhain pointed out, "is í athghabháil na Gaeilge athghabháil na hÉireann agus is í athghabháil na hÉireann athghabháil na Gaeilge".

## Dirty Tricks Brigade

IT IS not news that SAS personnel are operating in the North. Three years ago THE IRISH PRESS reported their presence; the report was officially denied. Since then, more than once, we have reported and commented on SAS activities — especially in connection with interrogation in depth procedures, the notorious Four Square Laundry case, and the pattern of sectarian assassinations and other intercommunal provocations. Each time the reports have been denied or ignored by British military authorities.

Now, belatedly, a British army spokesman in Lismore has confirmed that SAS men, and SAS-trained men, are on active service in the North. The spokesman is reported to have compared the seconding of men to the SAS with sending men on training to fly helicopters or acquire other equivalent skills. Whom does he think he's fooling?

The SAS is a specialised "counter insurgency" undercover agency. Its members serve in many roles: as intelligence agents, interrogation and infiltration experts, counter-terrorists specialists (whose activities are carefully undefined), agents provocateur, and plain killers. It is

pointless sending men to train in such skills, then put them into a situation as explosive, volatile and violent as the North and not expect them to react as they have been taught. The SAS in the present as in the past (in Aden and Cyprus), are sent where there is trouble; part of their technique and training is to stir up more trouble.

Their presence in the North today is a sure sign that current military strategy is conducted in that twilight zone where security operations and political objectives are deliberately not distinguished. It is a strategic area analysed in cold-bloodedly ruthless terms by Brigadier Frank Kitson, whose devotion to and intensive low-profile posture was permitted to move from textbook logic to the streets of Belfast during his two years as military commander there. The use of a commando group of this kind is necessarily an aggravation between the occupying forces and all segments of the civilian population.

It is possible to speculate on the motives for admitting officially to SAS involvement. It may represent some fear among the British military men that the Labour Government will not permit the same latitude in discriminating between

authorised, condoned, ignored and condemned violence. It may be an effort to embarrass new political leaders both in London and Belfast.

But, whatever the motives, there can be no doubt about the responsibility of the Irish Government. It must immediately demand the removal of this group of licensed killers and ensure that any undertaking to that effect given in Whitehall is carried out in the North. The dirty tricks brigade should never have been permitted into Ireland; their presence cannot be tolerated.

The Government has a responsibility to the Irish people — and, more particularly, to people of the two sides of the Northern divide — to ensure that the SAS and their methods are no longer deployed to stimulate, amplify and add to the violence that has claimed too many victims. The Government might also become more realistic towards and critical of the North. After the revelation, condemnations of the men of violence that ignore the role of British army personnel must be dismissed as naively and dangerously simplistic.

— Reproduced from "The Irish Press".



# A time to make a stand

CANON Diarmaid Mac Íomhar is respected throughout his parish and farther afield and his letter in this paper last week is unlikely to be misunderstood.

In fact, it will be welcomed because he indicates some sympathy for and understanding of the freedom struggle and of the men and women engaged in it. Also, he raises other issues about which so many churchmen and Catholic laymen and women have been so silent, when not engaged in cliché-mongering.

Conall Ó Cearnaigh, who started the controversy in this paper, and who has been so strangely silent since, is entitled to express a viewpoint as a member of the Republican Movement, or as a sympathiser, for the Movement is non-sectarian.

Perhaps we will hear from him before the controversy ends. Meanwhile, it needs to be stated, I believe, that the Éire Nua for which so many of us are working must necessarily not be dominated, in its laws and constitution, by the doctrines and morals of individual churches, or by the beliefs and morals of those who subscribe to no church.

It appears to me that a non-sectarian state cannot legislate for individual consciences; and that contraception and divorce, to a considerable extent, are matters for the individual conscience. But to what extent? The question needs to be thrashed out.

## Abortion issue

It appears, also, that a consensus regarding public morality would have to be arrived at in each federal area as well as one for the entire state.

One thinks immediately of such things as the availability of contraceptive devices as well as the type of devices permitted; agreement on legitimate grounds for divorce; divorce machinery, etc.

I would hope that abortion would not be allowed in any federal area as, to me, abortion is the murder of the most defenceless, the child in the womb, and cannot be justified.

If this view were accepted — and it would appear that the demand for abortion at present comes from a very tiny minority — some contraceptive devices would have to be banned.

Discussion of such matters should be taking place among Republicans in general but particularly among members of Sinn Féin cumann and members of the provincial comhairl and we should be hearing about them. Expert evidence should be made available.

## OPEN LETTER TO A CANON

By Deasún Breatnach

It is hardly realistic to be asking people who join with us in Éire Nua preparation and construction without spelling out exactly what we have in mind.

And, while on that subject, it is essential, I believe, that we get people to explain to us in detail what exactly they mean when they talk about the "preservation of our Protestant heritage".



It was London on St. Patrick's Day but the marchers were Welsh and trapped to a singing sit-in at Whitehall, stopping traffic. They were demonstrating in favour of their language. When will the Irish do likewise?

How, exactly, do they see this "heritage" in danger in a state which will not be dominated by any kind of churchmen?

## No comments

Jack Lynch, when in office in Dublin, gave the impression, I understand, that abortion might be permitted in the type of independent, colonial Ireland he and other Leinster House politicians have in mind.

I witnessed a television (Late Show) performance of Garret FitzGerald, who gave the same impression. I was surprised that no Church leader — or, indeed, layman — commented on this.

I was disappointed that leaders of the Republican Movement had not commented. Perhaps the silence was due to the fact that most people in the Movement believe that there is no question of permitting abortion in the new, independent Ireland, and that no sizeable body of opinion is agitating for it.

However, in most European and other states 20 years ago

there was little demand for abortion. Today, the demand is strong. People were brainwashed into it by the organisers and mind-moulders of the sleazy consumer society of monopoly capitalism.

## Within 20 years

I have little doubt but that, if the Éire Nua movement fails and monopoly capitalism triumphs — which, God forbid — abortion will be legalised in this country, north and south, within another 20 years, for we will become powerless to think for ourselves and will just drift along with the rest of the drugged Western society.

It is good to see Canon Mac Íomhar writing to this paper. Nevertheless, he has left unsaid so much that needs to be said, particularly concerning the moral right of people to use force to gain their independence. He hints that they are in the right but does not come out directly and unambiguously in favour.

A maximum of clerical force — even verbal violence — has been directed so strongly against the Republican Movement and the freedom struggle that, in justice, and to try to prevent further scandal of the faithful, dissenting clerics are bound, I would suggest, to speak out.

The truth, as I, a Catholic layman, see it, is that whether or not one takes up arms to attain a legitimate objective is a matter for individual conscience, that both the use of physical and (or) moral force can be justified. Military action and the pacifist approach both can be justified morally.

## Exiled priests

Very few priests have publicised this view. Some of them have been exiled for so doing. Others have been ordered, on very dubious authority, to remain silent.

Force may be used to gain freedom when other methods have been tried and have failed: war (or surrender) are the extreme options in politics. The only moral issue involved thereafter is that the minimum possible force be used. Violence, an excess of force, is ruled out.

The word "violence", as has been pointed out on occasions in recent years, is used wrongly by the authorities, perhaps deliberately, perhaps through ignorance, where "physical force" was used 50 years ago (and similarly condemned by the same class).

Somewhere along the line morality, a legitimate area for church concern, ends, and politics begins (without meaning to suggest that politics should not be guided by morality).

Fortunately, for many generations, Irish people have been able to see just where

churchmen are entitled to interfere and where they must abstain.

But that instinct appears to have become blurred in recent years through the mind-moulding of the consumer society riggers, aided by the aristocracy of the churches, operating obviously in the boss-class interest.

## Challenges ignored

Republicans have challenged churchman and establishment politician to debate these issues. But their challenges have been ignored, with the minimum of publicity, making it all the more important for members of the lower echelons of clergy to take a stand, as their comrades are doing in Euzkadi (Basque nation) today.

## Prisoners' hunger strike

WE have been refusing all food since Monday 11/12/74 in protest.

On Monday February 11 a cage representative went to one of the Assistant Governors, complaining about the lack of cutlery, plates and the bad condition of the cage.

No answer was given on the question of conditions but we were told that the authorities were in the process of getting six kits (each of which consist of one knife, a fork and a spoon) per week, per cage.

The first offer was refused because we knew from past experience that the items would not be supplied every week.

In particular, complaints were made about the lack of heaters (of which there should be four) and chairs in the canteen but.

The Assistant Governor was told also that, because of proximity to the old kitchens, the cage is a health hazard. It is infested with rats, which we cannot remedy and which the authorities refuse to believe.

In view of this, it was suggested that the cage be evacuated and closed.

We were to be told later that plans were in the pipeline for the redevelopment of the lower camp, i.e., internees' cages.

Our final demand was that we be granted an interview with the prison doctor, to which there were no objections.

On the same day the doctor was told of our demands to which we agreed, provided that he had the Governor's permission.

Our next contact with the authorities was on Thursday 14/2/74 when we met the doctor and repeated our demands. All our questions were evaded and our representative left with the impression that the doctor had been told to do this.

On Friday 15/2/74, a meeting of the food committee (an interview from each cage and the camp cook) was held. The cook was informed that we had been refusing all food since 11/2/74.

in many of the South American states, and elsewhere.

Justice is involved; the souls of many are at stake; and the very survival of Christianity in Ireland may depend on their speaking out, even at this late stage.

Will Canon Mac Íomhar elaborate on his very brief letter?

Will he answer the points raised here?

Will he gather around him other priests and ministers to tell the truth about the struggle of freedom to the Irish people?

Will he stand up to the political prelates and, in the traditional manner (made much more difficult now as a result of Vatican Two), will he take the case to Rome?

He did not know of this because no food had been returned to him as it should have been.

The cook agreed that the situation was bad and that men could not eat without the proper facilities.

We were told that he would complain directly to Commandant Treadwell. On the same date, the Assistant Governor, on this occasion, Mr. Moodie, was again seen.

We repeated all our demands but Mr. Moodie said that, as we did not consider ourselves as criminal prisoners, the doctor could not visit the cage as he normally would.

For the duration of the interview he talked about the last period of internment.

Obviously, he did not want to talk of our problems. Since then nothing has been done to meet our demands and it seems that nothing is likely to be done.

The facts stated above apply only to Cage Two and they are being publicised to let the people know that, as time goes on, conditions in the Camp get worse.

No political party, contrary to what some of them say, have attempted to have conditions improved. Their talk of internment and allied problems is therefore obviously pre-election propaganda.

P.R.O., Cage Two, Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

Reproduced from "Andersonstown News".

## Objected to Union Jack

FOLLOWING an incident at Strabane Technical College last month when some students staged a protest against the flying of the Union Jack from the college flag pole, the question of showing the flag at all schools is in future to be left to the headmaster.

This was the decision of the Western Education and Library Board.

On the day of the Strabane protest the flag was flying to mark the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the English throne.



—Reproduced from "Garda Review"



# TWO STRANDS

THERE are two strands running like a fine silken weave through Irish history since 1169: two strands that are as visible to-day as ever they were; two strands that are in conflict with each other and mutually opposed. Should one predominate the other must go down. At almost every stage since Strongbow and Henry landed they have been there. They are those who will settle for a little to retain what they have, and those who simply want their freedom with no strings attached.

At times, such as under Eoghan Ruadh, they were called the New Irish as against the old Irish, or later, under Grattan's Parliament, the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish. One would, at times, have settled for their 'faith', and their 'lands', while the native Irish, God be good to them, simply wanted freedom.

You may recognise them today in the common strand that unites the John Humes, the Conor O'Briens, the Liam Cosgraves to Brian Faulkner and the Queen of England's deputy in Ireland, Francis Pym.

It is a common strand that commenced in Dublin in 1171, when Henry II held Court at the ancient 'Thing-mote' at the top of Suffolk Street where St. Andrews Church now stands, and received formal submission from many of the princes of Ireland.

There is an echo of the Garden of Paradise and the fate of mankind after Adam sought the apple in the way the chronicle tells the story of Henry's festivity of Christmas 1171.

"Many and most of the princes of that land resorted and made repair unto Dublin, to see the King's court; and when they saw the great abundance of victuals, and the noble services, as also the eating of cranes, which they much loathed, being not before accustomed thereto, they much wondered and marvelled thereat; but in the end they, being by the King's commandment set down, did also there eat and drink among them".

A painting upon the ceiling of St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle, movingly depicts the submission of the Irish chieftains to King Henry II.

These noblemen were impressed by the skill of Henry's

## JAMES HOPE

discusses the vital element  
in the 800-year-old war  
against the predacious  
neighbour

Norman army; they hoped that formal submission would ensure undisturbed possession of their lands.

Yet, within six months of receiving it from the O Mad Seachlainn of Meath, Henry bestowed his million fertile acres upon Hugh De Lacy.

It was the beginning of the exercise of the king's dominion; it was the beginning of formal plantation.

It was totally at variance with the Irish system where the land belongs to the clan, and where succession through the *derbhfine* does not necessarily pass to the eldest son.

### Church conforms

It is interesting to note, too, that although Henry's late Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, was dead less than a year, on orders of the king, some Irish bishops hastily convened a synod under Giolla Críost, Bishop of Lismore and Papal Legate, "reforming" the Irish church and recognising the king's suzerainty.

Doubtless, this was egged along by the post factum approval of the invasion by Pope Alexander III (to "enlarge the borders of the church, set bounds to the progress of wickedness, reform evil manners, and plant virtue") as Henry expressed it to the Pontiff, who, in turn, no doubt, was influenced by the Brief of Bull - the existence of which is disputed - granting absolute ownership of Ireland to Henry, and said to have been issued in 1154 by his predecessor, Adrian IV, the Englishman Nicholas Breakspeare.

Be that as it may, it was an evil turn for Ireland. De Lacy proceeded to "set bounds to the progress of wickedness" by inviting Fitzgibbon O Ruairc to a parley on the Hill of Ward, in the centre of his new dukedom, where he had the man slain, and had his head despatched to his sovereign Henry, now back in Aquitaine.

O Ruairc's body was hoisted to Dublin and hung from the walls upon the city's walls, the first, says the historian, of those revolting exhibitions which the capital was to witness, generation after generation for centuries.

The Hill of Ward massacre was to be a facsimile, too, for many later and similar parleys and massacres, the Rath at Mullaghmast, the cliffs of Rathlin, Island Magee, Dún an Oir, the hill slopes of Tara in '98, the sword of Croke Park in '21, and the pavements of Bogside in '72.

While Henry and his successors continued to grant the lands of the Irish people to their followers, many of these colonists grew to be the "new Irish", some to be "more Irish than the Irish themselves", but most of them prepared to swear fealty if left in undisturbed possession of their new estates.

If one sees in this a faint comparison with the public representative today, the Fiit, the Fitzgerald, the Conney or the

Wars of the Roses, when the Pale extended a bare 30 miles from Dublin, and their failure to do so?

It may, of course, be ascribed to one simple reason. Embroiled as they were in bloody civil war, at home, and the losing struggle against France - it was the period of Joan of Arc, of Orléans and of Agincourt - England played for time.

Nor should one forget that English justice was as hollowed [430 at Rouen as at Winchester in recent times. Joan, found guilty of witchcraft and heresy by a bogus ecclesiastical Court, was burned by the English, and her ashes thrown in the Seine.

England, playing for time in Ireland, was content with the seemingly empty formula of overlordship, of accepting vows of fealty and placing a vicerey without an army in Dublin.

Into the speculation of Gael or Norman, says the historian, the dread foreboding never entered that a day would come when the English, grown strong, would ruthlessly destroy them both.

### But there were rebels

#### Tudor bully

That day came when a Tudor king, Henry VII, ascended in 1585 the throne of England; and from that hour until 1663, with the passing of Elizabeth I, the English Tudors never ceased to squeeze submission from the Irish.

Throughout that period the old Irish, under Seán, under O'Donnell, under Aodh, O'Neill strove for freedom, while the new Irish, the Anglo-Irish nobility, petitioned to hold their lands, many of them changing religion even, following the Reformation Act of Supremacy in 1536, in order to do so.

Thus a new compound was injected into Irish affairs. To the differences of blood and of language was now added that of religion as a means whereby a foreign power held fealty over a subject people.

The differences of objective are best illustrated in the years following the successful Rising of 1641. The old Irish, despised and dispossessed, had appeared in the night of October 22 and retaken their lands.

They were led by Fírlín O'Neill and later by Eoghan Rua. They had but one objective - total and absolute independence from England.

Concluded next week

Cóisde Cuimhneachain na Poblachta  
(Republican Commemoration Committee)

# EASTER SUNDAY 1974

Day of National Commemoration

LILIES, WRAPPERS & POSTERS:

Apply: Joe Clarke, 33, O'Donovan Rd. S.C.R. Dublin 8.  
Tel. 753723

SPEAKERS:

Apply: Runal: Republican Commemoration Committee,  
2A Lr. Kevin St., Dublin 8. Tel. 781552

HONOUR IRELAND'S DEAD  
WEAR AN EASTER LILY

## Irish mineral rights: Canadians warned off

Individuals, are preparing to dispose of those minerals to foreign interests for private gain rather than in the interests of the Irish people as a whole, and there is reason to believe that it is collusion between an "independent" judiciary and the said vested interests, with advance knowledge of this "sell-out", that has led to those recent speculations referred to in paragraph one, above.

The neo-colonialist regime in Dublin is on record as stating that it is "helpless in this situation". No assistance, therefore, may be expected from that particular quarter by the Irish people, hence the reason for this intervention by the Republican Movement. We are not prepared to stand idly by and witness barefaced robbery of Irish wealth by an interested few.

You are, therefore, respectfully requested to inform your government that this Movement would welcome an assurance that it does not, and indeed will not, give any encouragement to Canadian citizens and companies or assist them in any way to engage in neo-colonialist policies in Ireland, and inform them that the interests of your country would best be served by a policy of friendship and goodwill towards the people on this island.

This should not be taken to mean that Canadian expertise and knowledge would not be

welcomed by this Movement, indeed it would be welcomed, provided that it is on the understanding that a fair, honest and just arrangement be arrived at which would protect the interests of the people of this Island. In this regard, and as a first priority, the erection of an Irish smelter plant would ensure that Irish mineral-bearing ores would not be exported to foreign smelting plants for processing. The export of these ores to foreign smelting plants we see as the enriching of foreign countries at the expense of the Irish people, and such exports by your nationals or companies would be regarded by this movement as an unfriendly act towards the Irish people.

We exhort you to further explain to your government and people that the mineral deposits in this country are valued at some £2,000,000,000, and Ireland, being a relatively poor country, could ill afford this enormous loss in return for £73,000,000 offered by brigands and buccaners.

### High unemployment

Ireland has one of the highest records for unemployment in the world, a largely underpaid working class, widespread poverty among the old, the weak, and the infirm, not to mention thousands of homeless people. Higher education, too, is denied to

children of working-class parents on the grounds of lack of finance. A neo-fascist, neo-colonialist-style "sovereign" government, in league with the brigands and buccaners, prefers to keep things that way for personal gain. It is the feeling of this Movement that were you to assist in explaining this situation to your government and people, it would meet with understanding and charity.

As you are well aware, the Irish Republican Army has no quarrel with any nation or people other than the British government. Least of all has it a quarrel with the government or people of Canada. It is our earnest wish that it will remain so. You, yourself, have a part to play in this, and we request your understanding in attributing intervention on our part as being a worthy one, and solely in the interests of all the people of Ireland, since no other body in Ireland seems willing to act.

We should be grateful if this letter were to be acknowledged in the Irish papers by a brief statement that it has been received and transmitted to the Canadian Government of which you are the representative. In any case, this statement will be released to the world's press no sooner than seven full days from the date hereon.

The letter is signed: P. O'Neill, Rúnaí, I.R.P.B.



# Hugh Feeney writes from Gartree jail

OVER these past number of weeks various opinions have been expressed in your letter column dealing with the issue of force-feeding. As one who has been and is being force-fed, I feel that some other matters should be high-lighted.

I can only speak for myself but as the Home Office has laid down instructions as regards my treatment I feel that the others are also covered by these instructions.

Force-feeding means being held down, a clamp being forced into the mouth. Rather than go into a detailed description of what goes on one only has to remember Marion Price's experience of a few weeks ago when she was blindfolded, gagged and had her lip split.

The other matters which your readers seem to be unfamiliar with I describe, and here I speak for myself but feel that the others may have and indeed have in all probability experienced.

Refusing as I do to wear prison clothing, I am naked except for a towel. One would imagine that one would be allowed to wear a towel. Not so. When I was seen by the prison doctor to be wearing a towel he dragged it from me and gave instructions that I was not to be given one.

On being force fed I became violently sick. Before feeding me the doctor told me that he was going to be as forceful as possible when feeding me. He did use the force which he threatened to use. After being sick I was naturally enough covered in vomit. I requested a towel to clean this from my body. This request was refused and I was forced to remain still covered with this mess.

I complained about this treatment but nothing was done. However when I was visited by

## a chara

persons from the political arena things did improve insofar as I was permitted to wear a towel or a blanket. One would in the light of what I have said imagine that being naked the possibility of concealing anything on my person would not exist. Not so.

In a security search I was spread eagled over a bed naked and my body was minutely searched. Again complaints fell on deaf ears.

From what I have experienced and said it would appear than under direct orders from the Home Office the prison authorities are determined to degrade and humiliate us.

The happenings I have just mentioned did not all take place in the one prison, but in various ones since my conviction, hence my belief that the instructions are coming from the Home Office.

We were sentenced to life and 20 years imprisonment. When sentence was being passed I do not recall hearing that I was also to be subjected to these forms of degrading treatment.

To all those who have demonstrated on our behalf their abhorrence of the treatment we are receiving I give my thanks and ask you to continue until we are returned.

— Hugh Feeney, Gartree Prison, Leicester, Sasana

## APPEAL TO DOCTORS

BECAUSE of the widely-held belief in the integrity and honesty of the medical profession, I feel that no apology should be necessary, for in writing to them, through your columns, in an effort to draw their attention to the poor and deteriorating health of the Price sisters and their comrades. Are they aware that force-feeding is being used on them, and, worse still is being administered and supervised, by those who would deem to be professional colleagues?

We call upon members of the medical profession to voice their condemnation of such activities by members of their profession.

We feel that they can do this, by writing to the B.M.A., expressing their abhorrence of this torture. By doing so they

would be upholding the integrity of their profession, and secondly, they would be helping in no small way, to alleviate unnecessary suffering and distress.

— The Internees, Cage Seven, Long Kesh Concentration Camp

## MARY KENNY

ONE is hardly surprised to learn that Mary Kenny has not added her voice to that of the other prominent people demanding the return of the Price sisters. Hugh Feeney and Gerald Kelly, to Ireland and for the cessation of the barbaric practice of forced feeding.

As Rosemary Sullivan so ably points out Mary K., and all those other psuedos and trendies, were all right chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi

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.

Min! (a ludicrous spectacle in the light of their silence and inaction when the repression was on their own soil) back in the hazy, lazy days of the mid-sixties; by their revolutionary zeal soon deserted when it came down to brass tacks.

An crú ar an tírme, mar a deirtear i nGaeilge.

Many people are as sick of bloodshed and violence as Mary Kenny claims to be but their detestation of it extends to the violence of fixing a wooden clamp to the mouths of young girls and pushing a rubber tube down their throats to force-feed them, a brutal performance which has gone on for 110 days as I write. And let us remember that the hunger strikers did not kill or set out to kill anybody, nor were they charged with doing so. Mary Kenny has often and profitably posed as a "revolutionary" on the media but there is nothing so pathetic as Establishment people try on the Che Guevara act.

The truth is, of course, that Mary Kenny and her comrades are not sell-outs for they never believed enough in anything to be accused of reneging on it later.

The great "liberals" of a few years back, Conor Cruise O'Brien and the likes, deserve all the contempt bestowed on them. They were nothing but phonies.

— D. Mac A., Northampton, Sasana.

## ÉIRE INA CUIGE

LE blianta beaga anuas tá méadóir mór tagtha ar líon na ndaoine atá imníoch faoi thionchar an chomhshamhlaithe ar shaoil na tíre.

Is é aithscríobh na staire agus d'fhéadfaí na Gaeilge sna hinstitiúidí atá faoi threoir an Stáit a dhéanadh cuid againn. Is é comhcheangal na n-institiúidí caca-naofa agus polaitiúla lena gcomhionann i Sasana, a chur cuid eile san airdeall. Baineadh stad as mórán eile nuair a chualadar faoi bhairtias an Aire Phoist agus Telegraif i leith leathaithe na seirbhísí teilefís Sasanaigh don tír ar fad agus faoi ionas a rinne sé i bPort Láirge ar stadas na Gaeilge. "Overbearing domineering and no longer acceptable" a thug sé ar an bpoistair Gaeilge a ligean 2.2 faoin gcéad d'áirí na teilefís le cláracha Gaeilge!

Tá géarghais na bealaí inar féidir le gnáthdhaoine, idir Ghaeilgeoirí agus daoine nach bhfuil mórán Gaeilge acu, a d'iafoicfead leis an náisiúntacht i nGaeilgeach a chur in iúl agus cur i gceoinne na bpolaistaithe comhshamhlaithe.

Chuipe seo tá Conradh na Gaeilge ag capri srath crumithe pobail i bpríomhchatharacha na tíre linn na seachtainí díreach roimhainn. Is í an príomhcheist faoi léithair eile na teilefís agus is é seo an príomhbhar a bheas faoi chaibidil na saoránach a bheas ag labhairt an árdan.

Reachtáilfead a chéad chruinniú acu seo i Hala na Saoirse, Dé Domhnaigh 24ú lá Márta, 2.30 p.m.

Is é an teideal a bheas ar an gcrúinniú seo ná "Éire ina Cuige Athuair": Beartas Uí Bhriain i leith na teilefís. — Macsheachlainn O'Caoláí, Uachtardaí, Conradh na Gaeilge, 6 Sráid Fheachair, Baile Átha Cliath, 2.

## BUILLE TUBAISTEACH

CÁ bhfuil ár dtíral mairir le cultúr agus Áthbheo na Teanga? An bhfuil muid inár gceile teanga agus le cultúr, nó an scéibhais sinn uile? Táim beagach cinnte go bhfuil gach Gaeil - arbh fhíú Gaeil a thabhairt muid - ag iarraidh aon ceiste eadhra fíú inniu.

Is tubaisteach an buille tobann seo atá beartaithe ag an Dochtúir C. O. Brian chun buailidh ar chláiracha Gaeilge RTE, agus ar áthbheo na teanga mar an gcéanna. Anois an tráth do na Gaeilgeoirí - muid na riamh cheana acu - chun a thaispeáid go díreach glan soiléir nach bhfuil siad sásta géilleadh go deo don bhfuil tobann uileach seo, ná do an leathbhuidé d'áthbheo a chur aon oiread.

Is é rud a chomhairlím ná: cuirinni na pobail dé na Gaeilgeoirí agus iad san áthbheo sin agus speis dá laghad acu i gceiltir ár gcine, a reachtáil ní hé aon ná príomhchathair ach ar fud na tíre uile. Cuirinni a seasmh go docht daingean ar son

Chúis na Teanga, cultúr na nGaeil agus 'chúile nud eile a bhaineann le náisiúntacht ar son Glóire Dé agus onóra na hÉireann.

Cathmífid a chur in iúl don doimhan nach scoitinn ná scéibhais sinn a thuilleadh. Is díol trua nach féidir linn a rá go macánta go bhfuil Teachtaí Dála againn mar dtír féin gur Gaeil iad nó hé in ann ach i gcóir agus i neart, Cathfear an scéal seo a leigheas luath nó mall!

Tá éis an méid sin a bheith ríra againn bh mhaith linn moladh speisialta a chur os coir Chonradh na Gaeilge fógraí clóbhuailte a chur in achan áit gur féidir é ag cur in iúl do gach aonine go bhfuil fáiltle is fiche ríomh cibé méid Gaeilge is féidir le haoine a labhairt.

Liam Ó Diabháin, Baile Átha Cliath, 3.

## TEILIFÍS B.B.C.

IS mór an léan liomsa agus le gach Fíor-Ghael beartachán an Aire Poist agus Telegraif, An Dr. Cris-O' Brian, go bhfuil sé ar intinn againe an dara bealach teilefís le B.B.C. l a chaoiladh anseo in Éirinn - nuair ba chóir do fheidhm a bhaint as le cultúir agus saol na hÉireann a chur chun cinn.

Tá fhios againn le fada, go bhfuil an iomad clár iasachta á gcráoiladh ag RTE cheana féin - agus go bhfuil cuid acu ag truailliú an aosa éig. Is soiléir againn go bhfuil a dtóradh le feicéall ar an drochscamp ar na busanaí deamacha i mBaile Átha Cliath agus in áiteannaibí eile.

Ar an taobh eile den scéal ní chaoiltear clár ar bith ó Éirinn thall i Sasana. Cad é an fáth go bhfuilimide ag stríochadh i gceonair?

Tugtar Teilefís Éireann ar an stáisiún. Bheo, in ainn Dé, bíodh sé Fíreannach.

— S. Ua hÉigearta, Oileán Ard Neimhidh, Co. Chorcaí.

Dr. Daly, Bishop of Ardaigh and Clonsmacnoise, has called upon Irish freedom fighters to lay down their arms and end their warfare. No similar call has been made by Dr. Daly to the Crown forces who murder, pillage and terrorise in their attempt to keep Ireland British, as illustrated by the gunman in this picture from the North.

## Republican

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## VISIT A PRISONER

TÁ na cimir i bPrísún Phortlaoise ag glacadh le cuairteanna athuair nó tá na húdaráis tar éis géilleadh dóibh sa chuid is mó dá ngearáin.

\* For people in Baile Átha Cliath, 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. Bígí dílis. Bígí fial flaithiúil daonna.



# Power-sharer Currie nits out

**POWER-SHARING** in the new Stormont has become a sharing in eviction, in persecution, in an attack on the working people, as is illustrated by the first arrest of a Rent-and-Rates striker earlier this month. The power-sharer responsible is the S.D.L.P. executive, Austin Currie.

The S.D.L.P. claims that it cannot be held responsible for internment, for tortures, for harassment by the Crown forces; such powers are reserved to Westminster.

The S.D.L.P. says it is not responsible for the trigger-happy, bullying R.U.C., also controlled by Westminster and that it still seeks a restructured R.U.C. despite British promises to the effect that no such restructuring is contemplated (yet S.D.L.P. members have joined local police committees).

But there can be no doubt about the responsibility of Austin Currie and the joint responsibility of his party for spearheading the attack on the people's resistance, expressed in the widespread Rents-and-Rates Strike.

Strikers have one non-violent remedy: to picket Currie wherever he goes and to show the S.D.L.P. in general what the working people think of them.

Dustin lids will need to be ready again to stop these attempts to break the strike. And the people should remember that the new Stormont will fail if the people stand solidly together: the regime cannot arrest everyone involved — the only hope can be to break the strike piecemeal and thus undermine the people's morale.

Promises under duress are invalid and not binding.

Rev. Brendan Murray, lecturer until recently in St. Mary's Training College, Belfast, has been exiled, for expressing his opinions about the Brits, to be a curate in Hillycastle, "The Siberia of the Diocese of Down and Connor," according to the "Hendonstown News," by Dr. Phibbin.

The prelate, it is pointed out, recently in Manchester condemned the treatment of Solzhenitzin, the Russian writer.

Limerick Republicans were out for the cause, and very effectively, too, in the parade, La le Padraig.



## Gaeltarra in éadan plean Ghaoth Dóbhair

féin den scéal a chur faoi mháir féin, leis.

### Debe

Níor shábháil sin muintir Ghaoth Dóbhair agus ó tharla saimeolaí ina measc agus a leas gar dá chroí, is amhlaidh a fuair Fíonntán an job. Rinne sé go snóite é agus bhí a thordadh le feiceáil taobh istigh den doras in Amharclann Ghaoth Dóbhair.

Shílfeadh go mbeadh Gaeltarra Éireann bál, más fíor a deir na boic mhóra faoi gur ag obair ar son leas na Gaeltarra atá sé. Ach i gcionn plean an fhorbartha seo atá Gaeltarra, a deir Fíonntán liom.

Tá cead ag muintir Ghaoth Dóbhair ruball a chur leis an scéal seo, trí na sonaí a nochdadh. Agus tá cead ag Gaeltarra a chuid

### Fear ceoil

SÚIL na casadh Pádraig Ó Maonaigh orm chuala mé muintir na háite — Gaoth Dóbhair arís — a mholadh, mar cheoltóir, mar mhúinteoir, mar dhúine a bhíú croí mór agus aís soma sásta a chuid saorrama a roinnt leis na páistí, len iad a oiliúint i gceol, agus saor in aiseis.

Tá banna ceoil faoi na chéirínne aige atá ar fheabhas. Agus an pháiste a bhíú féin an cheol ann, gheobhadh sé deis ó Phádraigh, bail ó Dhia air, chun sin a thabhairt chun foirne, nó chomh gar dó sin agus is féidir ar an saol seo.

Tá Gaileag ag Pádraig, chomh math, agus Gaileag chomh álainn céanna, agus ceol, ag a pháistí féin. Chuala mé beirt droibh, a mion ar an fhuil agus a mhac ar an bpiob uilleann. Mór an spórt é.

Fidiléir atá i bPádraig, sa chuid is mó de, ach tá ar a chumas daoine a oiliúint sa húilise eile. Agus bhí an dara ceol againn agus mise ar an mbail beag seo, tá ag fás chomh tapaigh sin, gach oíche a chaitheas an áit.

Nach é an trua Mhuire é nach bhíú daoine mar Phádraig ar fáil na Gaeltarra uile? Agus daoine eile chun na dambail a theagasc don aos óg, chomh math.

In áit amháin i gCannara biotán — nó bhíodh go dtí le dúnáin — fear ag teacht ó

## Honour for a martyr

A LARGE and enthusiastic crowd attended the George Plant Commemoration at Fethard, Co. Tipperary, on Sunday last.

Among those present was a sister of George Plant and the veteran Republican, Joe Clarke. Many of George's former comrades were also there to pay their respects.

Wraths were laid on the grave on behalf of Oglagh na hÉireann, the National Graves Association and the local George Plant Commemoration of Sinn Féin.

Many uniformed Gardaí and Special Branch were in attendance and listened attentively to what was being said, moving from the grave only when the National Anthem was being played by the local pipe band.

Mrs. Healy, Fethard, who presided, paid tribute to George Plant and thanked all who assisted in making the commemoration such a success.

The oration was given by Seán Keenan.

Ghailhim chun ceol a mhúineadh... ar phraghas. Agus gan mórán thair smid Ghaeilge ina phluic aige trí théarla is ea a mhúineann se.

Go bhfios dom, níl éinne fós ar fáil do mhuintir Ráth Cairn a dhéanfa an job seo, cé go bhfuil a fhios again gur iarr daoine ar Ghonradh na Gaileag agus ar Chomhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann feachaint chuige sin.

Ar scáth a chéile a mhaireann teagair, ceol agus damhsaí, agus an cultúr i gcoirinn. Is amhlaidh a neartaíonn siad a chéile.

B'fhéidir, i ndeireadh thiar, go bhféadfadh Cluasaicht na Poblaíochta fuil dualgas seo? Tá tabhairt as cuimse mór ag baint leis.

Is dócha gurb ionann is snámh in aghaidh easa bheith ag iarraidh ar dhream dícléit nó ar dhaoine amháin ar an sean-nós a fhóstu chun na páistí a oiliúint sin ealaín seo? Nó an gcaithfidh sé bás a fháil?

### Northern Aid BALLAD SESSION

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By Special Correspondent

THE little yellow man with a jack-knife: that is how President Lyndon Johnson once described the victor of Dien Bien Phu, Vo Nguyen Giap, considered one of the century's outstanding strategists.

Doubtless, after the Tet offensive in 1968, which led to Johnson's standing down from re-election, he may have revised his opinion somewhat of Giap.

This remark is an indication of how the Americans, as the French had done before them, misunderstood and underestimated Giap and his strategy of protracted war, as he called it, the People's War. Vo Nguyen Giap was born in a small village in Quang Binh Province, 60 miles north of the ancient capital of Hue. His father was a farm-labourer, a nationalist, and an organiser of political resistance against the French.

As a teenager, Giap already was known to the French Sureté for his clandestine, anti-French activities. He was sent to an exclusive college in Hue and emerged as a history teacher at a school in Hanoi.

There he became more aware of his country's history of resistance to colonialism and imperialism of various types down through the years.

He also became aware of the concept of the People's War, a long drawn out struggle in which all the people, not just the military, are involved.

This strategy of protracted war was based on a 13th century handbook but Giap was to prove that it was effective against modern technology and modern forms of combat.

In 1940, Giap crossed to China after the French had banned Viet Nam's Communist Party, of which he was a member. The next year, however, he returned to Viet Nam with about 100 men armed with Chinese guerrilla techniques.

During this period he outlined the structure of his rapidly expanding forces. This structure has not been changed. His forces

## FAMOUS GUERRILLA LEADERS: 2

# Giap: master strategist



were made up as follows: regular troops, guerrillas and, lastly, self-defence militia.

During this period he improved his guerrilla strategy, expanded his army and improved its equipment with the aid of the American Office of Strategic Services (forerunner of the C.I.A.), which air-dropped arms and supplies to the Viet Minh.

In September, 1945, the country was free from foreign control for the first time since the French conquest. In August of that year Ho Chi Minh formed a provisional Viet Minh government in Hanoi and proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Soon afterwards the French returned with the object of making Vietnam semi-autonomous within a world-wide Union Française. However, after long and protracted negotiations with Ho Chi Minh, the war began in earnest in 1946.

Giap's strategy was to wage guerrilla war for the first three years while he built up his army for a counter-offensive. The French, despite an army of 500,000, never had ever-mobile gunpower to combat the ever-mobile guerrillas effectively.

In 1951, Giap, using conventional tactics, lost 20,000 troops in the Battle for the Red River Delta.

In November, 1953, French Paratroops dropped on Dien Bien Phu, an isolated village with the benefit of an airstrip deep in Viet Minh territory.

entice the Viet Minh to attack where the French, with their superiority in firepower, would defeat them in a set-piece battle.

The Viet Minh, with 105mm guns, occupied the heights around the French fortifications and with these, blasted the French strong points, the airfield and artillery positions.

Giap's anti-aircraft gunners kept the French aircraft at bay while 28 Viet Minh battalions attacked Dien Bien Phu. After 55 days Dien Bien Phu was overwhelmed with a loss of 13,000 French troops. French rule in Indo-China was at an end. Vietnam was partitioned but the war continued.

American "advisors" came in 1961 to support the southern puppet regime and soon there were 500,000 U.S. troops engaged in combating the Viet Cong.

The war swayed back and forth with the Viet Cong unable to defeat its opponent decisively; but neither were the Americans and their allies able to crush their elusive foe.

In 1968, however, during the feast of Tet 36,000 Communist soldiers attacked nearly 80 targets in South Vietnam, catching the Americans and South Vietnamese almost entirely by surprise.

While Giap's offensive failed in its military objective that of instigating a general uprising in the South nevertheless it succeeded in other respects. U.S. General Westmoreland was removed from com-

mand. It prompted the beginning of U.S. troop withdrawals. And, as already mentioned, it led to Johnson stepping down from re-election.

Nixon's "peace with honour" was a face-saving exercise and U.S. troops were withdrawn in 60 days. The war goes on but Giap has not only proved himself a great strategist but also that his theories on strategy were effective to such an extent that they could be used to cause two great military powers to withdraw from his country.

## DUBLIN-RUN S.A.S.

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It must be stopped, now, before it gets a grip. If the papers will not act trade unionists must speak out and demand, by massive demonstration, that it be abandoned.

The alternative is a terror never unleashed on Ireland since the time of Cromwell or Elizabeth and, indeed, threatening to surpass the atrocities of those times.

Every police man's life is in danger — including the editors, the politicians and the clergy. For no public figure is safe when the objective is to smear to the greatest possible extent and to have us fighting as never before on our own selves.

Don't put off action on this — act today,

by letter, telephone, telegram, meeting, resolution, picket, strike, whether you be a member of the Republican Movement, a sympathiser, or unattached.

### Stop SAS terror

The only way to stop SAS terror, north and south, Brit and "Free" State, is the co-ordinated, mass action of the people, spearheaded by the risen working class.

Remember Chile. Remember Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cyprus, Aden, Bolivia, Brazil, Algeria. Remember the bombs in Clones, in Dublin. Remember Wyman, Crinnion, Littlejohn. Remember Jack Lynch's memory lapse. Remember and act before it is too late.