

*the* **United  
Irishman**

AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTAITE

AIBREAN (APRIL) 1974

Iml. XXV11 Uimh. 4.

Luach 5p. (U.S. and Aus. 25c.)

# SAS



## The Murder Machine

The United Irishman this month tells the story of the trained killers of the SAS, a modern force of Black and Tans whose job is to kill, and kill again. The SAS planned Bloody Sunday when fourteen Irishmen and boys were slaughtered on the streets of Derry. Tugwell, Ford, Kitson and Wilford, a quartet of butchers, still have their bloody assassins roaming the streets and byways of the North. On pages 6 and 7, for the first time in any Irish paper is the real story of the hired killers of the SAS.



● Republican prisoners in Long Kesh.

# REPUBLICANS UNDER PROVO ATTACK

In Long Kesh on March 22 nineteen Republican remand prisoners were brutally attacked by 68 members of the Provisional Alliance. Following on this unprovoked assault the Republican prisoners were assured by leaders of the Provisionals that action would be taken to stop further attacks and that the people responsible would be disciplined.

Thirty minutes later, in the wash room, a mob armed with iron bars and clubs beat up six Republicans. All were seriously injured and one was removed unconscious to hospital.

In a statement issued by the Republican remand prisoners they point out that when there were equal numbers in Cage 10 there was no trouble. It was only with the growth of Provisional numbers and in particular the admission to Cage 10 of eight sentenced Provisionals that the attack was attempted.

Since this assault the Republican remand prisoners have been removed to Crumlin Road Prison where they are held in almost total solitary confinement. They are permitted one hour's exercise daily.

On the previous occasion following on a hunger strike the Republican prisoners were moved from Crumlin to Long Kesh. At that time the Prison authorities promised to place them in a non-sectarian cage. This promise was dishonoured by the Camp Commandant Truesdale.

The Republican remand prisoners are demanding that they be housed in the same cage as their sentenced comrades, Cage 21. As it was possible to move eight sentenced Provisionals into Remand Cage 10, it would appear that the British authorities are only concerned to promote trouble between Republicans and Provisionals.



Join  
the  
Republican  
Movement

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.  
We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.  
We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.  
We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.  
We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Contact local Sinn Fein members or write to An Rúnal, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.

I Wish to Join the Republican Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Step it up!



# National Book Service

20% discount on bulk orders of £10 or more. Price includes postage.

- John O'Leary: A Study In Irish Separatism by M Bourke ..... 60p
- Ground Rent Is Robbery ..... 25p
- The Year of Liberty by T. Pakenham ..... 55p
- The Secret Army by J. Bowyer-Bell ..... 70p
- Connolly's Selected Works in 4 Vols. .... £1.10 each
- On Ireland: Marx and Engels ..... £1.60
- The Life and Times of James Connolly by C. D. Greaves ..... £1.05
- Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution by C. D. Greaves ..... £4.00
- The Republic of Ireland by D. R. Lysaght ..... £1.15
- National Wage Agreements by N. Harris ..... 20p
- Imperialism and the Irish Nation ..... 15p
- Engels: Selected Writings ..... 45p
- The Civil War in Ireland by E. Neeson ..... 75p
- The Course of Irish History, ed. F. X. Martin ..... £1.60
- The Ulster Crisis by A. T. O. Stewart ..... £1.00
- Phases of Irish History by E. MacNeill ..... 60p
- The Tragedies of Kerry by D. MacArdle ..... 18p
- Divided Ulster by L. de Paor ..... 45p
- Freedom the Wolfe Tone Way by Sean Cronin ..... 75p
- The U.V.F. by C. Boulton ..... 55p
- Political Murders in Northern Ireland ..... 50p
- Belfast Ring Road — Republican Club publication ..... 18p
- Marxism, Christianity and Republicanism by Derry Kelleher ..... 25p
- Selected Writings of James Connolly (Paperback) ..... 55p
- A History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 by C. Toeling ..... £4.75
- The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland by M. Davitt ..... £7.50
- Marx and Engels: On the Paris Commune ..... £1.00

### Fadcheirín Nua

- Mairtin O Cadhain ..... £2.25
- tre'n bpost £2.40

Over 400 titles in stock.

Note: On orders to the Continent and elsewhere add 5p per book for Postage.

### ★ SPECIAL OFFERS ★

- Connolly's Selected Writings Edited by Peter Berekford Ellis.
- Plus: Labour in Irish History.
- The Reconquest of Ireland.
- and Sean Cronin's The Revolutionaries.
- for £1.20p. Post included.
- E. H. Carr's 7 volume history of the Russian Revolution for £5.

Please send me the items marked

AINM .....

SBOLADH .....

Enclosed is P.O. value £.....  
Send orders to the United Irishman Office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

The campaign to raise £30,000 to extend and redevelop the headquarters at Gardiner Place is being stepped up. Conscious of the many calls on our members and supporters for finance we are nevertheless convinced they understand the need for a well equipped, fully staffed focus point for the movement.

This month we direct our message to all Cumann and Clubs, who should if possible organise functions to raise funds.

In the two months since the fund was launched by Tomas MacGiolla and Cathal Goulding, the bulk of the subscriptions have come from abroad. The response to the fund over the coming months will be a demonstration to all of the commitment and understanding of our members the need for a Central Headquarters.

All donations should be sent to Padraig MacCaighaigh, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. A full list of donations will be published next month.

## Draw postponed

The CABHAIR Private Members Draw will take place on Wednesday, 10th April and not the 21st March as the ticket stated. All prize winners will be notified by post and their names will be included in the MAY issue of The United Irishman.

Cabhair, Irish Republican Prisoners' Defence and Aid Fund, sincerely thanks the hundreds of supporters throughout the world who sold tickets for the Irish Grand National Sweep and look forward to their continued support for the wives and families of Irish political prisoners.

Cabhair distributed hundreds of pounds weekly to help families of Irish political prisoners and money is always needed for this deserving cause. Send a donation today to: CABHAIR, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, Ireland. All monies, no matter how small, is greatly appreciated and received.

## INTERNATIONAL EVENT

Ann Webb, secretary of the Republican Anti-Imperialist Festival Committee, said that the Festival will be held in Dublin and Belfast from 22 July-3 August. The two-week programme will consist of lectures and concerts.

Webb, the response throughout the world has been tremendous. "People want to understand what is happening in Ireland." Further information on the Festival from Sean O'Clionnaigh, Irish Republican Movement, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.

### Comh-bhrón/Mac Ruairí

Is mian le Sinn Féin combhrón a dhéanamh lenár gComhairleoir Séamus Mac Ruairí (Rodgers) ar bhás a mháthara le déanaí ag a teach chomhúin in Anagair, Dún na nGall.  
Is mór an cáilíntéir í dá teacht agus do Phoblachtánigh gach áit. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a sanam.

The An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

# United Irishman

## 12 months for £1

Continent of Europe £2.

U.S. and Australia \$6 annual subscription. Cheques or postal orders should be made payable to: THE UNITED IRISHMAN, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

AIBREAN

Cathal Brugha barracks in the centre of Dublin has just become the centre of a controversy which may have considerable repercussions both within the ranks of the army and among those "R men who are attempting to give the new soldier a glossy facade.

Faced with continual dissatisfaction amongst the rank and file, the army chiefs and the Defence Minister, Paddy Donegan, have unleashed a massive publicity campaign aimed at raising the morale of those already serving and designed to hoodwink the innocent and the gullible into signing their lives away. The Sunday newspapers have been full of bright and exciting advertisements aimed at unemployed workers in those areas where the prospects of work are low to say the least.

One campaign, launched under the title '300 new jobs in Donegal', made its way through the Northwest earlier this month in a latest attempt to bolster up their already falling recruitment figures. Donegal is fair game in this latest publicity game. With one of the highest unemployment rates in the thirty-two counties, and with the latest border commitments of the coalition, Donegal workers are going to be a prime target for the Defence Ministry's public relations officers. So difficult has it become that they have openly advertised in the Northern press for recruits, knowing well that areas such as Derry have always been easy pickings. It has no longer become a rare sight to see a British and Irish Army recruitment advertisement side by side in the "Derry Journal".

Meanwhile, the internal problems grow, and rank and file dissatisfaction reaches new and more ominous proportions. Disillusionment is replaced by frustration. Promises of educational advancement and trade training, so lacking throughout the country, attract recruits particularly from the rural areas. Even discredited advertisements enticing youths to join up and see the world are still being used. Few receive any education and even fewer have a trade when they are finally discharged. The chosen few who find themselves abroad are lucky indeed but invariably find themselves as cannon fodder for the United Nations. Boredom and frustration has been replaced by a new interest; the young soldiers have found consolation in drugs.

Unpublished because of the traditional (and convenient) method of dealing with their own offenders, certain activities inside the camps would not have come to light if it had not been for some young soldiers who are prepared to fight back. Recently, ten soldiers in the Cathal Brugha barracks were arrested by members of the Drug squad of the Garda Síochana and the Army's own Special Investigation Branch (SIB) and charged with possession.

One soldier, found to be experiencing a bad 'trip', was armed with a FN rifle while on duty. He spent two days in St. Brigid's Military Hospital undergoing treatment. He was on LSD. On the night of 19/20 March searches of the soldiers' lockers revealed quantities of drugs. Since then, however, no evidence has emerged of the investigation or subsequent charges or discipline. On the surface, at least, it would seem that the affair has been quietly hushed up. Such publicity would not help their recruiting campaign at all.

In the same barracks on the night of 12/13 March three itinerants inadvertently wandered into the Barracks. Mystery surrounds the actual events leading up to the time that they were arrested, but the subsequent events have become very much a matter for public investigation. No mystery surrounds this part of the story.

After ending up in Jervis Street Hospital two of the itinerants were arrested and charged with trespass. This, after one had been shot at and another bayoneted in one hand. The third had been pistol-whipped around the head, necessitating 20 stitches. Medical treatment, we have since discovered, was refused them by a medical orderly at the barracks.

These and other events are merely indications of the severe pressures which the ordinary rank and file Irish soldier has to face at the present time. With living conditions equal to that in



# UP IN ARMS

© Paddy Donegan aims not at travelling people but to kill the dissatisfaction amongst rank-and-file recruits in the army who want education and training instead of life in camps in films.

the worst of the scandalous mental institutions, is it any wonder that drugs and a contempt for itinerants have become the order of the day for many of them.

Certainly, the seemingly nationwide harassment of travelling-folk has adopted a pattern which is being cynically ignored by the coalition government. But, then, should we be at all surprised, particularly when a member of that same government, Paddy Donegan, has himself shot at itinerants for

straying on to his land? If a Minister of the Dail can get away with it, why not a soldier?

There is something seriously wrong in the state of the armed forces; it is high time that the barrack gates were thrown open and the soldiers allowed to speak their mind. Only a trade union organised by the soldiers and controlled by the soldiers would finally see an end to the exploitation of our country's working-class youth in uniform.

## Littlejohn and the IRA

Following his escape from Mountjoy and his subsequent appearance on the Continent, Kenneth Littlejohn has given a number of interviews, exclusive in part, in an attempt to force the British Government to admit that both he and his brother Keith were employed by British Intelligence in a scheme to discredit the I.R.A. To date, his claims have met with nothing short of embarrassing silence from Cosgrave and Wilson.

Everyone must now accept that there is at least a grain of truth in everything that he says. But there are also inaccuracies. During the course of these interviews Littlejohn, either through naivety or in a bid to win favour with his former employers to secure the release of his brother, has continued to discredit and blacken the name of the Republican Movement.

His claim to have carried out financial operations on behalf of the I.R.A. and to have passed on the proceeds to a high ranking member in Dublin is completely without foundation.

A statement issued in August '73, by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau clarified certain points in relation to the Littlejohn affair. We reproduce a section of that statement here in reply to other allegations made by

Littlejohn and reiterated by him over the past few weeks. Kenneth and Keith Littlejohn were not at any time members of the Irish Republican Army, although their activities in South Down, Armagh and Louth were closely observed by members of the I.R.A. engaged in intelligence and counter-intelligence operations. The real nature of their activities only came to light after their imprisonment.

The Littlejohns' first contact with Republicans was through a Rostrevor man whose family had connections with the movement, and who was related to them by marriage. This man has since fled to America. The contacts would certainly have been able to supply them with information and to assist them in their actions. But because they had already been expelled or had never been members of the Republican Movement, the information which the contacts supplied would have been of little value.

"Paul Tinnelly (whom they named) had been expelled from the I.R.A. because he embarked on activities that were contrary to the policies of the Movement. Some of his activities were counter-revolutionary, designed to assist the forces of the British Government in increasing repression; others were

clearly motivated by profit. We have been aware for some time that British forces in South Down have been under instructions to refrain from arresting or otherwise hindering Tinnelly's activities." Agents of the British Government such as the Littlejohns, the Sackville Place bombers and the S.A.S. have been active and are still active in Ireland (see 'The Murder Machine') to create a bloody and confusion sectarian situation which will pave the way for the Federal Solution worked out at Sunningdale by the enemies of

Irish workers. It is in the interests of workers, both British and Irish, that a full scale public inquiry be held into the activities of British establishment agents in Ireland, and the co-operation of the West Britons in those activities. But judging by the silence both in Dublin and Westminster such an inquiry will never be held. In the words of an editorial in the influential Tory London "Times": "The intelligence operation continues. It ought not to be jeopardised by disclosures of how it is conducted".



• O'Brien speaks beautiful English.

## BEST ANSWER FOR CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

The instinct of many ordinary people is to reject Cruise O'Brien's version of an Ireland closely integrated with Britain in all aspects of life. It is a sound instinct.

There are practical ways in which people can express their instinct. One of these is to send their children to schools which provide education through Irish, and to work for the provision of such education in areas where it does not exist, as did the parents of Ballymun.

Church and state are equally opposed to education through Irish. Almost insuperable regulations are imposed on it. A minor breakthrough has been achieved in Dublin in the last couple of years with new schools in Ballymun, Glasnevin, Dundrum and Raheny.

At the same time the Department of Education is doing all in its power to force the closure of the Irish National schools in Marlborough Street, Dublin. They want to convert the buildings into offices. In the eyes of the Department the Irish language is well down the list of priorities.

These schools give the ordinary people an opportunity to show Cruise O'Brien what he can do with his "New Ireland". If you can send your children to these schools, do so. Better still, help to organise schools in new areas like Tallaght and Blanchardstown.

A generation of children who speak Irish is the best possible answer to O'Brien.

the **United Irishman**  
 An Ceirdeannac Aonaithe

**AT THIS TIME**

As the death toll in the Six Counties explodes to one thousand the dominant mood of the people is one of hopelessness. Helpless in the face of sectarian killings and incendiary devices, harassed by British troops and dazed by the continuing bombing campaign, they are increasingly turning back into the old moulds of sectarian politics.

Republicans at this time, more than ever before, must strive to keep the only alternative in front of the eyes of the people. At Easter when we commemorate the 1916 Rising, our message, no matter how irrelevant it may seem, must be the unity of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, in the struggle for the ownership of Ireland by the people of Ireland.

Clearly in the face of British inspired killings and sectarian attacks all have the duty to defend themselves. This is man's inalienable right and must be exercised. Yet above and beyond the immediate and growing sectarian hatred, there must be the recognition that the goal of the Democratic Socialist Republic can only be won by organised revolutionaries dedicated to building unity of the working class. That unity which is absolutely necessary to winning freedom now seems further away than in 1968. In that sense the tide is running with the Imperialists.

Republicanism was never an easy road to follow. And in the confusion which now exists in such a widespread fashion it is easy to see how some can be led astray. It is therefore necessary that we understand the reality of Ireland, North and South in the light of Republican principles. Those principles which once grasped, demand absolute obedience in the fight for a socialist, secular, free Ireland.

In the South the grip of foreign domination is being fought economically, politically and culturally. In the North no matter what the claims by some, Britain's tactics frustrate the growth of working class unity. Many of our members and friends have paid with their lives because they understood this plan and resisted it.

The present need is to continue to build and strengthen our organisations into disciplined, educated Republicans who will not be diverted, come what may, from the task of providing the leadership of the working class. It is this sense of purpose that the British are seeking to erode. Our victory is in seeing that they are not successful.

Torture is no longer just a theme for late night horror shows; it has now clearly become part and parcel of political administrations scattered throughout the world. Not only has it become policy in Chile, Brazil, Turkey, Vietnam, South Africa and Ireland, but evidence shows that it is no longer a question of simple physical assault but a highly sophisticated science based on medical expertise carried on with the active participation of doctors, psychologists and chemists.

In a report published last year, Amnesty International revealed that in the course of an investigation of 140 countries, the organisation has received allegations that torture is being systematically used in 69 of them and this has already been confirmed in 32 cases. Only 26 countries appear to have completely missed the epidemic.

At a conference held in Oslo in October last year to discuss torture, doctors classified colleagues who take part in these practices into five categories and outlined the role played by each.

At the bottom of the scale is the "token doctor" who advises treatment for a suffering patient — treatment which is either critically delayed or "unavailable". In such cases it is hard to prove that the doctor is actually involved in the torture as he often appears to be doing his best hampered by unsuitable conditions which surround him. But his very presence in such centres provides an atmosphere of responsible treatment and on his part this amounts to a tacit acceptance of and co-operation with the brutality whose victims he is called on to treat. There is little evidence that such doctors ever provide effective medical attention.

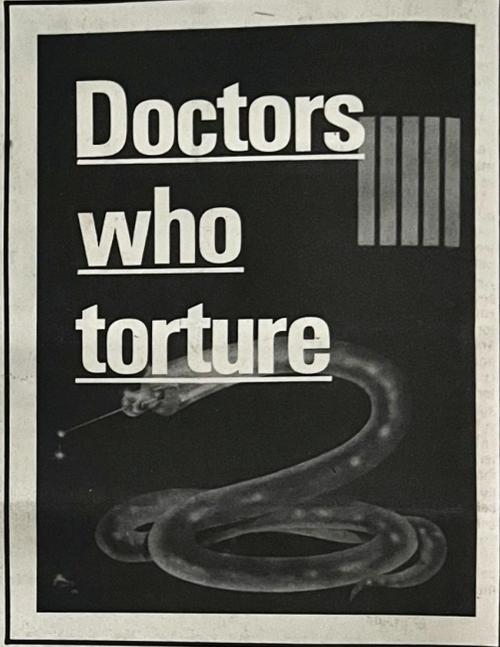
Clubbed

Next there is the "lying doctor" whose diagnosis, treatment and report is either grossly inadequate or false. In June 1971, for example, a Greek lawyer, Dimitrios Koutsikas, testified that he had been tortured for over 21 days at a centre in Athens. He was repeatedly clubbed in the ribs and chest and was left in terrible pain. He found it difficult to breathe and demanded medical attention. Four days later he was examined by a police doctor who decided that he did not need to be X-rayed or sent to hospital and the prisoner was transferred to a prison for further interrogation.

Further along the scale is the "authorising doctor" who certifies at a critical stage of the torture that the victim can "stand more of the treatment". In such cases there is no question where the guilt lies. In one case in South Africa, a prisoner, Mr.

**THE**

The following article reproduced from the current issue of "An Eochair", the paper of the Republican prisoners in Long Kesh, gives a victim's view of the medical neglect inside the camp. It leaves no doubt in the mind that the doctors who practice there are allowing themselves to be manipulated by the state. Irish doctors should now demand that they be allowed to carry out a full and impartial inquiry into conditions in all con-



Schalpobersky, was forced to stand on bricks and interrogated by teams of policemen almost continuously for 48 hours. Meanwhile, the British Embassy informed the police that the detainee had only recently recovered from a serious illness and was not to be manhandled. He was then taken to a local doctor who, on hearing of the treatment, told the police "there is nothing wrong with him: ride him". More actively involved than the others is the "reviving doctor" who administers treatment during torture in order to enable the torture to continue, to prevent death, or to maximise the pain. One such case was

published in Amnesty International's "Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil": "Fayal de Lira also underwent the 'mad dentist' torture, a name given to this particular method of brutality by the torturers themselves. This consists of keeping the mouth open forcibly by an instrument whilst Fayal was attached to a 'dragon chair', his torturers meanwhile using a dentist's drill and electric shock treatment on him... the drill broke three of his teeth; but despite the pain and several attacks of fainting he remained strong to the end. A doctor saw him, revived him with an injection and indicated that the torture could continue."

Finally, at the most debased end of the scale, there are doctors who have completely betrayed the ethics of their profession and are now little short of torturers themselves. Classified by the conference as "supervising doctors", they actually control the duration and techniques of torture.

In Palace Barracks, Holywood and Girdwood Barracks, Belfast, military doctors played a vital role in the administration of torture. During the torture victims were deprived of sleep for



● American soldiers train in the use of one of the torture techniques used in Long Kesh.

# PRISONERS' STORY

concentration camps in the country, both North and South of the border. The evidence that such an inquiry is necessary is here for those who are sufficiently interested to read it.

"I have a sore throat", I heard one of my fellow inmates say. I advised him to go to our prison doctor. What a sorry day it turned out to be for him, because of what seems to be the doctor's non-existent medical experience.

With no medical knowledge of his

own, the prisoner decided to follow the doctor's instructions, these being to get an injection of penicillin every day for four or five days. Not knowing what to expect the prisoner took his first taste of the needle and left the surgery.

On his return to his compound, he looked very pale and said that he was feeling heavy all over. He then took to bed. Thinking that this treatment would cure him, he decided to do as the doctor said, so

he continued getting the injections. But every day he was feeling worse.

It was one of my visiting days and when I was called I got ready and went to see my visitors, one of whom was a close friend. Having much the same troubles herself, I advised her to go and see her own doctor who would maybe put her on the same course as my fellow prisoner. She agreed to take my advice.

On her return the following week I asked her what the doctor had said.

She told me that he would not put her on that treatment because it would be of great risk to her. Explaining to the doctor what I had told her, his reply was that anyone who prescribed such treatment must not have had much medical education.

After making further inquiries with other prisoners, I found that several of them had undergone the same treatment I have been referring to, but for different types of illnesses. So it seems that these injections are being given out indiscriminately for any illness, leaving us prisoners in the situation of not knowing what to do to get proper medical treatment.

exceptionally long periods of time. Military doctors checked the state of health of the victims several times during the process. They made several checks such as listening to the heart and taking blood pressure. They then advised the torturers on how much more the prisoner could take.

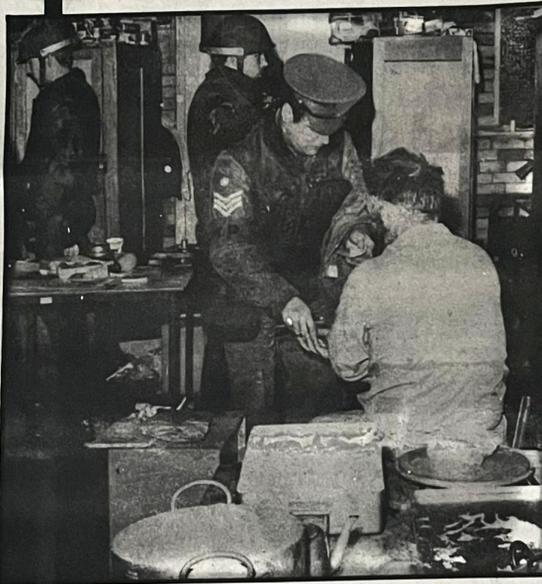
The men who administered the torture, renowned for their brutal treatment of prisoners in places such as Oman, Kenya and Cyprus, have been trained in a highly sophisticated system of torture techniques, which are unleashed one after another and which culminate through sleep torture in fits of fierce agony. Doctors who investigated such techniques said: "It is the most terrible of nightmares and those who go through it can no longer distinguish between the real and the unreal. And that is what the torturers are aiming at: making the victims believe that they have gone mad."

## Barbaric

The doctors who participated in the Oslo conference were shocked when they discovered the full extent of medical involvement in these barbaric activities. A set of demands were drawn up as a first step in a campaign to eliminate torture on a worldwide scale. The demands are generally good but unfortunately they make no mention of what action is to be taken against doctors, military or civilian, who assist in the administration of torture. Their immediate demand should be for the expulsion of all such doctors from every professional organisation to stop them from ever practising again. Hopefully, Irish doctors will organise around this demand and give other countries a lead.

But torture techniques are used mainly by fascist and anti-working-class governments against socialists and radicals. The only sure way to eliminate torture is to build revolutionary movements in every country throughout the world and to finally eradicate the vicious system which dictates that people should suffer and die at the hands of savages because of their struggles in the interests of the ordinary people for the ownership of the wealth which they create.

# THE CHANGING FACE OF TORTURE



● Dragging prisoners out of their beds in the middle of the night is another favourite psychological technique used by the British Army.

The crude methods of torture used in Brazil and Chile are no longer acceptable in the "more advanced" countries. Although physical torture techniques are still used by the British and American forces, they are no longer as important as they were. More subtle methods perverted for military use from the results of genuine medical research are now the order of the day. The mind rather than the body is the target for the modern sophisticated torturer.

In a report published by the Parker committee in 1972, the British Government casually admitted that training in sophisticated torture expertise was routine policy in the armed forces. "These techniques are taught at purpose built intelligence centres where service personnel are instructed in the art of interrogation in depth", says the report.

The courses which cover all aspects of torture place special emphasis on the most modern psychological methods of creating severe mental stress. Supervising the courses are high ranking army officers, attached to S.A.S. who teach the methods which they have found most effective in the numerous campaigns from the Royal Army Medical Corp. and a leading psychiatrist at a London teaching hospital provide the training in the more scientific methods to be used.

With the introduction of internment in the Six-Counties many of these men got their first opportunity to put their newly acquired skills to the test. Hundreds of men who passed through their hands on the way to the Maidstone, Crumlin Road, Long Kesh and the Musgrave Park Military Hospital can vouch for the effectiveness of their methods. Few of them bear any marks on their bodies, but the less obvious scars on their minds are just as serious and often more permanent.

Many of those detained were subjected to what scientists and doctors refer to as extensive sensory deprivation. Stripped naked and clothed in boiler suits they were unable to feel their surroundings. The infamous hoods and the incessant drone of "white noise" ensured that they were completely isolated from all friendly contact. Sleep deprivation and enforced hunger and thirst were other weapons in the hands of the torturers who were determined to break the sanity of their victims.

Professor Robert Daley of University College Cork who examined 20 men subjected to this treatment compared their symptoms to those of men suffering from shell shock in war time. "The commonest symptoms I found were of anxiety, fear and dread as well as insomnia and nightmares", he said. Other doctors who have studied such cases say that men subjected to this type of "interrogation" soon lose all sense of time, experience hallucinations, mental disturbances and fits of deep depression. In the most severe cases it leads to suicidal fantasies. One Republican in Long Kesh and a young Loyalist in Crumlin jail have already committed suicide.

Public apathy about the plight of those detained and imprisoned is increased with each new statement from the S.D.L.P. predicting an end to internment. Torture, they say, is no longer being used. In one sense they are right. Torture as it was used in the first few months of internment is no longer the general rule. And it was not the S.D.L.P., but the campaign of the people on the streets behind the banner of the C.R.A., which brought it to a halt.

The torture and cruelty in the Six-Counties will only end when the last political prisoner is free. With the active participation of the people in a peaceful campaign that day will come much sooner. The problem is too great to be left in the hands of the opportunists of the S.D.L.P. who care only for power and nothing for people.

## Neglect and brutality in Kesh

Last year the Association for Legal Justice published a report on life in Long Kesh. The report was compiled by the prisoners themselves and gives a shocking picture of brutality and neglect designed to break all resistance by the prisoners.

Despite the presence of a civilian administration it is the military which controls Long Kesh. Often "searches" are carried out with such brutality that they cause a riot. One such riot took place on July 4th, last year in Cage 16 when 22 internees were injured, some badly. After another riot later in the year 7 loyalists were taken to Musgrave Park Military Hospital, some of them so seriously injured that they were detained there for six weeks.

"All this happens", says the report, "at the expense of the prisoners, both mentally as well as physically and, with that in mind, it becomes apparent that as well as using us as guinea pigs, there is a systematic plan to break us in spirit. The fact that this plan is not having the desired effect would give credence to the per-

sistent rumours that the British regime is anxious to staff the prison section of this camp, at least partially, with military personnel."

The Long Kesh report says that one of the most serious forms of brutality is through totally inadequate medical services. Two doctors attend the 700 man camp (now 1,800) on a rota basis and many men with illnesses and injuries that require hospital attention are kept locked up in bad conditions.

These case histories from the report and recorded by prisoners are examples:

Case 'B'. Perforated Eardrums. This man was informed that an operation is necessary. No date has been fixed. He has been seeing the prison doctors in both Crumlin Road and Long Kesh for nine months.

Case 'C'. Severe pains in legs. This was reported to the doctor over eight months ago. The only treatment prescribed was pain killers. Lumps have formed from time to time, and he has been told by the doctors that, the next time this happens, he

is to go straight over to him as 'it could be anything'. The doctor didn't say what to do if he was unavailable.

Case 'D'. Prevailing history of TB. The prison doctor was informed, but this man is 15 months overdue for his annual X ray. He is suffering from chest pains and breathlessness, but is receiving no treatment whatsoever.

Case 'F'. Serious head, leg and arm wounds. This man was being treated for his wounds in an outside hospital and was given skin grafts. The only treatment that he has received here has been headache tablets. Whilst he was ill with influenza, he was taken to the sick bay for treatment and a poultice was applied to the skin draft on his head.

He was told that a specialist should see him, as the graft was only the thickness of a cigarette paper. The specialist eventually arrived after a delay of some months and said that he would 'fix' his head. The specialist has not been seen since and this man is still waiting for hospital treatment.

# The Murder Machine

There are names such as Cromwell which are printed in blood on the pages of Irish history. The modern Cromwells, those who planned and executed Britain's policy of murder and terror in the Six Counties, have yet to be recognised as the descendants of that arch-butcher. Within the British Army they have developed a murder machine. The name is known to many, the S.A.S., but the truth about this gang of wanton, sadistic killers has yet to be told in full.

The United Irishman has investigated some of the aspects of

this secret army within the British Army. Since 1964 the British Government has kept the identities of the S.A.S. secret. There are very good reasons for this. Some of the most senior men in the British Army are members of the bloody brotherhood of S.A.S. They belong to the top establishment families. They are supported by the English ruling class and their purpose is, not only in Ireland, but also in England to maintain that ruling class.

On Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972, Tugwell, Wilford and Kitson let loose the Para thugs and killed 14

Derek Wilford, butcher of Derry, is known to the world as a Lt. Col in the 1st Para. In fact since he became a Captain in 1961 in the 2nd East Anglian Regiment he has been a member of the S.A.S.

Not only was Wilford the sadistic killer in Derry but he was the man in charge of the torture centre at Hollywood, Dec. '71. There he was ably assisted by Captain Mike Jackson who posed as the Press Officer. His real work was supervising the extraction of information from prisoners; Jackson is an officer in the Intelligence Corps.

Wilford's career is a study in the development of a leader in the S.A.S. He joined the British Army as a National Service Officer on March 28, 1953. In 1956 he became a Short Service officer in the Royal Leicesters. But by the following year he was regular officer in the Royal Lincolns. After joining S.A.S. as a Captain his promotion was guaranteed, he became a Major, supposedly in the Royal Anglian Regiment, February 16, 1967.

He then began his S.A.S. work in the Six Counties in 1970 and emerges as a Lt. Colonel in the Paras in 1971.

It may appear that Wilford has a fairly normal military career until he supervised the massacre of Derry. From the moment he joined S.A.S. he was no longer a career officer, but part of a secret army. In 1967 he was sent to the Royal Military College of Science to study for one year. Here he came to know the theories of Brigadier Frank "Killer" Kitson. These theories he was to put into operation on Bloody Sunday.

Sunday Times journalists, Sayle and Humphry, in an article which their paper refused to publish but which was later published in the "Irish People" state, "The idea — worked out, we believe, by Derek Wilford on line of thinking propounded by Brigadier Frank Kitson, British Army

## SEAL OFF AND SLAUGHTER

counter-insurgency expert, was based on the military principle that the way to bring your enemy to battle is to attack something that, for prestige reasons, he will have to defend — the Germans attacking Verdun in the First World War or the same firm attacking Stalingrad in the Second. Brought to battle he will then be annihilated by superior strength.

"The Civil Rights march, the Parachute Regiment planners believed, was just such an objective, the IRA would have to defend or lose its popular support in the Bogside — either way the IRA would be finished."

While the Times reporters are correct in



• Wilford, who sealed off and slaughtered.

many ways, they failed to establish the real truth of Bloody Sunday. That truth is that the operation was master-minded by the S.A.S. For while Wilford was in Hollywood, Kitson was in Thiepval Barracks.

It is not possible to say whether Wilford's intelligence officer Jackson was S.A.S. but Kitson's assistant in Lisburn was Major Richard Stannard brought specially back from the Arabian Gulf where he was in charge of S.A.S. operations.

The murderers of Derry, the men who really fired the guns, belong to the Special Air Service. They are Kitson, Wilford and Stannard.

innocent people. This was no accident. The men at the top, expert murderers, were members of S.A.S. Their supporters then and later were members of the British establishment. Such as ex-Brigadier Francis Peter Barclay (Colonel of the Royal Norfolk Regiment) who wrote to Wilford . . . "how proud it made me feel to see the way your lads went into action against the blighters . . ."

Or John Passmore Widgey (Baron), ex Lt. Colonel, married into an Air Vice-Marshal's family. He later whitewashed the killers.



# Killer Kitson architect of terror

Brigadier Frank Edward "Killer" Kitson, as he is called even by his colleagues in the British Army, is the theoretical demon of the new S.A.S.

He joined the Rifle Brigade in 1946 at the age of 20 and since then has been at the centre of all British repression throughout the world. As a military intelligence officer in Kenya (1953-55) he earned the name of "Killer" as his favourite sport was to dress as an African and murder so-called Mau-Mau terrorists. In Malaya (1957) he enjoyed hunting Communists where he began to see his ideas on "counter insurgency" as the defence of the class to which he belongs.

His next field of operations was in

Cyprus where he spread his anti-people ideas while a battalion commander with the United Nations. Immediately after August 1969 he was posted to the Six Counties and in 1970 became commander of the 39 Airportable Brigade. Included in this Brigade were the vicious killers of the 1st Paras and the 45 Commando, Royal Marines who were responsible for the slaughter on the New Lodge Road when six people were brutally murdered. Also under Kitson's command were two regiments, the Scots Guards and the Royal Scots which are known to have members of the S.A.S. in their officer ranks. (See The Killers Named').

Kitson is a perfect example of the class nature of the S.A.S. and

its role within the British Army. He is the son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Karslake Kitson C.B.E., M.C., and married to the daughter of Colonel Charles Richard Spencer, C.B.E. As a boy he attended Stowe Public School, a hot house for training the children of the British ruling class.

Since 1969 Kitson has had the opportunity to experiment with his ideas in the Six Counties. From his point of view the strife torn community of the North is a perfect laboratory in which to polish up his thinking in ways to destroy people's resistance to repression. Now he has been transferred back to Britain to indoctrinate the officer class on the importance of his theories for crushing internal resistance to capitalism in Britain.

Trade Unionists, strikers and left-wing organisations are all, in Kitson's eyes, the enemies of the ruling class. Even the British Labour Party is considered subversive — they treat the workers too kindly. Recent British Army exercises at London Airport, in Yorkshire villages and in Scotland all confirm that Kitson's thinking has gripped the British Army. He also has the S.A.S. to back him.

# THE KILLERS NAMED

Until the recent expose in the London Times by Robert Fisk, the British Government had constantly denied that the S.A.S. were fully operative in the Six Counties. The following officers are currently on S.A.S. duty.

**MAJOR G. D. N. WILLIAMS** with the Reserve Battalion 1st Duke of Edinburgh Royal Regiment stationed at Ballykinlar Camp.

**MAJOR R. LEA**, formerly Captain with the Queen's Own Buffs, now with the 2nd Queen's Regiment in Creggan, Derry.

**MAJOR A. SCHOFIELD**, formerly with the Foresters, attached to the Prince of Wales Division and serving in the 1st Royal Regiment of Wales at Palace Barracks, Hollywood.

**MAJOR G. R. MITCHELL, B.E.M.**, formerly on the General List now a Quarter-Master with the 2nd Scots Guards, stationed at Springfield Road Barracks, Belfast.

**MAJOR J. R. A. WILKES**, supposedly a Para officer and now stationed with the 3rd Para, Tennant Street, Belfast.

**MAJOR S. W. McBAIN**, formerly Captain with the Royal Scots, currently attached to the 1st Queen's Own Highlanders at Hasting Street, Belfast.

The paymaster for the S.A.S. is Major P. A. G. Davey who has held this position since 1963. It is not as yet possible to locate his current Regiment and his record only states his appointment to Major on 2/7/65. The financing therefore of all S.A.S. operations does not appear on any operations Paymaster's A/Cs.

Major C. L. D. Newell, M.B.E., has held the office position since 1962. It is interesting to note that he is the only officer listed as serving with S.A.S. even in internal records.

The development of the S.A.S. recently has been mainly on the spread of "good" men throughout the regiments associated with Scotland and Wales. This would seem to reflect the widely held fears of local insurrections of a nationalistic type and the placing of Major I. G. Jack, once with the Royal Artillery, to Headquarters Scotland as Deputy Assistant Adj. General would seem to confirm this suspicion. Jack was a Captain with S.A.S. as early as 1962.

# MAN AT THE TOP

Current Director of the Special Air Services and Commander of the S.A.S. Group is Brigadier J. J. H. Simpson. Formerly a Lt. Colonel in the Gordon Highlanders he was promoted to the rank of Colonel and moved to the General Staff Headquarters of the United Kingdom Land Forces at Wilton, near Salisbury.

There are four main units under his control: 22 SAS, based at Bradbury Lines Camp, Hoarwithy Road Hereford; 21 SAS at the Duke of Yorks HQ, Kings Road, Chelsea, London, 21 Unit has further sections at Hitchin, Herts and Portsmouth; 23 SAS (TA) with two units in North and South Birmingham and detachments at Doncaster, Leeds and Dundee 83 SAS is a Signal Squadron with Headquarters in Portsmouth and support groups in Southampton and Bournemouth. R Squadron is a Reserve of Regulars who can be called into service with the main unit 22 SAS any time.

There would appear to be three main training grounds for the killer squads. Apart from the use of "normal" centres such as Eastney Royal Marine Barracks, Portsmouth where in-

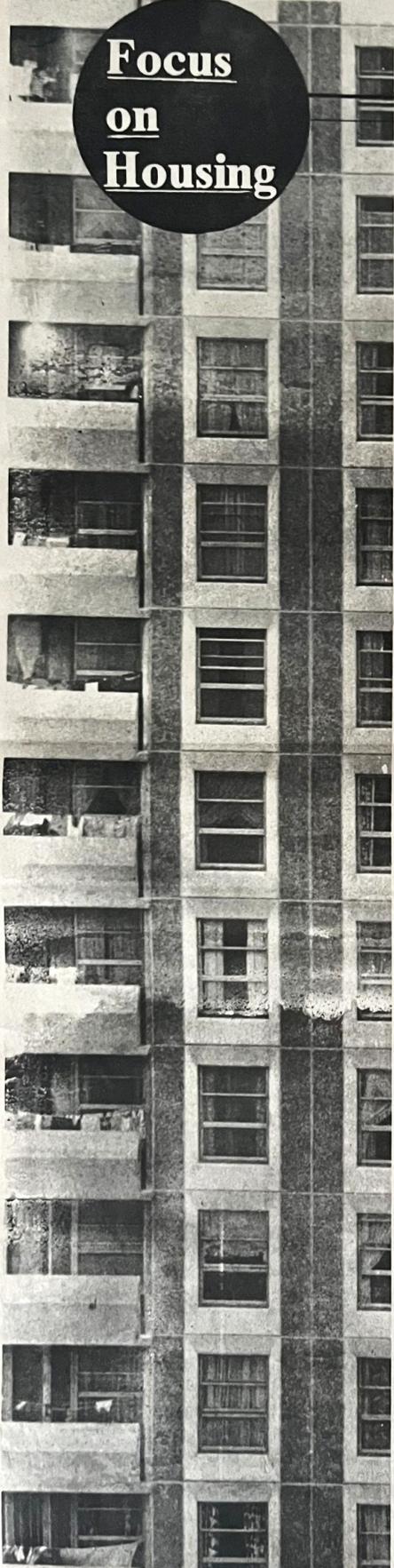
terrogation techniques would seem to be the main preoccupation. The primary SAS training area is Penny Farm Mountain, near Brecon, Wales. Beaulieu in the New Forest has recently been reported as a centre for "advanced training in counter insurgency operations". There is also some evidence that selected Para groups have been there recently learning support techniques for SAS operations.

Finally there is the former camp at Ogbourne St. George, Marlborough, Wilts. The area has been specially designed with purpose built buildings for "training in internal security aiding the civil powers, counter revolutionary warfare, urban guerilla warfare etc." While the camp is staffed and run by regulars, TAVR units have been seen on this base.

There is growing disquiet both in Whitehall and among some Army officers at the secret nature of SAS training and the concealment of their actual members. The decision to "train and return to unit" means that there could be any number of SAS indoctrinated personnel spread right throughout the Army.



Stannard's men in Oman take a break from murder.



## Focus on Housing

# DUBLIN

In an area right in the middle of Dublin, according to a preliminary report conducted by the Community Development Division of the Department of Psychiatry, UCD, the average unemployment is twice as high as the national average — 12.5 per cent. In one section, unemployment stands at 20.3 p.c. "These figures can only be expected to increase", says the report, "as traditional industries are rationalised or closed down and workers have neither skills nor opportunities for alternative employment."

Opening the report are the words: "There is a crisis in the City of Dublin". Basically, it consists of a study of the area bounded by the River Liffey on the South; O'Connell Street and Frederick Street on the West; Dorset Street on the North, and the Royal Canal on the North-East and East.

"In place of a thriving set of interlinked communities," the report continues, "the future of the area could be a facade of office blocks and conference centres." That, it would seem, is the kernel of the report, for arising out of all the analysis, facts and conclusion is the one inescapable fact — people are being gradually squeezed out and replaced by office blocks.

Whilst the report is vague on this question, it nevertheless leaves the reader to come to his or her own conclusions. In fact, it poses the question of whether or not people were being 'forced' out for better work or living conditions or of re-development.

Regarded as sub-standard, the housing is old and lacking in even the basic amenities. In Mountjoy B, for example, 77 p.c. of all housing units were built before 1900; 51 p.c. of all houses (or flats) are without baths. In two wards, the number of 'housing units' in multi-dwelling buildings is approximately 80 p.c. "Over-crowding", says the report, "is the rule rather than the exception."

Amenities are few. Playgrounds (if you can find them) are inadequate and children are usually forced to play in the streets. The danger because of the high volume of traffic in this area, needless to say, is serious. Open spaces are few and far between. Greenery is virtually like looking for a needle in a haystack: it doesn't exist.

Attempts to collect information by the researchers were met with blank faces. To get information on the schools it was necessary for them to visit the schools themselves. There was no central agency able to provide the information. On housing it was necessary to go to the Census — the Corporation did not have it; despite the fact that they owned and were responsible for 75 p.c. of housing in the area!

Perhaps the most significant of the facts which emerge out of this report is the percentage drop in population in this area between 1966-71. In North City, the percentage drop in population was a massive 22.1 p.c. In Mountjoy A it was 19 p.c. Where have they all gone?

In North Dock C, 12 p.c. of those houses still occupied were built before 1860; 28 p.c. before 1899, and 7 p.c. before 1918. In Mountjoy B the percentage built before 1860 is 42.77 p.c. and in Rotunda 28 p.c. In Mountjoy B those housing units without a bath stand at the record figure of 50.64 p.c. Overall, the housing in these areas with the exception of Mountjoy B, is owned by the Local Authority.

In the mid-sixties with a chronic shortage of housing, especially in Dublin, the Fianna Fail government of the day needed a quick solution to the problem. The man who provided the solution" was Neil Blaney.

His answer to the pleas of the homeless of Dublin was Ballymun.

The decision to build Ballymun was influenced by a number of factors. On the one hand, to maintain political supremacy, Fianna Fail had to do something to stem the rising tide of criticism at its lack of a

housing policy. On the other there were enormous pressures from the wealthy backers of Fianna Fail with their vested property interests to ensure that all future housing development should be centred on the fringes of the city. In the end the profiteers won.

Ballymun now stands, seven years later, a series of blocks of bare, vertical slums, monuments to the wealthy patrons of Fianna Fail and the political opportunism of Neil Blaney. Dressed up with promises of numerous community

facilities, it was readily accepted by the homeless of Dublin.

The short history of Ballymun is an endless tale of broken promises and neglect. Hardly a week passes without the central heating breaking down at least once. And few of the promises of facilities ever got beyond the planning stage. Disillusioned and dissatisfied with the scheme, the tenants have constantly campaigned for a massive salvage programme to alleviate the many problems they are forced to endure.

# The big squeeze

What does it all signify? Throughout the report is a story of dreadful living conditions and massive movements of population from the area in question, presumably to the outlying concrete jungles of Ballymun and Ballyfermot. But for what purpose? Despite the failure of the report to draw specific conclusions and point unwaveringly to the reasons for the rundown of these areas, it nevertheless raises vital questions which must be answered.

The scandal of Fenian Street and the nest of vipers which were exposed to light and public scrutiny when the tenants stuck their ground, is evidence of the need for detailed analysis of the conditions which exist in these deprived areas. However, to get to the root of the problem it is necessary to look at the economic as well as the social reasons for the exodus.

## Ministers' poor record

With the speculators expecting to make fortunes out of City centre property, the City Management is hardly likely to come to the aid of the tenants and introduce employment initiatives, much less make the buildings habitable. Their record on the Fenian Street squattings is evidence of their intentions and allegiances. Too much is at stake. In a word, the property is worth a fortune.

But where does the Government stand in this question? Garret FitzGerald quietly forgot about the people in Fenian Street once he became a Minister. Mr. Tully, who is probably the person responsible and who is at present tied up with the housing chaos in Cork, cannot be trusted. His record in the Cork dispute isn't likely to raise his sympathy for the Dublin poor any more than it did for the people in Cork.

Finally, the report asks: "Will the City centre become only a location for expensive office developments interspersed with urban motorways and feeder routes? If so, will it also be cleared of ordinary people and become a deserted wasteland?" In the interests of the working-class of Dublin, indeed of Ireland, the answer must be a resounding and emphatic — No!

# BALLYMUN

# CORK

## BUYING OFF THE CRITICS

Like some latter-day King Solomon, Minister for Local Government, Mr. James Tully has been casting his wisdom indiscriminately around the potentially explosive situation in the Cork housing estates of Mayfield, Togher and the Glen. Like an epidemic of Asian Flu, the scandals have grown with each passing day. Mr. Tully, far from throwing oil on the troubled Cork waters, which clearly has been his intention, has tended instead to antagonise the local people and

exposed stories which must certainly be creating tidal waves of discontent amongst the tenants of the Cork estates.

Weighing in behind Mr. Tully, the Cork Corporation, in response to a rent strike aimed at exposing the grave deficiencies in the housing in Cork, prosecuted the tenants' leaders and had them

sentenced to a period of fourteen days in prison. Mr. Justice D. P. O'Donovan who placed a three month 'stay' on the sentence, and who claimed that he wanted to see the dispute resolved, saw the same men appear in court once again, this time to receive a further fourteen days. The impasse deepens.

How did it all happen? Mr. Tully with his retinue of cloth-eared bureaucrats from the Cork city hall, walked into what was described in *The Irish People* as a 'Bogside Situation'. Beginning perhaps with severe defects to housing in the National Building Agency schemes in Cork; it was later found in documents held by the Tenants Associations that the 800 houses were originally to cost £6,272,569, increased by the 'respectable' sum of £2,000,000 — half way through the building programme!

Needless to say, the Tenants Associations called for a public inquiry. Councillor Sean O'Leary, in a memorandum to Cork Corporation in August 1970, sought an investigation from the Minister for Local Government into the performance of the N.B.A. and the contractors. "An increase of £2,000,000, one third of the total cost", he said, "is totally unacceptable to me". He went on, "This represents nearly 50p in the £ on the rates for the next fifty years." Any wonder that they insisted on an inquiry?

The memorandum which O'Leary submitted to the Corporation revealed that the bill for the 'professional services' of the National Building Agency amounted to the princely sum of £300,000. "The corporation should note", said the memorandum, "that this amount is in addition to a sum of £210,000 specifically set aside in the contract for the fees of Messrs. Sisk Construction Systems Ltd."

Still more documents possessed by the tenants indicated that the Engineering Department of the Corporation were highly dissatisfied with the 'completed' Togher scheme in 1971/72. Chaos increased and confusion reigned supreme. Meanwhile, the condition of the houses deteriorated. Mr. Tully, now under pressure from the tenants, responded by announcing that a British expert commissioned by him had con-

firmed that serious defects existed.

In a joint statement from the Tenants' organisations questions were asked which if answered would lance the festering discontent over the whole affair. It said: 'What was the final cost — or has some deal been done between the Department of Local Government, the National Building Agency and the contractors in order that the excess on the £8,000,000 can be eliminated or covered up?'. They are still waiting for the answers.

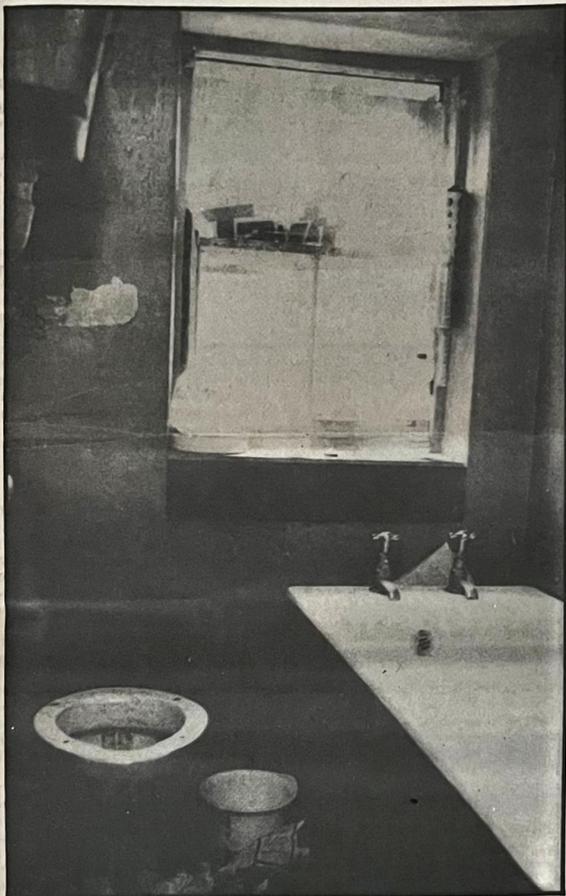
Meanwhile as a result of dampness, poor ventilation and other defects, an epidemic of bronchial illness was reported. Nevertheless, Mr. Tully threw down the gauntlet when he informed the Corporation to take 'whatever steps are necessary' to recover rent withheld by the strikers. Since court orders had already been made against some tenants, the next step it was felt would be evictions and possibly imprisonment.

### Tenant's leaders must act

Describing Mr. Tully's action as 'foolhardy and dictatorial' the Joint Council of Tenants Associations has hit the Coalition right on its ministerial head. What is required now is that they take their opposition to the logical conclusion. Demands for 'impartial inquiries' must be accompanied by a national rent strike as part of the overall struggle against the profiteers who make millions out of the misery of the Irish working-class.

True to the point, the Irish People was correct in drawing the parallel between the situation in the Bogside which arose out of inadequate living conditions, and that in Cork. Either the Coalition bring their chameleon like Minister Tully to heel and accede to the demand for an impartial public inquiry or suffer the consequences. The people of Cork must take the initiative now. Demand that their Tenants' Associations take united action immediately and call on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to support them in any action which they feel is necessary.

To wait for further imprisonments will result in widespread disillusionment. All tenants' leaders must act — now!



● Believe it or not, these people are lucky.

# THE VERTICAL SLUM

But the notoriety of Neil Blaney extends far beyond the perimeter of Ballymun. Responsibility for many of the disastrous housing schemes in other parts of the country can be laid squarely on his shoulders.

The National Building Agency, a benefit society for Taxateers, was first established by Blaney and later extended by Kevin Boland during his term in local government. The contracts for the many housing schemes which they initiated around the country were given to a few select

firms who made colossal profits at the expense of the tenants.

In the last analysis it is the tenants in the estates who suffer the results of government blunders and the cut-corner builders. Ballymun is deteriorating so rapidly, and so many families are leaving, that it could well be deserted in a few years time.

But there is an alternative. It is up to the Republican Movement to show people the revolutionary road which puts people before profits and homes before office blocks.



Tá fílea agus féasta ag tosú in Éirinn. Ach ní bheidh Muintir na hÉireann pairteach ann. Beidh siad san ag freastal ar lucht na fílea. Ní bheidh siad ach ina ngiollaí.

Beidh slua mór i láthair, agus ní bheidh morán aird ar bhéasa, ach 'chúile dhúine ag troid ar nós an diabhlach chun an sciar is mó is féidir a bhaint amach dó féin. Boic mhóra a bheidh mar aionna ó chomhluchtai ola, gás, agus mianadóireachta, ó bhancanna agus ó chomhluchtai eile airgeadais, agus dornán bead paggadís a mbeidh sé de chúram orthu an bealach a réiteach, na hÉireannaigh a shuaimhnú agus cuma charadais a chur ar an seo uilig.

Is eol don saol mór anois go bhfuil saibhreas thar na beartaibh in Éirinn agus nach bhfuil i Tara agus a leithéid ach tús an scéil, biodh gur fairsing mar thosach tad. Is eol don saol mór é. Ach ní eol do mhuintir na hÉireann é.

Cé go bhfuil caint faoin rud le tamall, ní chreidann nó ní thuigeann muintir na hÉireann fós méid an tsabhris seo.

### Fadhbanna

Tá réiteach ár gcuid fadhbanna eacnamaíochta agus sóisialta uilig anseo. Is ráiteas é sin áta fíor ach áta ró-mhór do shamhlaíocht an duine áta ag fáil scór nó cúpla scór púnt sa tseachtain agus nach bhfaigheann greim ceart ar fhiúgúir a théann isteach sna milliúin. Ach tá sé ag tarlú cheana féin i Norway, áit ar choinnigh an Rialtas greim ar an saibhreas.

Ní gá go dtarlódh an rud céanna anseo. Ná ní tharlódh muna musclófar an pobal

go tapaidh. An Resources Study Group agus an Resources Protection Campaign áta chun tosaigh san iarracht chun an pobal a chur ar an eolas. Ach táid ró-acadúil, níl bonn láidir acu in eagraíochtaí an phobail ná sna meain chumarsáide.

Cathrigh eagraíochtaí náisiúnta an obair a dhéanamh, na Ceardchumainn, Sinn Féin, ACRA, NATO, i. Tá taighde le déanamh. An cineál taighde a rinne Resources Study Group faoi Tara.

Obair mhór, sclábhoicht fhada gan ghloir gan phoiblíocht áta i gceist. Bhfuil a leithéid ar bun ag na Ceardchumainn? Ní dóigh lior é. Nó ag Sinn Féin, ACRA i. r.

### Saibhreas

Gan eolas cruinn beacht, ní féidir troid in aghaidh na n-eachttrannach uilig áta ag faire ar an saibhreas seo, a bhfuil a gcuid crúcaí síte go domhain ag cuid acu ann cheana féin. Ná in aghaidh an lucht feille sa tír seo a dhíofadh leas mhuintir na hÉireann ar an bpraghas is aird nuair a thiofaidh an deis. Mar a rinne Tony O'Reilly le déanaí. Mar a dhéanfaid Pat Hughes, Paddy McGrath, Alexis Fitzgerald agus an chuid eile nuair a thiofaidh an tráth ceart agus an brú mór.

Ní h-aon bhac i an fharraige níos mó ar an duine. Sin an chúis go bhfuil tír scór comhlucht anois ar thoir ola agus gás amach ó chósta na hÉireann.

Is comhluchtai eachtrannacha go h-ionlán a bhfuirmhor. Ach tá Paddies síte i sé chinne acu. Cén fáth? Bhuel, má tá an Paddy ceart sa chomhlucht agat,

is mór an cúnamh é chun dallamullóg a chuir ar mhuintir na hÉireann, chun fadhbannaí dlí agus ceadúnais a réiteach leis an Rialtas, agus chun na téarmaí is fearr a fháil don chomhlucht.

Paddy ar nós Paddy McGrath mar shampla. Seanadóir, cara le Cosgrave, fear a bhfuil tríoca comhlucht aige cheana. Agus a chomh-sheanadóir Alexis Fitzgerald (beagnach trí scór comhlucht), Tá Celtic Oil ar bun acu. Ainm brea Gaelach. Má tá sciar brea den chiste le fall, is ag a leithéid áta an deis is fearr. Na tír chearta san áit cheart.

### Fidil

Ach ní sé chomh Gaelach sin uilig dáiríre. Níl ann ach aghaidh fidil. Agus taobh thiar den aghaidh fidil tá Hunt International, an chomhlucht ola príobháideach is mó ar domhan. Agus tabharfaidh Hunt International 20 per cent do Paddy, Alexis agus a gearde ma eiríonn leo a gcuid siúd den ghnó a chur i gcrích.

Caddies den chineál céanna áta síte sna comhluchtai eile freisin. T. J. O'Sullivan (Gresham), Frank Lemass, Lord Killanin, John Guinness, Seanadóir Eoin Ryan, Tony O'Reilly, Sam Stephenson, a g u s comhluchtai Éireannaigh ar nós Cement-Roadstone, McInerney Properties, Rohfab, Guinness agus Mahon Ltd. agus go leor eile, liosta le h-áireamh.

Cé chuirfidh muintir na hÉireann ar an airdeall sara thosaíonn an slad i gceart? Cé dhéanfaidh an taighde, an bhloscaireacht, an t-eagru, an sclábhalocht? Tá an lá ag dul ó sholas agus an díche ag druidim linn.

# An slad is mo sa stair



● well, we've all got our burdens to bear.

## Scéal Scéil

### Ceirnin Uí Chadhain

Tá Éire faoi chomhaoin arís ag Outlet, an chomhlucht ceirniní as Béal Feirste a bhfuil oiread sin de scoth an cheoil traidisiúnta curtha ar fáil acu roimhe seo.

An uair sea is ceirnin fad-éireannach áta chugainn faoi Mhairtín Ó Cadhain. Abhar polaitíochta ar fad áta ann, idir pholaitíocht na Gaeilge agus pholaitíocht na polaitíochta, an oráid a thug Mairtín Ó Cadhain ar uagh Sheáin Uí Eigeartaigh, Ó Cadhain faoi agallamh ar Pionrisas Mac Aonghusa, ag Brendan Ó Héithir agus ag Aindrias Ó Gallchoir: é ag tuairimíocht faoi Shinn Féin agus faoi Oglagh na hÉireann; Críostóir Mac Aonghusa, Dairbhí Ó hUathnais agus Cathal Goulding ag caint faoi ghéineithe éagsúla de shaol Uí Chadhain.

Ina dtéannta síd uilig, tá prósa cumasach ar chluhadh an ceirniní faoi thuarimí polaitíochta Uí Chadhain ag Seamus Ó Tuathail. Pionrisas Mac Aonghusa a chuir an ceirnin le chéile agus ní aon duine is fearr chun na h-óibre ná é.

An t-á bhfuil Gaeilge aige bainfidh sé taitneamh go deo as an ceirnin seo. Tá sé i gceist fíacs an ceirnin a chuir i gcló ar mháthe leo síd áta ar bheagán Gaeilge nó ag foghlaim Gaeilge. Boinfidh mínteoirí Gaeilge leas as, go b-áirithe i ranganna do dhaoine fásta.

Agus tá ceirnin eile beartaíche ag Pionrisas Mac Aonghusa ar Ó Cadhain agus cairsáil litríochta. Dála an scéil, is chun leas mair phríobháideach phoblachtánacha a rachaidh aon airgead a dhéanfar ar an ceirnin seo. Go deonach a rinneadh an obair go léir.

An t-á áta ag lorg freagra ar Cruise O'Brien, tá sé anseo aige. Go raibh toradh céadach ar fhoisú an ceirnin seo.

### Watergate in Eirinn

Cén baint áta idir Nixon agus Comhairle Fhine Gael i nGaillimh Thiar? Tá an meid seo go bhfuil boladh breán ón nbeirt acu, go maireann siad ar bhreantais, go geothaíonn siad ar breantais, go geothaíonn siad ar breantais. Tá daoine in Éirinn a bhréathnann ar Mheiricea agus a deir nach bhfadhadh Watergate tarlú anseo. Tá síd míl saonta— nó táid ag cuidiú le éigin eigin den Watergate áta againn sa bhaile.

Tá mar shampla an ceangal idir Declan Costello, James Tully agus Tara mires. Tá

an cruinniú príobháideach a bhí ag Jack Lynch le Tony O'Reilly anuraidh ar fhilleadh ó Mheiricea dó.

Tá Harry West ó thuaidh a bhí síte i ndóil agus ceannach talún le reamheolas óna phost mar Aire Rialtais. Tá Paddy McGrath, duine de ne fir is cumhachtaí sa Rialtas, agus a bhaint leis an Hospital Sweep agus le Celtic Oil. Tá Michael O'Leary, iar-shóisialach, ag sodar ar fud na hÉireann ar thoir na n-uasal.

Agus tá ár gcuid Watergate againn faoi chúrsal an Tuaiscirt, an chaol ar lig an Rialtas John Wyman agus Patrick Crinnion chun siuil, muintir Littlejohn, an ceangal idir na daoine sin go léir agus buamaí Bhaile Átha Cliath, fudach Collins as Dún Dealgan agus go leor eile; neamháird Rialtais. Átha Cliath ar shaoirneáir Éireannaigh i bpríosúin ar fud na n-óileán seo.

Agus sroicheadh an lofach seo go dtí na ceirniní is lú tabacht agus is suairi in Éirinn, fiú go dtí Comhairle Fhine Gael i nGaillimh Thiar. Tá na daoine uaisle sin ag iarraidh anois go mbeadh deontaisí Gaelachta le fáil ag gach éinne sa Ghaeltacht Oifigiúil, biodh Gaeilge acu nó ná biodh.

Nárth éasca go mór iarraidh ar Tom O'Donnell Gaeilocht Oifigiúil a dhéanamh den tír uilig agus bheadh go leor fadhbanna éistithe in éineacht?

### Gan Cuimhne Gan Tuiscint

Bhí an lá ann, agus ní ró-thada ó shin é, agus dá gcuirf leath-pingín (sean-cheann) ar an arán nó ar pheitreal nó a leithéid, bheadh sé ina raic ar feadh sé mhí ina dhiaidh. Bhí tuiscint éigin ag daoine an uair sin ar phraghasanna.

Uair sa bhliain, tráth na cáinísineise, a thagadh árdú ar rudaí áirithe. B'íodh rudaí eile gan athrú ó bhliain go bliain. Bhí cuimhne ag daoine ar phraghasanna ó bhliain go bliain.

Ní h-amhlaidh áta níos mó. Tá sfór-ardaithe ag teacht ar phraghasanna anois ó mhí go mí. Agus ní leath-pingín, sean nó nua, a bhí i gceist ach scéilingí agus piunt.

Dublaítear praghas earraí anois i nganfhios don phobal nach mór. Ní cuimhín leis an phobal anois praghas aon earra an tráth seo anuraidh. Níl aon slar tomhais acu.

Ní thuigeann siad mar ní cuimhín leo, agus is iad an gear agus bocht is lú a thuigeann mar sur iad is lú cuimhne. Níl



● Paddy Devlin: brean den SDLP?

le déanamh acu ach dul ar aghaidh ó lá go lá ag fulaingt gan tuiscint. Nach suarach an bob a bualltear orthu nuair a deontar pingíní beaga doibh sa cháinísineis. Agus ní Justin ina Chú Chulainn ag faire amach doibh...

### An Taca Nua

Tamailín roimh Oil-thoghchán na Breataine, reachtaíleadh ócáid mhór do bhoice mhóra i mBaile Átha Cliath. Balliúcháin airdid don S.D.L.P. le h-aghaidh an toghcháin ba chuspóir leis an ócáid, agus d'eirigh thar cionn leis.

Bailíodh thart ar £9,000. Agus cérbh iad na Soisialaigh Daonfhathacha Éireannaigh a thug an brí seo? Cé eile ach mianadóirí na Teamhrach, O'Reilly, Hughes agus Gilroy, a thug thart ag £5,000 eatarthu. Sé súgradh an chait leis an lucht é.

B'fhearr do luichín an S.D.L.P. cilú go dtí na títe Samhradh áta chomh mór sin sa bhfaisein i measc bail an Executive. Is cealgach mar cháirde na mianadóirí Fiafraigh de Pat Hughes, Ní fada ó bhí O'Reilly ag craibheadh lámh leis, agus scian i bhforach sa lámh eile aise.

Má tá an S.D.L.P. le haithint ar a gearde agus ar a lucht tacaíochta, go bhí Fiafraigh de Pat Hughes, Ní fada ó bhí O'Reilly ag craibheadh lámh leis, agus scian i bhforach sa lámh eile aise.

### Uncle Tom's Gaeltacht

Bhíomar ag fiafraí an mhí seo caité cén mhóil a bhí ar Tom 'Maos' O'Donnell, Aire na Gaeltachta thuas ar bharr an tsleibhe. Táthar le sé mhí ag fanacht ar fhoisú in dea-sceala pé acu aré dhá thablaid nó ar pháipear bán.

Anois go bhfuil an sceala foilsithe, is fuirst ar mhóil a thuisicint. Níl tada ann. Ní raibh tada le foisú aige. Bhí sé ag molleadóireacht is dócha le siúl go gcafsadh rud éigin ina líon arbh fíú é foisú. Níor chas nó mar chas, ní thuar sé cead aon nó a dhéanamh faoi óna mháistir sa Chomhairleas, na Gaeil mhóra sin O'Brien, Tully, Donegan, i. r.

Ní raibh páipear bán go dtí é. Chomh bán le sneachta. Níos báine ná bán, scoth-fhogra d'Ómo nó a leithéid. Currair bord Stáit in áit Ghaeltarra Éireann agus Roinn na Gaeltachta, rud a dhéanfaidh cúisí riaracháin níos simplí, níos néata, agus níos ciallmhara. Níl aon bhrí le Roinn na Gaeltachta ar aon nós, mór ní smacht aige ar thada.

Is mó go mór an smacht áta ag Comhairle Chondae ar Ghaeltacht ná mar áta ag Roinn na Gaeltachta, nó mar a bheidh ag an gcoaras nua. Níl sé i gceist na Gaeltachta a scoileáid ó mhártháirí na Comhairleí Condae.

Ní chuirfidh an rud nua an Rialtas in aon bhaol on daonfhathachas. Ainmneofar tromlach na mball. Cineál míuili a bhéas ann. Rud neodrach nach mbeidh síocht ná toradh air. Ní foláir nó gur breathnagh an Comhairleas isteach ina geomharcáidín an mhaidín a cheadghad síad é. Agus shléamair nach raibh ach an t-aon Fhianna Fail amháin ann!

### Club Uí Chadhain

Le roinnt seachtmáin anuas ag 27, Plás Gardnar, Baile Átha Cliath, tá cumann nua Gaeilge ann. Club Uí Chadhain is ainm dó agus tá moladh mór tuille ag an choise as an cumann a chur ar fáil do Gaeilgeoirí na cathrach.

Ní bhíonn sé foscailte ach oíche amháin sa tseachtmáin — gach oíche Shatharn agus is trua sin. Mar an oíche a bhí mé féin i láthair bhaineas agus go leor leor eile an shult as an oíche agus an craic. Tháinig scaife agus óg ó Slogadh agus ndáiríre bhí síd go h-iontach eadar bufontaí-cheoil agus amhráin. Dunann na doirse ar a naoi a' chlog, mar sin de déan do bhealach ann go luath.

## The United WORLD

Greece is blacklisted by the International Labour Organisation, censored by the International Commission of Jurists who say repression is worse now than under the Papadopoulos dictatorship, and virtually boycotted by the European Common Market which refuses to carry out any but the most basic minimum formal business with the junta. Yet this least democratic of regimes, and it need surprise nobody, remains a trusted and valued member of the NATO military alliance, the same alliance that the American Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, has tried in vain over the past year to make the military arm of the Common Market.

That the agreement between the Pentagon and the Greeks for so-called home port facilities for the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Athens port of Piraeus has been deferred is purely coincidental. It seems that the Greek military rulers have demanded an amount of aircraft and other war materials that even the U.S. can't swallow, or rather that the liberal Greek lobby in Congress would not let the administration get away with.

In this case the junta is clearly upping the ante confident, of being indispensable on NATO's eastern flank, but they shouldn't be too cocksure. That argument was sound in

# GREECE

## The only hope for change

the immediate post-war years while the cold war was at its height and there were still remotely democratic governments in Greece. American opinion could then be persuaded that there was a danger of a Communist take-over in Greece. But now even they wouldn't buy that argument. And with that gone Greece doesn't matter all that much as long as Turkey remains a staunch ally on the eastern flank.

Papadopoulos towards the end became increasingly obsessed with power. Having got rid of the last of the colonels with whom he staged his 1967 military coup, he took more and more powers into his own hands and had come to believe in himself as Greece's saviour, as most of nature's fascists will. But he still remained almost morbidly sensitive to public opinion, not Greek, of course, but international opinion.

That was the reason he was persuaded to close the concentration camp at the Aegean

island of Yaros, which the International Red Cross condemned as unfit for human habitation. The junta that toppled him on the stated pretext that he was getting too dictatorial apparently has no such scruples, and are more impervious to anyone else's opinion.

They have recently re-opened the Yaros camp, and so far one or two hundred of the possible 6,000 it can hold have been deported there. Inmates so far include the elderly liberal leader George Mavros and the internationally respected communist dockerman and trade unionist, Tony Amatielos.

Opposition to the junta, the old or the new, it makes no difference, has been fragmented among the old politicians, but in so far as it has a centre it is Andreas Papandreu, the son of Georges and a minister in his government.

Just a few months after the coup he predicted that the struggle would be a long one, and that it would have to be carried out from exile for a long time to come. And, he said, even after resistance groups in some years' time could be formed within Greece, it would take considerable time before they would become operative.

Too much has been made of the regime's farcical elections and the establishment of what they call a democratic civilian government. It is nothing of the sort and the Yaros deportations and the 'unknown' whereabouts of a large number of people known to have been taken in by the security forces are proof enough.

Pressure from without seems to have less impact now than on the Papadopoulos regime, and in any case there is little enough from quarters that would have mattered, like NATO and the United States.

What it does is to strengthen the morale of clandestine liberation groups. That is the only hope for change; that they can lie low and organise for long enough, and mobilise some of the magnificent resistance spirit the Greeks showed during the last war and which, moreover, cut right across the traditional political divides.



'Smile! You Are Dancing Because You Are Now a Democracy!'

## ETHIOPIA

### Image is shattered

The situation in Ethiopia is absurd, chaotic and its potential for revolution practically nil. That is according to theory, but it is some time since things worked that way.

By Ethiopian standards what has happened already amounts to a revolution. The 81-year-old Emperor Haile Selassie who has ruled the country single-handed for 43 years is no longer its undisputed ruler. Up to now he was all but God. But now that the image has been shown to be fallible, anything may follow.

Ethiopia is an empire of perhaps as many as 28 million people, immensely backward — most of its people are illiterate — but with a recently acquired elite different from the traditional landowning nobility. Over the years the emperor has reduced the political power of the nobility, and it is what he created in its place that is now flexing its muscle.

Still in terms of economic power the situation is not much changed. Between them the Emperor, the nobility and the Coptic Church own very nearly all the land, and land reform is one of the central demands of the current protesters.

It began with the new forces, the lower

rank army officers, students and industrial workers, but lately it has also spread to the countryside where peasants have been burning the crops and houses of absentee landlords.

February saw growing industrial unrest and student protests, centred on soaring food prices brought on by last year's drought and compounded by oil crisis. Then all of a sudden the lower ranks of the army mutinied and took over vital installations, without the higher ranks lifting a finger to stop them. This was ostensibly over pay and conditions, and the demands were met by the emperor within a few days. But almost immediately it came to include other more crucial demands, like the dismissal of the old feudal style government. Again the emperor complied, though the new government is drawn from much the same quarters, only a generation younger and not tainted to quite the same degree by favouritism and corruption.

The mutinous army initially accepted the new government, but the more radical elements, as well as students and workers now demand its resignation.

In addition to sacking his government and

raising army pay Haile Selassie had to increase the minimum wage substantially, set up a commission to draft a new constitution that will take at least a few of his absolute powers away, create the rudiments of an accountable government, and begin an investigation into charges of corruption against the former government and its ministers.

In Asmara, the capital of the northern Eritrea province which saw the first mutiny, elements of the army were also demanding

that the Eritrean Liberation Army, which has been carrying out sporadic guerrilla activities against the authorities for 11 years, be made legal.

Ethiopia will hardly be transformed into a socialist republic overnight, or even a liberal democracy, but what has happened there has certainly shaken off the feudal straightjacket and made a reversal impossible.

The indications are that the army is polarising into moderate and radical factions, and this round will probably consolidate around the moderates.

But there has always been the added anomaly that Haile Selassie has been the father figure of post-war African liberation movements, while maintaining the feudal structure of his own large empire. At the age of 81 he may still have enough of the old spirit that made him defy Mussolini's army to now regulate the succession and set his country on the road to the 20th century.

At least, after what has been going on for the past few months it is certain that if he does not now begin that process in earnest there will be others that will try to do it, and that would hardly be a peaceful transition.

## BOOK REVIEW



# Mac Giolla on War and an Irish town'

Part four of this book covers Irish History from 1868 to 1968. Step by step the author shows how the voice of labour North and South was crushed between the conflicting mythologies organised, fostered and developed by the middle classes in each area. Following 1921 the development intensified, Orange and Green Unionism having only one common enemy — progressive left wing politics which both Dublin and Belfast establishments viciously attacked under the general label of communism.

McCann goes on to give the impression that this is now being seen for the first time, and by himself of course. He gives no recognition whatever to the immense changes which took place in the politics and tactics of the Republican Movement in the early and mid-sixties as a result of just such an analysis as he now makes in 1974.

In fact when discussing the Labour Party in the South and its growing development of Socialist policies in 1968-1969 he makes the extraordinary statement that "Trade Union militants, disillusioned Republicans and Left Wing academics joined in impressive numbers". Any member of the Labour Party, including Dr. C. C. O'Brien can tell him that, far from having an influx of disillusioned Republicans, it was to halt the flow of disillusioned members of the Labour Party into Sinn Fein that Corish and company took a temporary move to the left in 1969.

This radicalisation of the Labour Party was almost entirely due to the widespread and successful agitations carried out by Sinn Fein, especially on housing issues. In all of these, local Labour Party branches or individuals were invited to participate and thus they became live issues within the Labour Party.

Which leads me to the next aberration of McCann. He imagines that the Derry housing Action Committee was entirely a Derry phenomenon, that it was set up by himself and a few others and that its activities and tactics were decided solely by these few people. He does not advert to the fact that the Dublin Housing Action Committee was already two years in existence and that there was Housing Action Committees established and active in Cork, Limerick and Belfast and similar agitations in many smaller areas including Caledon, Co. Tyrone from which the first Civil Rights March on August 24th, 1968 arose.

The Derry Housing Action Committee was formed as a result of a conscious decision in Dublin and with full consultation with members of the Republican Club in Derry. Its name, terms of reference and tactics were modelled completely on the Dublin Housing Action Committee. In spite of this, McCann tries to give the impression that the Derry

Housing Action Committee was breaking new ground and that it was at loggerheads with the Republican Movement.

McCann's treatment of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association is totally dishonest. He refers to it constantly with a sneer or a jibe and his every move was clearly designed to smash the organisation before it got off the ground. Unfortunately, through his influence on Republicans and others, he succeeded to a great extent in Derry in introducing chaos which is captured so well in his book. To this day he does not know what the political purpose and strategy of the Civil Rights struggle was.

### Centre of stage

He seems to think that it all began in Derry and that he was in the centre of the stage dictating the course of events. It is clear from his book that he at no stage had the slightest understanding of what was happening, even in Derry. Throughout the five years he chronicles he seemed to have the mentality of a student on rag-day, let's sit-in or let's walk-out and hang the consequences. He destroyed everything he touched and apparently enjoyed it. Pitifully, he has learned nothing.

The political effects of a mass campaign for Civil Rights and the appropriate tactics and strategies to be employed in it were thoroughly analysed and documented in 1966. The N.I.C.R.A. was established in February 1967. Mass agitational activity was intensified throughout the South on social and economic issues during 1967 and was extended to the North in 1968. This was deliberately done to ensure that the struggle for democracy in the North would not be carried out in a vacuum, that mass struggle would be taking place in 32 counties terms and the political purpose of smashing the power of the Orange Unionist system would be clearly seen as an essential prerequisite to the development of the struggle for socialism.

But in spite of this McCann says, "That the National question was going to be posed in non-socialist terms... was further guaranteed by the fact that the 'struggle' had been confined to the North". So McCann and the Peoples Democracy had to undertake the mission of "carrying the struggle to the South" by holding a march from Belfast to Dublin and then withdrawing to Belfast and Derry after their futile sortie.

He then proceeds to credit the Provos with "the final destruction of the Orange Unionist machine as a ruling institution" when the fact is that the Orange Unionist machine was torn to shreds by the Civil Rights Struggle and has since been bombed back into existence as a solid force once again by the

Provisionals.

He has many kind words for the Provisionals even to the extent of saying that the 'primary' reason for their existence was "the absence of a socialist option". This is sheer lunacy, it was the very presence of a 'socialist option' which impelled some members of the Republican Movement to split away from the Republicanism of Connolly. They were established as a reactionary and counter revolutionary force.

Since their campaign got off the ground the road has been all downhill. The ultra-left and the ultra-right combined together to strangle the infant revolution which had been so patiently planned and built up North and South since 1965.

It is for us in the Republican Movement that McCann reserves his most vicious attacks, "It is bottomless hypocrisy" he says, "for 'leftists' in Ireland, including and especially those who held leadership positions in the Official Republican Movement before 1969, now to attribute the reactionary social attitudes of a part of the Provisional Movement to the malign influence of agents of Fianna Fail or some other suggested 'diabolus on machina'". Was Seamus Brady and the 'Voice of the North' a diabolus on machina or a Fianna Fail agent, or Captains Kelly, Duggan and Drohan, and the Civil Rights office Monaghan, or the Haugheys and Blayneys and Jerry Jones and their money.

### Split the C.R.A.

And talking of "Bottomless Hypocrisy" wasn't Aiden Corrigan the first agent of Seamus Brady and the man used to try to split the C.R.A. It was Michael Farrell of Peoples' Democracy who dubbed him "Count the Catholics" Corrigan because of his bigotry and who later joined him in the Northern Resistance Movement.

The whole story is well documented in a booklet called "Fianna Fail and the I.R.A." The Provisionals were set up to do a job and they have done it well. They split the Republican Movement at a most important and crucial period in its recent history. They then split the Civil Rights Movement and set up the Northern Resistance Movement. They had already split and broken up the Citizens Defence Committees so that all that was left to do was strengthen the existing divisions in the Communities by a civilian bombing campaign which if kept up for a few more months will have restored the status quo of sectarian politics — Loyalists and S.D.L.P. replacing Unionists and Nationalists.

As a result of events as they took place in Derry this is a useful book but anyone looking for an analysis of why or how or to what purpose these events took place, will have to search elsewhere.

### ULSTER

**BELFAST:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Beechmount, 2 p.m. March to Milltown Cemetery, 3 p.m. Chairman: Kevin Smith. Orator by Tomas MacGiolla.

**DEERRY:** Easter Monday — Parade assemblies at Bishops Field-Creggan, 3 p.m. Orator by Raymond O'Hagan.

**CO. DERRY:** **GLENULLION:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 11 a.m. Orator by Sean O Ciannailth.

**THE LOUP:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 2 p.m. Orator by Sean O Ciannailth.

**DUNGIVEN:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 3 p.m. Orator by Sean O Ciannailth.

**SWATRAGH:** Easter Monday — Parade assemblies at 3 p.m. Orator by Sean O Ciannailth.

**CO. TYRONE:** **THE ROCK:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 2.30 p.m. March to grave of John Pat Mullin, Chairman: Jim McQuaid.

**STRABANE:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Drunkallagh Estate, 2 p.m. March to Baillycolman Estate, 2.30 p.m. Chairman: Ivan Barr. Orator by Seamus Flynn, Belfast.

**ARMAGH:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Moy Rd at 2 p.m. March to Republican Plot, 2.30 p.m. Chairman: Seamus Trainor. Orator by Donnchadh MacRaghnaill, Co. Louth.

**BALLYMACNAB (Co. Armagh):** Easter Monday — Parade assemblies at 2 p.m. Orator by Brendan Lynch, Co. Meath.

**CO. DONEGAL:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 12 noon. Orator by Seamus Rodgers.

**NEWRY:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at The Mall, 11.30 a.m. March to Republican Plot, 12 noon. Chairman: Joe Campbell.

**DOWNPATRICK (Co. Down):** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies, 4 p.m.

### MUNSTER

**CORK:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Thomas Ashe Hall, 3 p.m. March to Republican Plot, 3.30. Chairman: Barty Madden. Orator by Des O'Hagan.

**MALLOU:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 7.30 p.m. Chairman: Con Healy. Orator by Des O'Hagan.

**MILLSTREET:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 11.30 a.m. Chairman: Con Healy. Orator by Des O'Hagan.

**CO. KERRY:** **LISFOLE:** Good Friday — Parade assemblies at 4 p.m. Wreath will be laid at the grave of Mrs. Mary Cahill. Chairman:

Tommy Foley. Orator by Johnny Quinn.

**TRALEE:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at The Mall, 1.30 p.m. Chairman: Donal Tobin. Orator by Brendan MacGearailt.

**LIMERICK:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Bedford Row, 12 noon. March to Republican Plot, Mount Saint Laurence Cemetery, 12.30. Chairman: Fergus Reynolds. Orator by Mick Montgomery, Derry.

**CO. CLARE:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at 11.30 a.m. at Inagh Church. March to Republican Plot. Orator by Sean O Ceallaigh, Waterford.

**WATERFORD:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Clock Tower, Waterford, 2.30 p.m. March to Baillygunner Cemetery, 3 p.m. Chairman: Mick Dunphy. Orator by Paddy Gallagher.

### CONNAUGHT

**GALWAY:** **KINVARA:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Kinvara, 3 p.m. Chairman: Paddy Geraghty.

See Local Papers for details of other commemorations.

### LEINSTER

**DUBLIN:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Custom House at 2.30 p.m. March to Republican Plot, Glasnevin at 3 p.m. Orator by Malachy McCurrain.

**DUN LAOIRE:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at St. Michael's Church, 11 a.m. March to Republican Plot, Deans Grange Cemetery at 11.30. Orator by Malachy McCurrain.

**CELBIDGE:** Easter Monday — Parade assemblies at Celbridge Village, 3 p.m. March to local

cemetery. Orator by Malachy McCurrain.

**WICKLOW:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Old Conna Corner, Bray, 11.30. March to Town Hall. Orator by Jim Sullivan.

**WEXFORD:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at Crescent Quay, 3 p.m. March to Cemetery, 3.30 p.m. Chairman: Seamus Rossiter. Orator by Tom Moore, Newry.

**LONGFORD:** Easter Sunday — Parade assemblies at St. Peter's Cathedral Square at 1 p.m. Chairman: Tom Connolly. Orator by Malachy Towl, Armagh.

### AMERICA

**CLANN NA GAEL I.R.A. VETERANS' CLUB:** District No. 1, New York, and IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS, U.S.A. & CANADA, will sponsor an EASTER RISING COM-

MEMORATION BREAKFAST at JAGER HOUSE, 838 Street and Lexington Avenue, N.Y.C. EASTER SUNDAY, April 14th, 1974, 1 p.m.

Donation: 6 Dollars. For more information contact: (Queens) 724-0993 and 621-3444.

# Easter Commemorations