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OPEN LETTER TO AN AMERICAN ARCHBISHOP

— from an American Solicitor

Archbishop John Cardinal Krol,
Archbishop of Philadelphia,
222 North 17th Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Father,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 8th relative to statements made by Church leaders about the situation existing in Northern Ireland. My earlier letter made reference to your statements in which you were critical of those attempting to bring about reform measures in Ulster.

No one likes violence but it seems that certain Church leaders are only opposed to violence carried out by Irishmen. When the British army and the British government carry out violence, as on Bloody Sunday as at the Long Kesh Concentration Camp and elsewhere, the Church remains silent. If concentration camps were wrong for Jews, why are concentration camps right for Irish Catholics? Are not these people members of your own flock?

We believe there is something wrong with a philosophy which condemns violence by individuals but supports violence by the government. Certainly the present government in Northern Ireland is based on violence. It is, in effect, a one man operation conducted by a military dictator who happens to be the Secretary of State for Northern Irish affairs. His government is really the British army which has degraded Irish Catholics from one corner of Ulster to another. Do you not see any violence in placing untried men behind the barbed wire of Long Kesh? Do you not see violence against women and children as carried out by the British army on their patrols 24 hours a day during the entire week? Do you not see violence in the operation of the Royal Ulster Constabulary which, only a few weeks ago, shot 2 British soldiers in cold blood because they were thought to be I.R.A. men. R.U.C. orders are to shoot on the spot suspected Irish Republican Army members. Is such a policy to be supported by the Church simply because it is a policy carried out by a supposedly civilised government emanating from the English City of London?

Your suggestion that the present government should receive the respect of the people is difficult to comprehend. Certainly the government was not democratically elected since Republican parties were excluded from participating in the recent election simply because they were banned under the notorious Special Powers Act. We fail to see where an election can be free when certain individuals have not the right to vote for the party of their choice simply because that party or parties are banned and cannot participate in the election process.

My heart bleeds for the women and little children of Belfast and Derry who have been harassed daily for the last 5 years by the British army, by the police and the Ulster Defence Regiment. I have visited Belfast on a number of times in the last 5 years and have seen with my own eyes British soldiers kicking and beating old men and 13 year old boys. Certainly your Church cannot speak for Christ when it condones such activities by a so called representative government.

I am not interested in Bishop Philbin's speeches. We would like to see some action come from Bishop Philbin. Rhetoric is not sufficient in these times.

When you visit Belfast again, I would suggest that you visit with the people, not with the ascendancy. A walk through the Lower Falls Road or through Andersonstown might serve to enlighten you as to the facts of life in Ulster today.

Please overlook my frankness and directness. You must understand that you are helping no one but the British government. Your actions only perpetuate the present misery and destruction. The killing must end but the killing will never end as long as the Catholic Church and other established groups work hand in hand with the British government. After all, we Americans fought and died for our liberty. The British called us terrorists and placed a price on the head of George Washington and his Irish American associates.

Let me add that I am not a Catholic. I am a Unitarian and from my experience, I find that most Church leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, co-operate with the established government. This seems to be a policy of the Catholic Church and is followed out in other areas of the world, especially in Latin America which is now about to fall into the communist orbit.

You cannot bomb 1 million Protestants into a united Ireland but at the same time, you cannot mistreat and bomb and intern one half million Catholics into the United Kingdom. Let us face this fact of life!

In the last 2 years, about 250 Irish Catholics have been victims of political assassinations in the City of Belfast alone. What has the Catholic Church done about this except to remain silent? If this happened in the City of Philadelphia, people would be rioting in the streets. I believe that the Irish Catholic reaction should not be criticised. The present government in Belfast does not have the respect of the population. Even Protestant opposition is mounting.

Your letter states that you seek a government accountable to the "will of the people". Certainly the present government is accountable to no one in Northern Ireland. We note that the Catholic Church in Poland has supported the people in opposing communism. On the other hand, the Catholic Church in Ireland seems to support the same sort of policies carried out by communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain.

In closing, let me say that you do not seem to realise that several Loyalist groups in the United States are presently circulating

various speeches by Catholic priests and bishops in an effort to show that there is no need for reforms in Northern Ireland and Irish Catholics are vicious terrorists. It is strange to see the Catholic Church being used in this fashion by Loyalist groups.

In today's mail, I received a copy of a letter sent to parishioners by Father Aquinas of Belfast to his parishioners dated March 7, 1973. It might interest you to know that copies of this letter are being circulated in the United States by the Ulster American Loyalist Club, Post Office Box 45918, Los Angeles, California 90045. It seems to me that the Catholic Church is in strange company. Another document being circulated by the same group is entitled 'The Terror and the Tears' a publication of the Northern Irish government. I fear that you and your friends have driven the people to a state of frustration where they have taken up bombs against the British government. Did you really leave them any other course? Political agitation is still a crime in Northern Ireland. There is nothing left but the gun in the eyes of many. How could the Church have allowed the situation to drift this far?

I will be perfectly frank with you, Cardinal Krol. You and your associates are personally responsible for dozens of the deaths of women and children in Northern Ireland over the last 5 years. I know this statement will incense you but at the same time, it is factual. I have looked into the eyes of hundreds of Irish children in Belfast and Derry and have seen nothing but misery and fear. They have been sold out by the Church and by the Dublin Government and they know it. You know it also. I have known it for several years.

The answer is quite simple. The Catholic Church could end the violence in 2 weeks if it insisted that the British Government immediately terminate its military actions. Such an ultimatum delivered to the London Government would end all hostilities. Will you take this bold move? Of course you would subject yourself to criticism in various quarters but from the tone of your letter you claim to be interested in saving human life. Is this really true? No one likes violence but we must recognise the fact that as long as the British army continues its violence, all of which was initiated by the British government, there will be counter-violence from organisations like the Irish Republican Army and others.

We call upon you and other Church leaders to issue a statement within the next 10 days demanding that the London government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson terminate all military operations in Northern Ireland and withdraw all military forces from the streets of Belfast, Derry and other areas. Act and you can save the lives of hundreds of people. Failure to act will result in the death of hundreds in the coming months. I would be interested in learning your views on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,
"AN AMERICAN SOLICITOR"

Passing Thoughts while in Long Kesh

THEY SAY walking is good for you. I wonder who "they" are? In here its optional; you can either walk and exercise your legs or stay inside your hut resting, in which case you get bored quickly. Probably that's why so many of them are walking but going no where, just round and round and round; all so very monotonous; but sure you've plenty of time to get used to it. And after the legs have said enough. . . , then you have an alternative, further boredom in the hut. . . You could guess what this is all about and you would probably be wrong, for the above words, or similar, are those constantly expressed by hundreds upon hundreds of prisoners, captives, hostages, or whatever general term for freedom fighter the Establishment wish to use. Men, not dogs or horses or any other animal you care to name, have the misfortune of going through a daily routine of exercising their legs within the confines of a cage. A man, walking, thinking, pondering, worrying, laughing, has little comfort in the confines of his cage. His only comfort is to be found within himself; his only security is to be found within himself, and so the man stays aloof. But that cannot be. A man needs companions, someone to talk to, someone to laugh with, even if there is nothing to laugh at; someone to share in his private misery for here in the Kesh, in the cage, everyone has a common defect, everyone is human. And the men, realise that one cannot exist without the other, so the walks and the wire and the cage are as one and are made bearable by their common bond.

Life, and living it to its fullest, awakens certain dormant qualities that are the hall-mark of every man in the cage, and in walking around their cage, a chance is given to activate these hidden qualities. Perception, awareness, identity, logic, are but a few, and as with the conversations that follow such walking exercises, so too does a great understanding of each individual's plight, . . . of each individual's torments and frustrations and of the best ways possible to alleviate them..... by sharing them. Walk ...Wire...Guards... the words that are constantly in conversations. "Why the hell don't they come to see the cages when its raining or when the snow is on the ground or even when the electricity is switched off for a few days and we've no hot water or anything," was the general topic of one of these conversations touched on with the walking inmate.

All their faces held the feelings of resentment and controlled anger at the authorities callous cunning in only allowing 'visitors' to the cages when the weather is at its best. Thirty sunny days out of three hundred and they come during those sunny thirty, continued the conversation of walking inmates. Then someone would introduce a comical remark, as the group of men trudged jovially along. "Look at the size of that big screw; a big bean-pole he is," and so a screw was christened Bean-pole. From then on everyone knew him as that Sometimes the rain beats heavy here in the cage. I wonder if its beating as heavy outside. The difference is always apparent; everything is associated with 'outside' although none stop to ponder too long on the 'outside' What is, or where is, 'outside' you say to yourself. You are in so long that the association of 'in' and 'out' has lost its meaning and you have been engulfed in this new way of life. Familiarity of surroundings helps, but stopping to think is dangerous. Wire...dogs...guards...huts... restrictions...censorship are not things that comfort the mind or console the soul. A few have stopped and thought, ...to their cost; and so the walking carries on. "Ah, we'll be out in six months, the lads are doing great out there; there was some blowies last

night, two landrovers blew up and no Brits killed, ha, ha, you could laugh at that." But the words and their meanings have no depth or substance in these walking conversations. You say the thing for your mates to hear, but there it ends, your mind turns into itself and you have your private thoughts as the rest of the lads carry on the conversation. "I wonder how the family are ?" ... "If I was Faulkner I'd pull up root and get to hell out," carried on the conversation. "I wonder how everybody in the street is, if they are still there. I suppose they have forgotten me anyhow."

And your mind would still be lost to the conversation on hand. A noise... a shower in droplets of water lodged from the overhanging barbed-wire awakens you to the immediate. You look around you. To your left...your four companions in whose company you are an important part; for each relies on the other to hold each other up, to help him bear his burden a little better, to help him over his periodical stints of 'doing bird' and to your right...the wire, the barbed-wire, the guards, the dogs, and you squint your eyes and your expression changes and a false sense of being returns and you carry on walking until the legs say, ...enough...

An Gael (cage 20)

Libel writ for Peer who attacked Irish

IRISH BUILDER Laurence O'Kane played a game of hide and seek with an English lord — and won.

He cornered Lord Arran outside the House of Lords, and presented him with a writ for libel.

For Mr. O'Kane, 33, it was the end of a chase which began when he took out a High Court writ, after the columnist Lord wrote that the Irish were all "savage, murderous thugs."

Mr. O'Kane, wanted the satisfaction of serving the writ personally on Lord Arran. He drove to his home at Pimlico House, Hemel Hempstead, several times, but was unable to see him.

ACCEPTED

He tried phoning his office on numerous occasions, but was not able to fix an appointment.

He waited outside Lord Arran's Fleet Street offices. Secretaries denied he was in the building, although his chauffeur-driven car,

complete with radio telephone, was waiting outside.

Mr. O'Kane managed later in the day to track down his lordship to the House of Lords, where Lord Arran agreed to accept the writ.

Mr. O'Kane says he took out the writ, which cost him a £10 adjudication fee, because he was angry at Lord Arran's comments about Irish people in his column.

"I fully realise I could lose any case which is brought, and be landed with costs which could be very high," said Mr. O'Kane, "but I was so angry about what the lord said about the Irish, that I felt justice must be done."

When he caught up with him in the lobby of the House of Lords, Lord Arran said: "Ah, the intrepid Mr. O'Kane."

Lord Arran said from his Fleet Street office that the matter of the writ was now in the hands of his solicitors. He would fight the case if it gets to court.

What shall we do with our victory?

WE HAVE fought hard in this war to win our freedom, what are we going to do with it? What are we going to make of this country of ours after the war?

A lot of people have fought and worked hard for Ireland in the last few years; and a good many have died. However, Irishmen North and South have seen fit to sell their country and their fellow countrymen at England's bidding. It is the ordinary people who have supported us in our struggle, it is they who will have a say in what is to be done with their victory.

But in order that ordinary people may run the country, some basic changes will be necessary. It won't be enough to change the government. We shall have to change, step by step, the economic system under which we live. For the people can only run the country when they control its land and industries.

Why was our country and people kept poor and underdeveloped, why are our people forced to emigrate and look for a living in a foreign country? Why do people look on unemployment, low wages, insecurity and all the other ills of the working-class as something inevitable? The answer is the economic system under which we live. Isn't it about time we all made the effort to grasp what is wrong with the system, for only when we understand it will we be able to change it.

Nine out of ten of us in this country live on wages, or are dependent on someone who is living on wages.

But what are wages? We are nowadays so accustomed to wage-earning as the only possible way of life for the great majority of the people that we seem to forget that long ago in Ireland and many other countries, only quite small parts of the population had lived or live on wages. Why then have wages become the essential means of life for nine-tenths of us? How then did people live without wages?

They lived by working for themselves. They had a few acres of ground and cultivated it. Or they had a hand-loom and wove cloth on it. Or they had a forge and shod horses in it.

Nowadays most people take it for granted that the only way to get a job is to get someone to employ them. And so it is. But why? Why can't all those who are out of a job just set up for themselves in business of some sort? Why can't they start weaving cloth or shoeing horses, or farming land for themselves, as their ancestors did?

Well you know the answer. They can't get any land to farm; they can't get a forge. They might find an old hand-loom in some attic. But, if they did they could only weave cloth on it at about ten times the cost of the cloth produced by the power-looms in the

mills. Every now and then some worker can somehow get hold of a little shop and set up for himself in that way. But that isn't easy, and is becoming more and more difficult. Woolworth's, Marks & Spencer and the other international chain stores dominate the market.

And so it's work for wages for nine-tenths of us. It is work for wages because the means of work — the tools of the trade, the raw materials, the land — are out of our reach. We haven't the CAPITAL to buy these things, without which we cannot set up in business for ourselves.

These things:— the land, mines and factories — the capital of the country are out of our reach. Who has them? They are in the hands of a smallish class of people, commonly called CAPITALISTS.

The people of the country can be divided into three groups or classes, according to their way of life. There are the people who work for wages — the working-class. Then there are the people who own enough capital to be able to live on other people's work or to make other people work for them. Many of these people who own capital do no work at all. The other class of people earn their living by working for themselves (in small shops, garages and one-man businesses of all sorts)

or by way of management or supervision for the CAPITALIST class.

The capital of the country — the factories, mines, railways, land, buildings, docks, machines, ships, shops, stocks or raw materials and the like — without which we cannot get our livings, is in the hands of under 10% of the people. That is why nine-tenths of us now live on wages; that is why we have to get someone to employ us before we can work. Therefore this makes the 90% dependent on the 10%.

This is what we see as the nature of the connection with Britain. The capital of the country in the hands of foreign business and monopolies. The Irish middle-class north and south managing the exploitation of our country. An exploitation which has created unnecessary poverty and injustice, a half-hidden tyranny necessary to maintain that poverty and injustice in the south and full military oppression in the six counties. And finally the hypocrisy necessary to conceal that tyranny — Leinster House and Stormont.

This is what our democratic system amounts to, the right to vote, or to form TRADE UNIONS, but we have not the right to the capital of the country. We call the capital of the country 'its means of production.' Without the means of production men can only earn their living by permission. And so, in spite of rights, in spite of democracy, in spite of political freedom, in spite of Trade Unions, in spite of technical progress, the working class remain dependent; and because they they remain dependent they remain unfree.



JOHN ANTHONY CAMPBELL who was shot by the R.U.C. in Gt. James Street during the short reign of Chichester-Clarke. This terror force must never again be allowed to walk the Bog or Creggan.

The law and the citizen

IN THESE troubled times it happens on occasion that people get into trouble with the police and things.

Now why anyone should want to get in trouble with the police and so on is beyond us, since we're all good citizens of the Irish Republic, but just in case someone is arrested for attempting to protect themselves or their country here are some facts which every law abiding citizen should know backwards.

1. When you are arrested you may be held by Her British Majesty's forces (the motley green and brown ones) for up to four hours. They then hand you over to the brown and red ones down at the back of Victoria barracks. These citizens can hold you for another four hours.
2. During this time they can do certain things with you. Firstly you may be asked for identification. You need only give your name, address and age, they have no right, any of them, to get any further details from you.
3. You should also be prepared to give details of your movements within a reasonable period before your arrest. Make sure you give details of any person who can corroborate these details.
4. H.M.F. cannot photograph you without the authority given by a senior officer of the RUC. Make sure that they have this before you allow a photograph to be taken of you. If they do not have it, you are perfectly within your rights in refusing.
5. Make absolutely certain that you do not so much as lay a finger upon any of the Brits or the RUC. If you do you will be accused of assault or of attempting to take their weapon. Assault carries a jail sentence if convicted.
6. If you have a complaint about your treatment, make it immediately to the police, ask for your doctor, if released go and see him, and if charged with an offence tell your lawyer of the ill treatment.
7. Do not make a statement admitting guilty to any offence. You will find it very hard to disprove at a later date.
8. If charged with an offence to which you have a good defence, make a statement giving full details of what you were doing at the time you were supposed to be breaking the law. Give full details of what you were doing who you were with and the names of any persons who can corroborate your story. The Brits have to make a complaint and they can't change their story after they make it the first time.
9. Once in police custody you can be held for 72 hours. If you have admitted to a "crime" you will be kept at Victoria and brought before a court within 24 hours. If you prove to be a "hard chaw" you will be taken to Ballydell. Once in Ballydell various methods of gentle

persuasion will be used to make you spill your guts. So much so that if you admit to something in Ballykelly you will not be charged with it before a court, but rest assured that it will be given as evidence before the Star Chamber in Long Kesh.

If you are taken to Ballykelly you may be certain that someone has ratted on you. You may be released from Ballykelly once and maybe even twice but if you go there for a third time be certain that Long Kesh is waiting for you. By that time there will be enough hearsay evidence collected from the touts to make sure that you are interned. (Let people remember that careless talk costs years of life and even life itself. The touts like the poor, we have always with us.)

10. Once in Long Kesh you are going to be there for some time. If the RUC are kind they might decide that there isn't enough evidence to warrant your going before the Commission. The only recorded instance of this is the case of seven loyalists released this week after being arrested during the UWC strike.
11. Your case has to be referred to the Commission within 28 days. This does not mean that your case will be heard within 28 days. You could rot there for six months before getting heard.
12. We will deal no more with Long Kesh at this time since an article in this paper has already set out the score.
13. To return again to the ordinary courts. When you are charged with a serious offence and taken to a special court, the special court will merely remand you in custody to Belfast or Armagh jail to appear before the Petty Sessions the following week. This is the only legal way of keeping you in custody. You cannot be kept in jail on remand for longer than seven days without your consent. With your consent they can keep you there for 14 days.
14. Thus after your being charged at Derry court or wherever you will appear at the Petty Sessions every week. Relatives of those arrested should not lose the head when they hear that their sons or daughters are appearing in court the next Tuesday. It is only another remand, and you will not be sent up the road for ten years by whatever R.M. happens to be there. Much as they might like to do it they haven't the power.
15. After a long period on remand you will be informed probably a week or so in advance that you will be getting your depositions. Since some of you will not have a lawyer at this stage it is best to ask for a preliminary investigation. This means that the depositions have to be taken on oath at the Magistrates court. It will give you a chance at your trial of tripping up witnesses when they give different evidence at

your trial than that which they gave at the depositions court.

If you agree on the other hand to have a preliminary enquiry the depositions will be made up in advance and served on you. This is not sworn evidence and the witnesses if they vary it at your trial do not look as if they are giving false evidence.

In the case of a preliminary investigation, you must ask for a copy of the depositions or otherwise you will not get them.

16. The magistrate will duly return you for trial and you will be taken back to Crumlin or wherever. If yours is a scheduled offence you will be returned for trial to the Belfast Recorder's court or the Belfast City Commission. These scheduled offences range from murder right down the list to possession of various objects. The court sits without a jury and the judge does the whole job. Whether you decide to recognise the authority of a British court to try an Irish citizen is a matter for discussion elsewhere but remember when you declare non recognition from the dock that you are by then three quarters convicted.
 17. The question of bail must be dealt with here. Petty sessions magistrates can no longer give bail. It must be applied for to the High court. This process can take from two to twenty days. If it's an emergency the Crown might be persuaded to put it on for an early hearing. Usually you will have to wait your turn. You will need a very strong case, or a very minor charge or a very co-operative RUC detective. Preferably you should have all three. You will need two independent bailsmen to stand for you. They have to be acceptable to the RUC as well as to the court. No money has to be laid down, but if you slip your bailsmen will be taken for every penny. And if they haven't got the money they can do time.
- The citizen will no longer be railroaded but then the Crown no longer needs to do so. They have all the time in the world — or do they?

CHARGED WITH THEFT

JOSEPH LANCELOT ADDISON, a retired English army brigadier and former deputy commissioner in India was ordered at London Crown Court to be detained at Banstead Hospital Surrey by a judge who stated that he was making the order for the Brigadier's own safety.

Judge MacLeay added it was necessary for him to go to 'hospital' because of "long standing alcoholism and an early brain deterioration."

Looking at the state of the B.A. last week in Creggan they all seem to have an early brain deterioration. The brigadier was educated at Sandhurst, the fine home of un-educated British Officers.

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

THE TIME has come when we, the people of Ireland, North and South, must stop and examine critically the position in which we find ourselves today. We must decide for ourselves what kind of a future we want, and in what direction we should move, in order to really free Ireland once and for all. We have been dictated to by British Imperialists well over 500 years. The forms of this control have varied down through the years, arriving at the present political setup.

Because of the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland we find a neo-colonial, economically dominated South and a colonial North, at present being run by various repressive administrations, and held together by the naked force of the British Army. It is also clear that the North is fast approaching a neo-colonial situation.

When Britain pulls out of the North it will be a significant victory for the working-class people who have sacrificed and suffered a great deal in order to bring about that day. It will be our victory over Britain but it will not be a decisive one. It would not be freedom, for British, and other foreign, Imperialism would still remain in the form of economic and cultural domination. In other words our lives would still be controlled indirectly by this form of domination even though its most manifest form, the British Army, would be gone and some semblance of Independence arrived at.

We must not be blinded, for 'Independence' of this type can be seen in what is often wrongly called the "Free State." The term "Free State" implies that it is free from British, and other outside controls. Of course nothing could be further from the truth because the South like the North, is economically dominated by vast foreign concerns mostly British, which dictate the way in which the country as a whole is run.

The point I am trying to make is this; Southern Ireland, after 50 years of 'Independence' is still as firmly 'dependent' on Britain as it ever was. The only thing which has changed since the days of British military presence is the group of men who organise the exploitation of the Irish people and Irish resources. Formerly they were English, now they are Irish. It makes little difference to the people who their new masters are.

The main reason for this sorry state

of affairs can be seen in the development of the South after the war of 'Independence', when the declaration of the Irish revolutionaries on Easter Monday morning was overlooked. Part of that declaration stated: 'We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible.' Instead of carrying out the 'Reconquest of Ireland' which Connolly talked about, some of the leadership at that time allowed the landlord and capitalist class to remain. This is not too hard to understand when we see that the former were either part of or identified with that class. That is to say, this native Irish capitalist clique were attempting to use the people's victory for their own selfgain. (Not unlike the S.D.L.P. in the North.)

The revolutionary elements at that time saw what was happening and their disgust and fear was summed up by Mellows when he wrote "Ireland does not want a change of masters." It would be foolish surely, to free Ireland from foreign tyranny today, and less than twenty years hence to have to free it from domestic tyranny. Therefore the Irish Republic must have for its foundations the people. It is they who are freeing Ireland; and it is for the people— all the people — that it is being done, not for any section or group.

We all know what happened then. The Irish middle and capitalist class, with the help of borrowed British guns and artillery, set out to destroy the authentic voice of the Irish people. This involved a fierce civil war, the outcome of which was the defeat of the Republican and Revolutionary soldiers. They were imprisoned and their leaders, Liam Mellows, Rory O'Clonnon, Joe McKelvey, and Richard Barret were shot without trial in Mountjoy Gaol. These gentlemen of property had done what Englishmen could never do, that was, break the back of the Irish people.

They then completely ignored the will of the people and set about lining their own pockets. For a while this seemed to be running well enough, but it soon became evident that the British market overshadowed their own. The main reason was the fact they protected, instead of nationalising the many Banking, Insurance, and large industries which still remained under British control.

Their situation then deteriorated to the point where they now have to sell Southern Ireland part and parcel to foreign investors in order to survive as a class. The vast resources which have been sold at Navan are a perfect example of this criminal policy.

This state of affairs can not be allowed to continue. As I have said earlier, the people of Ireland must decide their own future; no more must we look to the high places for help, for we have seen that their 'help' is false. The Irish history books are full of men who have used their people's sufferings in order to make personal gain. Men like Cosgrave, Griffith, Fitt, Faulkner, and Conway. We, the working-class people of Ireland, must take what belongs to us, our wealth, our destiny.

We have been the objects of exploitation for too long. The time has come when all the people of Ireland, 'the men of no property' must unite in one common cause, the destruction of British Imperialism in all its forms, and the building of a 32 County Socialist Republic, which would ensure the ownership of Ireland by the whole people of Ireland. Anything short of this will, only give another foothold to the Imperialists, and thus ensure continued exploitation and oppression.

PADDY MOLLOY (page 17)



SEAMUS BRADLEY

31st JULY 1972

In proud and loving memory of Vol.
Seamus Bradley, of Derry Brigade, I.R.A.
The dust of these is Irish earth
Among their own they rest
And that same land that gave them birth
Has caught them to her breast;
And we pray that from their clay
Full many a race may start
Of true men like these men
To play as brave a part.

WAR OF THE FLEA

WE DEALT before in this paper with the strategy and objectives of guerrilla warfare, also with the fallacies of counter insurgency. Now, it would be useful to discuss the failures of the few guerrilla movements that have been successfully suppressed. Taber lists only 3 examples of suppressed people's armies — the HUK movement in the Philippines, the Malayan Liberation Army and the Greek Communist movement after World War 2.

The HUK movement had originated in response to the Japanese invasion during World War 2, but after independence it demanded a political voice and a share of the land for which it had fought. The man who defeated the movement was a former guerrilla leader — Magsaysay; he had to contend with 12,000 armed guerrillas with an estimated support population of 1 million out of a total of 17 million. He knew that 30,000 regular troops were helpless against guerrilla forces in terrain favourable to the latter; He reorganised the army by sending out small units against the HUK to hunt them down piecemeal. The rest of the army he devoted to social work — setting up hospitals, building schools, repairing roads and helping agricultural workers. The guerrilla slogan — Land for the Landless — was subverted by agrarian reform. Bribery and rewards did the rest. Though the HUKs were never defeated militarily they lost the propaganda war and popular appeal; in fact, their cause was stolen from them by a government more popular (which was financed by American aid), so leading to isolation from the population on which any guerrilla depends.

In postwar Malaya, a guerrilla force fighting for social revolution was also isolated. But what should be noted in this case is the cost of the victory to the British Army which carried out the counter-insurgency campaign. An extract from official British Army records will demonstrate the cost of the campaign — "This was the nature of the operations — 60,000 artillery shells, 30,000 rounds of mortar ammunition and 2,000 aircraft bombs for 35 terrorists killed or captured. Each one represented 1,500 man-days of patrolling or waiting in ambush." The cost of such a victory should inspire rather than depress potential guerrillas in other countries.

Greece (1946-9) offers an example of how not to conduct a guerrilla campaign. In 1946 the Democratic Army numbered only 2500 men; by early 1947 it was fighting in battalion strength, a year later brigades were

formed, and then entire divisions — eight in all, organised along the lines of conventional army divisions. Its peak strength was 26,000. Early success led to fatal mistakes. The first was to lose contact with the Greek population: the Democratic Army began to raid villages (which had been stripped of police and army posts) looking for supplies and war materials. This caused refugees to flow into Athens and proved politically disastrous for the guerrilla forces who were held responsible by the people. The second blunder was in trying to hold ground by adopting conventional defensive tactics for which their inferior numbers, light arms and weak logistical system were unsuitable. The Democratic Army was at first successful in holding a territorial base but soon, in 1948, the exposure of large formations to a numerically, technologically and organisationally superior army cost it a series of defeats from which there was no recovery.

The revolutionary principle, according to Taber, is this: "the object of the guerrilla is not to win battles, but to avoid defeat, not to end the war; but to prolong it, until political victory, more important than any battlefield victory, has been won." Today, we have all the lessons of guerrilla warfare behind us. Military victory is ensured just by the mere survival of the guerrilla army; political victory is ensured by agitation and dissemination of a

Working Together?

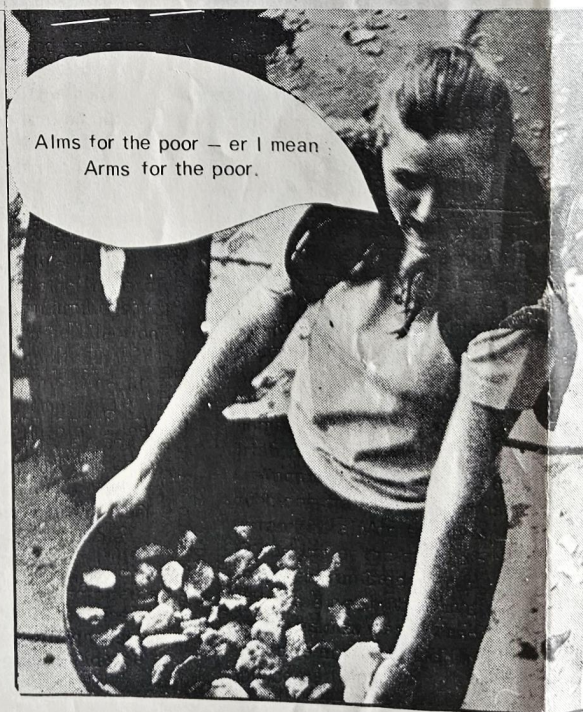
COMING UP to a gardi checkpoint recently in the darkness I slowed down. A light was then waved in a semi-circle which indicated to go on. We then crossed the border into the North and came up to the British army check-point where we stopped.

After looking at my driving licence he told me to pull over to the side of the road. This soldier was then joined by another who said "that's the car that drove through the Gardi checkpoint." I was amazed to hear this and asked "how did he know that the Gardi had a checkpoint and I was told that "the authorities across the border had informed them." The car at this stage was literally being taken to pieces.

Recently in an earlier issue of this paper we published a photograph of the Gardi car which had stopped a British patrol in the south and held them for some hours. It seems a coincidence that the road on which the photo was taken was the same road on which we travelled that night.

Both forces now seem to have forgotten their differences, all "buddies buddies" and working together for the betterment of the state.

coherent programme at grass-roots level. Success is inevitable if the political-cum-military strategy is adopted consistently at all stages.



Interrogation

INTERROGATION CAN use a complex set of alternative techniques, the choice between them depending upon the political situation and the personality of the victim. For interrogation to be successful the victim must co-operate, and most means of achieving this co-operation depend upon raising his stress level until he or she breaks. At its crudest this can be done by using one of the many means of producing physical pain. However, these methods have counter-productive effects on public opinion; they are unlikely to be widely used until after any take-over by a right-wing state.

The Northern Ireland methods, though, demonstrate that physical torture is not the only way in which stress levels can be raised drastically. There are more subtle methods which involve combinations of the following factors: isolation, induced debility and exhaustion, sleep-deprivation, threats, degradation, demonstrating the victim's helplessness, plus occasional indulgences for compliance.

The effect of such methods can be intensified from the relatively mild levels customary in normal police investigations in Britain today. It is impossible to specify any threshold where "normal police interrogation" ends and torture begins. This makes these methods particularly suitable for exploitation by police forces operating under some control from public opinion. A rapid increase in the severity of use of these techniques can be expected. This process seems already to have begun, if the police conduct in the questioning of the Price sisters is any guide. In the words of Commander Huntley of Scotland Yard "We have to admit to what was an assault, well we shall say a technical assault on Dolours Price. But desperate measures follow on desperate means.... The police occasionally have to use unorthodox yes unorthodox methods."

The other obvious method of gaining the victim's co-operation is the use of drugs. It must be remembered, though, that no infallible "truth drug" exists. If it did exist, it would obviously be in standard use by interrogators everywhere. However, most so-called truth drugs operate by means of a "placebo" effect: that is, they exploit the victim's belief in the existence of such drugs. Some drug is injected which alters the victim's mental state; a drug like pentathol will make him very relaxed. The victim, believing it to be a truth drug, may feel that he can no longer control himself, and so talks. Alternatively the drug may just induce terror or pain, examples include

hallucinogenic drugs like LSD, or drugs like suxamethonium chloride (scoline), which induces total paralysis including loss of voluntary breathing while the victim remains completely conscious. (In Uruguay the two types of drug have been used in succession on the victim.*) As a result of being in such a state, he or she may be much more likely to divulge information. Anyone who believes that he or she has been given drugs by the security forces should be medically tested as soon afterward as possible—traces of the drug will still be in the body for a short period of time.

While interrogation will obviously continue to be an important means of intelligence gathering (as will other direct methods such as informers, cameras, sensors), neither the social structure nor trade union and revolutionary organisations are anything like so tight-knit in Britain as in Northern Ireland. So telephone tapping will clearly be the most important, as well as the simplest, source of large quantities of information. As Kitson emphasises, the better strategy for the security forces is to try to

obtain massive amounts of information of low or varying quality rather than small amounts of high quality information. It can therefore be expected that the security forces will use sophisticated data processing systems to process this information. According to the 1972 Computer Survey the UK Defence Department had 500 computers at that time. Once the information is actually stored in the computer, modern programming methods will enable large numbers of inferences to be drawn from relatively sketchy evidence. Technical problems however, mean that the transition from tape recorder to computer cannot yet be done mechanically. Hence rapidly decodable high density information is at present very important to the security forces.

The present sophistication of police intelligence can perhaps be ominously gauged from Brigadier Thompson's comment, "I was amazed—because I know how much the police in other parts of the UK know about people—at how bad the Intelligence seemed to be in Northern Ireland at the beginning of the present emergency."

*See 'World Medicine,' November 14th 1973

SAS GROUP IS ACTIVE HERE

A GROUP of four SAS men, spotted in Dublin and Bray recently, could be involved in a plot to assassinate a major political figure in the 26 Counties in such a way as to lay blame on Oglai na hEireann and panic the Dublin regime into introducing massive internment measures.

The fear is expressed by an Irish-born former United Nations official in the Middle East. He recognised the SAS group from briefing interviews given in New York, before he was sent to the Persian Gulf on a security mission.

The ex-UN man, now directing a security operation at a multi-million pound drug-making firm in Munster, said that he had been briefed about SAS activities in Persian Gulf protectorates and other Arabian states.

"These SAS men operate frequently with civilian jobs for cover," he said. "Their chief role is assassination of politicians and guerrilla leaders resisting colonial rule in such British-dominated centres as South Yemen.

"The SAS group here is known to the Gardai, but no apparent action has been taken against them," added the ex-UN man, whose family comes from Co. Tipperary.

By political assassination here, the SAS could frighten off support in the South for the defence of Catholic ghettos in the event of British-inspired sectarian attacks, he stated.

He would not reveal his identity for fear of reprisals against his family.

The Men behind the Wire

