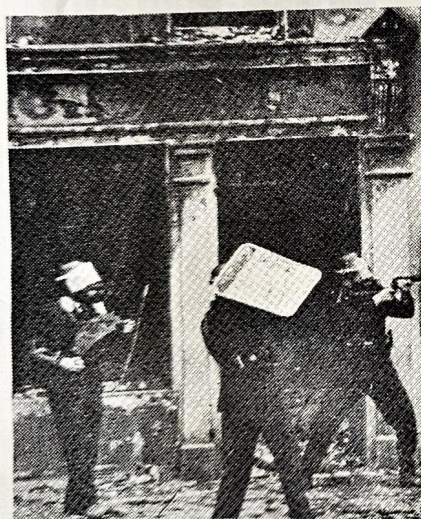


VOLUNTEER

MEITHEAMH 1974

LUACH 5p

JUNE, 1974



Q. Why was Paddy Devlin so embarrassed about that ambush attempt on Ivan Cooper and himself in which he said the R.U.C. had co-operated with his would-be attackers?

A. Because just 2 weeks previously he had been involved in a conference which was held to discuss ways of re-introducing the R.U.C. into the Falls. The conference which was held in St. Mary's Training College, was the brain-child of Brian Lally, an inspector in the R.U.C., who is a native of the Falls and who as R.U.C. community Relations officer for the area, has been given the task of easing the R.U.C. back in.

Q. Was John Hume, Canavan and Logue thinking the same?

A. You fought so hard in the past to get them out!
DO NOT LET THEM RETURN.



NOTHING NEW IN COSGRAVE SPEECH

MR. COSGRAVE'S speech on Thursday, June 13 was hailed as a long-awaited "new departure" by unionist and alliance spokesmen north of the border.

But the Rev. Ian Paisley was nearer the mark when he described it as "hypocritical." It is hypocritical of Cosgrave and the southern cabinet to say that "violence is killing the desire for unity" and in almost the same breath, to talk of the people "in this country" as if the 26 counties constituted the real Ireland. He put his views across without comment in order (so he says) to reflect the growing volume of support among people in the south for a solution which did not entail unity or even close co-operation with the north. Rather than accept this allegedly neutral position as genuine, we would contest that the southern government is seeking to build up support for a major revision of the southern constitution, is seeking to legitimise and institutionalise such a position so that, by the time a replacement to Sunningdale is found, the majority of people in the south and the Catholic minority in the north will have mentally adjusted to accepting not only a stalling on the road to unity but a backward trend. People should be aware that any London or Dublin alternative to Sunningdale will incorporate the worst features of that agreement and omit any of the saving clauses which were introduced to woo the SDLP and con the minority here. Next to Sunningdale, an independent Northern Ireland fits British aspirations in Ireland like a glove. It would be a middle-class solution incorporating both orange and green tories like the SDLP and Vanguard Unionists of varying shades; it would involve minimal co-operation with the south,

thus satisfying Cosgrave's wish that the 26-counties be left alone to operate its tidy political system for another 50 years; it would quench John Hume's insatiable lust for power (for Craig, Taylor and West, no matter what they say on TV will require the SDLP to con Catholics into accepting an independent Northern Ireland as a "stepping stone" to Irish unity.) Economic dependence on Britain would still be the order of the day, for even under De Valera, an arch-capitalist himself, Irish capitalism found the strain of exploiting native workers too much (due to its own under-development) and preferred foreign investors and monopolies to have a free hand, a policy which was intensified under Sean Lemass, till now, we find ourselves in the ludicrous position of being in the rich man's club of the EEC comprising 9 members in all, and yet we are still being exploited to a greater extent than ever by one EEC member in particular - Britain. A quasi-independent state in the north is the logical extrapolation of the present manoeuvres by southern northern and British politicians. We are being fed expectations so that we will not have to undergo a traumatic experience when the crunch comes. Dublin and London hope that we will accept that the north and south should remain separate statelets, producing only for the benefit of a few native capitalists and foreign investors. They hope that indiscriminate violence, assassinations etc. will wear civilians down, will dash ordinary people's hopes of a better solution, will lead to a state of disillusionment with even the idea of a united federal Ireland so that Sunningdale's replacement can be slipped in by the back-door.

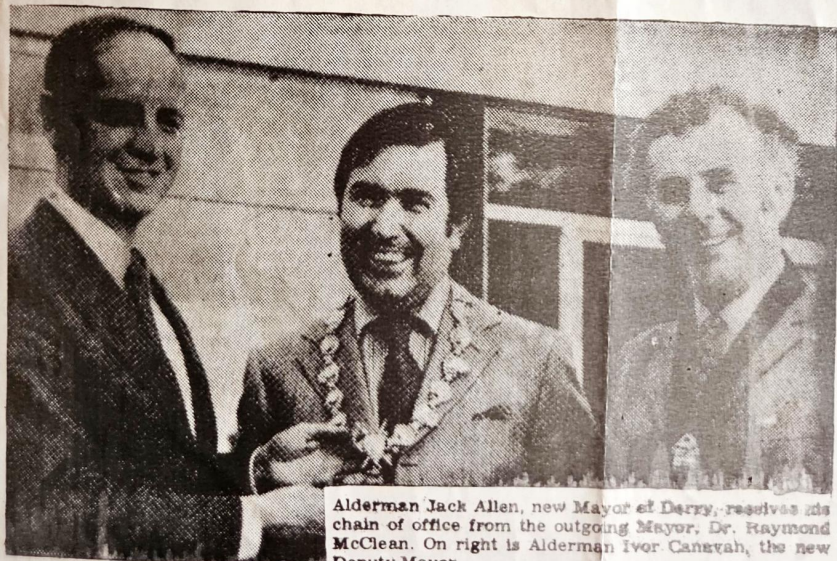
It has reached the stage where Dr. Conor Cruise says that "it would not be realistic to expect that Protestants could be persuaded to join a united Ireland." Persuasion is also out now. For 50 years, successive southern governments kept up a squalid pretence of wanting a uniting Ireland. It was an elaborate double-think, made possible by various clever constitutional tricks, by declaring 32-counties a Republic, by claiming jurisdiction over the north - all to cover up a basic inertia and willingness to get to grips with the problem. Now even that pretence will be shelved in the coming months and years; for fifty years, southern politicians talked about unity but did nothing; now they are going to even stop talking about it. It would be ironical if, in the last analysis, it was left to northern Catholics and Protestants to promote unity in Ireland; in such circumstances, Cosgrave would be first to shout "No Surrender" and "Not an Inch of the 26-counties."

Their View of Power Sharing

DURING THE short reign of the executive there was a lot of talk of power-sharing by the elected politicians. The SDLP maintained that it was the only way to work with other elected representatives. But recently in Derry at the election of the deputy mayor they (SDLP) thought the Loyalist, Nationalist, Alliance and an Independent had ganged up to defeat their nominee for that post.

The SDLP view is that the Mayoralty should be shared year about by the two largest parties - SDLP and Loyalist. There was an SDLP Mayor last year, and Mr. J. Allen (United Loyalist) has been elected mayor for one year. Hume and company thought that their member should have become deputy mayor to succeed to the mayoralty in June 1975 and that the other smaller political parties should not have the privilege of having one of their members occupy the position of mayor. So much so that John Hume and last year's SDLP mayor paid a house call to Mr. Allen to see if his party would support them. Mr. Allen refused and told them that his party would vote only in accordance with adopted party policy in regard to the mayoralty.

Irishmen should be prepared to share power with any Irishman be he Catholic or Protestant. But the SDLP want to share power their way as long as it suits their particular brand of politics at that particular time and keeps the Fitts, Humes and Curries names to the fore.



Alderman Jack Allen, new Mayor of Derry, receives his chain of office from the outgoing Mayor, Dr. Raymond McClean. On right is Alderman Ivor Canavan, the new Deputy Mayor.

1974 LIBERATION YEAR —for British and Portuguese Colonies ?

THE REPERCUSSIONS of revolution are never confined to any one country. Last month, Caetano's regime in Portugal collapsed; one of the direct causes of this collapse was the publication of a book by General Spínola, hero of guerrilla wars waged in African colonies, who suggested that the Portuguese withdraw their army from Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau and attempt a political solution, instead, consisting of a federation between African colonies and Portugal. General Spínola's policy won out finally in much the same way as Maudling's war policy gave way to a political-cum-military campaign in the shapes of Whitelaw, Pym and Rees. The Portuguese have asked the guerrilla movements in Africa to lay down their arms and to engage in open political organisation; we have much the same policy here. But, as FRELIMO, PAIGC and MPLA (the three liberation movements in African colonies) have stated they began this campaign 13 years ago in order to gain political and economic independence, and not to join in a federation with Portugal at its head. Today, the same rule applies in Ireland - independence, no power-sharing under Britain, no Council of Ireland under Britain.

Portugal established its control in its three territories between 1910 and 1920. The white colonist elite structure accepted certain negroes - assimilados as they are called - in American jargon - Uncle Toms; in Irish terms - Castle Catholics. But these favoured few numbered only 1% of the total population. The rest live on a subsistence economy while their country's produce is shipped back to Lisbon. But the 11 million black Africans are showing that even military expenditure at the rate of



MASSACRE IN MOZAMBIQUE

one half of the gross national product cannot hold back freedom forever. It is almost certain that they will continue with their struggle until full independence is granted. Meanwhile, just as with the Britain-Ireland relationship, the colonial war is provoking deep divisions within Portugal, causing social questions to come to the fore

again. Our struggle has made England re-assess its thinking in relation to many things, including its own internal affairs. As we progress towards liberation in 1974 (we have been getting nearer every year) we should wish other subjugated peoples luck in their own struggles against repression and slaughter.

**Give Political Status to
MYLES O'HAGAN**

'B' Wing,

Crumlin Road Jail

B.C.A. ELECTIONS

THE ELECTIONS were held under the new B.C.A. structures. The area was divided into ten electoral areas. Each area was further divided into three neighbourhoods. A number of candidates were put forward from each neighbourhood and from these, the five getting the most votes in each neighbourhood will be eligible to serve on an area committee. There will, therefore be ten area committees, each with fifteen members. The winner of the election in each neighbourhood will be eligible to serve on the thirty member executive.

In view of the democratic nature of the elections the association is truly representative of the people of the area and as such should be welcomed as an effective means of expressing the views of the people, and taking action, on any event or development which closely affects them, as well as a means of fostering community spirit through the organising of all kinds of social events and recreational facilities.

The results of the election are as follows:-

Area 1

1. PADDY DOHERTY
2. Eileen Doherty
3. J. Melaugh
4. Billy Nelis
5. Pat Meehan
6. W. McCafferty

Area 2

1. NEIL CARLIN
2. Eileen Semple
3. Julian Daly
4. Jackie Gibson.
5. Peter Lancaster
6. Nuala McCafferty

Area 3

1. MICKY OWENS
2. Patsy Glenn
3. Jim Hegarty
4. Pat Watts
5. Dawson Noble
6. M. Mayse

Area 4

1. WILLIAM CARRAN
2. George McDaid
3. Thos. Brown
4. P. Warren
5. Tony Smith
6. Mrs. E. Kelly

Area 5

1. NOEL GALLAGHER
2. John Gilmore
3. H. Gallagher
4. H. Archibald
5. R. Gallagher

Area 6

1. LIAM BRADLEY
2. Jack Crawford
3. Mary Starrs
4. Danny Feeney
5. Thos. McCann

Area 7

1. LIAM IRVINE
2. John Page
3. Jim Robinson
4. Tom Meenan
5. Des Moore
6. Jim Doyle

Area 8

1. HUGH QUIGLEY
2. L. McLaughlin
3. P. O'Donnell
4. F. Stott
5. B. Gallagher

Area 9

1. J. McLAUGHLIN
2. Gerry Arnott
3. T. McLaughlin
4. D. Meenan
5. I. Doherty
6. T. Meehan

Area 10

1. J. McPHILLIPS
2. T. Temple
3. H. Grant
4. J. O'Kane
5. S. Wilson
6. J. Kelly

Area 11

1. W. MEENAN
2. C. McCarron
3. Markie Toland
4. P. Doherty (Junior)
5. C. Devenney
6. W. Kelly

Area 12

1. H. HALPENNY
2. J. Melaugh
3. W. Clifford
4. J. McCully
5. C. McDaid
6. D. McBrearty

Area 13

1. W. CAIRNS
2. T. O'Donnell
3. J. Quigley
4. B. Donaghy
5. J. Wilson

Area 14

Re-election

Area 15

1. F. McCONOLOGUE
2. Brendan Moore
3. John McIvor
4. J. McDevitt
5. E. McCormack
6. O. McGoldrick

Area 16

1. B. BARRETT
2. J. McKenna
3. W. Meenan
4. M. Doherty
5. J. Lyttle
6. E. Moore

Area 17

1. MRS. HINES
2. J. Glenn
3. S. Barr
4. P. Crawley

Area 18

1. F. KEOGH
2. S. Bell
3. M. Barr
4. H. Gallagher

Area 19

1. P. FRIEL
2. P. McFadden
3. C. Gallagher
4. W. Brown
5. R. Brennan
6. D. Carlin or
D. Tucker

Area 20

1. G. CANNING
2. G. Doherty
3. V. Coyle
4. D. Carr
5. R. Ramsey
6. P. Duffy

Area 21

1. J. McDEVITT
2. M. Doherty
3. W. Harkin
4. J. Duggan
5. P. Doherty
6. J. Harrigan

Area 22

1. R. ROGAN
2. W. Barrett
3. P. Carr
4. T. McDermott
5. J. Chapman
6. B. McGowan

Area 23

1. M. CAMPBELL
2. S. Flood
3. P. Harkin
4. W. Frayer
5. J. Kerrigan
6. W. McGovern

Area 24

1. E. MARTIN
2. M. McLaughlin
3. J. Wray
4. M. Thornton
5. Mrs. R. Loughery
6. J. Leonard

Area 25

1. J. MCGOWAN
2. W. Duffy
3. M. English
4. T. Harkin
5. J. McCay
6. A. Shiels

Area 26

1. J. McMANUS
2. L. Green
3. J. Canning
4. S. Morrison
5. S. Drummond
6. E. McAteer

Area 27

1. E. O'HARE
2. T. Harrigan
3. Mrs Doherty
4. J. McCourt
5. T. Harvey

Area 28

1. H. DOHERTY
2. T. O'Hara
3. M. Dean
4. P. Lynch
5. E. McCann
6. R. Gallagher

Area 29

1. G. SIMPSON
2. J. Feeney
3. W. Ramsey
4. W. Wilson
5. P. Hamilton
6. D. Cullen

Area 30

1. D. DEANE
2. B. Ramsey
3. J. McKenna
4. T. McCay
5. Chas Hegarty
6. Mrs. Harley

Number one in each list is the winner of the area election and as such is entitled to serve on the Executive.

THE FOUR SELLOUTS OF THE REPUBLIC

We have declared for an Irish Republic
and will live under no other law.

Liam Lynch
Chief of Staff
I.R.A. 1923

IN THE long proud history of the Republican Movement in Ireland there are many deeds of greatness that every Republican remembers with pride, men, events, and deeds. Unfortunately there are some actions by professed Republican Supporters that are remembered with disgust and bitterness. Probably the worst of these are the four separate times in history that men in the movement, usually for reasons of obtaining power, have betrayed their comrades, their country, and their honor. Today the words honor, patriotism, and duty are seldom mentioned except in dirisíon. One shining example to the contrary is the men and women of the Republican Movement of Ireland. These believers and fighters for the Republic of Ireland as declared in 1916 and fought for in every generation since then have held to the true allegiance, the hard path, the only way to a Republic worthy of our long list of Martyred Dead.

In examining the modern history of the Republican Movement, it can be noted that never once has the promise of the men who split away from the Republic ever been carried out. They all promised a stepping stone, a short cut, an easier way to the Republic. Where is this thing they so glibly promised?

In 1921, Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith split the Republican Movement by promising that if the Treaty with England was signed, leaving six Ulster counties to the benevolent rule of England, that in a short time the Ulster Government would be forced to join with their own creation the "Irish Free State" and lo and behold, the promised Irish

Republic. They were so convinced they were right that they went to war with their fellow Irishmen and killed and tortured men to make them believe.

We can see the sorry results in Ireland today. The brutal Civil War ended in 1923 with the vow by the Republican Forces "There will be another day."

The surrender was ordered by 2 men, Frank Aiken, c/s I.R.A. and Eamon De Valera, President. Both of these gentlemen used the situation to further their own interests by setting up the second sell-out of the Republic. In 1926 De Valera founded the political party- Fianna Fail, "The Soldiers of Destiny", effectively splitting the Republican Movement again. Honor and duty meant nothing to these Men of Destiny. They all took a false oath to support and defend the Free State against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Ah now, was it a false oath? Once elected in 1932 as the majority, the Fianna Fail Government instituted a general crack down on all known Republicans, using the very same police agents and special Branch men who just the year before had been harrasing them. For the first time the I.R.A. was declared an illegal organization! This by the Irish Government led by an ex-Commandant of the I.R.A. ! The Fianna Fail Government has the blood of 13 Irishmen on its hands, hanged, shot or starved to death for the crime of holding true to the cause of the Republic. They loved Ireland and died in her service.

The next group of men to abandon honor and principle for the temporary attainment of political power were the members of the Clann na Poblachta Party. This political stepping stone to the Republic was formed and led by an ex c/s of the I.R.A., Sean Mac Bride in 1946. Its declared intent was attainment of the Republican ideal by working within the Free

State Government. He was rewarded for his treachery to the movement by Fine Gael and Fianna Fail parties in the Free State Government with ranking cabinet posts. Of course this again did not lead to the promised result, the 1916 Republic ! These political opportunist faded from the Irish scene in 1957.

We now come to the latest split in the Republican Movement. It has long been a known fact, "No one can serve two masters." Republicans have held that the Second Dail Eireann was the last legally elected Government of the Irish Republic, no other 32 county election ever having been held. This being true, they do not recognize any other Government as being the legal Government of the Republic. Believing that you can have allegiance to only one, they have always refused to recognize by deed or acceptance of any kind the Free State at Leinster House, or the Ulster Government at Stormont. They do believe in running for office in order to give the people of Ireland a choice of candidate. No Republican Candidate serves in either of the parliaments if elected. They also refuse to serve in the British Parliament in London. Service in any of these bodies requires an oath of allegiance to these various bodies ! Republicans serve only Ireland and her cause !

In 1969 it was put to a vote of Sinn Fein and the I.R.A. that Sinn Fein stand for election to the various parliaments and if elected, serve and "work from within" for the advancement of the Republic. Again the Siren call of an Easy Way, a short cut, a stepping stone. This was voted down but the Movement split into two sections. One labeled by the media as the Official, the other labeled the Provisional. The Officials accepting recognition of the Free State and Stormont Parliaments and pledged to attempt to free Ireland within existing governmental framework.

History has repeatedly shown that their approach has never worked in practice.

The Provisionals held to the tried and true Republican outlook and have carried on the traditional fight for Irish Freedom.

**Give Political Status
to Irish Prisoners in
English and Scottish**

John

The Rebel Priest

IN 1798, when he was forty-five, Father John Murphy served as curate in a country parish in Co. Wexford. From a contemporary source we learn that he was a well built active man of medium height, with "white forehead over light blue eyes."

Father Murphy was a helpful and popular pastor among the small farmers, who made up the bulk of his parishioners. The Government, aware at this time through its espionage network that the United Irishmen and their leader, Wolfe Tone, were preparing armed rebellion, and seeking French aid, imposed martial law of uncommon severity on the country.

The United Irishmen, allied with the Catholic agrarian society of Defenders, had taken a strong hold in Wexford. That county became especially suspect and from April 1798 a reign of terror was carried on there by the Militia and the Orange Yeomanry. Those bodies, with the sanction of the Irish Parliament, enjoyed a free hand in harassing the peasantry, and could demand "free quarters" among them. In this way it was hoped that the inhabitants would become too dispirited to co-operate with any French force that might land in Ireland.

In conformity with their bishop's wishes, Father Murphy and neighbouring priests swore an oath of allegiance to the English King, in an effort to make life more tolerable for the people. But neither that nor the surrender of weapons, guns and pikes, asked for by the clergy, halted the tyranny exercised by magistrates and soldiery.

The Wexford rising began unexpectedly at the Whit week-end, May 26 and 27. A few days earlier, 59 prisoners were executed by military firing squads at Dunlavin and Carnew. Friday morning saw a silent confrontation between Father Murphy, some local men, and a detachment of the Camolin Cavalry.

At ten o'clock on Saturday night, the priest left the house of a man he had visited in The Harrow. He was accompanied home by a bodyguard of 30 men, some of them equipped with pikes and muskets. The party reached a sharp turn in the road at Tinnacross, where a corps of cavalry, in charge of one Lieutenant Bookey, was stationed, seemingly about to block further passage.

The cavalry men raised their guns as if they were going to fire at the men on the road. Strangely enough, all but two, the Lieutenant and a trooper wheeled about and galloped off. Bookey and the other soldier rode on past the priests' bodyguard. They burned down the house he had just visited. On the way back

they were attacked. Bookey received a fatal pike thrust, and the trooper was shot dead.

This encounter by night at The Harrow was the beginning of the Wexford Rising. The next day, Whit-Sunday, the Yeomanry carried out punitive circuits through the countryside, the results being recorded in the Detail Book of the Camolin Cavalry. The Yeos "killed a great number of insurgents, who seemed as if collecting in a body, and burnt 170 houses of rebels, whose inhabitants had fled, and also the Popish Chapel of Boolavogue." The chapel stood in a field, the property of a man named Donovan.

During the Sunday hundreds of men, most of them homeless and fugitive through the destruction of their homes, assembled under the leadership of Father Murphy and one Edward Roche. Early on Monday morning this insurgent army, a mile in length and filling the road, marched out to attack Enniscorthy. The town was garrisoned by 300 infantry and cavalry. Discipline was not very evident, in the ranks of the marchers, arms were scarce, but there was enthusiasm and a determination to avenge cruel wrongs.

A suggestion by Father Murphy hastened the fall of Enniscorthy. Like Hannibal in Italy, he made his men drive a herd of young cattle before them against the town gate, and spread confusion among the defenders. The British force evacuated the town at 4 p.m., and Enniscorthy remained a rebel stronghold until the disaster of Vinegar Hill three weeks later.

Within a few days Wexford fell, without a blow being struck, but New Ross although entered by the insurgents after valiant fighting, was recaptured by General Johnson the same day, June 4. Blame for the loss of New Ross has been placed on the drink consumed by the rebels, but their physical exhaustion, and the excessive heat that summer, were also contributory factors.

Bagonal Harvey, a Protestant and a man of liberal opinions, had command of the insurgents at New Ross. Another section of the rebel army marched north under Father Murphy; captured Gorey, but was driven back from Arklow. The planned union Dublin by the combined strength of the Wicklow and Wexford men was therefore foiled.

General Lake, whose Dragoon methods had disarmed the Presbyterian North the previous year was now named commander-in-chief of the British army in Ireland. At dawn on June 21 he invested Vinegar Hill and Enniscorthy on three sides, with 13,000 troops. Vinegar Hill, which overlooks the town, was held by the insurgents. About 15,000 people had assembled on that exposed eminence, but

a large proportion of them were noncombatant, the aged, women and children.

Under cover of a heavy cannonade, the Redcoat lines steadily advanced upon the hill. The defenders, their supplies of arms and ammunition woefully short, relied mainly upon the pike in their repeated and valiant charges against the enemy. After three and a half hours the battle became a rout, which ended in the pitiless slaughter of retreating rebels, and their dependants. Wexford surrendered and the rebellion in the country was at an end.

The Lake Cullen manuscript, in Trinity College Library, enables us to follow Father Murphy's movements after the debacle of Vinegar Hill. About 2,000 survivors joined the priest at Three Rocks, three miles from Wexford. They resolved to proceed through neighbouring counties to enlist support for a renewal of the struggle. That hope quickly evaporated. Large numbers of insurgents defected each day and, instead of collaboration from the inhabitants of adjoining counties, the sorely pressed remnant was met with indifference and hostility. At length it became a case of everybody for himself, until the leader was left with just one faithful companion, a man named Gallagher.

The two fugitives travelled by way of Mount Leinster in the direction of Wicklow, where they intended to seek shelter with Michael Dwyer. The journey was hazardous as parties of military scoured the countryside in search of straggling rebels. They spent the night of June 25 with a farmer, whose 12 year old daughter mended the priest's torn clothes.

A well-to-do Protestant landowner living close to Ballon, Co. Carlow, generously sheltered both men in his house for some days. We find them next getting shelter in the house of a family named O'Toole. The Cullen M.S. closes the saga.

"Here (at O'Tooles) they were discovered and brought to General Duffs headquarters at Tullow, and there recognised, tried and hanged in the Market Square, outside the house of a Mr. O'Callaghan. Father John Murphys body was then burned in a barrel of tar, and his head spiked at the Sessions house. After some time the head was taken down and buried in the Mullawn, Tullow."

Father Murphy fell under episcopal censure for taking up arms in 1798. In extenuation, however, it can be said that he adopted the extreme course, only when he honestly believed that the peaceful means he had tried had failed in securing protection for his people from Government sponsored terrorism.

INDEPENDENT NORTHERN IRELAND NOT THE WAY TO UNITED IRELAND

THEY SAY that all roads lead to Rome; many people today think that all roads lead to a united Ireland (and in some Protestants' minds the two are equivalent.) But it must be shown that this is rash optimism, lacking any coherent basis of fact; we know that a united Ireland is inevitable but it will not come of its own accord, without agitation and struggle on its behalf. It is now a matter of when and how: shall we wait until the ruling classes, north and south, decide that it is in their interests to have a united country; shall we wait until Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, Labour Party, SDLP and other parties rig up a political system which will ensure their survival, following the unavoidable restructuring in a United Ireland? They all say that they want a united Ireland - but not yet; thirty or forty years is a timetable slow enough for them so that the necessary adjustments can be made in their favour.

Following the collapse of the Executive, a British disengagement is certain. Already Merlyn Rees has stated that Ulster nationalism must be taken into account, but if he thinks that, it is only because he sees the possibility of manipulating Ulster nationalism into the desired British solution. We recognise Ulster nationalism as sincere and valid; it is not basically sectarian, or colonialist as some commentators have suggested it is a significant progression from a British Ulster context to an Ulster Ireland context. Ulster nationalism did not appear overnight - the Ulster flag replaced the Union Jack 3 or 4 years ago, so we should not become hysterical when a British minister recognises this movement as a political force.

But there is a growing tendency to equate a British withdrawal with a united Ireland. There is also a growing body of people who are being attracted towards the idea of an independent Northern Ireland. That such a unit would be economically viable should not be an argument in favour of it. The only criterion on which to judge any attempted solution is whether it will break down partition and hold more than a possibility of leading to full economic and political independence. An independent Northern Ireland in order to survive at all, would require the consent of both minority and majority as well as the tacit support of Dublin and London. It could not be a sectarian state, so it is not on this score that we find fault with the idea. Our opposition rests on the following argument. If a northern "Free State" were to be created (after a British withdrawal) which involved participation by the SDLP, it would lead to a strengthening of partition, not the reverse. If Catholics were to identify with this new state, they would be directly consolidating the position of the northern state and indirectly legitimising the southern state. Many Catholics are completely disillusioned with southern politicians, so such an identification would not be impossible. But they should have no illusions about it; the creation of a semi-independent northern state will not lead to a 32-county Republic. Once new institutions are set up, a certain rivalry will take place between the two states; it will be a position of US and THEM, as decisive as the sectarianism which has split Catholics and Protestants. Eventually alienation fostered by politicians will ensure that a united Ireland only arrives when they want it.

This may appear twisted logic to some but it must be remembered that social structures, once devised, have a dynamic of their own, which can succeed in mystifying and frustrating the clearest vision or will. An independent Northern Ireland would merely entail a modification of partition which would assume new characteristics of a deeper, more subtle nature. Ireland, as a whole, would be still in a neo-colonial position, with its economy heavily dependent on British and foreign investment. Repression inside Ireland, within two statelets intent on mutual survival, would be unprecedented. Radicals, republicans and socialists who opposed such a twin statelet solution would find no refuge on either side of the border. Both statelets would co-operate on matters such as law enforcement, socio-economic projects etc. - in other words on anything which ensured the continued survival and independent existence of the other statelet. The north would be a perfect mirror image of the south under such conditions; we would have arrived at a united Ireland - united in repression but separate as regards the political system and the social infrastructures. That is what an independent Northern Ireland would eventually lead to. It is not a stepping-stone to Irish unity; fifty years ago Michael Collins said that the Treaty was also a "stepping-stone to freedom." Fifty years later, we are still waiting for the fulfilment of his words. Do not let the same mistakes be repeated this time. The federal idea is still the only one which can be objectively considered as the road to a true unity of differences, which can lead to the dissolution of the various polarities of North-South, Protestant-Catholic.

UFF BRITISH ARMY?

A CLAIM by Vanguard Assemblyman, Prof. Ken Lindsay, was recently made after the UFF claimed responsibility for a series of recent bombings and the death of a 13 year old schoolgirl.

"I am told that these groups of assassins, such as the SAS (Special Air Services) which the Prime Minister has admitted have been operating in Ulster, are under direct control from 10 Downing Street," he said.

"I obviously cannot reveal my sources of information but I am now more convinced than ever that the UFF is being used as a British counter-insurgency unit," he said.

He would only hint that his sources of information were members with "impeccable contacts in intelligence

operations."

Loyalist MPs are known to have built up a file alleging operations by the SAS and the MRF (Military Reconnaissance Force) agents in Northern Ireland. Included is the case in which former UDR sergeant William Black had been the victim of three alleged assassination attempts by intelligence agents.

Sgt. Black had claimed the attempts were made after he exposed an undercover operation by British agents in 1972.

Recently in Lecky Road, two men drew guns from their pockets and fired several shots at youths who were standing in a doorway sheltering from the rain, one of the bullets went through a youths coat and at another house, bullet marks were found where a child had been sitting in the doorway. The men ran down Hamilton Street chased by residents who went as far as Ferguson's Lane, where other people said that the two men were seen running into the army

compound at the Bridge.

On day two of the U.W.C. strike a civilian van carrying British Army soldiers through "the Village" - a Protestant area near the Donegall Road, was fired on by U.W.C. vigilantes. The Brits, in plain clothes, drove into the Royal Victoria Hospital grounds and ran into the kitchen, the nearest building to the Village. Here they waved pistols and demanded the use of the phone. Women in the kitchen said that the two Brits who came in had long hair, "trendy clothes," were terrified, but did not appear wounded. The matron and civilian security men from the hospital arrived and took them to the matron's office and they were not seen again. Later, uniformed Brits drove the bullet-riddled van which had its windscreen smashed away. There may have been one of them injured as such vehicles usually carry a crew of three, yet only two showed themselves.

This vile gas blinds!

DIBENZOXAZEPINE, What a dreadful mouthful of a word. "Never heard of it." You have though. It is the real name of what is euphemistically called C.R. Gas. It is not a gas at all but a liquid fired from a sort of water pistol. If your aim is superb in riot situations you hit the person whom you want to hit. Quite likely you hit the completely innocent passer-by.

The Brits developed this "weapon" at Parton Down in Cornwall, and then sent it to America to be tested on wretched helpless animals. It is FAR TOO DANGEROUS to use on human beings. It burns the mucous membranes and blinds, no one knows yet whether temporarily or permanently.

Heretofore the vile CS gas has sufficed even though that was responsible for the death of at least one baby and the severe illness of many old people in Belfast. Yet the army guards in Long Kesh have now got C.R. gas. The men behind the wire are less than human are they not in the eyes

of the Brits.

It was Brigadier Frank Kitson who said "that to get one subversive fish one must pollute the whole river." I forget which general in the Six Counties said he was glad to have them in which to train the troops into instantaneous obedience without thinking, just obeying.

The implication was perfectly clear. Sooner or later the CR gas would be used against striking miners or whomsoever the government choose to think subversive. It is of course a weapon to be used by the capitalist against the working class. Since all vile weapons are sold to other countries I foresee that Vorster will buy masses of it for use against the black and coloured peoples in South Africa if they dare protest about the virtual slavery in which they live.

Chile would love to have it, so would Ian Smith and if a Conservative government gets back in Britain rest assured they will have it.

Don't think Ireland will be free. We put striking farmers and electricians

into prison, and from that to dibenzoxazepine is only a tiny step. Our politicians scream for the British troops to be kept in the Six Counties though we can have no peace until they are all gone, and personally I would add all British monies from all 32 counties as well.

If it was a case of "root hog or die" faith we'd pull in our belts and be so busy rooting that our petty sectarian quarrells so long fostered by the Brits would die away and we would work out our own salvation.

It is a mystery to me why so many people seem to think the more repression and torture and cruelty the sooner they will win. The opposite is the case. Sow dragons' teeth but do not be surprised if guerillas come up. Sow peace and peace will come up.

But beware of CR gas. It is just about the foulest instrument of "control" ever manufactured and it is here in Ireland ready to be used on our people already.

BOOLAVOGUE

BY P. J. McCALL

At Boolavogue as the sun was setting,
O'er the bright May meadows of Shelmaliar,
A rebel hand set the heather blazing,
And brought the neighbours from far and near,
Then Father Murphy from old Kilcormack,
Spurred up the rocks with a warning cry;
"Arm! arm!" he cried, "for I've come to lead
you,
For Ireland's freedom we'll fight or die!"

He led us on 'gainst the coming soldiers,
And the cowardly yeomen we put to flight,
'Twas at the Harrow the boys of Wexford,
Showed Bookey's regiment how men could
fight,
Look out for hireings, King George of England
Search every kingdom where breathes a slave,
For Father Murphy of County Wexford,
Sweeps o'er the land like a mighty wave.

We took Camolin and Enniscorthy,
And Wexford storming drove out our foes,
'Twas at Slieve Coilte our pikes were reeking,
With the crimson blood of the beaten yeos,
At Tubberneering and Ballyellis,
Full many a Hessian lay in his gore,
Ah! Father Murphy had aid come
over,
The Green Flag floated from shore to shore!

At Vinegar Hill, o'er the pleasant Slaney,
Our heroes vainly stood bacy to back,
And the Yeos at Tullow took Father Murphy,
And burnt his back upon a rack,
God grant you Glory brave Father Murphy,
And open Heaven to all your men,
The cause that called you may call tomorrow,
In another fight for the Green again.

Bodenstown Commemoration

OVER 6500 people marched to the graveside of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown on Sunday 16th June. The parade was headed by the colour party, members of Cumann na mBan and Fianna Eireann.

Mr. Sean Keenan of Derry who acted as chairman, said that the attendance was sufficient proof of their mandate to speak on behalf of the Irish people, adding that the days of the British army in Ireland were numbered. "The fight is almost over. The British troops are ready to withdraw," he said, criticising the SDLP and the Irish government for appealing that they be kept in the North. Irish problems could be solved only by Irishmen and the Treaty of 1921 and Sunningdale had failed, he added. Before the oration, wreaths were laid at the monument on behalf of the Provisional IRA, Fianna Eireann and the republican movement in Britain, and messages of solidarity were read from prisoners in Long Kesh, Armagh, Portlaoise and British jails.

Among the attendance at the commemoration were Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh, President, and Mrs. Maire Drumm, vice president of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street), along with former Provisional IRA leader, Sean Mac Stiofain, and Mr. Joe Clarke, Dublin, who is 93 years of age, is one of the oldest 1916 veterans.