

# VOLUNTEER

LUACH 5p

## The Good



## The Bad



## ... and The Ugly

M/S WM. McLAUGHLIN & SONS LTD.  
THE MOYSE, LIMAVADY, CO. DERRY.

This firm initially delivered blocks to

Ballydelly Army Barracks but realised this might be too dangerous, as someone might recognise their lorries entering and leaving the barracks. They then arranged with the Army to collect these blocks from their works.

The same blocks were subsequently used in the construction of Army check points at Letterkenny Road, Buncrana Road, Muff Road and the City centre. These blocks are normally sold for about £10.00 per 100. Wm. McLaughlin & Sons were receiving £20.00 per 100.

M/S INSTANT MIXED CONCRETE LTD, SAME ADDRESS

This firm is a subsidiary company of Wm. McLaughlin & Sons. They supplied pre-mixed concrete to M/S J. KENNEDY & CO. who were the main contractors in the construction of Magilligan Camp.

The pre-mix concrete was used in forming the foundations of the pre-fabricated huts and also on the perimeter fence. A director of Instant Mixed Concrete was overheard to say that it was a pity the foundations on the perimeter fence were only going 10ft. deep and not 20ft. as we could have made a few more quid out of it.

contd. on page 2



## The Concept of Law

# Offences Against the State Act

IN 1939 the Government of Mr. de Valera introduced the Offences Against the State Act. This Act was introduced in the wake of renewed activity by the IRA both in Ireland and in Britain. However, it is important to note that the Act nowhere refers to the IRA by name. Part 3, section 18, seeks "to regulate and control in the public interest the exercise of the constitutional right of citizens to form associations".

From the practical standpoint the important aspect of this is that an organisation which comes into conflict with the provisions of the section will not simply be amenable to the sanctions of the law by way of fines or imprisonment of its members for breaches of the legal code, but will "if and whenever the Government are of opinion" that an organisation is unlawful it shall be lawful for the Government to make a suppression order against such an organisation. Here we have the extraordinary power conferred upon the Government to take an arbitrary decision without reference to any court of law in a matter which involves the citizen's constitutional right to form associations. Section 19, sub-section 4: "A suppression order shall be conclusive evidence for all purposes . . . that the organisation to which it relates is an unlawful organisation . . ."

Section 2 provides for an appeal to be made against a suppression order to the High Court and ultimately to the Supreme Court. The effects of Section 20 are, however, in our opinion, cancelled out by the provisions of Section 21, Sub-Section 4. This Section gives power to the authorities to hold in custody any person who has been charged with membership of an illegal organisation notwithstanding that the person concerned is, through the courts, seeking to establish that the organisation to which he belongs is in fact legal. It is easy to envisage an innocent person being detained in custody for months pending the determination of court proceedings.

The powers conferred upon the authorities by this Section reverse the proposition of the common law—that a person is presumed innocent until proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. A victim of this Section must first prove his innocence and while seeking to do so may continue to suffer imprisonment. This is all the more heinous when one reflects that the Government need only be "of opinion" that an organisation is in fact illegal.

It should be remembered that in ordinary cases where criminal acts are alleged against an accused person mere opinion of the prosecution would not be tolerated by the court of first instance if that were all that the prosecution offered in its efforts to establish a *prima facie* case.

Section 34: This Section provides for dismissal from their employment of persons convicted of a "scheduled offence" by the Special Criminal Court. This, of course, adds further hardship and suffering to the person concerned and to his innocent dependants. It is the function of the courts to mete out whatever punishment the law permits to convicted wrongdoers. But we are happy to be able to say that in cases where mandatory sen-

tences are not demanded by law, compassion is invariably exercised, regard almost always being shown for the convicted person's family and dependants and the likely consequences a prison sentence would have upon a breadwinner. However, this Section gives the Government power to supplement the punishment of the courts with its own punishment. Recently we had an example of this power being exercised in a most savage manner against the headmaster of a Waterford school, Mr. Donal Whelan. We submit that the punishment of a offender is the business of the courts and that the Government's actions are at variance with the provisions of the constitution. We acknowledge that in certain cases involving persons employed by State or semi-State bodies that difficulties could arise having regard to the nature of the person's office or employment, and we advance the following proposition for consideration.

If in a proper case it was felt by the Government that a person due to his conviction was unsuited to continue in State or semi-State sponsored employment, then the way to determine the issue would be to have the case placed before a properly constituted judicial inquiry made up of lawyers and presided over by a judge of Superior Courts and at which both parties could be professionally represented.

The Special Criminal Court was set up under the Offences Against the State Act and in accordance with the provisions of Article 38, Section 3 of the Constitution. The present court was brought into being to help curb the activities of illegal organisations, but regrettably it has been used to try persons who have no connection with such organisations and against whom the Garda authorities had prepared no such charges.

In a host of cases where no evidence was being produced by the Gardai of political motivation for a crime the consent of the Attorney General had still to be obtained to have these cases tried by the ordinary courts. The salient point being that on the instructions of the Attorney General the accused person might be deprived of his right to trial by jury.

In 1972 the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act was placed upon the statute book. This gave further teeth to the parent Act of 1939, if such were needed.

Section 3, Sub-Section 2 of this Amendment Act states: "Where an officer of the Garda Síochána not below the rank of Chief Superintendent, in giving evidence in proceedings relating to an offence under the said Section 21, states that he believes that the accused was at a material time a member of an unlawful organisation, the statement shall be evidence that he was then such a member."

This Section confers upon the Chief Superintendent the unique privilege of having his belief in respect of the accused given the force of an evidential fact. He is not obliged to furnish reasons for his belief. It places upon the accused person the burden of proving that he is not a member of an illegal organisation. A moment's thought will leave no one in doubt as to the almost impossible

task set him. We feel it fair to say that no jury would accept as evidence the mere belief of a Garda officer. They would require something a great deal more substantial, whatever the direction of the presiding judge might be as to the state of the law in the matter. But judges are bound to take note of the law in arriving at their decisions, thus Section 3, Sub-Section 2, gives formidable power to the Gardai in trials of accused persons before judges only, as of course happens in the Special Criminal Court.

We wish to conclude this article with a quotation from "Freedom at Stake" by Peter Archer and Lord Reay, the former a barrister, the latter a political scientist: "From the moment when the first regulation treats a human being as something less, the whole framework of democracy is in danger. For one oppressive law will in time require to be supplemented by another. And each new provision will add a further term to the vocabulary of oppression. Worse, it will further inoculate the public conscience."

—Issued by the Association for Legal Justice (Dublin Branch)



I HAVE SEEN MANY'S AN ELECTION GIMMICK  
BUT JOHN YOU'VE GONE TOO FAR THIS TIME —

— GERRY FITT



# The Story of George Lennox

## Royal Army Ordinance Corps

"THE FACTS are these. The compound at Palace Barracks houses an interrogation centre set up by a unit of M112—the section of Military Intelligence dealing with Ulster."

With these words the Sunday Times (London) of October 17th, 1971, began its detailed revelations about the horrific interrogation methods used on the hundreds of unfortunate men who had been dragged from their homes in dawn raids by British soldiers at the start of Internment without Trial in Northern Ireland some two months before. Previous to the publication of these disclosures the press in Britain had always associated methods for bending or breaking the mind with the Russians and the Chinese. But with the publication of the Times report it was shown that whatever the "Comms" were supposed to have done was unskilled and even amateurish in comparison with the highly sophisticated brainwashing and psychological torture techniques which were then being used on a large scale by Britain's Intelligence and Security Services.

And, what is more, these techniques have been used not alone against those whom Britain regarded as her enemies abroad but also against those who were considered to be enemies within her own ranks—even those who wore the uniform of the British Army. Here is one such story.

### ADEN

Soon after the people of Aden rebelled against British rule in the mid 1960's the British military authorities built the Ras Morbut interrogation centre there. Almost immediately Ras Morbut became the Palace Barracks of Aden. It was a place of torture and terror where brutalised British Army Interrogators were given free licence to practice every form of sadistic cruelty on helpless detainees, many of whom were no more than trade unionists.

But it was not long before the cries and shrieks and calls for help from Ras Morbut began to be heard by people of conscience in the wider world. Amongst these was Dr. Rastgeldi of Swedish Amnesty International who came to Aden and in spite of opposition from the British authorities he was able to gather sufficient evidence to prove that allegations about torture and brutality were substantially true.

When Rastgeldi's findings were published by Amnesty International in the Autumn of 1966 the report was received with much criticism in Britain. The Sunday Times commented very unfavourably on it and cast doubt on its findings, very much the opposite to the way it was to treat the allegations about the ill-treatment of detainees much nearer home in Northern Ireland some five years later. Even the British section of Amnesty was cool towards the report and not a little indignant at Britain being shown in such a bad light. Neither did the British Labour Government of the day look with favour on it. In fact, the cabinet was so enraged that one of its ministers, George Brown, immediately took the traditional British step in such an embarrassing situation and set up a commission under a Mr. Roderic Bowen, a prominent Q.C. to make an "official" study of Adeni allegations.

The Bowen Report was rushed through in a couple of months and published in December 1966. As expected, it was no more than a classic attempt to getting the British Government off the hook and at covering up the crimes against humanity committed in Aden. But so great were these crimes that it was impossible to push them entirely under officialdom's carpet of words; and Bowen found it necessary to refer to three interrogators at Ras Morbut, and without naming them said that their actions required further

investigation. However, nothing happened for by this time the British Security and Intelligence Services were doing their best to smother the scandal. The Sunday Times of February 12th 1967, stated that an Army S.I.B. (Special Investigation Branch) report on the three interrogators should be completed in a fortnight. Then at the end of March the same paper reported that a dossier on the matter was being studied by the Directorate of Army Legal Services in London. But no more was heard about the interrogators mentioned by Bowen. The whole cover-up operation had been a complete success. And, since Britain was being forced to withdraw from Aden anyway, there seemed every likelihood that everything could be quietly buried and forgotten.

But there was one flaw in the whole cover-up operation, one loose end which would lead to the unravelling of the heavy shroud woven by the security services and cause the world to have a second look at the terrible things done by the British Army to their prisoners in Aden—and that was Corporal George Sneddon Lennox, number 23704872, of the Royal Army Ordinance Corps.

### RAS MORBUT TORTURE CENTRE

When the Adeni rebellion broke out Corporal Lennox was one of a small group of clerks working at the Joint Message Centre in the offices of the H.Q. Middle East Command at Fort Morbut in Aden town. His job was mostly concerned with sorting out the different signals received and deciding which department they had to go to.

Next door to the H.Q. was the Ras Morbut compound, which included a guardroom and a clubhouse for corporals as well as the notorious Initial Interrogation Centre, a building some thirty metres long and about half that in width. Part of Lennox's job as a soldier was to do guard duties at the guardroom, which was sited only fifteen metres from the Interrogation centre. And while he was on guard duty he learned much about what went on in the interrogation building, of which but for a wire fence he had a clear view. On one occasion while looking out through the guardroom window he saw three soldiers drag an Adeni out of the building and repeatedly beat him unconscious and revive him with a fire hose.

Over a period of many months George gradually built up a picture of the horrors being perpetrated next door, though he admits that as a young soldier he was not very much affected by what went on there. In his own words: "Nearly every night after the state of emergency was declared and after a lot of suspects were taken in we used to hear, sitting from our Corporal's Club a lot of screaming associated with someone being hurt—This would be supported in the morning. I can remember one particular guy who was a boxer. And he used to come and say, 'Yeah, we thumped this wog last night and he's really screaming.' On a number of occasions when I was on guard duty Aden intelligence officers would come into the guardroom and telephone the H.Q. From the contents of these conversations we could get a very accurate picture of what was happening inside." Not alone this but what George has never revealed is that he sometimes actually handled reports of interrogations while doing his job at the Joint Message Centre.

Early in the Spring of 1966 George was posted to Germany. He pushed both the good and bad memories of Aden into the back of his mind and carried on with his career as a soldier—doing his job as a clerk and playing rugby at which he was one of the Army's top players. Then in the Autumn of that same year he read

an article in the Sunday Times criticising the Rastgeldi Amnesty Report and going so far as to say that Amnesty's reputation for fair investigation had been prejudiced.

At this time George was a naive young soldier in his early twenties and was generally indifferent to the wider problems of the world. But through having been brought up in a Scottish children's home with a marked puritanical atmosphere he had a well-developed sense of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood; and, to use his own words: "When I saw the two sides, what Amnesty said and what the Sunday Times tried to project, I thought I would only be right in supplying information which I thought the Sunday Times wouldn't have."

So George wrote to the Sunday Times on the 25th October, 1966 and told the editor something of what he had witnessed in Aden; but at the same time, because he had to keep a careful eye on the Official Secrets Act, he deliberately gave the impression that he knew much less than he actually did. The Sunday Times did not publish the letter; but it was sufficiently interested in its contents for it to get its Bonn correspondent, Anthony Terry to contact George. Much later Terry was to corroborate George's story about their meeting secretly in a wood near Munchen-Gladbach—at Terry's request. It was here sitting cramped in a small Volkswagen in the company of Terry and a woman taking shorthand notes that he revealed most of what he knew about the torture and brutality meted out to Adeni detainees.

For a while nothing happened. Then one day Terry rang George up to say that the Sunday Times was not going to publish his letter but that they were presenting his evidence to the Bowen Commission. There is no proof that this was in fact done. But what the Sunday Times did definitely do was to pass on his story to the War Office (now the Ministry of Defence) which denied Lennox's claims and, according to Terry, as a result of this they felt unable to publish anything of what George had revealed.

cont. next issue

cont. from page 1

M/S J. KENNEDY & CO., Letterloan Road, Macosquin, Coleraine

This firm built Magilligan Camp and also St. Columb's College, Buncrana Road.

M/S THOMAS LINTON CO. LTD. Artimelly, Limavady, Co. Derry

Thomas Linton & Co. carry out all the maintenance work for the Army in their camps eg. Fort George, Piggery Ridge, and Ballykelly.

The principal director is Mr. Noble—once a member of Glack Gaelic football team in Co. Derry. He is also the owner of such premises as The Golden Slipper in Magilligan and the Lilac Ballroom in Carndonagh.

Comment would be superfluous—these facts speak for themselves!



# Who Do They Think They're Kidding?

THE EVENTS of the first week of Sept. 1974 have shown up once more the duplicity of the politicians, the immunity from the judicial consequences of criminal actions British Army personnel enjoy, the cant, hypocrisy and one-sided sentencing of the judiciary, and the continuing sectarian activity of the R.U.C.

Of course, all these activities are completely inter-related, since the people displaying them have a common and overriding interest in the preservation of the status quo. The victims in the vast majority of cases are members of the minority in the North.

Firstly, cases involving the British Army. On Sept. 6th, in Belfast, a British soldier was acquitted on an unlawful killing charge. The facts of the case were—a drunk man (alcohol level, 208mgs per 100 mls) shot dead by a soldier. The range, 2 yards. The Defence offered—“...he brought up his right arm, and appeared to have a weapon in it.”

Mr. Justice McDermott, on delivering the verdict, is reported as saying—

“There is not one law for civilians and another for soldiers. Everyone is entitled to be treated in exactly the same way.”

An admirable sentiment! One however, which he proceeds to turn on its head, in reaching a decision in the case!

However, he can't really be blamed, since he appears to be following the precedent set by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Lowry, the previous day. (Sept. 5th) This was the case of the shooting in the head of an unarmed civilian near Newtownhamilton. The defendant, a Para sergeant, who admitted shooting the civilian in the head, was cleared of an attempted murder charge. Sir Robert described his action as instinctive—

“...These soldiers were operating in hostile country, and were always liable to attack...”

The message seems to be that if you can't get a Provo, any civilian will do!

Anyway, as we know, even after conviction and sentence, an appeal will always suffice (see the Foxford case—conviction on unlawful killing charge quashed, on the grounds that the Prosecuting Counsel neglected to prove that Foxford was innocent!)

All's right with the world, though, McDermott assures us, as the same law applies to civilians. O.K., then, try these for size.

Sept. 5th A young Ardoyne man on an attempted murder charge—it is not shown that he fired the shot. The charge is denied. Mr. Justice McDermott; “...Your intention was quite clearly to murder, It was quite horrific...” An 18 year sentence, to follow a two year one presently being served.

However, in a case the previous day Sept. 4th, in which three young Belfast Catholics were wounded, the weapon used was a 21 inch zip gun, and the defendant was also charged with possession of ammunition. Sentence—5 years. Of course, an R.U.C. detective had spoken up on behalf of the defendant, stating that the gun was rather crude (sick!), and that it had been fired at its maximum range of ten yards. (how kind!)

In a week during which we have been enjoined to play our part in an expanded R.U.C. (“Your friendly police force”) it is wholesome to reflect on the position when there will be no Brits. left to prosecute, and the R.U.C., R.U.C. reserve and U.D.R. will be running the show.

Not to worry! Basil Stanage, chairman of the Police Federation, reassured

us, (Sept. 4)

He told us how the R.U.C. can “heal the wounds” between the police and the policed by maintaining its “... reorganized and present position as a civilian service, free from the shackles of a paramilitary frontier defending role, and free from the dictatorial influence of any political party...” and reminded us that “...we must maintain this new sort of police service, rooted in the people, and with convictions” (sic!)

Unfortunately for Basil, and the new image, the following (Sept. 5th) seven young men were arrested in Omagh and transferred to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, Belfast, where at least two were—punched on the stomach—beaten on the ribs and kidneys—arms twisted—torture positions until collapse—then all over again. This at the hands of two Special Branch officers of the R.U.C.

(Fr. Faul's report)

The priest comments—

“...The arrests followed the old familiar sectarian pattern revealing the continuing partisan nature of the R.U.C. and the duplicity of the British Army...”

That night (Sept. 5th) John Hume, (S.D.L.P.) in a statement on the policing “problem”, said—

“...There is nothing we would like to see more than effective policing throughout all areas...”

Just who do they think they're kidding...?

THE PEOPLE OF DERRY ARE NOW BEING SUBJECTED TO THE “CROPPIES LIE DOWN” FROM THE STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.



THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN FROM “THE IRISH UPRISING”



# THE PRIVATE ARMIES

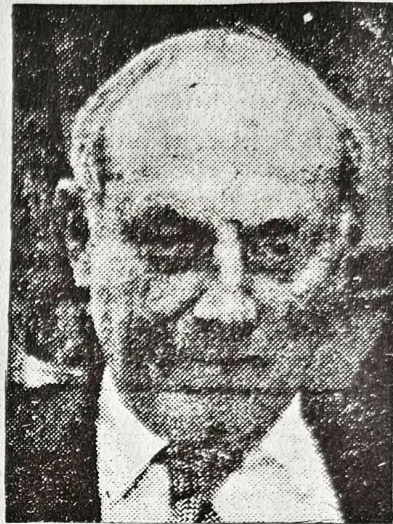
At the present moment the British economy is in enormous difficulties and is fast heading towards a crisis situation. This is due in the main to a combination of successful militant industrial activity by large sections of people and by over-production in many fields spurred on by capitalists attempting to reap greater profits. The reaction of the British ruling call to this is one of hysteria. The cry of 'Reds under the bed' is heard everywhere and just as in the past, ultra-right wing private armies have emerged to defend the privileges of the bosses.

The presence of at least two private 'armies' became known when it was conveniently leaked to the press that recruitment for both Unison (a private army headed by ex-General Sir Walter Walker, once a senior member of the NATO General Staff) and "Great Britain '75" (another private army this time headed by ex S.A.S. Commander Colonel David Stirling) was at an advanced stage.

Both these armies may be viewed with scorn by many sceptics but it is important to realise that they have massive financial backing from both industrialists and bankers within the city of London. They also have many 'big-time' friends including billionaire arms dealer Geoffrey Edwards who operates from Jersey in the Channel Islands and, who it is suspected, was recently involved in an attempt to smuggle a massive quantity of modern weapons into the six counties for the Loyalists.

It is interesting to note that this is not the only common ground to be found between the British 'private armies' and the Loyalist para-military organisations in the six counties. Both are fiercely pro-imperialist, advocating 'strong' government and ruthless action against working class militants and socialists as the only answer to Britain's present difficulties. Perhaps this is only to be expected given the fact that many of the leaders of these 'armies' in Britain, like the leaders of the six county Loyalists also hold membership in the fascist British National Front organisation Glenn Barr, Vanguard Executive member and UWC strike co-ordinator.

Even a simple examination of the history of the Loyalists para-military organisations would show some of the more obvious similarities between them and their British counterparts. The Loyalist para-military organisations were formed to help defeat the anti-imperialist struggle being waged in the six counties at present. They were also formed to serve as the nucleus for an ultra-right-wing takeover in the six counties. Similarly with these private armies in Britain: Objectively they see themselves as a rearguard to defend the exploiters and the bosses against the workers in any serious industrial activity where the forces at the disposal of the state (police, army etc.) might be overstretched. Where a revolutionary situation might emerge with the working class attempting to seize state power they would then take arms and side with the army etc. in an attempt to crush the working class organisations.



Ex Colonel David Stirling who founded the S.A.S. in 1941

## THE MAZE PROTEST

SINCE ITS inception, conditions in Long Kesh have been so bad that reports reaching us about the abominable squalor were met in many quarters with disbelief—it just could not be that bad—kind of attitude.

This blinkered approach to problems is very handy for it lets us off the hook; It would not do to dwell on this sort of thing for too long—it might turn out to be true! Just imagine if we discovered that those nice meals tasted worse than pigswill, that those lovely nissen huts really do leak so badly, that those regular laundry changes really do not happen, that the men regularly become ill from lying in wet filthy clothes that we would not ask a dog to lie in; that when in need of medical attention they depend on each other to get them over a bad patch (it is a lot better than having to have surgery and then being dumped back in a cage to recover how you will). What if it were true that time and time again that what accommodation they have is wrecked by baton wielding thugs in uniform, who charge in, usually in the middle of the night to drag them from their beds, abuse and humiliate them. And worst of all, imagine if we found out that many of these became chronically

depressed some, dare we say, to the point of committing suicide:

My goodness if that really were true we would have to scream our condemnations from the rooftops, storm the streets, ram the doors of power, go on strike, refuse to pay rent, rates, electricity and Church collections until those so called influential people saw to it that this cancer was rooted out of our midst—thank goodness it is not true!

We'll let us confirm and repeat and remind all those who take this view that this den of misery and degradation—this hell on earth *is real*, and let us say that it is to our eternal shame that it has been left to the prisoners themselves in the midst of their deprivation to draw attention to their plight and by so doing to invite even greater hardship. Let us realise that this protest is not just about bad food and bedding, this is a desperate bid by these men in the face of our apathy our apparent acceptance of their lot as part of a system which we just cannot beat and our refusal to use the physical freedom which we have but which is denied to them to destroy this evil.

They are willing to rise above their torment and fight. Are we going to stand by and watch, like sadists, while the spirit in these men slowly withers and dies for want of support or hope. In God's name let us each do what we can to help, support encourage them and their families to whom we all owe so much.



# WHAT IS IRISH REPUBLICANISM

By RUAIRI O'BRADAIGH

To the Republican Movement which maintains direct organisational continuity from Fenian times, through the Irish Republican Brotherhood, past 1916 and the First Dail to the present day, Republicanism in Ireland has a very strict, yet extremely comprehensive meaning.

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In the strict sense, an Irish Republican was one who gave allegiance to the 32 County Republic of Easter 1916 and who denied the right of the British Government to rule here. With the establishment of the first Dail Eireann in 1919 as the Government of that Republic, its supporters were Republicans, just as were those who opposed the setting up here of two partition states — Six County and 26 County in 1921 and 1922.

The "Treaty" states, both North and South subservient economically to Britain, suppressed the All Ireland Dail which was the embodiment of the Republic. For the Republican Movement then, a Republican today is one who rejects the Partition Statelets in Ireland and gives his allegiance to and seeks to restore the 32 County Republic of Easter Week.

But what happened in 1922 is deserving

of a deeper analysis. North of the Border life went on just as it had for hundreds of years, except that now the local Ascendancy class had a private powerblock called Stormont, a private army named the B Special Constabulary and the full backing both militarily and financially of the British Government. This power they have used unashamedly to divide Protestant and Catholic working people to their disadvantage, exploiting them both.

In the 26 Counties all the symbols and trappings of freedom were gradually won but despite limited efforts in the 1930's and 1940's, the new State remains a new colony, an example of unfinished and interrupted revolution, territorially, economically, culturally — a model of "Neo-Colonialism."

So then a Republican today is one who seeks a great deal more than just physical control of the 32 Counties for the Irish people. He stands in a line of succession going back beyond Wolfe Tone to the Gaelic leaders of resistance to the Norman invasion. But it was Tone "the father of Irish Republicanism" who articulated clearly the objective."

"The rights of man in Ireland. The greatest happiness of the greatest number, the rights of man are the rights of God and to vindicate one is to maintain

the other. We must be free in order to serve Him whose service is perfect freedom."

Fintan Lalor likewise sought something more than mere political freedom. He spoke of "constitutions and charters and enactments of freedom."

Saying, "These things are only paper and parchment . . . "Let laws and customs say what they will, these truths are stronger than any law; those who control your lands will make your laws and control your liberties and lives." The restoration of their social, cultural and economic heritage was his aim.

James Connolly maintained that, "the whole age-long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production in Ireland.."

To give depth and meaning to Republicanism — beyond just the right to fly the Irish Tricolour or to paint letter boxes green — is to see the Republican objective as one with political, social, economic and cultural dimensions. The Democratic Programme of the First Dail in 1919 which fulfilled this role has been carefully left to one side in certain quarters.

There are many calling themselves

Republicans who would be perfectly satisfied with the name of a Republican for all 32 Counties while leaving the present social, economic and cultural system unchanged — or worse still, integrating it with the rampant capitalism of the E.E.C. They are only deluding themselves and deluding others.

## "OWNERSHIP OF IRELAND TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND"

For the Republican Movement only a struggle on many fronts will achieve the Republican objective of restoring the "ownership of Ireland to the people of Ireland" (1916 Proclamation). Such a struggle inevitably gets bogged down in parliament, be it Westminster, Stormont or Leinster House, and those attempting it get absorbed into the Imperial system.

All necessary means must be used to restore Ireland and her resources to the Irish people, not precluding as a last resort the use of physical force against the British Army of Occupation. The means, are of course, only secondary — the objective and its interpretation are paramount. For the Republican Movement the definition rests mainly on the nature of the ultimate goal and the condition of allegiance to the Republic of Easter Week.

We have outlined clearly in policy statements, the nature of the social and economic system — based on the right of worker ownership and the native Irish tradition of Comhar na gComharson — which we seek to establish in a free Ireland.

"We have no National Government; we are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country." Society of United Irishmen 1791.

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government; to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils; and to assert the independence of my country — these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter — these were my means." Theobald Wolfe Tone.

"In reason all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery." Dean Swift.

## German Factory — English Manager — Irish Workers

MR. P. HODGEKINSON the wheeling dealing manager of Arntz Belting Co. Pennyburn pass is an Englishman who makes Richard Nixon look like an altar boy. He leapt into the limelight as the star character in the now infamous "Orange peel strike" in which an innocent worker was accused of throwing orange peel at a charge hand and suspended. Fellow union members stood by this man and went on strike. After three weeks of hardship the strike ended when the suspension was lifted and the man reinstated. It was stated that the man was exonerated from blame. How's that for mismanagement.

However, that was not the end of the matter. During the strike some staff members unloaded crates of raw materials which were of course 'blackened' by union members. The embarrassment of having this constant reminder of his folly prompted Hodgekinson to offer a



donation to the newly formed Social Club at Arntz in return for using these 'blackened' cases of raw material. At length after much discussion the union members involved agreed to use the material. Then Hodgekinson, with a management decision that Ronald Biggs would have been proud of decided to recoup this money by fleecing the workers of their holiday money. This was done as subtly as breaking a

monkey nut with an pneumatic drill. After a short, sharp discussion the workers got their money.

It would seem that this management is sadly lacking in any feeling or understanding for the workers they employ. Perhaps they should take a lead from the T.U.C. which calls for more worker participation in management, and then perhaps industrial unrest such as occurred over a piece of orange peel would avoided.



# The Promising Game

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION

THE BACKGROUND BOYS OF THE three parties are already busy outdoing each other, devising enticements to persuade voters to opt for their particular band of rogues.

For that is the name of the game, the rules being:-

1 Promise the moon — (there are always those who believe anything they are promised.) — to get enough votes in enough constituencies to —

2 Form the next government (then dole out the soft jobs that go with power — firstly rewarding the helpers who got you there).

3 Do your best to keep as few of the promises as possible. (You'll need them all again for the next election!) Blame your political opponents, the economic situation, etc., if anyone asks why you haven't kept them.

So, already we have all sorts of election "goodies" being displayed in the shop window, with reckless abandon.

Liberal Thorpe (with Fatso Smith) are barnstorming by hovercraft (always breaking down), crying destruction for all, unless, of course, they vote Liberal.

The Tories are promising a housing boom and lower mortgage rates — hoping the voter will forget that new houses reached an all-time low under the last Conservative government, a government which gave the Building Societies a free hand to hike up mortgage rates again and again — and again!

Barbara Castle, for Labour, is promising £25 per week pensions (by the late 1980's when no doubt, £25 will hardly buy a pound of steak.)

Don't think for one moment that this is a cross-channel madness, though. No! We have our own home-grown variety of political welchers — the S.D.L.P.

Remember the promises before Sunningdale?

*An end to internment* — Austin Curries Falls Park speech on the subject, during the great anti-internment rally — no participation in politics, no talking, no rent or rates, no anything, until internment ends.

But Renegade Currie, as Minister of Housing in the Executive, with the active support of his colleagues, did

his damndest to break the Rent and Rates strike.

First, the pleading newspaper adverts. — "Pay up, opt out — all is now well! Then the ultimatum, "Pay up by May or else!" Then the plan for increased forced deductions from Social Service and welfare benefits, and the weekly fine for non-payment after a certain date.

Gerry "Bleeding Heart" Fitt played the same game. He cried about internment, military harassment, etc..... "These are my people" But, after the formation of the Executive, he told us that terrorists wouldn't be released right away, and there was no more talk of British thuggery.

And now the S.D.L.P. are showing that they could teach their British masters a thing or two about the Promising Game. Since the collapse of the Executive, they have suddenly rediscovered internment — they bleed for the innocent again — they wring their hands over the victims of brutality, they shed their crocodile tears once more, confident that after the election they will laugh all the way to the bank, when the power and jobs pay-off finally comes.

Yes, they promise the same things again. How can they lose? They'll blame the Brits on non-fulfilment if nothing comes of it. Its the same old Promising Game.

Let us look, however, at another variation in this game — political bandrupts helping each other out,

*Wednesday Sept. 10th* Fitt and party go to London to see Wilson — Fitt expresses himself as "greatly encouraged" by the outcome, which is —

1 "...There must be some form of power-sharing and partnership.." (here read, "jobs for S.D.L.P.")

2 "Any political arrangement must also recognise the special relationship of Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic" Why this London visit? The benefits are expected to be two-way:-

Wilson, worried about the Irish "Boycott Labour" campaign, hopes by this statement to lose as few Irish votes as possible (vital for Labour's chances of winning the election.)

The S.D.L.P. with this statement of the "Thoughts of Harold," hope to con the people yet again. Remember, votes mean power — power means jobs for the boys.

But, the S.D.L.P. fail to realize that the people don't fool so easily these days. The people know that the Wilson government did precious little about internment other than instigate new custodies and detentions, bring about more suffering. The people also know that the Wilson government toppled powersharing, when they stood idly by and allowed the U.W.C. strike to succeed.

And, Fitt has forgotten, before leaving for London, to muzzle all his hounds.

The same night the Wilson government's declaration is being made, Paddy Duffy S.D.L.P. Mid-Ulster Assemblyman, is telling his constituency members — "...I recognise the present status of Northern Ireland as part of the U.K. ...I am totally opposed to Northern Ireland being merged in or in any way subjected to Southern Ireland..."

So much for the Irish Dimension! Meanwhile, Currie has been ratified as S.D.L.P. candidate for the Fermanagh South Tyrone constituency. He's all set to carpet-bag and vote-split a second time in that area, despite the people there telling him the last time (by not voting for him) that he's not wanted!

But, the promises are worthless (the Irish Dimension repudiated by Duffy before the election). However, on *Friday, Sept. 13th*, Paddy Devlin tells us —

"...The party is striving towards justice and equality in society, through the medium of the ballot-box..."

And in Derry during the week, the S.D.L.P. Constituency Party is distributing envelopes, door-to-door, for an "annual collection", the proceeds no doubt to be used to meet election expenses, to finance the Promising Game. They are now busy collecting them.

Furthermore, the S.D.L.P. advertised, in the "Irish News" of Sept. 13th and 14th for members for an S.D.L.P. Youth Movement, to be known as the Young S.D.L.P.

If any of these spongers approach you, give them nothing. Tell them they are not wanted.

Expose their hypocrisy.

Don't vote for them.

Tell them you are sick and tired of the Promising Game.



# RIOT CONTROL

## — The Water Cannon

THE FIRST Civil Rights demonstration, a march from Coalisland to Dungannon to protest about discrimination in public housing, took place on 14th August 1968. It was ignored. The next, in Derry on 5th October, was answered with the traditional violence of the RUC, although the marchers were markedly more peaceful than ante-Vietnam war demonstrators in England at the same period. RUC baton charges, which were described by Sir Arthur Young (later Chief Constable of the RUC) as "each man taking out his baton and using it to thump the person nearest" were launched against demonstrators. The RUC acted without discrimination, batoning demonstrators, pressmen, Members of Parliament and onlookers alike. Seventy-seven were injured. A water cannon was brought up, and used at close range to hose demonstrators across Craigavon Bridge. This was the first time water cannon had been used in Derry, though a primitive version had been used some years previously in Belfast. It was the first (and mildest) of a range of riot control techniques which were to be introduced in Ireland.

A water cannon is basically a high-pressure hose which directs a jet of water into the crowd. It is not a new invention. The British Army used them in Cyprus in the 1950's. Police turned them on civil rights demonstrators in the South of the U.S.A. in the early 1960's. And they were one of the main weapons of the Berlin police against the student demonstrations of the late 1960's.

The water cannon used later by the British Army in Northern Ireland were in fact of German manufacture (Mayer, of Hagen, Westphalia). They have a maximum effective range of 40 to 50 yards and at a range of 30 yards or less the force of the jet can knock a man over. Two cannons can be used in tandem — one re-loading with water while the other one fires. Each vehicle is 10 feet high, 7 feet wide and 21 feet long, and carries 5 tons of water which it uses up in 5½ minutes operation. Water cannon are employed to break-up demonstrations, through the force of the jet itself, the discomfort of a drenching, and the slipperiness of the ground underfoot.

Water cannon often use brightly dyed water. The dye is a concentrated edible vegetable dye, non-toxic but difficult to wash off skin and impossible to get out of clothes. The Army claim that this is done to identify rioters for subsequent

arrest. However although many are dyed, few are arrested. A more plausible explanation is that the dye is used as a form of punishment — victims suffer the expense of stained clothing, and are exposed to the wrath of parents or employers. Although the Army used dye 15 years ago in Cyprus, the dye currently in use was specially developed at the chemical warfare establishment at Porton. The army gave Porton a very tight specification on colour. Not red it looks like blood on colour television. Not green or orange, for obvious reasons. So the dye is blue.

Water cannon are big unwieldy vehicles. They can't be manoeuvred against small, highly mobile groups, but can only be used for set-piece confrontations with large demonstrations or processions. These became less common after 1971 (as set-pieces were replaced by fast-moving skirmishes), and so the use of water cannon has declined — although as recently as August 1973 the Army used water cannon (and rubber bullets) against a crowd of 7000 demonstrators commemorating the second anniversary of internment.

As well as being unwieldy, water cannon have other tactical disadvantages which demonstrators can take advantage of. First, unlike gas it can't go round corners, so even a small ob-

struction can shield you from its force. Second, once you have been drenched once, you have nothing to lose. And, third, unlike all the Army's other riot control weapons, water cannon very rarely cause death or serious injury. (Though there is some danger from flying debris and glass if the jet hits buildings or loose material; and injuries can be caused particularly to women or children who have fallen down, as they can be rolled along the ground by the force of the jet.)

During this period the Civil Rights campaign had continued to grow, as every backlash against it made it more and more obviously relevant. Many demonstrations occurred. Towards the summer these became increasingly rough, and petrol bombs were used against the RUC. Of these demonstrations three stood out. In January 1969 a four-day protest march from Belfast to Derry was violently attacked at Burntollet Bridge by two hundred Protestants, half of them B specials; 163 people were injured. In disturbances which followed in Derry, a mob of RUC men invaded the Bogside and to quote the Cameron report were guilty of "assault and battery, malicious damage to property ... giving reasonable cause for apprehension of personal injury among other innocent inhabitants, and the use of provocative sectarian and political slogans". In mid-April the RUC again attacked the Bogside and the first death resulted: that of Samuel Devenney, batoned in his own home.

