



NOW TORTURE SECURES A DUBLIN CONVICTION

A FEW weeks ago in the west of Ireland three Republicans were badly beaten up by members of the Garda Siochana Special Branch to secure 'confessions.' Last week, the Dublin regime took a further step into police-state 'justice' when three young men from Ballymurphy, Belfast, were convicted in the Special Criminal Court on the basis of 'confessions' obtained as a result of British torture.

Ó Brádaigh in America

THE FOREIGN Relations Sub-Committee of the American House of Representatives is conducting an inquiry into the international protection of human rights, under the chairmanship of Congressman Donald M. Fraser. The purpose of the inquiry is to strengthen the United Nations in human rights work and to increase the priority of human rights in United States foreign policy.

Congress invited the Sinn Fein president, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, to testify and to lodge a document of up to 50 pages with the Committee.

Mr. Frank McManus, M.P. (Fermanagh and South Tyrone) also was invited to testify and will deal with human rights in the Six Counties. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh will deal with human rights in the 26 Counties.

On October 8 a reception was held for U.S. Congressmen and Senators, at which Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Frank McManus and Bishop Drury of Corpus Christi Diocese, Texas formed a panel to answer questions about the situation in Ireland.

Ó Brádaigh text: centre

Meanwhile, the shadow-boxing by Dublin continues at Strasbourg and Dublin objects publicly to South Africa's statement of political prisoners (see back page).

The Special Court conviction on the basis of British torture had to happen, of course. Recently, R.U.C. men have been regular visitors to the courts, helping to secure convictions against Republicans and trying to speed "extradition" of women and men wanted in the North and at present sheltering in the 26 Counties.

Last week we had the spectacle of a British soldier helping to get three Ballymurphy men five years apiece for their alleged parts in the Dundalk mail train robbery. The men are Micky Nolan, William Brown and Pat Devanny.

All three men produced medical evidence that, while in the custody of the British army, they had been tortured brutally to "confess" to robbing the mail train. On their "extradition" they had denied all knowledge of any part in the robbery. The Gardai have claimed they were unaware of the men having been tortured but failed to explain the injuries on their bodies which doctor's evidence claimed

was consistent with their having been brutally beaten.

Despite attempts by the three men to destroy the credibility of the soldier's evidence, they were repeatedly intimidated by the Special Criminal Court judges who seemed keen to believe the soldier.

Before the verdict was announced, Micky Nolan made this statement: "We have been arranged before the political court on evidence extricated by torture from us by the forces of Ireland's enemy."

"It is unbelievable that, while the Free State Government is protesting on behalf of Irishmen in Strasbourg, the Free State Government is prepared to allow two of the torturers to come to the court and perjure themselves against three Irishmen."

"It is now commonplace to find R.U.C. men in Free State courts. Last week, two R.U.C. murderers sought to 'extradite' a Belfast woman. Could our extradition be the excuse to extradite people back to the North?

VANGUARD PROTEST AT BRITISH BRUTALITY

THE Vanguard Unionist Party has criticised British methods of "interrogating" members of Protestant organisations. Mr. Hickie McKee, chairman of the party's east Belfast branch, accuses the British army of "outrageous practices."

Claiming that 22 "loyalists" had

been arrested by the British and "interrogated" in the past week, Mr. McKee said the Vanguard leaders had been deeply concerned about harassment by troops and methods of interrogation, reported to have included threats, insults, humiliation, and deprivation of food and sleep.

Mr. McKee said that, in one instance, a man had been told that if he did not give information about certain organisations he might finish up "like Tommy Herron."

Another man's wife and family were reported to have been photo-

graphed in their night clothes.

"The same man was medically examined three times, photographed nine times, threatened and told his wife was working as a prostitute," said Mr. McKee.

As a result of military action some



ARAB VALOUR

EGYPTIAN troops storm and capture a blockhouse on the multi-million pound Bar Levy defence line on the Suez Canal and plant the flag of the United Arab Republic. We salute the bravery of the Arab peoples in attacking the Anglo-Saxon enclave of monopoly capitalism that is the Zionist state in an attempt to recover their lands, stolen by Israel. The Middle-East conflict poses a grave danger to world peace - the imperialists will not tolerate the defeat of their puppet.

Are we the pawns in this political shuffle?

"We have said from the outset that we were tortured to sign statements. Does anybody know what it is like to be tortured by the Brits and the R.U.C.? We would have accepted responsibility for nailing Christ to the cross to be relieved of our political policy."

"It is the word of three Irishmen against the word of the British army and the R.U.C. We are not the liars. The medical evidence speaks for itself. We await your verdict to do the people of Ballymurphy."

But the verdict will be guilty. The people of Ballymurphy now know what the Free State means when that politician said: "We will not stand idly by."

But something worse follows from that conviction: the Dublin government now has given a free licence to the Brits and R.U.C. to continue to torture Irishmen. So much for the hypocritical rantings in Strasbourg. What price now a "friendly settlement" or, to be more accurate a "friendly sell-out"?

families were under considerable stress and women and children were receiving medical attention for nervous disorders, continued Mr. McKee. He called on the British to "stop harassing loyalists or face the consequences."

An Phoblacht

IN ATHLONE, at the beginning of this month about 60 people from many parts of Ireland came together under the auspices of a new body, the Association for the Advancement of Self-Government. Those who set up the new body and those who attended the sessions were agreed that the present systems of government and administration north and south are unsatisfactory because they are functioning for the convenience of the authorities rather than for those of the people. They have the trappings of an out-dated system of democracy, valid at one time, perhaps, when the people knew less, had less experience, less confidence in themselves, and thus were prepared to "leave it to the experts".

A century or so ago the rulers believed that, the more powerful the central authority, the better for the masses. The services of experts could be used more economically. The quality of services could be improved. The job could be done more efficiently when as many as possible of the reins of power were in the hands of a few people trained specially for the job.

That was the philosophy behind the Act of Union here. It was behind the centralisation of power, communications, commerce and many other things in Paris, Berlin or Madrid. The intention was not always evil. Many humanitarians believed that, in all the circumstances, this was the only way to tidiness, efficiency, progress.

Nationalism called for a different way of looking at people and life. Broadly, its advocates maintained that local, national communities were better off looking to their own affairs than leaving them to the larger groupings, such as empires and super-states, which tended to trample on national or local feelings in the interest of the imagined improvement of the governed in general.

The super-states sparked the nationalities into revolt particularly by discriminations involving such powerful emotional issues as language.

There was always, of course, underneath the surface, the economic interest of the powerful, often hidden, men, whose advantage it was to maintain the super-state, and the economic interests of smaller men, ambitious for power and prestige, in the smaller groupings; and, of course, there was the much more real economic interest of the ordinary people to whom the economic issue was not always clear, but who could be expected to react to the more emotional issues, such

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44 Cearnog Pharnell, B.A.C., Éire. Guthán: 47611

Athlone pioneers

as national identity.

So nationalism progressed, the smaller peoples often blindly pushing ahead, believing that, with national government, all the problems could be solved, never considering that the financial and economic system of the old empire had to be changed, and that the broad principle of nationalism had to be applied, right down to the village, the parish or the ward and, indeed, to the individual.

That, basically but, perhaps, too simply, is what Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement today is all about; and, for that reason, we are interested in such groups as the Association for the Advancement of Self-Government, in the various community and district councils, and the spontaneous groupings of people looking for a better, more human deal.

Sinn Féin is not the only body moving in this direction. The existing states, north and south, have been pushed by the logic of life today to decentralise to some extent and to give much more power to local bodies than would have appeared reasonable when, for example, the county manager system was introduced.

We can see such instincts at work in the general uneasiness over local government, in the creation of regional health and education boards; we can see it in the growth and power of the tenants' organisations, A.C.R.A. and N.A.T.O.; we find it in the co-operatives, in the taking over of factories at home and abroad; and, of course, it is expressed politically in the various civil rights and civil liberties movements.

But, as far as we are aware, it is the Republican Movement which is pioneering the way in putting a general philosophy down on paper, planning the suggested broad lines of development, and putting theory into practice, particularly in the north-east where the war against imperialism and in defence of the people makes such action essential.

Now here, perhaps, is this more in evidence as in the realistic assessment of the need and the way to community

peace, through community police forces as a start, for, without some agreement on law and order, there is little chance of getting anything else going. It needs to be emphasised that what is meant here by "law and order" is the interest of the people in general rather than the interest of the master class.

Republicans sometimes are accused of putting all their eggs in one basket, of thinking that the only thing that matters is breaking the connection with England, forgetting the enemies in our midst, those who would step into the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the imperial power to create a new, centralised tyranny with the slogan of "strong government". Our last stage could be worse than our first, as evident, for example, in the nominally sovereign states of South America.

"Breaking the connection with England" is a slogan but the idea behind it has depth, more so today, perhaps, than when it was first uttered. The great idea behind the slogan is to return freedom to the small communities and to the individual, so that we all can lead better, happier, more worthy lives in peace, liberated from unnecessary evils - exploitation, emigration, unemployment, inadequate housing, poor social services, inflation and all the rest of it. We will never create a perfect society but we can progress. At present we have stagnation for the many, prosperity and comfort for the few.

Men and women of very different political and economic persuasions met and talked in Athlone but the general consensus was that the present state of things is bad, that it can be remedied, and that self-government, right down to the parish or ward, is one of the ways forward. We assume that the work, and the education needed for the work to be possible, will be continued, now, among the people.

Republicans have a duty to take part in that work and to co-operate with others to speed it. But, to succeed, it must not be left to a few wise men and women to work out, once again, what is best for all of us. To have meaning and value, the enterprise must be based firmly on the people and particularly on the people of no (or very little) property for it is with this class that the future lies.

Bail ó Dhaí ar Dheasán O Fionnghaile, who gave a tremendous impetus to the movement with his "Sketches of the New Ireland", agus ar an gCumann a d'fhoilseadh an saothar is a thug na daoine sin le chéile in Ath Luain.

Béarla ar Raidió na Gaeltachta?

GAEILGE agus Béarla ar atá i romhainn, don tsibhialtacht teicneolaíoch nua, Nil sa Ghaeilge ach bac. La langue d'obscurité. Agus mar sin de.

I bpóin ceart atá Dónall Ó Móráin ach tá sé ceangailte leo. Má éiríonn sé as ofig, cuirfeadh cathaoirleach eile ina dhíne nach bhfuil an grá céanna don teanga álainn s'agairne. Is atá ag Dónall. Ach mán fhanann sé, ní bheidh.

Chun go geloisteadh saol Fodhla an dá thaobh den scéal? Seán an tuairiscit? Scéal Sinn Féin? Scéal Ghluaiseach na Poblachta?

Is í an fhírinne go bhfuil RTE ina scannal mór ach ní raibh sé de mhiseach ann aon feabhas le feiceáil ar áit na teanga ar na meáin chumarsaíde seo.

CÚRSAÍ REATHA le Débé

chun go phost, mar agóid.

Faraon, tá na hirisoirí, cuma céard é a deir síad agus iad bogháin, ina scannal mór chomh maith céanna, go dtugann siad a séala don chinsireacht trí fanacht ina dtost.

Ach Gaeilge agus Béarla ar Raidió na Gaeltachta? Tá an claoíodh le cloisteáil le roinnt mionnaí anuas. Tá daoine sa Gaeilteach - siopadóirí agus eile - ag iarradh roinnt Béarla. Tá daoine ag obair don stáisiún nach bhfuil glan

Le tamall de bhlianta anuas theastaigh ó leor daoine go geúirí an tOireachtas ar bun in éinneága gáelteach ar fud na fir agus sa Gaeilteach, a bhfíteadh sí an dhéanamh.

Bhí Coiste an Oireachtas báil leis an smaoineamhach ag dúradh go geaitífi na haiséanna tráchtanacha a chur an fáil.

Teastaíodh, go hárithig, go mbéadh coiste láidir áitiúil i gceíbí ionad nua a roghnófaí a bheadh sásta an obair mhór eagracháin a glacadh idir fáimha ag an leibhéal áitiúil.

Breis is bláin ó shin d'íarr lucht an Oireachtas, trí fhógra poiblí ar na púcháint, ar dhreannána taobh amuigh de.

Aon bhealach eile?

D'fhéadfadh Dónall bheith i náthaoiseach ar an bhfeachtas sin. I ndeireadh thiáir, nach bhfuil gach bóthar eile treabthá? Nach bhfuil sé soláir dō nach féidir aon athrú a theacht ar an scéal go dtí go mothúin RTÉ an séadain ina phocá?

Ní hionann sin is a rá go bhfuil RTÉ sásúil ar bhealaigh é. Bealach na nuachta, mar shampla. Cé labhrá faoi nuacht gan claoadh? Cé sheas in éadan Fhianna Fáil

LITREACHA:
LEATHANACH
A SEACHT,
FEASTA.



"Shíl mise go raibh an t-eolas sin ina rún, a choirneal", O "The Militant", S.A.M.

Bhailé Átha Cliath scríobh chuea dí mbéadach spéisí ar an bhéarla agus pleannána a chur faoin mbáil.

Gaeilteach dō, agus beifeart ag súil le cabhráin agus comhóibrí trid an gcoiste áitiúil ó na dreamanna agus na daoine ón fad a bheas in ann cabhráin a thabhairt.

ár ráiteas a fuairseas, ón Comharchumann, is dóide.

Le táinéar a thabhairt don Gaeilteach go n-eircíodh go seoige leis an iarracht seo. Ní haon doichín é. Guion rath Dé an gCathair Rua.

Bunafodh coiste áitiúil speisialta ar an mballaibh le dul i mbun na socruithe agus toghadh na hóifigh seo a leana.

• Cíathairleach: Seosamh Ó Neachtain,
• Leas-Chathaoirleach: Pádraig Ó Ciardáin,
• Rúnai: Pól Ó Foighil,
• Cisteoir: Pádraig Ó Conchúin.

Tá rún ag an gComharchumann agus ag an gcoiste iarracht an-foinnta agus dheimhniú go leinnfáid forbairt agus foras an Oireachtas ar thilleadh ar fhod duachais na

Mura bhfuil, cé'n fáth go geúirfeadh agallamh i mBéalra ar dhaonine tá ar thóir oibre?

Aon tuairim faoi seo ag gluaisteach na gCearb? Tá ceart ag geist.

POLICE STATES

By JIMMY HOPE

LET US sit back now, cool, calm, and collected, and take a look at ourselves. We will find that there is more repression, more police rule, more sheer militiam applied directly upon the public than anywhere else in Europe.

Let us take the whole body of law, the apparently innocuous, nonpolitical law from "conduct likely to lead to a breach of the peace" to "loitering with intent." There you have a weft of legislation on which anyone who says "boo" to a policeman can be lifted.

Between the policemen, those sweaty chappies on which the southern state - never mind the northern one for the moment - will expend £28 million this current year, the judges on the bench (salaries ranging from £5,000 to £10,000) and you, the people, there is a wide gulf because you, the people, are at loggerheads with the whole political fundamentals upon which these two states are founded, or you belong to that great and noble class, the men of no property.

If it is so, you can never expect a measure of equitable justice from the system of the north and south states. You must avoid getting entangled in its wires; you must tread lightly through it.

But the civil rights aspects and the extremes of class structure pale to insignificance when we emerge from the sphere of social justice to political justice. North and south there exists a vast panoply of coercive legislation, some of it long standing, but much of it dreamt up and added to in recent years.

Permits for this; permission to do that; restrictions on assembly; an enormous collection of peeping Toms; the post office, wired into telephones, sitting in stationary cars watching houses (three or four able-bodied men frequently, on their first steps to physical and mental senility); the police.

A bunch of judges, God help us, who daily show by their observations and pronouncements how unfit they are; how ill-equipped intellectually; how partisan; how feeble. Scorn the system which must depend upon them.

At the present time there are in Ireland, north and south (since the causes are interlocked we must take them together) almost 2,000 political hostages, men, women, girls, boys, and children. Are we not ashamed of the system which puts these people in such a position?

In the north there is a police force of almost 9,000 men costing £28m. to maintain. There is a Department of Justice, controlled evidently by the British Secret Service and which costs over £10m. more; there is an army of little green quislings running to 12,000 men (say the mark), and costing £35m. to keep in business; and all devoted solely to internal security and repression.

These are the artificial and rotten fruits, the spawn of an artificial and subject state. Yet they are as nothing compared with the North, where British rule reigns.

Some 40,000 men are deployed and untold hundreds of millions expended. No other state in Europe, except, possibly, Greece, has internment still, and none of them are equipped with the machine of repression that our two little bastards enjoy.

If Northern Ireland is Britain's Vietnam, then surely Liam Cosgrave is our President Thieu. Or is he, perhaps, our Vidkun Quisling?

NORTH and SOUTH



WHO IS THE

GARRET FitzGerald's overtures to the Northern Unionists obviously evidence the desire of the Cosgrave Government to establish contact with the people of the Six Counties.

But no member of the Government is making approaches to the insurgent nationalists of the North. Apparently they are satisfied to rely on the S.D.L.P. to bring the northern nationalists in behind any plans they may have for the future.

Apparently they are prepared to go along with the delusion, built on ignoring the Northern Assembly. Evidently that the S.D.L.P. represents the majority of Northern nationalists.

This deception was aided by the press and T.V. coverage of that election, all of which carefully avoided emphasis of the facts of the percentage poll and the incidence of abstention.

Indeed, it was only after appeals to a number of experts on electoral matters in the Six Counties that one of them produced the following figure which shows that the S.D.L.P. represents slightly under 47% per cent of the Six Counties "Catholic" vote.

They obtained 159,773 of a total 336,610 "Catholic" electorate of

figures per constituency are: Antrim N., 10,584 out of 24,000; Antrim S., 7,899 out of 20,500; Armagh, 20,945 out of 40,000; E. Belfast, 1,849 out of 4,000; N. Belfast, 10,125 out of 24,000; S. Belfast, 3,320 out of 12,000; W. Belfast, 13,559 out of 43,000; Derry, 2,833 out of 8,000; S. Down, 19,049 out of 39,800; Fermanagh-S. Tyrone, 22,601 out of 36,210; Mid-Ulster, 23,450 out of 44,100.

Particularly in the rural areas, many people voted S.D.L.P. because there was no alternative and for a not-taking-the-other-fellow's-way-with-it motto. In the townships of Dublin were in close touch with the Nationalist people of the North as it should be. It would be aware of a dwindling support from the S.D.L.P. since the Northern elections.

Unfortunately, they do not seem to have such contact and, indeed, have refused an offer to establish such contact.

In June last an offer was made by the Co. Monaghan Unity Group to assist the Dublin government assessors in making contacts in the Six Counties.

The Unity Group avoided publicity about the offer, made to

S.D.L.P. FOOLING?

A survey by 'Fear Faire'

each member of the cabinet, and promised that all inquiries would be treated in the strictest confidence; but there was no response.

It makes one wonder if the Cosgrave government is serious in seeking a "peaceful solution"? Or are they solely depending on victory for the British forces in the North as the present increased collaboration along the Border would seem to indicate?

Turning the trick.

THE British "Security" forces were at their old tactic of "turning the trick", on the Provisions last week.

When an A.S.U. of first Battalion, W. Tyrone, breached the tight security ring round the centre of Cookstown to plant a car bomb in a timber-yard, the R.U.C. withheld the warning telephone half an hour before the explosion.

As a result, eight people were injured.

In the two weeks prior to the Cookstown explosion, the same E. Tyrone battalion, which certainly had been involved in the Carrington tragedy, extensively damaged a cheese plant at Augher; destroyed an oil depot at Dungannon; bombed Maxwell's petrol station at Dungannon; and partially destroyed Benburb R.U.C. Station with a rocket attack.

Shortly after the Benburb attack a British Saracen was blown off the road and two British soldiers were injured.

Risky job.

LITTLE is heard of the risks taken by Customs patrols on the border these days.

Local observers in the

ambush in the West.

I.R.A. Road-checks.

SOUTH Armagh Provisionals, who have virtually achieved complete control on the ground in their area, have stepped up the number of road checks in south Armagh to curtail the operations of British under-cover units.

Nothing succeeds like success and the I.R.A. in this area is suffering from an embarrassment of recruiting applications.

The Brits move out in this area only after careful reconnaissance by helicopter.

Cold squeaks

IN Fermanagh, too, the Brits are showing great caution these days. A couple of their patrols had close squeaks from landmines recently and their presence on the roads is far from as oppressive as it was a few months back.

A land mine, blown up last Wednesday, was kept under observation from the previous Saturday before it was disposed of. The British, of course, denied that two British and three civilian men died at Carrington on the Fermanagh border when caught out by a radio controlled mine a few weeks ago. This, despite the fact that there were independent civilian witnesses of the Corrington incident.

It would be foolish to assume that the British commanders have become more considerate of the lives of their troops.

The concern would be more for the effect casualties would have on British public opinion, in particular, the army wives calling for their husbands to be taken out of the Six Counties.

"I stole a car - Carrington

DEFENCE MINISTER Lord Carrington confessed recently that he once had stolen a car.

He said he had "liberated" a Mercedes for a week when he was a young Army officer at the end of the war.

"Liberate" is an euphemism for loot and looking back. Of course, one should not have done it," he said.

However, justice caught up with Acting Temporary Major Carrington.

He explained in a BBC radio interview: "My divisional commander came along and said that it was absolutely disgraceful that I'd stolen this car, the most appalling thing for an officer to do.

"The next time I saw it he was riding about in it."



(1) Make a shopping list. (2) Check it against prices. (3) Eat the shopping list.

Reproduced from the U.S. socialist paper, "The Militant".



Ó Brádaigh in America

A memorandum was submitted by the Sinn Féin president to the Foreign Relations Sub-Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in relation to its inquiry with the international protection of human rights, under the chairmanship of Congressman Donald M. Fraser. Here are some extracts:

THE protection of human rights in the area of Ireland known as the Republic of Ireland (26 Counties) is governed by three basic legal sources: The Constitution of Ireland (1937); the statute law of the State; the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

The personal rights of the citizen under the Constitution are set forth mainly in Articles 40-44 (inclusive) which deal with fundamental rights, personal rights, the rights of the family and rights relating to education, private property and religion. In Article 40, it is declared that: "All citizens shall, as human persons, be held equal before the law"; and it is further declared that the State guarantees in its laws to respect, as far as practicable, and to defend and vindicate, personal rights of the citizens. In the basic provision relating to personal liberty, the relevant sub-paragraph reads: "No citizen shall be deprived of his personal liberty save in accordance with law" (Article 40, 4(1)).

The Article in question has not proved effective to protect the basic rights of the citizen in relation to his liberty because the decisions of the Irish courts in relating to these issues took the view that, as long as Parliament had passed a law providing for the deprivation of personal liberty, the courts could not dispute the law, as a person arrested under this law was deemed to be imprisoned "in accordance with law" within the meaning of the above Article of the Constitution.

A number of decisions under the original Constitution of 1922 and the present one, enacted in 1937, emphasised that there was no real protection under the Constitution in this regard and a leading Irish constitutional lawyer, Professor J.M. Kelly, in his work, "Fundamental Rights in the Irish Law and Constitution" (second edition, 1967) wrote that:

"The position might thus seem to have been reached that the liberty of the citizen was at the mercy of the Oireachtas, any simple enactment of which would, if it did not infringe any other provision of the Constitution, qualify as "law" so as to come within Article 40, 4(1); and, if this were so, the Irish citizen, despite his written Constitution, would enjoy no better constitutional protection against legislative encroachment on his personal liberty than does the subject of the British Crown" (p. 76).

Still unsatisfactory

Professor Kelly, now a Parliamentary Secretary in the present Dublin government, states that that defect in the Constitution has been modified somewhat by a number of legal decisions since 1940 and that purely by reason of these judicial decisions in the Courts the protection of the Constitution has been strengthened somewhat.

It is, however, still very unsatisfactory and it is to be contrasted with the protection afforded by the corresponding Articles on the European Convention on Human Rights.

A further fundamental defect in the Irish Constitution is the provisions in Article 28, 33, which were not in the original Constitution when adopted by popular plebiscite, but was added later by an Act of Parliament on September 2, 1939 on the outbreak of World War Two. This provides that:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be invoked to invalidate any law enacted by the Oireachtas which is expressed to be for the purpose of securing the public safety and the preservation of the State in time of war or armed rebellion or to nullify an act done or purporting to be done in time of war or armed rebellion in pursuance of any such law."

"In this subsection, "time of war", includes a time when there is taking place an armed conflict in which the State is not a participant, but in respect of which each of the Houses of the Oireachtas shall have resolved that, arising out of such armed conflict, a National Emergency exists, affecting the vital interests of the State, and "time of war or armed rebellion" includes such time after the termination of any war, or of any such armed conflict as aforesaid, or of armed rebellion, as may elapse until each House of the Oireachtas shall have resolved that the national emergency occasioned by such war, armed conflict or armed rebellion has ceased to exist."

By virtue of the Sub-Article of the Constitution all personal and guaranteed rights can be withdrawn by the State in a time when either the State itself is at war or there is an armed rebellion taking place, or even when the State is not involved in any such conflict.

By virtue of this provision, emergency legislation was enacted on the outbreak of World War Two (during the entirety of which conflict the Irish State was neutral) whereby the rights of citizens were completely withdrawn, military courts were set up with their own rules of evidence and hundreds of persons were imprisoned without trial and a number were executed by firing squad, following decisions by military courts which abolished the normal rules of evidence, and against whose decisions there was no appeal. The Irish Constitution was completely suspended during the period 1939-46.

Moreover, the resolution passed under this article in September, 1939, has never been revoked by the Dublin Parliament, as a result of which emergency legislation still could be enacted by the same terms at any time and, indeed, the possibility of this being done in relation to the armed conflict presently taking place in the North of Ireland cannot be completely ruled out.

There is a further defect in the Constitution in relation to the guaranteeing of a fair trial before the courts. Article 38 of the Constitution provides that "No persons shall be tried on any criminal charge save in due course of law and further provides that no person shall be tried on any criminal charge without a jury (Article 38) (5), but

makes exceptions in relation to the rights of jury trial in relation to three types of cases:-

Minor offences which may be tried by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction;

Offences against military law which may be tried by Military Tribunals;

"Special Courts may be established by law for the trial of offences in cases where it may be determined, in accordance with such law, that the ordinary courts are inadequate to secure the effective administration of justice, and the preservation of public peace and order". (Article 40, 4(1)).

The Special Criminal Courts mentioned in the last paragraph are at present sitting in Dublin and conducting trials in relation to political offences without a jury; and these courts are set up, not at the request of the existing normal courts, but on the decision of the Government itself.

It is objected that this process enables a government, in effect, to override the normal courts by making an *ex parte* decision to circumvent them and deprive citizens of their right of trial by jury in relation to serious offences.

The Offences Against the State Acts have been invoked to set up these Special Courts and, in past years, when they were sitting, they were normally staffed by five military officers without any legal experience.

More Next Week

The Daily Telegraph, Thursday, September 27, 1973

Army chaplain tells of wife swapping and sex parties

DAILY TELEGRAPH REPORTER

SEX parties, wife swapping and pornographic film sessions were part of the lives of young Army couples in Germany, a military clergyman said yesterday.

Alcohol was also a problem because it was so cheap.

The comments were made by the Rev. Clifford Jobson, Deputy Assistant Chaplain General of the First Division, B.A.O.R.

Regarding drink he told the annual conference of the Army Families Association: "We might well be nursing young alcoholics in our bosom."

He continued: "In order to relieve boredom, isolation, loneliness and frustration some young wives readily offer themselves to any male and not always in this done for financial gain."

A four-month tour in Northern Ireland, a cold bed on many a winter night,"

Speaking about the problems of Army wives in the context

of leaving their husbands, he said: "I have seen a girl

SEAMAN FINED FOR ASSAULT ON GIRL

A fine of £40 was imposed at Plymouth Crown Court yesterday on a 17-year-old Royal Navy seaman, Patrick Clarkson, serving in HMS *Penelope*, after he had admitted indecently assaulting a

He was also given a conditional discharge on a second charge of causing the girl "actual bodily harm, which he also admitted, and was also ordered to pay £30 towards legal costs.

WHAT'S THIS ABOUT LAW AND ORDER?

Ulster so

SIX British soldiers turned into a gang of brutal criminals after serving in Ulster. For three months they pillaged shops and cars, *WRAC* private, Mr. Justice Willis said yesterday when he jailed one of the gang for eleven years and another for ten.

"I bear in mind that you have been soldiers in Northern Ireland and were in under-trousers and shorts. Do not regard this as an excuse for your conduct," the judge told the six.

By MIRROR CORRESPONDENT

£6,000 from cars and houses. And they asked for consideration. The court heard that two of the accused men, Anthony Martin, 29, and Arthur Molynieux, 23, raped a boy friend last May, forced her on the ground.

The terrified girl soldier was dragged through a hedge and while Molynieux was raping her, Martin stole her watch.

Martin was jailed for eleven years and Molynieux for 16, failed for ten years. David Eccles, who held the girl down to 44 years jail.

Grand Bazaar, 19, was admitted to Borstal for 10 months. When the case opened at the Crown Court on Wednesday, the girl pleaded guilty to nine offences of indecent rape by three of them. She was worth more than £150.

And Anthony Bell, 20, was fined £300 on four burglary counts.

aval ratings
ntenced for
barracks thefts

TWO NAVAL RATINGS who operated a system of theft and deception at HMS Drake, Plymouth, were ordered to be dismissed from the service and each given nine months' detention at a court martial at HMS Drake today.

They are Michael John Lawrence, 17, junior assistant cook, and Ian Michael Goodey, assistant cook, who with assistant cook, Ian Robert Walker, 17, junior assistant cook, pleaded guilty to a total of 21 charges including theft from lockers, the theft from RNNS quarters and deception involving a stolen cheque book and forged involving a National Savings book.

Goodey asked for 11 further offences to be taken into consideration and Lawrence for 27. Brooks was sentenced to three months' detention and Walker to two months.

Spending spree

The court was told that Lawrence stole mail from tracks in Boscombe, Cornwall, and Hawkins blocks in HMS Drake.

After stealing the cheque book, Lawrence and Goodey visited various shops in Plymouth.

Their first call was to a menswear shop where they bought a suit and tie and one of the stolen cheques. They then bought some more items of clothing at a boutique, but after the manager said he wanted to telephone the bank to verify the cheque, Goodey and Lawrence ran off leaving the goods behind.

From there they went to a jeweller's, where they bought a £15.20 signet ring and a

Curiosity

from the WRNS accommodation block.

The property from the cases included cigarette coupons, caps, bands, deodorant and a shoulder bag. They then filled the cases with stones and threw them into the Hamoaze.

Admissions

One of the cases was recovered, but of a total of £40 worth of property only £4 worth was recovered.

On several occasions between March and June Lawrence and Goodey visiting drying rooms in HMS Drake and stole women's underwear to a total value of £397.

Between them the four made statements admitting the offences. All the charges were brought under the Naval Discipline Act.

At the time the offences were committed Brooks, Lawrence and Walker were serving in HMS Drake and Goodey was accommodation in the base while serving in HMS Fearless.

He was concerned that his friend Walker should not be involved and did all he could to prevent it. Walker was too young to get mixed up in the affair.

BELFAST HONOURS A PATRIOT

**BRAVE
JIM BRYSON**

JIM Bryson was a man of the people, typical in many respects of the Belfast working class, brave, resourceful, quick to action; and, within only a short period of service with Oglach na hÉireann, stories of his exploits spread so rapidly that he became a hero to the risen people not only in Ballymurphy, where he commanded a battalion, but throughout the North and wherever men honour freedom.

He was one of the Magnificent Seven who swam to freedom from the Maidstone. Some months later, when recaptured, he escaped from Crumlin Road Jail without firing a shot. In the 26 Counties the authorities tried to have him sent back to the North by court action. He returned voluntarily, to fight and die.

More than 5,000 people attended his funeral, giving the lie to the propaganda, North and South, that the people have spurned their only defenders.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

D. Mac. D.



No protection for Irish in Britain?

ALTHOUGH there is a substantial diplomatic mission of the Dublin government in Britain no official yet has protested against the treatment of Irish citizens in that state and the gross disregard for the laws and regulations governing rights of citizens and basic human rights in general.

We reproduce here an account sent us by Republicans in Hemel Hempstead who complain of harassment by the special branch of the British Security Services and Anti-Internment League in Hemel Hempstead. They produced search warrants (issued in Welwyn Garden City) to search these homes "for explosives".

Every bedroom, including bogs, bed linen, wardrobes, drawers, carpets and dustbins and even gardens were searched with "detectors". All correspondence, including private letters, bills, books and newspapers, were read. Questions were asked even about family photographs on display and the whereabouts of absent members of the family.

We understand this to be an almost carbon-copy of the methods used by the R.U.C. Special Branch and British army in the Six Counties.

"In one instance a man was asked about his involvement in a local industrial action dispute in which his union was involved. In another instance the man and his wife were away on holidays for a weekend, with nobody at home but a ten-year-old son. Nevertheless, this house also was thoroughly searched. This man is an active member of the Anti-Internment League and a Republican Movement supporter."

Another man, a Sinn Féin member and former member of the Herefordshire Special Constabulary also had his house and garden searched. In this case a handwritten letter regarding police harassment on another occasion was taken away by the police, as well as a stencil of a leaflet.

"In other cases items were removed from the homes and taken away by police. In no case was a receipt given for these items and, even though the police entered bedrooms, no women police constable was present."

Continued : back page.

**UNDER
MY EYE**



To memory of Cathal Brugha

LAST week I ran out of space and was forced to leave over my verses on Cathal Brugha, who was killed because of his patriotism.

Here they are:

*I stood in Glasnevin beside his grave,
and my eyes were wet with tears,
as I thought of the man, so noble, so brave,
who had lain there all these years;
as I thought of the land he died to free,
still scoured by a faithless crew:
in the sacred name of liberty they murdered
Cathal Brugha.*

*But as I wept, a voice from that grave
spoke into my innermost heart.
A message of hope it gave to me,
a message I must impart
to those, who today, carry on the fight
for Ireland's holy cause,
who stand for Ireland's ancient right
against alien British laws.*

*His spirit rose before my eyes,
a spirit steeped in gore.
Around I heard the piercing cries
of many martyrs more.
Each gazed at me with steadfast gaze,
as they passed me one by one.
And Cathal said: "Is this Nation dead,
for the fight is not yet won".*

*"Look around", he said, "on yonder hill,
a land we died to free,
to make a nation free and grand,
from the centre to the sea.
Her fertile fields are steeped in blood.
Her people bound in chains.
Are there no men now in Ireland left,
or have we died in vain?*

*"Have Irishmen become as slaves?
Do they now kiss the rod?
Have they bartered the ancient freedom
that came from the hand of God?
Do they lisp the tongue of the Saxon?
Do they bow and cringe like slaves?
If they do, the blood of their fathers
cries for vengeance from the grave".*

*"No, no", I cried, "there still is left
a hand of volunteers,
to follow in the paths you tread
through all the weary years.
Some sleep tonight in prison cells
because they stand for truth;
but others on the mountain dwell
to lead the nation's youth".*

*His eyes lit up with gladness.
He gazed around the land,
"Oh, my, it's good to know", said he,
"that there is such a band.
They are the nation's guardians.
They will save her honour yet,
be their watchword 'no surrender,
no surrender until death'".*

Brugha's policy of no surrender is the one which his son has rejected; but is also the one on which the Republican Movement of today stands resolutely.

CORMAC MAC AIRT

ÉIRE NUA

VERY many people are agreed that local government and administration need to be changed in Ireland, for a variety of reasons: the present structure, largely, was dictated by British rather than Irish interests; when an effort was made to depart from the British headline, often it was designed for the convenience of the central planners in Dublin rather than the interests of local communities and the people at large; and present conditions and needs require a change from the 19th into the 20th century, with a view to what is likely to happen in the 21st.

Underlying any plan for change is a philosophy. In the 19th century the dominant philosophy, perhaps, was that of Bentham, often summarised as laissez-faire: make the minimum of changes, leave everything to supply and demand; it is disruptive to stand out against economic trends and as pointless as it was for that king of ancient times to try to hold the tide at bay.

To a considerable extent this philosophy is still with us. But it is a false philosophy. It is men who make history, who are responsible for progress or the lack of it, and not "blind, economic forces." For behind every economic action is the will, often ruthless, of an individual. It has been like that throughout the length and breadth of history.

In our own times we have seen this principle very clearly at work. A handful of men, and the decision they took, was responsible for the Cuban revolution. Another handful took the Algerian decision. The story has been the same in Vietnam and the Middle East.

Here in Ireland it was the decision of a small group of people, initially, who decided that, in August, 1969, in Belfast and Derry, they had had enough and were not going to lie down for another 50 years under the heel of the imperial jackboot.

The Association for the Advancement of Self-Government was formed recently in the West by a small group of people who decided to plan for Éire Nua.

Some of these were members of the Republican Movement but others were not so involved. What they had in common was the

A step forward in Athlone

By DEASÚN BREATHNACH

desire to put in place of the British will, Irish will and to see how best that Irish will could be facilitated.

But before even discussion of a new system could take place at any level, as was said again and again at the meeting called in Athlone recently to take another step forward, someone had to draw lines on a map. So the Association had to look for a mapper. In

One was found in Desmond Fennell and the Association published his "Sketches of the New Ireland." It costs only 35p and is available from the Association, 24 Bothar na hOllscoile, Gaillimh.

The Association's secretary is Dr. Antoniades, a Greek speaker and who is well known in Connemara for his work with Glúaiseacht na gCeart, the Connemara Gaeltacht civil rights movement.

The Association's objective is stated in the "Sketches" as seeking "to promote self-government and to diminish alien control in civil, ecclesiastical and economic affairs," a broad enough platform for all men and women of goodwill.

Basis for discussion

The "Sketches" formed the basis for the discussions which took place on the first Saturday and Sunday of this month and among those who contributed were men from all public administration, north and south, as well as others of Kevin Street and Gardiner Place persuasions, and members of other political

groupings. Gaeltacht areas were represented, if thinly. Some people present, including Muiris Fitzgerald and Dr. Ivor Browne, were already involved in Community development work. Others were speaking from practical experience in local government administration. Among the technologists present was Dr. Roy Johnston.

It was only when the discussion got under way that I, for one, got some idea, for the first time, of the enormous difficulties involved.

My first worry was the absence of criteria or, at least, the absence of sufficient criteria to give realism to the "lines on the map."

Those who have any sympathy with the general idea of returning to the people the right that any functionaries, whether plain men from the bottom and come from the local people on a ward or parish basis and, from there, work upwards into higher echelons – districts, regions, counties or groups of counties, provinces, or to the state, which should have only just as much power as is needed to give cohesion and value to the entire concept.

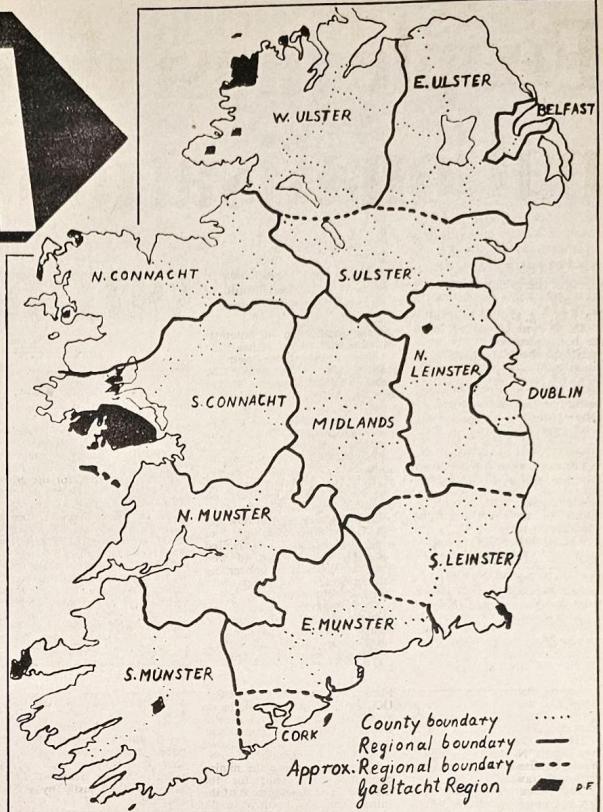
Crisis of identity

Now, to the problems. First is the basic problem of identity; and the crisis of identity is believed by many psychologists to be the reason for so much instability in modern society.

It seemed to be agreed that, where there is strong local identity, based on Dublin identity, and the historical experience one thinks of the Connemara Gaeltacht, Breifne, Sláth Luacha, the Deise, the Donegal Gaeltacht, Rath Cairn in Co. Meath, planning should take that into account, strengthen and develop it, economically and culturally (permanent employment, housing, social centres, music, archaeology, literature, games).

But it must be recognised also that family needs complicate this considerably. After all, they are not, in many cases, much older than 50 or even 25 years, and that they have powerful identities, also (one thinks of the Belfast Falls, the Shankill, Sandy Row, Derry's Ballyfermot, and Bogside, Dublin's Ballyfermot).

Identity, though important, is only one of the problems. Others concern geography, communications (often provided against the interests of local communities but reconstructed to be reckoned with), economic needs, patterns of emigration, immigration, marriage and reproduction, social needs (where to site the new hospital and educational complexes, for example), the analysis of growth centres (how many of them are dictated by individual or groups, often alien, economic interests, and how many are genuine and in the interest of local



The new regions, as seen by Desmond Fennell.

communities?) And very much more.

Information needed

Obviously, to make sure that the lines on the map are right, or to adjust them with reasonable certainty so that they conform to the particular needs of a general plan, a tremendous amount of expert information needs to be collected and collated.

Fortunately, the existence of the computer means that this work, once begun, can be completed fairly rapidly.

During the discussions objections, backed by knowledge and personal experience, were raised against some of the map lines. Desmond Fennell appeared ready at all times to accept such criticisms.

"These are sketches," he said.

"Before a portrait is made, many sketches are drawn."

The lines could be adjusted according to additional information as made available.

A start had to be made somewhere. The lines on the maps were just that. They were not intended to be the final portrait.

One of the general principles to emerge from the talks was that, throughout Irish history, when Ireland was being ruled by the Irishmen, a complicated but effective system of checks and balances was in force. This was the reason why what is called by historians the "Old Gaelic system" lasted so long – because it worked so well.

Checks and balances

One of the main factors in the Fennell system of checks and

balances is the creation of separate "political" and "commercial" capitals, one balancing off against the other.

This is best illustrated, perhaps, in the suggested political capital of the new, united Ireland, Athlone, an idea likely to appeal not only to Derry and Belfast, but also to Cork, Waterford, Shannon and Galway.

Enough for this week. The maps reproduced here are from the "Sketches of the New Ireland". The booklet should be bought by every Sinn Féin cumann, read by its members and discussed.

Then, perhaps, if a community council is not already in existence, cumann members might seek men and women of goodwill in the area to have it discussed publicly, and encourage its formation. More next week.

OUR MILLION SHILLING FUND

Support Éamonn Mac Thomáis

THE GREAT AIM in life of our editor, Éamonn Mac Thomáis, was to make An Phoblaht a daily paper. One of his last acts before being whipped up by Cooney's Special Branch, was to launch "A Million Shilling Fund" for the purpose of getting the £50,000 necessary to make that dream come true. You remember the announcement in a recent issue. The fund was launched under the heading: "GIVE US A BOB".

Well, will you give us that bob? That is the best way of showing support for Éamonn. Make sure that your paper, An Phoblaht, comes out daily. Make sure that the voice of Republicanism becomes stronger and clearer. You owe it to the man who is suffering for you.

Send us that bob, and send it now.

WHY NOT ADVERTISE WITH US?

Why support the organs of the enemies of Éire Nua by giving them your advertising? Why support capitalism when, by giving US your advertisements, you can speed the day when An Phoblaht will appear daily?

We hope to fill this page with small advertisements – articles sought, articles for sale – with YOUR help. Our opening rate: £1 per inch. Copy must reach us at latest one week before publication date.



People must demand nationalisation of our mines

THE ATTEMPT by apologists for the mining companies to separate the position of Dr. Noel Browne from what should be the position of a socialist Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Keating, should be challenged.

Dr. Browne and Mr. Keating are both members of the same party and should both abide by the same basic socialist economic principles, and by the policy of their party. Labour Party policy on the question of Irish mining is quite clear: the 1972 Party Conference of the Labour Party in Westport committed the Labour Party to demand the nationalisation, without compensation, of all the mining industries, whether Irish or foreign owned, "as an essential feature of any government in which I may participate".

The resolution also committed the party to the establishment of a State board for the exploration and processing of the country's ore, gas and oil deposits. Taxation is not enough.

Not for the first time, Dr. Browne has acted as the conscience of the Labour Party and as the real spokesman for the interests of the vast majority of people.

For the Parliamentary Labour Party, the issue must be quite certain: they must insist on nationalisation.

If Fine Gael will not agree, then the "National Coalition" should be dissolved by a Labour Party withdrawal.

The Labour Party must stand firm and possibly it will be joined in the Dail by members of the other parties, who will put nation before self or party, so that the wealth of Ireland can be secured for the people of Ireland, and not for foreign speculators or a handful of already wealthy people.

Mr. Sheehan's apology for private enterprise exploitation of our mineral wealth does not succeed in answering the case put forward by the Resources Study Group by Senators Browne and Hogan and by many other people, from many parties, who have studied the situation.

The fact remains that the Constitution confers the ownership of practically all the mineral rights in the State on the State.

The State now has to decide, as guardians of the welfare and freedom of the people, how best to develop the very considerable

mineral deposits in the interests of the people. All the people.

Even if the State were to impose high royalties, even of the order of 10 per cent, on the gross metal value of An Uaimh and the other mines are far from spurious, few already wealthy Irish people, would still make profits from the property of all the nation.

Nor would it be satisfactory to allow them to manage the mines, as then they could charge their own management fees, decide on labour and ecological policies, could effectively control how the mines should be run, how and where the ores are to be smelted and sold and they could well control the decision concerning the processing of ores into metallurgical products.

The mines could be an enclave in the Irish economy, giving a minimal amount of employment and wealth in the services sector and in spin-off industries.

In the words used by the Fianna Fail Cumann of UCD, UCC and TCD, there should be a guarantee that no mining wealth would be used to create "the potential for an industrial revolution for Ireland".

Some people give the mining companies the credit for the discovery and development of the mines. This is a myth. And the taxation policies introduced by Fianna Fail were a complete sell-out of the nation's interest.

Silvermines was not discovered by a mining company; it was certainly not discovered by its private explorers as it has a history of mining going back tens of years.

The lead-zinc mineralisation at An Uaimh was discovered by a geological survey conducted by the Royal Irish Academy in January 1968. The results of the survey were read to the Royal Irish Academy on June 24, 1968, and were first published a year later, June 30, 1969.

However, on May 28, 1969, T. J. T. Egan, of Egan and Development Company acquired a licence granting them monopoly prospecting rights in the area north of An Uaimh designated in the, as yet unpublished, Agricultural Institute survey. By August 1970, Tara was sufficiently developed to have started drilling and from then on it was apparent that An Uaimh was a fantastic find.

The company has put the size

a chara

of the mine as high as 77 million tons of ore with a high lead-zinc content. Other estimates range to over 100 million tons. Dr. Noel Browne's estimate for the gross metal value of An Uaimh and the other mines are far from spurious, at recent prices, the An Uaimh find alone must be worth anything between £1,500 million and £3,000 million.

Extracting the operation costs in the areas well supplied with infrastructure, with high mineralisation, a good labour supply and with so much of the ore near the surface can only be a fraction (such as a fifth or a quarter) of the gross metal value (U.S.)

Nothing that Tara has done could not have been done by public enterprise, and everything that Tara proposes to do, and must be done, can be achieved more efficiently and justly by public enterprise.

Silvermines was not discovered by a mining company; it was certainly not discovered by its private explorers as it has a history of mining going back tens of years.

The massive magnesite deposit at Bennettsbridge was discovered by the Irish Geological Survey, despite its meagre resources, and it was then handed over to Quantum Magnesite Ltd., a Pizer (U.S.) subsidiary.

The barytes at Ballynoe, now being exploited by Magobor, a subsidiary of the Magnet Iarain Corporation of Houston, Texas, were discovered over a century ago.

The existence of lead deposits at Tynagh had been known locally for a long time and Northgate's exploration and development costs were very low in relation to the profitability of the mine.

Avoca was discovered by the State-owned Mianra Teo, in the nineteen fifties and then handed over to a subsidiary of International Mogul Mines of Canada.

Given the amount of, perhaps partly hidden, evidence of mineral deposits in Ireland, given the low royalties, the ignorance of the politicians and the twenty-year tax free period, the mining companies would have been extremely foolish and incompetent not to have seen the high profits and low risks in Irish mining.

There should be no question of the Irish people being persuaded by the sophisticated and expensive public relations efforts of the mining companies that they should be content with a share of the profits.

In recent months the companies have shown many signs of panic, as witnessed by a large supplement in the "Irish Independent" (owned by Tara shareholder, Tony O'Reilly), a glossy magazine and elaborate evasion company reports.

One should note that some journalists at least will report the contradictions of the mining companies.

The Irish people, through their Government, should pay the mining companies for the genuine expenditures that they have incurred so far and then tell them to go elsewhere.

The minerals and their industrial potential belong to all the people of Ireland and the wealth, which can only be secured by nationalisation, is desperately needed to stimulate an economic take-off.

The property of the people

should not be monopolised by a small minority of entrepreneurs or shareholders, be they Irish or foreign. Mr. Keating and other men of integrity must not compromise on this issue.

David Giles,

Clementon,
Tralee,
Co. Kerry.

Heath's plan

NOBODY, as far as this writer can see, has read "Membership of the Commonwealth" into Edward Heath's "Integration bombshell". If anything, Mr. Cosgrave failed to react to the so-called "delayed action" tactic of the British Prime Minister.

Heath could be that after 10 hours within the "ring of steel" on that "historic occasion" Liam Cosgrave knows only too well what Heath is up to now!

Of course it would be wise or expedient should the Taoiseach let it be known that he has been fully briefed on the master's chess-game. This would explain Whitelaw's feigned blindness and alleged surprise also. One must not underestimate Heath's cunning.

For some months now, perhaps even from the outset Heath knew the proposed Executive Council was a dead letter; its Executive Council also a non-event. It served a purpose, nevertheless, as it was seen to have been an "exercise in

"in-builds" going into it".

* The "in-builds" government forever, giving complete control to London, thereby placating Unionist die-hards and at the same time, instigating (in due course) a change of emphasis and orientation for all Ulster M.P.s.

* It opens up the way for London-Dublin "sovereignty"

— Ireland "united" through Westminster.

* It is but a short step from "closer economic bonds" i.e., a new entente in the British Commonwealth.

* The "Euro" commitment will be scaled down in direct ratio to increased "new world" involvement.

* Such union renders obsolete a "Council of Ireland" and favours the British model.

* In due time, "Ulster" politics in Dublin may well be lodged in Dublin while certain Dublin gentlemen (the more learned type) may be called to



London under Commonwealth guise.

* Security in such a union will look "logical" as will, of course, Extradition. (Full marks, Mr. Heath!).

Anybody who thinks that this prognosis is far-fetched could well be suffering from "morning clouds" and would do well to study the new-fangled, psychological, "soft" off-shore islands: "Ise" island," "this archipelago" (Conor Cruise O'Brien), "larger island," "smaller island," "western isles", "British isles" (Heath).

They might also recall the pre-Littlejohn era and certain efforts made at revising (revising) the Constitution. Better still, they should check out the Irish industries bought up by a London-based bank and its principals through the medium of "fronters", over the past nine months, so.

Indeed, only this week a general take-over of the steel and iron industries is being pursued vigorously. British capitalists in times of Conservative government were never without inspired "leaks".

Time will tell but we, as citizens, are duty bound to think beforehand.

— Dairmaid O'Sullivan, Guaire, Co. Louth Garman.

Office raided

EARLY this morning (25/9/73) the headquarters of the Trotskyist Workers' Fight organisation was raided by Special Branch detectives, acting under warrant, secured under the Criminal Damages Act, from Bow Street Magistrates Court on 24/9/73. They removed a large number of addresses, including the full list of subscribers to our publications, and even an old list of subscribers to the quarterly journal "Workers Republic", which Workers' Fight formerly produced when it was part of the now defunct Irish Workers' Group.

This is significant though it can be compared with daily happenings in Northern Ireland, is, to our knowledge, the first full raid and search on the headquarters of any revolutionary organisation here.

It is only the latest example of the increasing harassment and attempted intimidation of those in Britain who support the Irish Republican Army against the army of the British ruling class.

Workers' Fight holds that the British army has no right to be in Ireland. The IRA, the militia of the oppressed Catholic population, have a right to fight to drive them out of Ireland by force, and to call for the support of those in British Labour movement who believe in Ireland's right to self-determination.

Logically, it has the right to take their fight against the forces of the British Government into Britain itself. In principle, we support its right to do what it thinks necessary.

— For the Steering Committee of "Workers' Rights", S. Corribshire, S. Matgama, 98 Gifford St., London, N.I.

(Condensed from a statement).

TARGET: 50,000 BY CHRISTMAS

OUR circulation target is 50,000 copies sold per week by Christmas. At present we are a bit over the half-way mark. Sales are increasing slowly but not anything like fast enough to reach our target according to plan.

IF every member of the Republican Movement sells only one dozen copies per week - a half hour's work in town or city - our target can be reached well before Christmas. Much the same result can be achieved if existing sellers double their sales.

There are hundreds of parishes where the paper is never seen, where the voice of Republicanism is never heard, where only enemy propaganda gets a chance, where the truth is unknown. To win our war the voice of Republicanism must be heard clearly throughout the land. Revolutions begin with thoughts; the thoughts are clothed with words; and the roar of the people soon heralds their victory;

Strengthen the voice of the Republic today by helping in the circulation drive at home and abroad and dealing a telling blow to British propaganda and that of its lackeys. Help smash imperialism and speed the revolution by spreading the truth and pinning the lies.

Farrell's view of Algerian war

"The Battle for Algeria," Michael Farrell, People's Democracy, 15p.

THE pamphlet, "The Battle for Algeria," by one of the leaders of People's Democracy, Mike Farrell, should be welcomed by all anti-imperialists in Ireland.

Why? Because it sketches the historical development of one of the most important colonial revolutions against a European power, parallels with the Irish struggle are numerous: the "stick-and-carrot" policy of the French government, which tried to draw the Arab masses into integration while practising mass killing and torture to crush the FLN (National Liberation Front). Similarities can be seen, too, between the French "poor whites" (Bleu Nord) and the Protestant workers in the North, fought by fascist politicians.

Likewise the history of the FLN bears testimony to the evolution of a traditional nationalist organisation towards socialism and the clear understanding that the liberation of Algeria did not make sense unless a democratic socialism was set up, embracing all sectors of society.

But Ahmed Ben Bella's socialist leadership was not consolidated quickly enough; and, after his submission to military careerists, Colonel Houmed, he was ousted in 1965, at the height of the Gaullist government, giving birth to an Algerian "Free State".

Although these events are described in the pamphlet, a more detailed account of the nature and the evolution of the FLN from 1954 onwards would have been useful, to explain the contradictions of the Algerian struggle leading to such an outcome.

Allies in France

An important phase of the Algerian war has been left out. It is the role of the handful of objectors in France, those who helped the Algerian Freedom Fighters by their political support and other kinds of aid. Some were intellectuals opposing the crimes of the French army, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, or committed socialist, such as Frantz Fanon, Michael and the Irish-American S. Mangan.

At first they fought against the stream; but, from their conscious army, causing many desertsions.

Despite one or two weaknesses, Farrell's pamphlet describes the problems faced by a liberation movement, and proves that the history of past struggles is the best compass on the road to victory.

Róisín Ní Dhomhnaill.

