

An Phoblacht

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BRITAIN GETS TRUCE WARNING

SPECULATION by the media – television, radio and newspapers, at home and abroad – concerning the bilateral Truce in the Six Counties, is condemned as “inaccurate” and “grossly misinformed”, in a statement from a spokesman from the Republican Press Centre in Belfast, as we go to press.

The spokesman pointed out that the Truce was negotiated by the leadership of the Republican Movement to create an atmosphere whereby representatives of the Republican Movement and the British government might negotiate on the basic demands of Óglaigh na hÉireann.

These demands have not changed in any way. The key demand is a statement of intent from the British government, on behalf of the people it represents, to withdraw at every level from Irish affairs, allowing the Irish people to decide their own future.

The spokesman states that the Truce was NOT called to ensure a “low profile of the British army in sensitive areas.” He adds that the emphasis in the media has been slanted in this direction. He points to the danger of British harassment in nationally minded areas. This could lead, he says, to the closure of Truce Incident Centres (TICs) in the Belfast area but he adds that this, in itself, would not lead to the ending of the Truce.

However, it could result in the complete deterioration of the conditions under which the Truce is maintained and the eventual ending of the Truce.

OPEN-ENDED TRUCE

He emphasised that the action of members and units of Óglaigh na hÉireann is being and will be related to the level of violence of Crown forces and points, as evidence, to



Scots Guards in brutal action ...

several retaliatory actions carried out during the Truce. From the beginning, both sides agreed on an “open-ended” Truce, allowing for such reactions.

The spokesman states: “The Truce was called by The Army Council of Óglaigh na hÉireann and only it can decide if or when it should end. Therefore, for the media to because of certain happenings is pure speculation and not backed by reliable information or understanding of all the facts involved.”

Possible reasons for ending the Truce, the

spokesman states, would be: (a) complete rejection by the British government of Republican demands: this, almost certainly, would cause a complete breakdown; (b) indefinite or lengthy delay of a British response to the Irish demands; (c) failure of the British to honour terms of the Truce, creating an impossible atmosphere for continued discussions.

SPECULATION

“The widespread rumour that an important statement from the leadership of the Repub-

lican Movement could be expected last week-end,” the spokesman said, “was pure speculation, without any official information to back it.” No such statement was planned. There would be no such statement in the immediate future.

The spokesman concluded: “The Truce is in no imminent danger.”

He did admit, however, in answer to questions from this paper, that the third requirement was in serious doubt: in Belfast, there was a definite failure by the British to honour the terms of the Truce.

Judging from reports from other areas, this definite failure is widespread, creating an unambiguous pattern in many areas of the Six Counties. It is to be hoped that the British authorities will realise the danger and take appropriate action so that the Truce may not die by British default.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Irish forces are doing everything possible to maintain the uneasy peace in the Six Counties. Some check must be made on “probing harassment” by enemy troops, through limited retaliation, in justice to the civilian population, for humanitarian, political and other reasons.

The enemy must be made to realise that he will pay an inevitable price for acts of brutality. The Crown forces will not be allowed to ride roughshod over the nationally minded people. The hope is that the British government will come to realise that brutality against the Irish does not pay and that it will result in a high price, politically and economically.

When the lesson has been learned, it is believed, the British government will take the necessary action to restrain the forces under its control, thus contributing to peace and reconciliation between the peoples of the two islands.

Problems the result of brutality

Most of the problems created in Belfast are the result of brutality by two regiments, the Scots Guards and the Paratroopers, apparently following orders from the highest political authority.

A spokesman for one of the T.I.C.s comments that, apparently, the British army is having difficulties in getting men to serve in the Six Counties for, he says, “every regiment is padded out with the same old faces, in different uniforms.” Extra money for “volunteers”?

There could be another explanation, that certain enemy soldiers, returning again and again to the Six Counties in different uniforms, are SAS members. It is understood that the matter is being investigated and documented, with pictures.

Ardoyne

The Parachute Regiment, acting in a particularly vicious manner in the Ardoyne, explains itself as concerned merely to recover a mislaid gun. The episode began when a Para jeep crashed into a R.U.C. car.

The jeep overturned and its weapons were scattered. Two were “lost.” One was recovered in a house in Spamount Street and, since then, intensive house searches have been made in the area. All adult males are being searched, leading in too many cases to Para brutality.

Opposite the New Lodge Road T.I.C., in full view of officials, a number of youngsters were searched recently and beaten with rifle butts, being knocked to the ground. When a hostile crowd gathered the officer in charge decided on retreat.

He was heard ordering his soldiers not to beat civilians about the

head as this left marks. Later, the British officially denied that the youngsters had been beaten with rifle butts despite the visual evidence of T.I.C. officials.

TIC Protests

On July 11, an area between Glenrosa and North Queen Street was closed off by enemy vehicles for more than two hours, despite T.I.C. protests. Eventually, as protests continued, the vehicles were withdrawn but troops remained.

The infamous “Captain Burt” of the Intelligence Corps, attached to the Paras, was quite blunt about the reason for searches and brutalities: “Give us back our weapon and it will end,” he said.

The T.I.C. emphasises that the searches took place without consultation, as provided for in the Truce agreements. The British state officially that the operation was designed to recover a weapon.

On July 13 at 02.00 hours the house of the Alop family at 183 New Lodge Road was entered illegally, while the family was on holidays, by three enemy soldiers with radio equipment and weapons. Neighbours objected but the spying unit remained in occupation for two hours. Again, a breach of the Truce agreements.

Harassment of ex-internees

At about the same time in Spamount Street the Paras recognised Mark Graham, ex-internee, whose spine was broken by an enemy vehicle, in a car and forced it to stop. Mrs. Teresa McGivern was

ordered out, as was Mark. When she objected at the man being ordered out she was knocked to the ground. Another violent breach of the Truce agreement.

T.I.C. officials report that, in the Ardoyne, and the Bone districts of Belfast, many people are being arrested, photographed and finger-printed (“screening”), held for three or four hours and then released.

This is another Truce breach. T.I.C. officials point out that they are observing strictly the Truce terms while the other side breaks all the agreements. But the British ignore this point consistently.

Serious breach

One of the most serious and blatant British breaches of the Truce was reported on Monday, July 13, when enemy troops stopped two men at the junction of Brompton Park and Berwick Road, Ardoyne. One was Tom Fleming, a member of the T.I.C. staff and, among other officers, chairman of the Ardoyne Relief Committee. Mr. Fleming was addressed by name: it was a vivid example of British army contempt for the Truce.

In the circumstances, he objected to being searched and asked the authority for the proposed action. He was told “the Anti-Terrorist Act,” which, of course, does not apply in the Six Counties. Both men, aged about 50, were taken into custody and held for three and a half hours. When the T.I.C. man refused to hold a board, for photographing,

(Ar lean, ar leathnach 8)

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 6. Iúil 25, 1975. Uimhir 30.
44 Ceardóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

The Truce and good faith

IT LOOKS as if the Truce in the Six Counties is on its last legs, that it cannot last much longer in view of the blatant disregard of the Crown forces for the Truce conditions; but Republican observance of those conditions has been scrupulous and if the leadership of the Republican Movement decides on a resumption of hostilities, in justice it can hardly be faulted.

In Westminster, Merlyn Rees speaks honeyed words of peace and denies that British troops in the north-east, particularly in Belfast and Derry, are acting in such a manner as to provoke forceful Irish reaction. From time to time one hears words of sympathy for Mr. Rees because of his "difficulties" in controlling the Crown forces.

This is a dangerous illusion. There is no evidence, over the last six years, of the Crown forces having rebelled against the British government. The politicians in power in Westminster, when it suits their purposes, will "leak" reports of such "difficulties"; but, when investigated, such allegations turn out to be without foundation. Opposition members would be very quick indeed with questions as to rebel army generals and British public opinion would demand their instant dismissal.

Thus, if the boot is being used ever more viciously and obviously in the nationally minded areas of the north-east, it is because of a political decision by politicians, passed on to the generals for action. Isolated incidents followed by apologies would not endanger the Truce and could be interpreted in the most generous way. When, however, a pattern of violence emerges and when that violence is maintained, despite protests, it becomes obvious that a political decision has been taken at the highest level.

At that highest level it has been decided to risk sabotaging the Truce by harassing operations against civilians. The intention may very well be to force the Republican leadership into ending the Truce, in the hope of some small change in the propaganda war. The enemy would be that the Republican leadership would emerge in some way discredited, both at home and abroad, for having agreed to the Truce at all, when so little, apparently, was being achieved to the benefit of the nationally minded people, and then to take the initiative in ending it, at British provocation.

Many of the internees have weak hearts or other physical defects as result of their treatment. It is particularly provocative to see these unfortunate men picked out for this callous and coldblooded treatment. Again, the enemy must be fully aware of the likely price to be paid for such conduct.

It is amazing that not even a very few of the many who were shouting for peace (at any cost) last winter are to be heard now in any kind of comment about the Truce and the considerable threat to its continuance. If such people genuinely were interested in peace (even at any cost) surely it would not be unreasonable to expect from them some protest at the vicious and provocative conduct of the Crown forces at the present time? Even at this late stage, pressure on the British from such groups might even succeed in saving the Truce.

If leaders of such groups live in safe, middleclass areas, they should be invited to visit worker localities where British thuggery is an everyday happening and hear the details from the local people. If such "peace" cheer-leaders refuse to go on such accompanied tours, or neglect other means of arriving at the truth, Sinn Féin cumann should give them the widest and brightest possible exposure. This is an important part of the propaganda war, getting the facts to the people, penetrating the mist of lies, half-truths and ambiguities of the enemy publicity machine.

If the Truce is allowed to die by default on the part of the enemy it will be very difficult to arrange another in view of the history of the present exercise in British bullying and deceit. The first Truce ended after only a few weeks at Lendoeon. The present one has lasted so very much longer only because of the virtually limitless patience of the leadership and a genuine desire to win legitimate political objectives by peaceful means.

Has Ireland had her cause lost or gained by the Truce, even if the enemy forces beat it into the ground, Burntloot and Lendoeon style? The readiness to give a truce a trial proved to the world that the Republican leadership was reasonable, humane and confident. The handling of the Truce proved, at home and abroad, that the Republican Movement is a disciplined and intelligent one and that the leadership had the full confidence of members.

It might have been expected to be particularly difficult to retain this confidence in the face of British harassment and the lack of detailed information concerning the full Truce conditions agreed. In the event, however, retaining the people's confidence proved no problem to the leadership.

The people were just as trustful and generous during the uneasy "peace" of the Truce as they were at the height of the war; and if war is forced once again on the people there is far less danger now, than ever before, that they will break under the imperial lash. Nor are they likely to be fooled by any of the professional politicians: the Truce and those who negotiated it showed clearly where the real political power lies and whom the nationally minded people trust. No wonder the S.D.L.P. would like to see the Truce end: it was exposing their political bankruptcy and their shameless grovelling for crumbs at the feet of their imperial masters.

The Truce has been useful to the liberation forces in many ways and, very certainly, ground has been gained rather than lost over the past six months. All of us would prefer to work under genuinely observed Truce conditions, as the nearest possible thing to that peace which must come to Ireland when the enemy forces have withdrawn forever. Peaceful conditions favour normal political activities.

As the Truce deteriorates, many people are asking themselves if outright war would not be preferable. Peace hardly is the right word to describe present enemy bullying and murder. There would be much less of it if the bullies were liable to be shot or bombed. The "sectarian" murderers - British or British-controlled - also would find their activities rather more dangerous in war than during a truce.

Despite all that, the leadership of the Republican Movement is understood to hope that, even at this late stage, the British government will give way to commonsense, make a sincere effort to retrieve the Truce, and follow that by a declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland and Irish affairs at every level forever.

ionsaí eile ar Phoblachtóir ag 'Tuairisc'

DEALLRÁIONN sé gur agam a bhí an ceart nuair a thuar mé go ndéanadh na biogóidí tí geannas ar "Tuairisc" páipéir de chuid Ghluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta, ionsaithe eile ar Phoblachtóir, i ndiaidh an chinn a rinne siad ar Dhoanall Ó Lubhlá.

San eagrán is deireanaí den pháipéir, ceann a fuair an teachtain seo caite, tá ionsaí ar Nollaig Ó Gádhra, fear atá go mór chun tosaigh i Sinn Féin, i gComann agus lamsuigh de.

Faoi dheireadh na seachtaine, nuair a casadh Nollaig orm, is é a dúirt sé: "Bréagá" agus a thios acu gur bréagá iad."

Ar na mallabhs bhíos ag clámhuin anseo faoi dhrochghaile ar Raidió na Gaeltachta. Is cosúil gur galair tógála é agus go bhfuil "Tuairisc" ag éirí chun tír céanna is atá an Raidió.

In alt a bhfuil "Raidió na gCeirinn" os a chionn tí na seoda seo a leanas: "Da mbéadh ceannas ceart sa Raidió": "... sa gceol nach gcuirfidís isteach ar an seicead clárachá". "... shroicfidís ag tús na seachtaine na himcheathair le bhéid na clúdach" (le leathair). Le páipéir? "ní phoifaidís RTE, sonnduine den chóirann atá ann" (ach sméara dubha?); "... an stáisiún a rith" (fear dá seafadís).

Tá cuid mhaith céile ag baint leis an aiste agus is trua go loit-eann an drochghaile (nó ab Béalach) í. Is éis doicéir a tharla gur i mBéarla a bhí an scríbhneoir ag sméaradh nuair a bhí an aiste á chur le chéile aige. Dona go leor... ach bhí an bearglaire i measa de chuid na nuachtáin is geannas ar a cuid sméaradh.

An té a dteastaíonn uaidh sméaradh úra a léiríonn an léithora deánfaidís sé ad a nóchán roimh ré chun go mbeid siad ar spreascairnigh is ag Ionad. Ní bhfaidís sé le bearglaire na leis an aiste.

An té a bhfuil Gaeltige aige, is éasca dó an teanga a scríobh i gceol agus go simplí ná lú muintín an bhearglaire nach druig-eann ach an fíorchorruine tá ag plé le cúrsaí áirithe.

Raidió : gléas polaitiúil
ACH tá an aiste úd á dís, anois, óir ag cur síos ar an geol dúine eile a thíosar mar cheannas ar Raidió na Gaeltachta a bhí sí. Fadhb í sin atá réitithe. Is é Múiris Ó Conghail an ceannas nua.

An té a cheannas gar rialtas le bheith ina cheann ar Bhurú an Eolaí atá ag rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath, is fear é tí i bpeir ar pháirtí. Mar sin atá an seol le linn agus mar sin a bhí sé nuair a ceapadh Múiris, cara mór le Carousar O'Brien.

Deirtear linn nach ar bhonn na polaitiacha b'ea a ceapadh

Debe

ceannairí ar an raidió ná ar an telefís go nuige seo. Nó más amháin a bhí ní go hoscailte a rinneadh é. Bhí mise, ar aon chuma, nach raibh ann cheangal idir páirtí agus ceannasraíocht raidió nó telefís. Ach tá sin anois á strúthú anois, i gceapachán Múiris.

Níl aon amhras orm ach gur fear maith raidió Múiris. Bainis eoir maith atá ann, leis Ghlí fáil na tuairimí ólaíúla tí aige i gcóitinn, níl aon amhras ann ach go bhfuil Múiris dúlis don Ghaeltige (na Rinne, mar thús) agus go bhfuil bí aige don Ghaeltacht.

Ach fear ólaíúil atá ann thar ní ar bith eile agus tá fátios orainn (omsa), go háirithe gur mar ghléas ólaíúil go príomha a oibreos sé Raidió na Gaeltachta.

Bhí sé de chert ag an bhoir-eann ar de stailé láidreacht in éadaí aon cheapachán seo. Ní b'fhéidir go labrófaí faoi ag cruinnithe an NUJ agus go ndéan-faí an rud a chaithear a dhéan-amh, ar son saoirse an raidió, chomh luath agus a thíosar Múiris isteach san oifig i gCasta.

Suirbhé ar raidió

OS AG scríobh faoin raidió atáim, níor mhiste a rá gur chaithis eoir maith ar an raidió, ach nach n'fheadh an suirbhé bí cúrsaí le muintir na háite. Chuid sé iontas orm ná rinneadh Raidió na Gaeltachta aon suirbhé ar dhearcadh na ndaoine, i gComann, ar aon chuma.

B'fhéidir nach bhfuil fóireann sách mór ag an raidió, ach nach ndéanadh an suirbhé bí spéisiúil agus áisiúil?

Bhíanta ó shín bhí clár ag Raidió Eireann: "People Want To Know." Ní raibh le déanamh ag fear an raidió ach dúl thart, micro-fón ina lámh aige, agus ceist-eann ar an raibíne. A bhfreagairt siúd a rinne an clár agus clár ab ea é a thug léargas diuin faoi dhearcadh na ndaoine. An gearán is mó a chom mise faoi Raidió na Gaeltachta i gComann nach ndéantar iarracht faoi thoil na ndaoine a aisiús agus ghrá a thabhairt.

Bhain gorta beag eolaí a d'fhoghlaim mé nuair a rinne mise géit bheag amháin: is cosúil ná thairín "Seán Saghaidh" le fóir-thairín. Thairín sé go mór linn, mar chlar, agus shléas go gcuirfeadh



Nollaig Ó Gádhra

go leor eile spéis ann. Ach bhí dúl amú orm. Iarshaighuairí is mó a chuir spéis ann aon-mhionlach idir iontá síd i gComann.

Is cosúil gurb é an Feit-eiréach an clár-reachtair is fear le muintir Chonamara - agus ní chuireann a thuin caifte isteach ar na héistoirín. Ní maith leo na clárachá arb as Doire Bheag dóibh. Ní h'f an chumhaint amháin a chuireann oile orthu ach a thairín a bhíonn na clárachá.

Teist mhaith ar chlar an raidió: téigh isteach i dtígh an úil sa nGaeltacht, áit a bhfuil gléas raidió beo ann agus Raidió na Gaeltachta á chraoladh aige. Féach ar an gcomhlúadar: an ar labhairt nó ag éisteach atá na daoine?

Bí Cinnte de faoi rud amháin: nuair a bhíonn an nuachtóir áitúil é léamh nó amháin á chanaidh ag O'Heanail nó a leithéid beidh cíunas ann. Teist chrua ach beist mhóir. Ach an spéis le Raidió na Gaeltachta eolas ar an geuma seo?

Níor mhiste do Raidió na Gaeltachta machnamh a dhéan-amh faoina iris féin a fhóiliú. Is ionaí rud fhíniúla a deirtear ar an raidió ach nach le goth go rí-mhínic a thairín focaí? Bhí an mairín an chuid is fear a nuair ar pháir.

Mura bhfuil fonn ar lucht Raidió na Gaeltachta tabhairt faoin obair seo b'fhéidir go ndéan-fadh dream eierín eile é. B'a thura go mór an sibheas - bíodh sin agus ar Raidió na Gaeltachta - a chailliúit ar fad.

An mbéadh eagrú thoir "Amár-ach" sísta dúl a labhairt le Raidió na Gaeltachta, féachaint an mbeifí sísta na cáipéisí is spéisiúla agus is saibhe a fhóiliú ar an bpáipéir seo?

An teachtain

le Cúnta

FAOI DHEIREADH tá lámhscríbhinn an leabhair is deireanaí a scríobh Eamonn Mac Thomáis lamsuigh den phríosún. B'amháin a chrochnuigh sé an leabhar tá piosa fada uainn, anois, ach nach raibh na húdair sísta an lámhscríbhinn a shomadh.

Theastaigh uaidh gach béig a scríobh Eamonn a ghianghráfaidh. Job costasach a bhí ann - ach nach lesta, a scaite, an t-airgead atá á chaitheamh acu - ach thug sé léithéad chun moill a chur ar an LS.

Mar gheall ar an geis sin, ní b'fhéidir an leabhar i gcló sa bhfómhar. Ní dóigh linn go bhféadfaidís sin a dhéanamh, anois. Beidh mí eile caite súl ma bhíonn na cáipéisí curtha i riocht len ad a chur faoi bhíon an fhóilítoiré, idir iad a chlósú-jobh. Eagraítoiréach a dhéanamh orthu, iarraidh ar Eamonn tulleadh eolaí tabhairt dúinn anois is anisúd, agus eile.

Ach b'fhéidir go mbeadh an leabhar nua ar fáil don Nollaig seo romhainn. Taobh istigh de thá sheachtain ba é díolaí an chéad eagrán den leabhair eile le Eamonn (Mc Jewel): 2.50 cóip. Níl hios agam ar tharla a leithéid cheana in Eirinn. Mí tharla bí cinnte de nach mnic a tharlaíonn. Tá díol an-mhaith ar an tarna cagran faoi láthair.

Leabhar faoin reabhlóid

AN teachtain seo chugainn i mBaile Átha Cliath beidh Seán Mac Stóifín i láthair ag preasagallamh nuair a chuirfear na fóilítoiré ó Mheiricea a chumhinn cinn ar fáil, faoi nuair.

Bhí an leabhar sin le bheith ar fáil ó fhóilítoiré Sarsnach mórán ag an ceann a cuireadh leabhar Eamonn ar fáil den chéad uair. Creidim go raibh contáirt ann go mbeadh an dá phreasagallamh ar súl an dá léanna - i nganfhios don bheirt - ach gur aifreodh fáil agus gur thángthas ar chomhréiteach.

Leabhar Mhic Thomáis slán

Ach idir an dá linn bhí Fainéis Sasana gnomh-ach. D'fóirbh sí sa gceol go ndúirt ionadaithe ó na lámhscríbhinn. B'a thura go mór an sibheas - bíodh sin agus ar Raidió na Gaeltachta - a chailliúit ar fad.

Ní Móide go bhfóirbhís na Sasanaigh a chloife í, anois. An teideal ar an leabhar: "Memoirs of a Revolutionary" (in Eirinn) nó "Revolutionary in Ireland" (thar lear). Gordon Cremonesi an fóilítoiré; praghas an leabhair, £6.

Creidim go bhfuil an leabhar láite cheana ag fóirbh ar na ndaoine tí i geannas ar Oglagh na hEireann agus gur thángthas sí leas. Ina bhainisteoir ar Chomhar-chumhaint, Bhaile Ghibh, Gaeltacht na Mí, atá Seán Mac Stóifín faoi láthair. Creidim gur obair ar leabhair eile, i nGaeltige, atá sé faoi láthair. B'fhéidir go bhféadfaidís lucht "Comhar" í. Is dócha go mbeidh rudaí i gcló sa leabhar sin a chuirfeas solas ar go leor imeachtaí anois le seacht mbliana. Abhar nua a bheas ann.

Inquest on Derry youths a farce

THE inquest was held in Derry City on Tuesday 8th July '75 into the deaths of Staff Captain Colm Keenan aged 18 years, 4 months and Volunteer Eugene McGillen aged 19 years, shot dead by British soldiers on the morning of the 14th March 1972. The inquiry into cause of death was held three years and four months after the murder.

Before the commencement of the inquest, Sean Keenan, father of Colm Keenan, asked the Coroner the following questions:

"As the father of one of the murdered boys, (a) I would like to know the purpose of the inquest; and (b) what do you hope to establish?"

The Coroner replied, "The cause of death and where and when the deaths took place."

Mr. Keenan, "I read recently of an inquest held in England where the inquest jury not only brought a verdict of murder, but also named the murderer, and as England claims jurisdiction over this part of Ireland, isn't it reasonable to expect that the same laws should operate here?"

The Coroner at this point interrupted Mr. Keenan saying that he had answered his questions and that the laws governing inquests in the North of Ireland were different to those in England.

The charade then commenced. Statements by nine or 10 soldiers were read out then by a British Army Warrant Officer in parrot-fashion and one got the impression that statements

were all made and written by the same person. The soldiers were all identified by a letter, i. e., G., O., D. etc.

It was established that the statements made by soldiers A. B. C. etc. were not made under oath. A forensic "expert" then gave evidence that swabs taken from the hands of both youths had traces of lead particles. This was the first indication of such evidence, neither the next-of-kin or their solicitor was

informed of this, although three years and four months had passed since the deaths. An R.U.C. Detective Sgt. then gave evidence and quoted from newspaper notices at the time of the deaths describing the youths as members of the Provisional I.R.A. He said that both youths had military funerals attended by high ranking officers in that organisation.

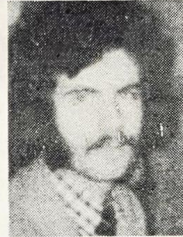
This was a complete and utter lie as McGillen had a private burial. Still this evidence was not challenged. In the case of Colm Keenan evidence of identification was given by his sister, Roslin; in the case of McGillen, no evidence of identification was given, as his brother who identified him on the night of the murder is now a prisoner in Magilligan Prison Camp and was not brought to the court.

The only evidence for the two boys was given by a Mr. McGowan who said, "that on the night of the killings both boys had been in his house having a cup of tea when shooting started. Shortly afterwards the boys went out to see what was happening. Within a few minutes Colm Keenan was carried into the house dead; the only thing he had in his hand was a cigarette".

Mr. McGowan was cross examined at length by lawyers representing the Minister of Defence and the N.I. Office, but still held to his evidence. When one compares his evidence to the written statements of soldiers – not under oath but read on their behalf – one will realise what a FARCE this inquest was.



Colm Keenan



Eugene McGillen

Why Dublin wants to smash the IRA

IN AN article published in the *Manchester Guardian* on Friday, June 11 and entitled *Why Dublin wants to smash the IRA*, Derek Brown examines the motives behind the Free State Government's support for the arrest of Daithi O'Connell, whom Brown describes as "the most talented political and military theorist in the Movement".

Actually, to those who know him, O'Connell is much more than a 'talented theorist'. We are, however, in agreement, to a large extent, with the conclusions reached by Brown in his study of the attitude of the Dublin Government, and reprint here his article in full:

THE BRITISH in Ireland can be very perverse. For years many of them who ought to know better have been hinting darkly that the Dublin Government and Special Branch could sniff out the Provisional IRA if they so chose. Now that a spectacular blow has been struck at the IRA in the South, in the arrest of Mr. David O'Connell, these same commentators are accusing the Republic of deliberately sabotaging the ceasefire.

This line of argument is based on the widespread arrogant assumption that O'Connell was available for arrest at any time to the Irish authorities. It is simply not true: the Republic's security forces are much more thinly spread, and less well equipped, than

their counterparts in Northern Ireland.

O'Connell, himself, was truly the most wanted man in Ireland, having evaded the police and armies of Britain and the Republic for more than five years. He had relinquished the title of Chief of Staff to Mr. Seamus Twomey some 18 months ago but he clearly remains the most talented political and military theorist in the movement.

In the past half year, the Irish police have twice tried to arrest him: at Feakle and at a Dublin hotel where he was due to meet the ubiquitous Rev. William Arlow for follow-up talks. Both operations failed ignominiously; the first because the Special Branch arrived six hours late, and the second because apparently there was a leak of information from the G.2 Internal Security Department.

The Irish police were desperately anxious to atone for that double debacle and now they have done so. They needed no encouragement from their government, but – and this is the true hub of the matter – they almost certainly needed and received the authority of the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) before making the actual arrest.

The Dublin Government's attitude to the Provisional IRA should by now have passed the point of misunderstanding. Ulster Loyalists may cavil at the lack of extradition and, British Army officers may fulminate at the laxity of laws on explosive handling but the

fact remains that anti-IRA measures in the Republic are harsh and unequivocal.

There are 150 or so Republicans in Portlaoise prison who could testify to the efficacy of the Offences Against the State Act; an extraordinary piece of legislation which says that a man must be jailed if a senior policeman says he belongs to an illegal organisation. Whatever Dublin politicians feel about British rule in the North, they have consistently and vigorously opposed the IRA for the very practical reason that their own existence is threatened by Republicanism. O'Connell and his men don't just want to throw the British out of the six counties of Northern Ireland, they want to smash the existing order in the 26 counties of the South. They may be a minority but there are sufficient sympathisers with sufficient firepower, to make feasible a return to the dark days of the 1922 National Emergency – the official euphemism for the civil war.

Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave wants O'Connell and the other IRA leaders out of circulation. There can be no reasonable doubt of that. He knew, of course, on Wednesday that O'Connell's arrest would immediately and spectacularly set the ceasefire alarm bells clanging and yet, given the split-second timing of the arrest operation, he seems not to have hesitated.

In fact, if one accepts that the Irish Government is set on smashing the IRA, there

is no earthly reason why Mr. Cosgrave should have given the ceasefire a second thought. The Irish Cabinet is, in fact, deeply disturbed by current British policy.

They cannot understand why or how that British hope to accommodate an organisation which is fundamentally opposed to the elected governments on both sides of the border. They do not like the idea of one of those elected governments treating with armed rebels, and they do not propose to do anything similar.

The inevitable paradox which always lurks near the surface of any Irish dilemma is that the Irish Government, while wishing the ceasefire had never happened, does not want it to collapse. The worst fear of any Dublin administration, of whatever party, is that Northern violence will become uncontrollable and will spill over the border.

The mind-stretching Hobson's Choice now facing Dublin, therefore, is whether to go along with the British in taking the heat off the IRA, thereby encouraging Protestant frustration in the North, or else to carry on the war of attrition against Republicanism, inviting the collapse of the ceasefire, and hoping that the British will stay around long enough to take the brunt of a renewed IRA offensive. On the face of it, the second choice seems more acceptable to Mr. Cosgrave and his colleagues.



ANTI-INTERMENT DEMONSTRATIONS

THE North Armagh Comhairle Cheantair, Sinn Féin are organising a series of anti-interment protests during the week prior to August 9, with a massive protest march from Kilwilkee to Francis Street, Lurgan at 2.30 p.m. Following is the complete schedule of protests:

Monday 4 August: Public Meeting – Shankill Estate – 8.00 p.m.
Tuesday 5 August: Public Meeting – Teghnevan Estate – 8.00 p.m.
Wednesday 6 August: Public Meeting – New City – 8.00 p.m.
Thursday 7 August: Public Meeting – Freecaw – 7.30 p.m.
Friday 8 August: Public Meeting – Kilwilkee Estate – 8.00 p.m.
Saturday 9 August: March from Kilwilkee to Francis St. – 2.30 p.m.

SUPPORT THE PRISONERS

Send a subscription today to: An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, 1, ÉIRE.

◀ A passer-by stops to photograph a display of Republican posters on a public hoarding. The display took place, not in Derry or Belfast but in Frankfurt, West Germany.

Vote of Sympathy

At a recent meeting of the Listowel Sinn Féin Cumann a vote of sympathy was passed to the family and relatives of the late Michael Downey, 43 O'Connell's Ave., Listowel, R.I.P.

The torture of Patrick Duffy

Forced to lick his own blood off wall

Patrick Duffy of Brandywell, Derry has been convicted on six different charges, including I.R.A. membership. He was sentenced to a total of 22 years imprisonment and is now a political hostage in the Magilligan P.O.W. camp.

Following is a copy of a statement made by Patrick Duffy and signed by him in the presence of witnesses:

Soldiers found weapons in the washing machine in the house; I accepted responsibility.

It was 7 a.m. when I was taken to Victoria Army Post, Mary Stars was in the Saracen. As soon as the gates were closed, a soldier with a moustache started thumping me on the face. Some other soldiers started to kick me and generally throw me about. My photograph was taken, I was then put into a little room.

Four or five soldiers and two plain clothes intelligence men were in the room, I was spread-eagled against the wall and questioned about "where I got the guns". I said that a man forced me to take them and would shoot me if I didn't. I described this man - large blue raincoat, gold-rimmed glasses, tall and about 21 years old. They said I was a liar and started beating me again. I was grabbed by the hair and my head was banged against the wall. They kept on about the weapons. "How did I get them to the house?" they kept asking. I told them they were brought in a Volkswagen and taken through the back yard that there was a broken element in the washing machine that I was trying to fix; the machine was partly dismantled so I decided this was the ideal place.

Four of them left the room and one soldier remained. He started to beat me around the room, and then I was spread-eagled against the wall again. He put his fist down my spine forcing me to fall to the ground. He then lifted me by the hair and threw me against the wall again. He put his fist down my spine again, then other soldiers came in with two intelligence men. My face was pushed into the wall, my face started to bleed and the blood was running down the wall. I was punched in the ribs, and told to lick the blood off the wall. I did this while they jeered at me. I then sat on a chair and they repeated their questions, at the same time they pulled my hair. The Medical Officer came in and cleaned me up. He was English. He wanted me to sign a form, and when I refused they beat me again. I then signed it, and was told, "Don't say a word to anyone or else you will be landed back with us".

I was marched with my right arm up my back into the Military Police Centre. Here they took my possessions, and I was questioned by the soldier with the moustache. We were photographed together. This was the soldier who did most of the beating. (The soldier who had been originally left with me wore glasses). I was taken into another room at the far end of the corridor. The soldier with the moustache and an M.P. were with me. Another soldier described people who had been shot and grabbed me by the throat.

Then another plain clothes man came in. He asked "What are you doing here?" One said that I was caught with an Armalite. The plain clothes man asked me what damage an Armalite could do. They talked about a woman who had been shot in Shantallow two days previously, and asked if I would like to see photographs of her and other soldiers. Some had been so badly hit they couldn't take an anaesthetic. They talked about the damage a sawn-off shotgun could do. They said the R.U.C. would have no pity for me, and told me horrific stories about R.U.C. interrogation. "Get the electrical kit out", they shouted.

Outside there was a group of soldiers. The ones with me told them what I had been caught with: one of them raised an S.I.R. to my nose and said, "Think of the damage this would do to you". I was then taken to the R.U.C. with my arm screwed up my back. In the hallway my arms were spread against the wall for ten minutes and one said, "All we need now is nails and we will crucify him". One asked if I had been searched; there was no search; then they thumped me. I was taken into an office where there were two uniformed police constables. "Yes" and they said, "Come off it!". I said, "Alright, forget about it".

I was then thrown into cell No. 8 and left there for a couple of hours until the police doctor came and examined me. My own doctor came half an hour later; he is Dr. Sinclair (Alliance Party). Later on in the evening I was interrogated by the C.I.D. I told them the same story; one said, "That's a lot of balls". They kept asking me questions; this lasted about 45 minutes. I was then brought back to the cell and told that I had better give the right story when I was brought back as I would have to make a statement. I said, "Yes" and repeated my story. One said, "Look son, don't come out with that again, we want the truth".

Eventually after several false starts and a threat about my father, I made a statement. They asked if I was a Q.M. and referred to a document which was headed "Duties of a Quartermaster". "Right Quartermaster Duffy!", they shouted. I denied that I was a Q.M.

Torturer Known

The soldier who did most of the beating has now been identified as Captain Christopher Davies.



ONE OF MANY MEN ALMOST BEATEN TO DEATH BY BRITISH TROOPS AFTER THE BURNING OF LONG KESH CONCENTRATION CAMPS ON THE 15th OCTOBER, 1974.

THE LATE JOHN HASSETT

IT was with regret that Republicans in London learned of the recent death of John Hassett.

"Big John" was born in the County Kerry and although domiciled in England since the early 1930's, he kept faith with the Republican cause to the end and was a generous contributor to the funds of An Cumann Cabhrac down the years.

Ar dheis De go raibh a anam.

Cruising down the river



Irish Bay Area men and women dance to traditional Irish music and enjoy the warm California sunshine on a houseboat cruising down the Sacramento river. A family outing? No, just another successful fund-raising event sponsored by the Oakland branch of the East Bay Northern Aid Society. The river cruise has been a sell-out ever since its initiation over a year ago.

Derry boy assaulted by troops in his front garden

TWELVE-year-old Patrick Brown, of Lislane Drive Creggan, Derry got a taste of "the security forces reacting to the level of violence" on Monday night (July 7th). About half past midnight on a quiet night, he thought he saw British soldiers crawling around his front garden. He went out to look.

Sure enough, there were soldiers. One shouted at him, "Get back in your f— Irish door", and swung his rifle butt at him, hitting the young boy a sharp blow across the face. The soldier followed this with a few more curses.

When the boy's father came on the scene, the British Army wanted nothing to do with the boy and didn't want to know about the incident.

Mr. Brown went straight up to Piggery Ridge to make a complaint, taking his son Patrick along to make a statement. The B.A. at Piggery flatly refused to allow the boy to accompany his father into the camp. The father was sent to Victoria R.U.C. Barracks, where the boy made a statement about the incident. Mr. Brown went to the Military Police, who promised to have someone down with him "immediately" to investigate and to see the boy. As of late Wednesday night, Mr. Brown is still waiting for their visit.

At no point did nay officer take responsibility for what happened to this young boy at the hands of one of their men, nor did nay medical officer attached to any branch of the so-called "security forces" offer or ask to examine the injured boy.

The family's doctor examined him, and recommended that he be x-rayed for possible fractures at Altinagelvin.

Assault condemned

The Patrick Pearse cumann condemns this brutal and cowardly attack by full-armoured soldiers on a defenceless twelve-year-old boy. We demand that the soldier responsible be brought forward, so that the family can press charges of assault on him if they so wish. We point out the completely irresponsible and casual attitude of the so-called "security forces" towards the welfare of their young victim.

This incident has been one of many in recent weeks by this regiment, who seem to be given a free hand by their officers to behave as brutally as they wish in their last weeks here.

P.R.O.,
Patrick Pearse Sinn Fein,
Bogside, Derry.

Death of prominent Co. Mayo Republican

IT WAS with deep regret we learned of the death of Leo McKenna of Balla, Co. Mayo.

Leo, who was a life-long Republican, was born in Co. Monaghan and at an early age emigrated to the U.S.A. and there he continued his Republican activities. It was there also he met his wife, Agnes. Shortly after their marriage they settled in Balla where they set up business as hoteliers.

Leo was a fountain of inspiration to all those who came in contact with him. He was a member of Sinn Fein and an ardent worker for An Cumann Cabhrac and was instrumental in setting up committees all over Co. Mayo to raise funds for Republican Prisoners' Dependents.

To his wife, Agnes, his two sons and two daughters, to his brothers and sisters, the Republican Movement tender their deepest sympathy on their great loss.

I measc Laochra na h-Eireann go raibh a anam uasal.

Buiochas

The North Dublin Comhairle Cheantair, Sinn Féin wish to thank all who participated in the Freedom Walk and also all who sponsored the walkers.

All who hold cards are requested to return them immediately.

NOTEBOOK

Last Days of the Gaeltacht

YOU remember my Notebook two weeks ago on "Irish and Ulster British"? Some readers have said that I seemed to have written it before the piece on "Our British Fellow Countrymen" which appeared two weeks previously on Meitheamh 27. They say that the latter – the piece I have just mentioned – seemed to refer back to the article on "Irish and Ulster British" (Iuil 11).

They are quite right and, for the record, I'm glad to have the chance to say so. The fact is that FREEMAN went on holiday and left some Notebooks written in advance. Through a confusion such as can happen in the best newspaper offices, these two articles got published in the wrong order.

On my return, I find *Saoirse*, the local newsletter of the Jackie Griffith Cumann, Dublin, waiting for me. The Jackie Griffith Cumann seems to belong in and around Ringsend and Sandymount.

Their paper – which can be had from 24 O'Connell Gardens, Bath Avenue, Sandymount, Dublin 4 – ought to be looked at by every cumann which is not publishing a paper. "If the Jackie Griffith Cumann can do this, why can't we?" That is the question which every dumb cumann – every cumann without a paper – should be asking itself.

Four stencilled pages stapled together, clearly typed, entirely legible, with no spelling errors, and a blue title-block on the top of the front page. It seems to be a monthly; the copy in front of me is for June 1975.

Ringsend, Sandymount, South Dock and St. Stephen's Green come alive in these pages. These Republicans begin their loving of Ireland by loving their own streets and the people in them. If all of Ireland were loved piecemeal in this manner, what a *really loved Ireland* we would have – what a revolution there would be!

I will not recount in detail what the pages contain (the readers of *Saoirse* know and anyone else who is interested can get a copy) except to mention that if you want the words of "The Bored Black Brimmer" they are here.

I would like *Saoirse* to comment sometime on what I said here on Iul/4 on p.3 to be exact – under the heading "All Power to the Comhairl!" The Jackie Griffith Cumann know my views. I believe that neither cumann nor comhairl ceantar nor their papers should be *merely* organs for complaint and protest, and that if they are *merely* this they are *merely* reformist and therefore basically conservative forces.

Even advising citizens on how to use the present public services better – so that the present system will function better and present a more acceptable face to the people – even this worries me, if it stops there.

Unless we are using local issues with which the people are familiar to point forward towards a new Ireland in which things will be controlled by the communities, and therefore better organised, we are not really being revolutionaries or Republicans, and the most effective way of doing this is, without doubt, for the Sinn Féin comhairl to be organised as the potential District Councils of the New People's Ireland, and the cumann to be organised as the potential neighbourhood of community councils within each District. In other words, to have one cumann for each community of 5-6,000 in urban areas, and of 1500-3000 in thinly populated rural areas.

Needless to say, this would mean, at the start, that there would be many communities without a cumann of their own. Better so, I say. At least we would be moving forward with our feet on the ground, in the real world, and in the real life of Ireland as it is today.

Instead of a "Jackie Griffith Cumann" I should like to see a *Sandymount* Cumann grouped with other neighbourhood cumann under a *Merrión* Comhairle Cheantair, and a *Ringsend* Cumann grouped with other neighbourhood cumann in an East Central or Mansion House District under a *Comhairle* Cheantair of the same name.

Naturally, if either of these cumann had a

paper of its own, it would be called *Sandymount News* or *Ringsend News* or the like.

In short, I miss from the pages of *Saoirse* any talk about reorganising the government of Dublin as a regional community of communities in which the people would control their own affairs through District and Neighbourhood Councils.

In its appeal to "Join Sinn Féin", I think the Jackie Griffith Cumann should be describing itself as more than "a body of experienced men and women who are dedicated to ideals for a better community". Any group of do-gooders can describe themselves as that. There is nothing revolutionary, nothing political, and nothing specially Republican about it.

I was on holidays in the Gaeltacht; more precisely, in the South Connemara Gaeltacht, *idir Carna is Bearna*, as the people who live there say. This, along with the Aran Islands, is the biggest stretch of Irish-speaking Ireland that is still left. It contains about 14,000 people.

A couple of months ago, I paid a brief visit to another part of the Gaeltacht, in central Donegal. For those who care, here are some facts which I can vouch for about the present condition of the Gaeltacht.

1. The official "Gaeltacht" is a nonsense and a lie. Most of it is English-speaking. The real Gaeltacht area – principally in Donegal, Connemara and the tip of the Dingle Peninsula – contains about 30,000 people – or more.

2. Many young people, especially girls, still leave the Gaeltacht – as they leave other parts of rural Ireland – to find employment. But by and large, the material standard of living in the Gaeltacht is high. There is no lack of money. The signs of affluence are to be seen everywhere. Poverty is no longer a characteristic of Gaeltacht life.

3. The Gaeltacht is on its last legs. The change from Irish to English that has been occurring on the edges of the shrinking Gaeltacht for the past two centuries is still in full swing – and not merely on the edges. Some would say it is gaining momentum.

4. Many forces operate to cause this change from Irish to English speech. All these forces are "enemies of the Gaeltacht". But the decisive enemies of the Gaeltacht, and its real killers, are those Gaeltacht people who bring up their children as English-speakers and who make English the language of their households. These social and cultural assassins – some of them living in the heart of the remaining Gaeltacht – are conducting their campaign with vigour and enthusiasm, and their efforts will soon be rewarded with complete success. (The grandparents and great-grandparents of most of us did the same).

5. There is no concerted effort within the Gaeltacht – in any part of it – to reverse this process. The only *effective* way in which it could be reversed is by Gaeltacht self-government. But no group or organisation within the Gaeltacht is making any serious attempt to achieve this.

6. Most Gaeltacht people don't think about the Gaeltacht or care about its fate. Like most people anywhere in Ireland, they are interested only in making money and in having a good time. I don't blame them. I merely report. Go and see for yourselves.

by
FREEMAN

NO TRUCE WITH ORANGE FASCISTS

By Our Belfast Correspondent

PERHAPS by misinterpretation, or perhaps by purpose the media by and large will insist on describing the present Truce between the British Administration and the Leadership of the Republican Movement as a "Provo Ceasefire". This description is erroneous, misleading and must be rejected. If it is not, the purpose of the past five years sacrifices has been lost.

Initially, we the Northern minority, having suffered the ferocity of the attacks of August '69 were unconcerned with the politics of one defence. We simply wanted protection and security. It was through our attempts to provide these for ourselves that we became aware of the necessity to oust Britain from the Six Counties and to establish the Republic.

August '69 Republicans are not to be sneered at. They are a pure product of an unbroken tradition of Revolutionary Nationalism. During the war of the past five years, leadership, which was sorely needed, was given by the Army Council of Ogligh na h-Eireann. The Brits have been humiliated and defeated. They are still here but they are broken as a potentially victorious force. They cannot defeat the People's Army.

It was inevitable that the present Truce would be negotiated from our struggle. The enemy wishes to extricate himself from the scene as easily as possible. But, as in all colonial wars, there will be a garrison who will not take well to desertion by the "Motherland".

In Algeria, when Independence was wrested from France by the Algerian Liberation Forces, the country was plunged into the vicious civil war by the O.A.S. which was composed mainly of ex-army types

(frustrated in their attempts to defeat the Algerian Freedom Fighters) under the control of "Pieds Noir" – comparable to Ulster Loyalists.

Right now, as the Orange unionist fascists see their political tie with England being eroded, they are preparing a machine to build an independent fascist state. They have capabilities to succeed – a "constitutional" assembly to give political leadership, a local police force and army not to mention the para-military bodies. This past month has seen the creation of two new central structures to co-ordinate Orange gun-power. These are the "Ulster Army Council" and the "Ulster Central Intelligence Agency".

The former is an amalgamation of the U.S.A. and its satellites, the latter of the U.V.F., and individual members of the R.U.C. and U.D.R. These people will have to be faced up to. They have not gone to such lengths and trouble merely for the fun of it all. They mean business and have the "hardware" to carry it out.

Our war is far from over. In fact it may hardly have started. Either we yield now and accept continuous unionist power, or we carry out what we started in 1970 with our goal as a Democratic Socialist Republic.

So although the Truce with the Brits is still on, we must clear any ambiguity immediately that might be prevalent in our attitude to the Orange fascists.

And our attitude must be: We will not concede any right by these people to have a veto against the progress of the Irish people. Neither do

we concede the veto they had against the Irish Republic. What they must understand is that they are out of their time. The age of loyal citizens holding land for Imperial Britannia is over. Revolutionary war against imperialism is succeeding all around the world. Ours shall be no different.

We will fight and defeat the loyal Orange fascists; in no way will we compromise with them. That betrayal would be the death, for ever, of any chance of building a decent society in Ireland.

NEW CUMANN

A new Sinn Féin Cumann has been formed in the Leixlip/Celbridge area.

Anyone in this area who wishes to join the new cumann is requested to get in touch with: The Secretary, John Greene Cumann, c/o 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.

Join Sinn Féin

Anyone from the Rathfarnham/Dundrum area who wishes to join the recently-formed Martin Forsyth Sinn Féin Cumann is requested to call (between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m.) to the home of the Secretary, Mrs. M. Longstaff, 32, Vilebrook Park, Rathfarnham, Dublin 14; if you cannot call, please contact Mrs. Longstaff by letter.

KILCULLEN

ALL in the Kilkullen area who wish to join Sinn Féin are requested to contact: Cecilia Conway, Knockbounce, Kilkullen, Co. Kildare.

Solidarity

THE members of the Traolach Mac Subhne Sinn Féin cumann, Cork, wish to express their solidarity with the men, women and boys 'behind the wire' in Long Kesh, Port Laoise, Limerick, Magilligan, Crumlin Road, Armagh and in English, Scottish, American and Canadian jails.

Kevin Coen Memorial

A committee has been formed to erect a fitting memorial to Vol. Kevin Coen from Riverstown, Co. Sligo who was killed on active service in Co. Fermanagh on 20th January, 1975.

Anyone who requires further information or who wishes to make a subscription are requested to get in touch with any of the following: Martin McGoldrick, Doura, Collonee, Co. Sligo; P.J. Kearney, 14, Cedar Drive, Sligo; J.J. McGil, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.

PORT LAOISE DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY 10 AUGUST

Republican Post Bag

OPEN LETTER TO FREE STATE SENATOR

FOLLOWING is a copy of an open letter sent by me to Senator Michael D. O'Higgins:

I am writing to you as a worker and taxpayer, and as a neighbour whose vote you have on occasion solicited, concerning the arrest of the Vice-President of the political organisation to which I belong. I read in the newspapers this morning that Daithi O'Connell was arrested by armed members of the Political Police at Coolock, County Dublin, on yesterday evening.

I have known Daithi O'Connell for a number of years, and was associated with him in the experiment in rural renewal in Glencolumbkille, Co. Donegal, several years ago. So his arrest is a matter of personal distress to me, apart from being a political issue.

The government to which you belong has adopted a policy of personal harassment of people who fail to share its views, a policy which I have myself felt the blunt end of now and again. But I cannot see what useful purpose this policy serves. It cannot restore the pre-1969 situation in the North (the dream of reactionaries of the right and of the left alike); it cannot do anything to help the English preserve their Imperial dream, or cause their idiotic monarchy to survive a day longer than it is destined to.

On the consideration that it would be a waste of time to talk to you about the moral issue involved, I would ask you at least to reflect that such persecution serves no useful purpose.

Recently you made in the Senate a passionate denunciation of the cruel and futile practice of fox-hunting. Perhaps you would now like to denounce the similarly cruel and futile pastime of Republican-hunting.

—Pól Ó Croidheáin,
Rinn Mhór, Gaillimh.

TROOPS OUT CONFERENCE

AS A national officer of the

Troops Out Movement and a member of the Revolutionary Communist Group, I would like to comment on the report sent to An Phoblacht on the TOM labour movement delegate conference on 24th May in London. It is extremely encouraging for us to see An Phoblacht giving over the back page to publicising the conference, and I would like to explain why one of the amendments to the conference resolution — put by a delegate in our group — was not, in the words of one of the captions, a 'petty holler-than-thou' amendment.

The amendment in question was to change 'immediate recall' of the troops to 'immediate withdrawal from Ireland'. The amendment was accepted, and is in fact part of the quote in the report. (The part in question originally simply called for 'recall' and was amended to 'immediate recall' by members of our group in the committee stage.)

The reason we thought it important to make the resolution even stronger at the conference was to resist any tendency to water down the Troops Out Movement demands — Troops Out Now, Self-Determination for the Irish People — under the argument of getting as much support for the resolution as possible. These demands as they stand did not form part of the original resolution. As you know, there is a large section of the labour movement in this country, represented in particular by the Communist Party, which calls for recall of troops to barracks and a Bill of Rights legislated by Westminster. We know that the republican movement does not call for immediate withdrawal, but there is a different question involved in England. Those who say, in this country, that the troops should be withdrawn at some future date are arguing that the British Government has still a progressive role in Ireland, and necessarily implying that the British Army is a peace-keeping force.

The reason that these demands are prevalent in the British labour movement is that workers still think that the Irish are incapable

of ruling themselves, and that it is up to the British to pacify the religious strife. They do not understand that Britain is at the root of the problem and that only the Irish people can resolve it. Such ideas are very dangerous for the British labour movement. Although the question of Ireland is not seen as the most important question here at present, it is in fact crucial in all the issues which are occupying British workers: the social contract, which argues that workers must support the 'national interest' and develop a 'wartime spirit', the anti-EEC campaign, a large component of which is a reactionary (in Britain) 'national-sovereignty' argument; the proposals of the Labour left for protectionist economic policies (in England, entirely reactionary). At all stages — and the fact that workers welcomed the Prevention of Terrorism Act shows this clearly — the workers are tied hand and foot to the interests of the capitalist class by their own national-chauvinist ideas.

It is because of this that it is essential to train the workers to fight for self-determination for Ireland, which means to the immediate withdrawal of British troops — and to concede nothing to the chauvinist 'Bill of Rights' position.

—Celia Holt,
Helix Road, London, S.W.2.

DERRY BOMBS

THE hysterical reaction of the Vanguard Unionists over the Derry bombs was to be expected.

Yet it serves as a useful reminder of the contrast between their reaction to retaliation by the I.R.A. against breaches of the present Truce by the British Army, and the ever present campaign of sectarian assassinations by the Loyalist para-militaries. With the present talk of a Loyalist 'change of heart', such statements bring us back to reality and remind us that any 'change' is superficial and intended to be promoted for propaganda purposes.

While the I.R.A. attacks government or commercial

targets, (with warnings), the Loyalist para-militaries continue their extermination campaign against Catholics. This campaign may be mildly condemned publicly by various Loyalist politicians, but in the last analysis it is the para-militaries whom they depend upon for the 'teeth' which makes their support effective against the Brits and for this reason in private, they condone and support this anti-Catholic semi-pogrom.

—The Vindicator,
Béal Feirste.

SCOTLAND THE BRAVE

AT long last my fellow Scots are beginning to awake to English domination of our country.

I remember telling my father back in '67 that we will have to fight the English just as our Irish Brothers have been doing since '16.

The English are past masters of "Divide and Conquer", also their propaganda machine would have made Dr. Goebbels envious.

They can even pull strings here in the States, I remind you of my good friends James Conlon, Harry Hillick and their comrades, so I say to my fellow exciles help our Irish Brothers in their fight against our common enemy, Englands rape of our countries is over, we must unite against her.

—J. McLean,
Williamsburg, Ohio, U.S.A.

BISHOP'S DUTY TO CONDEMN WRONGS

ON THE lack of integrity on the part of the Secretary of State of Northern Ireland, Hardy, condemned by eminent Church men and Politicians who should be speaking out publicly on the two standards of Justice applied.

We the Gerard McCauley Cumann Sinn Féin, see in this the most awful blot to land on Irish soil not only does he shame the moral code by offending Canon law in his approach to suppress Irish nationalism in the Six Counties, his crime is all the

worse by the fact that it is the duty of a Christian to harbour the harbourless. The state faces total failure in suppressing this moral virtue by Prosecution.

We consider it the duty of Bishop Philbin to break his silence and condemn the awful acts perpetrated against God's children particularly his own flock sinned against in his state by false witnesses in these perverted Courts and the general acts of terror condemned by this English establishment. The people of National inspiration are made up of four fifths of the population and have taken more than they can bear of British injustice in Ireland. Mr. Rees can say the cease fire has worn thin, "Well should it be", for never in Irish History has a revolutionary organisation gained so much credibility and endorsed by Rees false writers. Let the right honourable gentleman note "Impressionism as a Policy is the ultimate end of degenerate British rule."

—P.R.O.,
Gerard McCauley, Sinn Féin Cumann, Béal Feirste.

LONG KESH BUILDING

THE announcement that Public Spending in the Six Counties is to be cut by £9.5m is nothing short of incredulous. Even more incredible however, are the areas where these cuts are being made, i.e. Education, Roads, Health and Social Services. In delivering this shock announcement an attempt was made to cushion it by informing the media that this was "Northern Ireland's share of overall cuts being made".

Undoubtedly many people would be surprised to learn that, despite, all the talks of cuts and withdrawal of expenditure, not one penny is being withdrawn from Public Spending in Northern Ireland. Should these words give rise to unfounded hopes, however, I must hasten to add that £9.5m. will be withdrawn from these vital areas of Public Spending I have mentioned and diverted to much more "important areas of spending". This obviously raised the question of what could be of such monumental importance to warrant the diversion of millions of pounds from these vital areas

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement. Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Fáilte ar leith roimh Ghacilge.

of Public Expenditure.

To find the answer to this question one need not be a mathematician or economist, for £9.5m. is precisely the figure quoted for the vast re-building programmes at present being undertaken at Long Kesh and other prison sites throughout the North. So here we have an unbelievable, but very real, situation whereby much greater value is placed upon the building of Prison-camps and other places of detention than upon necessary Welfare Services which were receiving inadequate attention to being with.

The entire episode is like something from Orwell's '1984' but I think, everything else considered, this doesn't put it too much out of place with the overall pattern of events.

—Dera Mac Thomáis,
Cage 7, Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

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London Trades Councils' Delegation to the North was Rigged

THREE members of the Greater London Association of Trades Councils' "fact finding" delegation to the north of Ireland have been thrown off the delegation and may face charges when the GLATC Executive meets this week.

Mike Knowles, secretary of Hackney Trades Council, Rosemary Sales of Barnet Trades Council and Gerry McMorris (also of Hackney TC), all supporters of the Troops Out Movement, were members of the GLATC's fourteen person delegation which left for Belfast on July 3rd.

Before the delegation left, the three had objected to the list of engagements drawn up by the visit's organiser Jack Dromey, a legal officer of the NCCL and member of Brent Trades Council. Rosemary Sales proposed that they include a meeting with the editor of the *Andersonstown News* and representatives of the Association for Legal Justice.

ONE 'GROUP' HADN'T MET SINCE 1969!

This proposal was defeated, the main argument being that there wasn't enough time to put more meetings on the agenda. (The objection to meeting the editor of *Andersonstown News* might not, however, have been connected with the fact that the paper had just revealed that one organisation included in an earlier agenda and vouched for by Dromey as "covering both sections of the community", had not met since 1969.)

PRE-ARRANGED CONCLUSIONS

"It became increasingly clear" according to Mike Knowles "that the visit was designed to come up with a pre-arranged conclusion, that troops should stay in a peace-keeping role and that Westminster should bring in a Bill of Rights. The idea was that the delegation should come back to Britain and tell the trade union movement 'this is what the situation is like and this is what the people want.'"

The first meeting that took place - with representatives of the Belfast Trades Council - only served to confirm the minority's suspicions. Joe Cooper, the Trades Council's chief spokesman, talked of their "anxiety" in believing that the troops should be maintained in a 'peace keeping capacity' and that a Bill of Rights should be legislated. On being questioned, however, he admitted that the British troops were not in reality a peace keeping force and that they were harassing and oppressing the Catholic community.

GUIDED TOUR OF THE SHIPYARDS

The following day's events exposed Jack Dromey's claim that time was too short to include more visits: after a 45-minute meeting with Harland and Wolff ship stewards in the presence of management, the rest of the morning and afternoon was spent on a guided tour of the shipyards and a Government training centre!

That evening, the familiar line of 'maintenance of troops in a peace-keeping role and a Bill of Rights' was recited by Brendan Harkin, the general secretary of the Civil Service Alliance and a vice presidential candidate for the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) - not to mention his directorship, by kind invitation of Mervyn Rees, of a British-state subsidised company.

Like Joe Cooper, Harkin stressed that if troops were withdrawn there would be a massacre of Catholics. But as with the other meetings, the only points of interest came out in the 'unscripted' remarks. For instance, he admitted that "the Ulster Workers Council action exposed the trade unions in the north of Ireland as representing nobody politically."

TROOPS NOT PLAYING PEACE-KEEPING ROLE

Challenged by Ms. Sales about the role of the troops, Harkin also admitted that they were not playing peace-keeping role. But at this point the majority of the delegation intervened to stop Ms.

Sales from questioning Harkin. In this blatant bid to stifle the minority, the anti-Troops Out Movement, pro-Communist Party purpose of the trip was again revealed.

The delegation's next visit was to the headquarters of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). There, under a portrait on the wall of Morning Star reporter Chris Myant, the GLATC delegates heard it all again, from people representing nothing but some abstract "middle ground".

This visit was to be followed by one to a Republican (Official) Club where the line was due for another airing. But the minority delegates decided to seek out those they had proposed that the delegation as a whole should meet. Getting together with the editor of *Andersonstown News* and the assistant editor of the *Hibernia Review*, the three minority delegates arranged for them to bring some tenants' leaders to a meeting scheduled for the following day when the full delegation met the Greater West Belfast Community Association.

This Association is itself a perfect example of the impossibility of finding genuine political common ground between Loyalists and Republicans. With a Communist Party member as secretary and a Loyalist as chairman, it lives out its shadowy existence funded by the notorious Northern Ireland Office of the British Government, dealing in such vital issues as an anti-motor-way campaign and complaints about the shortage of dustbins in West Belfast!

As the stalwarts of the WBCA sang the old refrain, the group the minority delegation had arranged to turn up arrived and asked to see the full delegation. On behalf of the GLATC, Tom Pilford told them he would "love to see them", but there just wasn't the time. At this, the three T.O.M. supporters denounced the whole affair as a farce and walked out with those the GLATC had snubbed.

"Get out" and "stay out" was Tom Pilford's response.

CO-OPERATIVES VISITED

The three then visited two co-operatives that had been set up in Andersonstown, met the chairman of the Turf Lodge Tenants, saw the Turf Lodge Incident Centre, the Turf Lodge Social Club, a park that has been developed for entertainment by Catholic community, a Gaelic school, a centre of the Provisional Sinn Féin, several housing areas and a community garage, meeting dozens of ordinary people of Catholic Belfast.

Mike Knowles said later that he was struck by the unanimity of the hostility to British troops in the Catholic areas and the desire to see from Westminster some "declaration of intent" setting a date for withdrawal. But, he felt, there were different attitudes on the unification of Ireland.

On the Saturday, the majority of the delegation turned up unexpectedly at the Turf Lodge Social Centre. It was clear to the officials of the Centre that this was an attempt by the GLATC delegation to avoid, by a token visit, the accusation of not having been to Catholic community centres. Deciding not to give these people such 'cover', the Centre members refused the majority delegation admittance.

The story of the GLATC delegation is the story of a sorry piece of political contrivance by which the Communist Party, well represented on the Greater London Association, tried to fake evidence for its middle-of-the-road, middle-of-nowhere policies, and counter-posed them specifically to those of the Troops Out Movement. Most of such attempts succeeded; this time it has been exposed and we should be grateful to those who exposed it.

LONDON TRADE UNIONISTS AND TRADES COUNCILS IN PARTICULAR SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THE THREE WHO EXPOSED THIS FARCE ARE NOT DISCIPLINED BUT ALLOWED TO PRESENT A REPORT OF THEIR FINDINGS TO TRADE UNION AND OTHER LABOUR MOVEMENT BODIES.

Roger Casement Commemoration

Murlough Bay, Co. Antrim
Sunday 3 August 1975
Assembly: 1.30 p.m.
Chairman: Seamus Clarke, Ballycastle.
Chief Marshal: Frank McCarry, Murlough.

SUCCESSFUL "TROOPS OUT" CONFERENCE IN LUTON

LUTON Town Hall was the venue for a very successful meeting of the 'Troops Out Movement' (TOM) on Friday, July 4. The meeting, which was organised in the area by the Luton branch of the 'Troops Out Movement' drew a large crowd from interested bodies such as the Luton Trades Council, Trades Unions, Shop Stewards Committees, and Sinn Féin members from as far afield as Birmingham, High Wycombe, Leicester, St. Albans, Bletchley, Hemel Hempstead and Kilburn. The Luton Labour MP, Rev. Ivor Clementson also attended, and a letter of support from the Hemel Hempstead MP Robin Corbett was read to the meeting. The two main speakers were Mr. Gerry Lawless, National Organiser of the 'Troops Out Movement' and Mr. Seamus McCusker, member of Belfast Sinn Féin and also responsible for the 'Incident Centre' on the New Lodge Rd.

On the eve of the meeting, Mr. McCusker was arrested on his arrival at Heathrow Airport London, and taken to West Drayton Police Station for interrogation. He was then detained under the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act 1974', photographed, fingerprinted, and told he would be held for 7 days. 'Troops Out Movement' organisers from the Luton area, who had gone to London airport to meet Mr. McCusker, learned from airport security officials that he had been arrested and detained; they then asked to see him but were kept waiting for four hours before being allowed to do so. Meanwhile back in Luton, Sinn Féin informed the 'Incident Centre' in Belfast of Mr. McCusker's detention, and also contacted the MPs in Luton and Hemel Hempstead (who were due to attend the TOM meeting) and asked them to contact the Home Office on the matter - which they did.

The following afternoon Mr. McCusker was released and allowed to continue his journey to address the Luton meeting as planned. Neither the Home Office nor Scotland Yard appeared willing to take responsibility

for Mr. McCusker's arrest. It is understood they apologised to him for the inconvenience caused by detaining him.

Mr. Gerry Lawless, speaking for the 'Troops Out Movement' told the audience at the Town Hall that the British working class had an absolute responsibility for what was happening in Northern Ireland. He said, "Northern Ireland is being used as a testing ground for techniques that will eventually be used against the British labour movement. They see Northern Ireland as just one aspect of the battle that will be finally fought in Britain."

Seamus McCusker, speaking on behalf of the Republican Movement, told the meeting that the verbal agreements reached with the British Government when the cease-fire was set up were now breaking down rapidly. "I sometimes wonder", he said, "if the army knows there is a cease-fire on". Deliberate harassment and beating are carried on, on a widespread scale. They are training for the time when they can hold Britain by force... military force". "The army's function, and only function, was to maintain the British business hold on

Ireland and ordinary troops were having to do things one can see in their faces they do not want to do. There is greater fear among politicians, of working class Protestants and Catholics getting together, than there is of the Provisionals blowing up the Houses of Parliament.

UNANIMOUSLY the meeting passed a motion rejecting the idea that any British imposed institution could ever result in peace and justice for the people of Northern Ireland. "We call upon the present British Government to declare that the only peaceful and lasting solution can only come about by the will and determination of the people of Ireland as a whole. This conference agrees that a prerequisite for justice and peace is the complete and immediate withdrawal of the British armed forces and call upon the Government to act in accordance to the growing demands of the people of this country."

The meeting was chaired by Jim Reilly who thanked the two speakers and the audience for their attendance.

The film 'Men Behind the Wire' was shown to the audience before the conference started.

Large attendance at funeral of Andy Ennis

We the members of the Edward Boyle Cumann, Cloodagh, and the entire Republican Movement express our deep regret at the tragic death of Andy Ennis and we tender our deepest sympathies to his wife and family.

Andy was a tireless worker who put God and his family first, but he was ever ready to help anyone in distress: he was an extensive farmer, cattle breeder and former cattle dealer. He was known and respected over a very wide area.

The huge attendance, the largest ever seen in the district, at the removal of the casket from Drunkilly Chapel on Wed. 9th July and again at the funeral next day, both testimonies of the high esteem in which the family are held.

Problems the result of brutality

(Ar lean, ó leathanach 1)
stating his religion and other details. He was told that he would be dumped in the Shankill or the Tiger Bay, notorious 'loyalist' areas. When T.I.C. complained at this psychological torture, the official British reply was that they had refused to give their names. In actual fact, they were not asked their names until taken to the military-R.U.C. post. And their names already were well known to their torturers.

On July 16 in Hillman Street at 18.30 hours two girls, aged 12 and 14 and two boys, aged nine and 11, were playing outside their own doors when a Para patrol objected. One of the girls was asked. When the mother objected she was called an 'Irish whore'. The children were described as "Irish bastards". The woman is a semi-invalid, just out of hospital.

The woman complained to the T.I.C. but also to the R.U.C., in North Queen Street. The R.U.C. said they could take no action unless the offending soldiers could be "positively identified", a virtual impossibility.

The woman demanded an identification parade: refused. It could not be arranged. The T.I.C. official said: "Here was another case of an appeal to the authorities without justice refused."

Malachy Foots, the Sinn Féin official, was assaulted last week by the Scots Guards, who knew his identity. When he complained he was told to make his complaint to the police.

The killing of the 16-year-old youth, **Charles Irvine**, on Sunday, July 13, at 00.42 hours, by the Scots Guards, was given as one of the reasons for the killing of four British troops near Forkill.

A T.I.C. spokesman stated: "Young Irvine, who was not a member of the Republican Movement, had been told previously by soldiers that they would kill him. He and **Arthur McDonald** (17) had bought an old car and were driving down the Falls Road towards the city centre. When they came abreast of a four-man enemy patrol at the Sportsman's Bar, at the corner of Waterford Street, the car back-fired. Two soldiers dropped on their knees and fired four shots. The car was about 10 feet from them. Irvine was killed and McDonald wounded."

"The incident outraged the local people. The Scots Guards have a particularly bad reputation. A month ago they threw a lad through a window. On another occasion they beat up a 60-year-old woman who had a heart attack afterwards" (reported in "An Phoblacht"); "They have had heavy casualties in Belfast."

These incidents are just a few of those recorded by Republican trade supervisors. The record is available to the scrutiny of all interested in discovering the truth about the Truce. Despite the black record of the British, the Republican intention is to do everything possible to maintain the Truce as long as there is any possibility, with honour, of doing so.

BALLAD SESSION DONAGHMEDE INN

Wednesday 30th July 1975

8 pm - 11.30 pm Tickets 50p

Tickets available from 44 Parnell Square