

An Phoblacht

Iml. 5. Uimh. 30. 6p Iúil 26, 1974

SAS BOMBER CAPTURED RED HANDED BY I.R.A. UNIT

A UNIT of Óglaigh na hÉireann caught red-handed a member of the British army's Special Air Services as he was about to plant a bomb in a Catholic district of Belfast, according to a statement issued at the weekend, one which did not reach us in time for publication in full.

The statement added that an Englishman, Brian Shaw (21), Nottingham, after being caught and interrogated, had admitted membership of the S.A.S., a British army unit blamed widely by Republicans, Loyalists and others for bombings, assassinations and other initiatives designed to keep communities divided and increase tension, as recommended by Brigadier Kitson in his published works and practised widely in areas under British military occupation apart from Ireland.

Shaw's body was found in the Falls area of Belfast late on Saturday night in a derelict house in Arundale Road. He was stated to have been shot twice in the head. As usual, the British denied that Shaw had been working for the S.A.S.

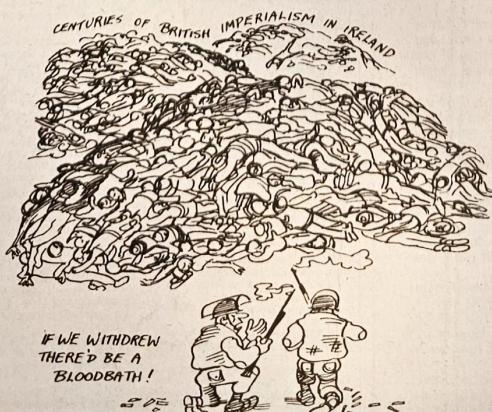
Loyalist feuding

They have never admitted such facts. They could hardly afford to do so. When the evidence against them is particularly black they issue no statements and order papers, radio and TV to refrain from comment and to phase out the news as soon as possible, as in the Four Square Laundry case.

EXCLUSIVE

Garda chiefs' 'no' to Cooney:

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On July 4, members of Malden Unit, Irish Northern Aid, held a peaceful demonstration outside the home of British Consulate General Alistair G. Maitland, Chestnut Street, Beacon Hill, Boston, U.S. Day chosen was Independence Day, when America gained her freedom from British rule, 198 years ago.

Hundreds of leaflets protesting against British aggression in Ireland and the treatment of Irish prisoners in British prisons, including the death of Michael Gaughan, were handed out. Picture shows some of the picketers.

camps in one of which Loyalist prisoners rebelled last week and were bludgeoned into submission.

Can Leinster House, the Gardaí and the military of the 26 Counties stand over this latest example of continued S.A.S. activity, especially in view of intelligence reports supplied to the Dublin regime by both military and Gardaí, proving S.A.S. activities in the 26 Counties, resulting in many deaths and injuries?

The matter must be taken up urgently by elected representatives of integrity. Newly-elected Sinn Féin representatives of local authorities can give the lead in a matter of vital national importance.

A determined bid must be made to break through the imperial censorship and let the people know the danger under which they are living, every day and every night, in all of the 32 counties of Ireland, before more lives are lost, more Irish citizens maimed for life, by the ruthless, professional terrorists of the British occupation forces.

FOOTNOTE: An enemy spokesman admitted that Brian Shaw had served with the First Battalion, Royal Green Jackets, up to May 14 last. He did not state that it is enemy military practice to train such people first, then post them to an ordinary military unit, as "cover."

Fairer media urged

PARLIAMENTARIANS, top executives from radio and TV and independent experts have called on the Council of Europe to draw up minimum requirements for radio and TV stations in the 17 member states, guaranteeing freedom of expression and full development of educational and cultural potential. Minimum requirements could be embodied in a European treaty, binding on signatory governments.

An international symposium organised by the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Committee on Culture and Education, in Munich (24-26 June) on "The Role and Management of Telecommunications in a Democratic Society", produced guidelines which the Committee will transmit to the plenary session of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg next September, for submission to member governments.

Prime concern of the symposium was that development of mass media, in particular TV, over the last 25 years, has tended to eclipse the importance of the individual.

The symposium stressed the need to strengthen the democratic control of radio and TV institutions and their policies. They made suggestions for associating the public with governing administrations by the participation, for example, of representatives of consumer associations, trade unions, etc., and (or) the creation of special communications councils. Increased democratisation of control, it was urged, should entail a clearer definition of editorial responsibility and, thereby, greater editorial independence.

COLLABORATION WITH R.U.C.

Garda chiefs say 'no' to Cooney

Léanára dTúairiseoir

TOP-RANKING Garda officers have refused to increase co-operation with the Royal Ulster Constabulary until such time as that body proves that it is unbiased, "comparable to police forces in other places".

The Garda Commissioner, on instructions from Minister Cooney, asked high-ranking Garda officers to meet men of equal rank in the Six Counties to discuss measures for closer collaboration.

The officers pointed out to the Commissioner that, as late as the strike organised by the Ulster Workers' Council, Royal Ulster Constabulary had stood by while illegal roadblocks were being put up and while cars were being stolen for these roadblocks.

Among examples quoted was the case of a car owned by an executive of the C.I.A. which, after the first bus being hijacked under the noses of the R.U.C. who made no effort whatsoever to have the car returned to its owner, or to take into custody those responsible.

Cooney silent

The Gardaí complained that, from evidence available to them, both the U.D.R. and the R.U.C. sided "against the forces of law and order in the North" during the U.W.C. strike.

The Commissioner conveyed the officers' refusal and the reasons for it, to Minister Cooney, who has taken no action since.

A meeting of R.U.C. and Garda officers in the North had to be postponed. No reason for the indefinite postponement was given to the R.U.C. by the Dublin Department of Justice.

As reported here some issues ago, the Gardaí were suspicious of Sunningdale and the work of the Internees. They feared that a supposedly non-political uniformed force increasingly was being forced into the political arena, resulting in a marked lack of co-operation from civilians in ordinary crime prevention.

Matter of principle

Garda chiefs are in no doubt with the Department of Justice on matters of pay and conditions. But it was emphasised to me that their action, in connection with the R.U.C., was a separate issue and a "matter of principle".

Officers, N.C.O.s and men of the 26 Counties military also was reported to be unhappy at the collaboration with British military enforcement on them by the Dublin Defence Department.

The military, however, are not as free as the Gardaí to refuse to take part in such collaboration. The only effective way they have to voice disagreement up to the moment is to resign.

Over the past two years there has been considerable "wastage" reported for this reason.

In order to make the recruitment drive look anything like respectable, the recruiting officers

British 'sorry'

The British government is to apologise and make an ex gratia payment £50 to Mr. Colm Murray, a Clare (Co. Monaghan) girl club member who was beaten and robbed by British troops, half a mile south of the Border some weeks ago.

Matches for crafts

Save used matches and send them to: Gardaí O hEithir, Címe Polaitíuil, Prioisún Phortlaoise.



"Briten raus aus Irland" means "British troops out of Ireland". The slogan was painted on the British Consulate-General in Frankfurt, Federal Germany. The building houses also the Imperial Bank of Commerce. Report: column two.

have had to accept men with criminal records. The result is a decline in standards and morale, complained of bitterly by many officers and N.C.O.s.

The tomfoolery of the Defence Minister has done nothing to inspire confidence in him by military officers who, generally, regard him as a clown or a nuisance.

British troops mutiny

In mid-June, when the British Premier, Mr. Wilson, visited Frankfurt, Germany, to watch football, the West German-Ireland Solidarity Committee and the Internees' Release Association, E.V., presented him a protest list signed by more than 5,000 Germans.

Those who signed demanded an immediate release of all Irish political prisoners, a total amnesty and the end of internment and Special Powers. They demanded also the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland and the repatriation of the hunger strikers and all other political prisoners in England.

At the same day the British Consulate-General in Frankfurt was packed full with stickers, "British troops out of Ireland", and with texts on the walls: "Free all Irish political prisoners".

Two days before the German press reported the presence of the same in northern Germany, where the garrisons of the Rhine Army are.

The German press pointed out that, in the German town of Bergen 100 British soldiers of the Royal Artillery had refused to return to fight in Ireland.

This information has been sent to us in a press statement from the Westdeutsche-Ireland Solidaritätskomitee which publicises the Irish cause in Federal Germany.

Doctors' protest

After the campaign of the West German Internees Release Association, more than 200 medical organisations sent very strong protest telegrams to Wilson, calling for the repatriation of the Price sisters and the release of all Irish hungerstrikers and political prisoners.

The Association sent protests to Wilson signed by more than 500 German doctors, artists and writers, calling for the end to repression in Ireland and for the withdrawal of British troops.

Early this month the Dublin Ambassador to Bonn, tried to visit Frankfurt University to make propaganda for the Cosgrave and Connelly-O'Byrne regime. He was met by student protesters singing, "Take it down from the mast, Irish traitor".

The students called him a British collaborator and a seller out of the wealth of the Irish

Unchecked attacks on Belfast flats

THE Henry Joe McCracken-Louis Scullion Sinn Féin Cumann, Unity Flats, Belfast, has noted the indifference of the R.U.C. and the Fourth Light Infantry Artillery Regiment to the recent wave of unprovoked attacks on the Flats by hooligan elements among the Loyalists in the nearby Shankill Flats.

"The attitude of the R.U.C. and the Army in the case of the death of [sic] if indications were needed, that the R.U.C. is a infamous partisan force and that the protection of the minority is not the army's role in the North," according to the statement.

It continues, "The British army has stated that no engagement will be expected to prevent future attacks but there has been no mention of any action being taken against these gangs, who are well-known to the R.U.C., who have been seen chattering to them in a friendly manner on many occasions after they had ended their attacks."

"Finally, we wish to state that rather than vent spite on Unity Flats, these Loyalists would be better employed launching their attacks on the city fathers who were responsible for building substantial housing on the Shankill".

John Joe McGirr

Ballyhannon Town Commissioners have passed a resolution demanding the release of John Joe McGirr, interred without trial in Long Kesh, to represent the Ballinamore area of Leitrim County Council which elected him on the 18th June..."

Mr Anthony O'Malley Daly, (Sinn Féin), who proposed the resolution, said nobody hindered them when they were coming to their meeting.

However, John Joe McGirr was in Long Kesh and was not allowed to take his seat on Leitrim County Council.

He was a former T.D. and Councillor and had been elected on the first election with more than 700 first preference votes.

The resolution was seconded by Mr Michael Dolan.

Mr Daly asked that the resolution be sent to Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, and Mr. Merlin Rees.

Hawes Memorial

Co. Clare Republicans are continuing their preparations for the erection of a memorial to Joseph Hawes, instigator of the famous Connacht Rangers' Mutiny, at Jullander, India, in protest against the British Black-and-Tans in Ireland during the struggle for independence.

The memorial will be erected at his resting place in New Shanksley cemetery.

The memorial will be put up as soon as the recently established fund raising committee has enough funds to do so.

Mr. Hawes, who died in 1972, was sentenced to be shot for his role in the uprising, and, in fact,

Nuaíocht na gCumann

witnessed the execution of his comrade, Pte. Jim Daly.

However, the authorities relied in the face of strong worldwide public sympathy and he, along with other leaders, had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

During hunger strikes and long periods of confinement, Mr. Hawes was released after a few years and returned to Kilrush where he lived and worked until his death.

His account of the incident, "Mutiny under the Sun", was accepted by both the Irish Bureau of Military History and the British War Museum as the authentic account of the rebellion and of the events which preceded and followed it.

Silent protest

A silent protest march, in memory of Patrick Teer, who died in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp, organised by Belfast Comhairleacháin, Sinn Féin, took place from the Busy Bee, Andersonstown, to Dunville Park. Black flags were carried.

Proper hospital

Concerning on the death of Patrick Teer, the Ulster Executive of Sinn Féin (Kevin Street) said that "the negligible hospital conditions in Long Kesh and the time lapse in getting medical treatment in internees must be voiced as a prime factor" in the death.

They went on: "We in Sinn Féin call on the authorities to provide of proper hospital facilities in Long Kesh. Ten beds in a minimum hut is not our idea of a hospital!"

"We make this call directly to the International Red Cross on humanitarian grounds, and so safeguard the lives of internees, pending the real humanitarian move of ending interment completely," the statement ended.

Más díl leat col

Send a cassette tape of traditional music or song, or both, to Colm D'Alain, Priosún Phortlaoise.

Crossmaglen demand for Irish

A SURVEY carried out recently in Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh, by the local Glór na nGael committee, shows that 99 per cent of the people would like road signs in Irish.

The survey also revealed that there is a pressing need for more Irish social functions and some 30 people are prepared to offer their musical talents if concerts etc are organised.

More Irish Masses are wanted by all except 5 households and all asked that Irish Mass leaflets be distributed to help promote the Mass; 42 people are interested in Irish classes and 99 would like to form a club.

A special feature of the survey was that hardly anyone in the town had heard of Raibid na Gealtachta.

At present the committee is studying the results of the survey and shortly will set out a plan to cater for the cultural demands of Crossmaglen. The first issue of a bilingual weekly news letter, Glór an Fheasa (The Voice of the Fews) has sold 500 copies, the leading Irish origin of the main common surname in the parish are listed.

Notice is given also that the Glór na nGael committee is prepared to make tapes of local people singing and story telling.

Acknowledgement



VOL. MICHAEL GAUGHAN

THE parents, brothers and sisters of the late Vol. Michael Gaughan wish to thank most sincerely all who sympathised with them in their recent sad bereavement.

We wish to extend a special word of thanks to Rev. Michael Connolly, who was to us a tower of strength, helping us to carry our cross with patience and forbearance; to the piper, Larry O'Dowd, who accompanied the funeral, playing laments, from the beginning of its journey in Newport, Isle of Wight, to Michael's final resting place in Ballina; to the members of Sinn Féin in England who also accompanied the remains of the entire journey and who provided a Guard of Honour in Newport and London; to the nuns, members of the Irish community in Newport and the unknown priest who paid tribute as the funeral passed through the town; to Father Hackett, who received the remains in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Kilburn, and officiated at Requiem Mass; to the many thousands who attended the funeral and Mass in London; to the Jamaicans and members of the R.M.G. who marched in the cortège.

We also thank especially Sean Fitzpatrick and the National Graves Association, who made the funeral arrangements; Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Máire Ó Dhroma and all who met the remains at Dublin Airport; to the young men who provided a Guard of Honour in Dublin and Ballina; to the members of the Franciscan Community, who received the remains in the Church of Adam and Eve, Dublin; to the large numbers who paid their respects in Dublin, along the route from Dublin to Ballina and in Ballina itself; to all who demonstrated their sympathy by displaying black flags and tricolours; to Father Keaney, who received the remains in Ballina and offered Mass; to an Taoiseach, Páras Ó Dúill, who led the prayers at the graveside; to Dáithí Ó Conaill, who spoke so touchingly for Michael's ideals and sacrifice; to the Fianna Éireann buglers who played the Last and Reveille.

Finally, we wish to thank the G.H.Q. and members of Óglaigh na hÉireann, the Command Staff of Óglaigh na hÉireann in England; Sinn Féin, Cumann na mBan; Cumann na mCaillí; Fianna Éireann; the Clann na nGael Republican Scouts; the Republican Movement in Australia; Irish Northern Aid in the U.S.A.; the building workers in Kent, who took up a collection and sent us the proceeds; and the prisoners in Parkhurst Prison, who collected and sent us £46 from their prison earnings.

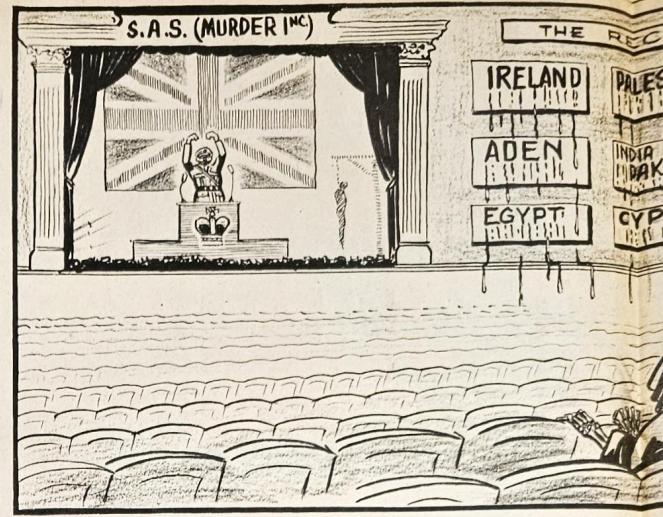
As it would not be possible to send individual replies to the thousands who sent Mass cards, letters, telegrams of sympathy, wreaths and flowers, we trust that this acknowledgement will be accepted by all in grateful appreciation.

GENOCIDE FOR 800 YEARS

When "A Society on the Run", a psychological study of the effects of internment, torture and other British techniques in the Six Counties, first appeared in October last year, it met a storm of controversy. Sections of the book had been deleted by the publishers. Spelling errors had been included, obstructing meanings. A bid was made to discredit the work.

An example of sections deleted is page 49 of the book which was nine-tenths blank in the published edition. The original page in the galley-proofs had consisted of a discussion of the British "sophisticated experiment in psychogenic genocide" being carried out in the North. It compared the experiment to the practices of Hitler's Scientific Disposal teams.

The author of the book, Professor Rona Fields, lectures in Social Psychology, Sociology, Irish Studies and Female Studies at Clark University, Massachusetts. Daithí Ó hÓgáin interviewed her in Dublin recently.



THE FAITHFUL BRITISH PARTIS

Q:— What do you mean by being "on the run"?

A:— Being "on the run" is: when a person has lost the sense of being who he (she) is, and the sense of being able to be who he (she) is. For instance, a person who has to change locations, change identity, every day, in order to survive. A person who is hunted and haunted and made feel uncomfortable with his, or her, origins or convictions—that person is on the run.

But it goes further. It's a kind of sickness as well. It's a person or society caught up in fear ... in fear of who they are, and what they want to be. Anxiety about being recognised for themselves! And this whole complex of being on the run is a product of a kind of psychological genocide—the destruction of the self — an attempt to become a kind of superficial plastic being to change shape with the forces around one who are moulding one. "An inability to maintain a consistent identity", I guess, would be the surest way to sum it up.

Q:— Why do people go on the run?

A:— People don't go on the run deliberately. It's a thing that is compelled by other persons or other forces who make it dangerous to be oneself.

Q:— What do you understand these forces to be in the contemporary situation in Ireland?

A:— Well, these forces aren't anything new. It's been going on for a long time. It became impossible first to be a member of a Celtic society. It became impossible to abide by a system of law which had been satisfactorily organised by several million people for nearly 1,000 years. That was the first part of it. It became impossible to use one's own language, one's own customs, one's own dress. Finally, it became impossible to live as an Irish person without being given an image of oneself as a type of savage buffoon. This was the beginning of it.

Now, of course, in the situation of internment, it's the final or the finishing touches to the whole thing. If one is Irish, one has no right to live as all in a cage ... in the very fact of you being Irish ... and that goes whether you are a Protestant or a Catholic — makes you susceptible to being dragged out of your home or out of your club or wherever, at any hour of the day or night, of course, and thrown into a cage. And that's the identity being on the run has nothing to do with what you have done or even what you want to do, but having only to do with the fact that you are Irish and that you happen to be there. It is the culminating act to 800 years of genocide.

Q:— When your book appeared, there were attempts

U.S. professor condemns British terrorism

made to censor parts of it. Would you like to enlarge on this matter?

A:— Precisely July 10 last year, some communication from the Director of Community Relations in the North was passed on to my publisher, Penguin, in which it was requested not to publish any book by me. To my knowledge, neither Mr. David Rowlands nor anybody else outside the publishing house had ever seen the manuscript. None the less, it was assumed that the book, if published, as a social scientist, but writing from an Irish perspective would find direct rule inimicable to the necessity of people to govern themselves. Inimicable to maintaining the authority of an omnipotent government anyway.

David Rowlands suspected, it would be so, and didn't bother to read the material. He didn't bother about what type of background from which the data was drawn. Because, after all, he isn't a social scientist. He's an ex-Spanish teacher who has experience as a teaching upper-class boys in a boarding school. He scored high in the honours exams in Spanish, you see; and somehow or other the British decided there was a Spanish-speaking minority in Belfast, and they stuck it in!

The world was very small then, and Belfast was populated very well by Puerto Ricans, but Belfast is not New York, and community relations in Belfast required an understanding of Irish history, Irish culture, Irish people, and at least sympathetic view to their needs.

Rowlands neither had an understanding of social science nor an understanding of the Irish situation. So he was panicked by the thought of a study coming out representing something unknown to him. Of course, he might have had no rationale for it — he might have been completely irrational. But at any rate, he did try to stop the book.

The very day he communicated with Penguin happened to be the day I had gone into Crumlin Road Jail to examine some detainees for the Stormont tribunal, and was detained. It was a rather strange coincidence, I think that both events occurred on the same day. It was not just a strange coincidence; it was an awful situation. Previously, when I had written the book, I hadn't myself had the experience of detention or the torture of interrogation — I had, however, it safe to say, examined hundreds of people who had experienced it; but there is a real difference in experiencing it, I can tell you that.

Q:— Were you arrested?

A:— Not any more than anyone else in the North is arrested. I was just kept, against my will, in Crumlin Road Jail. There's not even a record of having been kept. It's like what happened to you didn't happen at all. That is one of the horrible things about this whole system of internment and interrogation and detention. You know, it happens to you, but you don't know it happened to you. I was kept in the guardroom at Crumlin Road Jail. I'd been given a very thorough and rude "crude" is the word — body search. My papers, confidential materials, were taken from me. I insisted on getting them back but it was quite useless, of course. And when I was kept I wasn't allowed to use the telephone or the toilet. I wasn't told how long I'd be there.

The hole notion, for example, of not being allowed the use of the toilet brings one back to childhood and makes one feel incapable.

It's a destruction of confidence, a destruction of belief in self. The idea that there is no way in which one can reach anybody to re-affirm one's identity.

Inspector McKinney, who had been responsible for the interrogation of X (a young woman I had examined), and about whom I had testified, this man came in and started playing with his 45-Automatic. It was the kind of thing where he would whip the cartridge in and out very quickly, and pull the trigger ...

I guess the game was to see would I react, or how scared I could get. Particularly, having heard his name, you know, he became somebody fearsome.

I was very concerned, trying to remember if I had any material playing. Anyways, while he was playing around with his 45, my mind was kept by this from being focussed on what he was about. When I was released, I was informed that I had misrepresented myself.

You see, I had presented my passport and psychologist's license, and my solicitor had phoned; but, according to them, I had misrepresented myself! That is typical of the whole thing, this destruction of self.

You know, I had a good

notion of what I was about. I had a good notion of my identity. I've been a psychologist for a long time, and I've been a university professor for a long time.

I know what I was when I went in there. But by the end of the six hours and they — that is, the prison warders — asserting through their authority who I wasn't ... you know, that I had misrepresented myself ... without being able to assert my own will, because whatever they made of me for six hours.

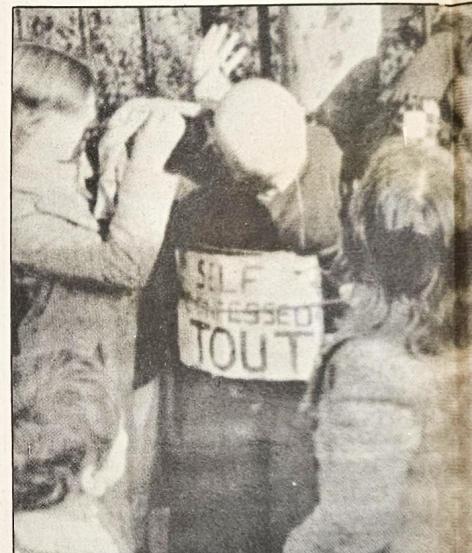
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It's a destruction of confidence, a destruction of belief in self. The idea that there is no way in which one can reach anybody to re-affirm one's identity.

They present themselves as perfectly rational beings acting out of authority, out of logic, out of intelligence. And they are all of them, and they are all acting out of the same spirit, and then there is just me saying something else. It's a situation known in psychology as cognitive dissonance: the external world tells you one thing, and you are saying or feeling something else, and you have got to bring these two things into line.

What usually happens is that you bring your thinking into line with the facts presented by the external world.

Basically, you know, that's how we are all socialised. We go from being a child with a very different perception of the world to an adult whose idea of what's going on pretty well matches those around us or at least the family we came from. And then, this is all thrown into question again, and one is basically back to where one was at the age of nine months. And of course one has all the experience between when one was nine months and now, so the conflict





HEADS SHAVED

The two teenage girls in the picture above confessed to interrogators of Oglaithe na hÉireann that they were paid "touts" (informers) of the enemy forces. Their hair was shorn. They were tied up, in public, for a short period. Then they were released.

The picture on the left was taken in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp. The man shown with enemy troops is an internee. No evidence has been produced to justify his internment but he was lifted on "evidence received". He does not know when he will be released. Throughout his internment he is subjected to treatment described in the interview with Dr. Rona Fields in this page.

is even greater.

Q:— What happened after your release?

A:— After that, as they put it: "You won't be allowed into any more of Her Majesty's prisons except as a prisoner!"

The whole knowledge that a king or queen could hold the keys to your cell, and you in another country, presented me with Republicanism as a very personal thing.

Anyway, by not allowing me any more to visit their jails, it meant that the appointments I had to examine the other victims of the hooding treatment had to be cancelled.

It was very damaging as far as my research was concerned, because I had by that time examined all of the people who had the hooding treatment with the exception of those who hadn't been at Long Kesh.

It was very important in order to make a knowledgeable statement about the effects of the hooding treatment, to have examined all of them, not only three-quarters. So keeping me out obviously served a number of functions.

Apart from that, I had appointments with some women in Armagh Prison. I had seen one

NOTEBOOK

THE I.R.A. and Conor Cruise O'Brien are comrades in subversion; the difference is that they subvert from different angles and by different methods. This is true not only of the I.R.A. and Dr. O'Brien, but of the Republican Movement in general and the present Dublin Government as a whole.

Republicans subvert the state created by Cosgrave I and de Valera because they regard it as a bourgeois-nationalist betrayal of the Revolution: they want to replace it by a revolutionary-nationalist all-Ireland state.

The Government, led by O'Brien and Fitzgerald, subvert the same state because they regard its nationalism with horror and believe it is polluted by its connection with 1916 and all that they want an Anglo-Irish state as in the days of Grattan's Parliament, with themselves, their top administrators, media managers and commercial backers, forming a new Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.

For the present, this latter subversion has the upper hand. Government has been effectively denationalised and subordinated to London. The nation is divided and paralysed.

In these two respects, it is already the late 18th century. Anyone who doubts it should read the nationalist commentators of that time, notably T.W. Tone, writing in 1791:

"The misfortune of Ireland is, that we have no National Government, in which we differ from England, and from all Europe..."

"What is our Government? Is it a phenomenon in politics, contravening all received and established opinions; it is a Government derived from another country, whose interest, so far from being the same as that of the people, directly crosses it at right angles:

does any man think that our rulers here recommend themselves to their creators in England, by promoting the interest of Ireland, when it can in the most remote degree interfere with the commerce of Great Britain?

".... The people are utterly disregarded and defied: divided and distracted as they are, and distrustful of each other, they fall an easy prey to English rulers, or their Irish subalterns: the fear of danger is removed from Administration by our internal weakness, and the sense of shame speedily follows it...

"Why are these things so? Because Ireland is struck with a political paralysis that has withered her strength and crushed her spirit: she is not half alive.... When the nation is thus circumstanced, it is not to be wondered at, if even an Administration of boobies and blockheads presume to insult, and pillage, and condemn, and defy her."

To denationalise the Government while dividing and paralysing the national will — that is the first stage of subversion, the basis from which the main assault on the state is launched.

The second stage is to abolish the nationalist Constitution and state symbolism, and to create a state which understands and defines itself in *anti-national*, Anglo-Irish terms. The propaganda built-up for this second stage is well advanced.

It is an error to imagine, as some do, that this subversion from the top is a return to Redmondism. The nationalism of the old Parliamentary Party celebrated '98 and flirted with Fenianism.

It had room for all that the early Gaelic League stood for. It was not anti-Catholic. And it envisaged a self-governing Ireland within the United Kingdom.

The subversives at the Dublin Cabinet table want a much more radical reaction. As they see it, the history of modern Ireland has been saddled by Irish nationalism and Republicanism. So they want to create, as far as is possible in the changed circumstances, a state which would pretend that those things never happened. The obvious model for such a state is the Anglo-Irish state of the late 18th century.

From the revolutionary point of view, the fall of the Irish nationalist state of 1922-39 was inevitable. Daniel Corkery foresaw it when he said that the restoration of the Irish nation would require "a succession of nationalistic movements, rising and falling, each dissolving into a period of reaction, of provincialism, yet each leaving the nation a little more sturdy, a little more normal, a little less provincial than before".

In other words, the superstructure established by each wave of nationalism would fall into reaction again and again, so as to

become devoid of nationalist content; but the nation itself — the great bulk of the nation — would emerge from each stage strengthened, and the better able to collect its forces for the next stage.

Mao Tsetung's view of the Chinese revolution is similar to Corkery's view of our own revolution. Consequently, he preaches "continuous revolution", and to back his words, he has launched two waves of revolutionary subversion against the new Chinese state during the first 25 years of its existence.

The first wave was the Red Guard movement of 10 years ago; the second, so far nameless movement, is occurring now.

What has really happened, in each case, is that a fresh wave of revolutionary subversion countered a reactionary subversion in the ranks of government before the latter had succeeded in abolishing the revolutionary state itself.

Obviously, the fact that the chief revolutionary subversive in China has a privileged status allowing him to counter reaction with impunity — makes the Chinese circumstances unique.

The Irish Republican Movement, over the last 50 years, has had no such privileged status nor impunity in Ireland.

But making allowance for this fundamental difference in its circumstances, the role of the Republican Movement in relation to the Irish revolution is objectively the same as that of Mao and the Red Guards in respect of the Chinese revolution.

It has been, and is, the guardian and executor of the Irish revolutionary will, refusing departures from the revolutionary course, and seeking to subvert them in the name of the continuing revolution.

It has not succeeded in preventing reaction or in restoring the Irish nation to its revolutionary course. It has had to witness the bourgeois nationalist state which it opposed being subverted, not by the revolution, but by anti-nationalist reaction.

But as I was saying last week, this subversion of the nationalist state provides the Republican Movement with its greatest opportunity since 1922 to fulfil its role as the guardian and continuers of the Revolution.

For that nationalist state, by winning the allegiance of the great bulk of nationalist Ireland and by providing a focus for Irish patriotism, was the greatest obstacle standing in the way of the Republican Movement and the Irish revolution.

FREEMAN

Attack on a people's personality

woman X who had severe psychological damage done to her there, and I had no reason to believe the rest would be any better. I found her condition deplorable. At the time I examined her, I was afraid that continued imprisonment would only worsen her condition, but leave her permanently damaged. Permanently damaged psychologically and physically.

Her hearing had been damaged extensively. Her vision had been damaged. Her thinking and memory faculties had been damaged.

It was a matter of continued incarceration probably resulting in her being a cripple for life, emotionally and physically. It was a dreadful thing to see. And this was a year ago. I really didn't think she'd survive it this long. It's an example of her remarkable resilience that she even went through it.

Q:— What sort of treatment was she subjected to?

A:— Apparently she had been subjected to some of the so-called "intensive in-depth" interrogation

which included both physical brutality and sensory deprivation, sensory over-stimulation and such.

She hadn't been hooded but she'd been blindfolded and subjected to the noise treatment. And that had been destructive, both of her hearing and of herself emotionally.

She'd been beaten. She'd been threatened. She'd been put through sleep deprivation, fatigue all of it, along with the physical blow.

These, along with the threats, would be enough to turn any ordinary average person into a screaming madwoman.

The kind of treatment she had had could be expected to result in madness. Of course, they didn't even have any evidence with which to charge her.

Q:— Does this also result in intimidation on a broader social level?

A:— Yes, because what

happened to X did not just happen to her. Even apart from what happens to her or to anybody else directly, it happens also to the family of the victim and it happens to anybody who knows them or has seen them before, and then sees them afterwards.

You can't know X before or have seen her afterward without becoming terrified of what might happen to you.

Q:— So the whole idea is to keep a community in terror?

A:— Yes. Certainly, having seen her, having known that McKinney was to a large extent responsible for what was done to her, all that needed to happen to me then was to hear his name and see his face, and there was a fear — which was intended. Obviously, it was intended.

He can go about the city, whichever way he likes, without fear. His presence can only strike fear into me and into anybody else — in a female, particularly — who might in some way become subjected to his

sadism. Now, when we talk about terror, what is more terrorist than that?

Q:— Will your book be available again soon?

A:— That depends on Penguin. They keep saying they will publish it again. They have refused permission to other publishers to publish it in other countries in other languages. Only one edition was published by Penguin — 15,000 copies. Of these, 4,200 were sold in the first week of publication. 10,000 are still sitting in a warehouse in Heathrow.

Various publicity functions, such as a lecture by me to the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science and another in Cambridge University, were sabotaged by the publishers.

I don't believe Penguin will publish the book again. I have started legal proceedings regarding the contract.

FOOTNOTE: It was decided not to include the name of the young girl prisoner, X, for obvious reasons.

ALGERIA

ON July 5, 1962, after 130 years of oppression, Algeria became free from the French imperialist yoke. But the sacrifice of the Algerian people had been heavy: 1,000,000 dead was the cost for freedom. One million dead in seven years, under torture, napalm bombings, in internment camps, through the bullets of the French occupation army.

"The situation in Algeria, after seven years of war, was appalling", once recalled the most prominent socialist leader, Ahmed Ben Bella. "The country had been bled dry, and everything was dislocated. The OAS had blown up schools with plastic bombs, burnt down the library of Algiers University, and destroyed tons of administrative files. Thousands of teachers had abandoned their posts. The French army, on the other hand, still occupied the country, according to the Evian agreements, and we still depended closely on the French government for a lot of things. Then again, the massive exodus of nine-tenths of the French population of Algeria in the summer had brought about a collapse of the economic structure".

The situation was indeed frightening, for out of 10,000,000 Algerians, 2,000,000 were unemployed, and a titanic battle was fought to build a new economy, a new society that could strengthen the independence of the country.

But beside the economic and social situation in the aftermath of the liberation war, a decisive factor had already emerged: an important problem: the unity of the National Liberation Front (FLN) during the war had been fragmented by the divergent interests of factions which took part in the struggle.

On the one hand, there was a division between those who fought inside Algeria, and those who, like Ben Bella, were in exile in Cuba and came with what was called the 'army of the borders', after the struggle had ended, remaining strongly under the strong influence of Nasser of Egypt.

On the other hand, leaders such as Ben Bella, despite his long sojourn in jail, was more deeply linked with the Arab peasants and workers, while others, such as Ferhat Abbas, represented the upper stratum of the Algerian society, those who, even under French rule, were in a better social position.

The formation of a national ruling class and state bureaucracy was taking shape.

Socialist struggle

However, Ben Bella's followers wanted a socialist transformation of Algeria which could best secure the freedom of the people.

Below: A unit of the FLN in a liberated area. Note the antique weapons, pitted against the best available to the French.

1,000,000 dead, cost of freedom

Above: In September 1962, Ben Bella was elected prime minister, he started this transformation.

In March 1963, decrees organised the self-management of agricultural units by farmers and workers and the nationalisation of key-sectors of the economy.

Róisín Ní Dhomhnaill
completes her account
of the successful
uprising of the Algerian
workers against the
imperial enemy

Ben Bella was particularly impressed by the forms of workers' control that existed in Cuba which he was able to see working when he visited Fidel Castro.

Once he made an assessment of "autogestion" (self-management) in Algeria in these terms:

"Autogestion would have produced problems even in France, which is a highly developed country, as experience proved that it is not easy to change over from a capitalist to a socialist economy."

"In an underdeveloped country such as Algeria, it



Above: A women's unit of the FLN. This is the unit that carried out the first retaliation bombings in Algiers' French district.



brought with it even more serious difficulties, because the inadequacy, both in quantity and quality, of our trained personnel is striking.

The spirit of individualism, of anarchy even, is very developed and our heads of undertakings are far too often keen to adopt a feudal outlook, even when they have been elected to these posts by a popular mandate, of course that "autogestion" is now

improved upon. But it is

important to distinguish between

Algerian liberation fighters celebrate the day of independence with all the poetry of a risen people.

the vision of the dangers that could undermine the newly born state was a terrible forecast.

The French government kept an attentive eye on the clashes within the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and encouraged separatist movements in south Algeria and the non-Arab Kabylie, hoping that the situation would develop into a full-scale civil war.

However, the strength of the FLN was reinforced when its constitution was adopted; when 85 per cent of people supported it in the general election and, finally, when most delegates confirmed that unanimous support of the people behind Ben Bella's socialist orientation at their 1963 congress.

The latter was aware of the difference that existed within the FLN and suffered from it, but he did not make any substantial move capable of checking the growth of the state bureaucracy during the year 1964.

To do this, the mobilisation of the Algerian masses would have been needed. But he was feeling guilty at having to resort to these means against those who had been once his comrades in arms against the French oppressor.

Ben Bella falls

By 1965, the "rebel pockets" against the government had ceased activity after an agreement to put an end to a fratricidal war.

By then, Ben Bella felt more self-confident and announced at the February meeting of the Central Committee of the FLN that "signs of the counter-revolution" had disappeared.

Nonetheless, on June 19, 1965 Colonel Kouari Boumedienne announced the overthrow of Ben Bella by a self-styled "Council of the Revolution".

Similarly to President Allende in Chile, last autumn, Ben Bella was unable to organise the defence of the regime, for his government had been infiltrated by the most powerful force, a army divorced from the people.

The social force that supported the coup d'état had been long before denounced by a socialist Franz Fanon, in his work on the liberation war, "The Wretched of the Earth", and bears much resemblance to the Irish pro-Treaty force which brought the Free State here.

"In underdeveloped countries, we find that there is no true bourgeoisie exists; there is only a sort of little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of a huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial power hands out to it."

"If their ambition were realised, it would be the end of socialism in Algeria, and consequently the end of the

remembers what it has read in European textbooks and imperceptibly it becomes not even the replica of Europe but its caricature".

Purge of FLN

Indeed, as Boumedienne put Ben Bella in jail, in Algiers, where he was held incommunicado, he organised a purge in the FLN, executing prominent leaders, his main preoccupation was to set up a neo-colonial state which, wood by France and also by the USA and USSR, could develop his own national capitalist society.

The consequences were striking. The standard of living of the people worsened and unemployment and emigration reached record levels. The trimmings off: the UTGA (General Union of Algerian Workers) was muzzled, and the right to strike suppressed; the growth of sectors of the economy under peoples control was prevented by numerous measures, primarily through state subsidies to private sectors as well as foreign-owned enterprises; the liberation of women was not encouraged.

Today the militants of the FLN, driven underground by state mobilisation, keep fighting in isolation. They have learnt a terrible lesson.

They know that the liberation from French direct rule was stepped forward, but they realise that their project for a socialist and free Algeria has been postponed; that their national revolution has been aborted by some people who once fought in their ranks.

Through a harsh political struggle, they are fighting to make sure that the Algerian peasants and workers will soon be back in position to be masters of their own fate.

In so doing, they are pointing their finger at the mistakes and the weaknesses of their own movement in the past, to ensure that other liberation movements in the world will not repeat them.

In Ireland too, their word will not be lost ...

British Labour seeks re-trial

THE following resolution was passed unanimously at a recent British Labour Party Constituency meeting: Because of recent disclosures in the "Lemon Dossier" in connection with the "Luton Three", and the alleged "spying to rob" charge, we urge the Home Secretary to order a retrial for Sean Campbell, Philip Sheridan and Gerry Mealy, residents of this constituency, at present serving 10 years' imprisonment.

"Furthermore, because of the political flavour of the trial and the subsequent severity of the sentences, we demand that these men be taken off 'Category A' status and moved to a prison within a reasonable distance of their families."



Support for Rev. Michael Connolly

THE following letter was read recently outside St. Chad's Cathedral Birmingham, and then handed in to the Archbishop's residence by Mr. Dwyer, with a petition signed by 2,000 people from St. Joseph's Parish:

Your Grace, Parishioners in this part of the Diocese have been very deeply hurt, and greatly offended by your public, politically motivated action in suspending Fr. Connolly from all his parochial duties, and all diocesan duties until further notice.

Are the Catholic people of the diocese ruled by the Home Office? Are there two brands of Catholicism in this country?

The humble Irish have done most of the work here in the building of the churches and schools etc. Have they no one to stand up and speak for them, against *prejudice and injustice*, discrimination and racial hatred? (As we read in the Catholic Universe, and the utterings of St. John Stevas, and Biggs Davison).

Are you a Bishop of the Catholic Church? Or are you our Catholic shepherd?

If the latter Fr. Connolly must be re-instated as parish priest of St. Joseph's, Wolverhampton, otherwise history will record you as a 'traitor' to everything the Catholic Church stands for i.e. freedom (including freedom of speech which men have died for), democracy, civil rights and human dignity.

Priests must have the right, indeed it is their duty, to speak out against all injustices whether in Rhodesia (where Bishop Lamont is being bound by the government) South Africa, South America or our own back yard, Northern Ireland.

Your Grace by your calculated actions in supporting the enemies of the Catholic people in Northern Ireland, you have openly declared what you stand for - oppression.

Therefore we ask the people of this diocese, and throughout the country, not to give to church collections on Sunday's in support of this brand of religion, as it is not Catholic, Christian or democratic.

We await your Grace's

a chara

responsible. Please do not insult our intelligence with your standard reply to all letters.

- Mr. Dwyer
Birmingham.

LONG KESH

In recent weeks the authorities at Long Kesh have stepped up their campaign of intimidation and harassment against the prisoners under their care. As usual we get little but glib comments from the Governors and their representatives, as usual no reason or explanation is given. This Nazi-like behaviour, but the object of the exercise seems to be directed towards depriving the prisoners of whatever few miserable "privileges" left.

For example, despite repeated promises that the block visiting cubicles have not been altered to anything like an acceptable standard; most of the cubicles are designed to prevent physical contact between a prisoner and his wife and children. The feeling among men here is that the object of this shoddy exercise is to further punish the men and their families.

Handcraft material and tools have been seriously curtailed and there is a total ban on wood for some time now. This means that anyone who has to do any work to help pass the day now has to turn to twist his thumbs. Long Kesh is bad enough at any time, but without some way of passing the time to break up the monotony it becomes unbearable. Leatherwork at minimum wage is the result of the removal of the Long Kesh authorities to allow in an inadequate amount of tools and material, and a total ban on some things at the discretion of the censor.

Parcels and letters are another

source of grievance. Sometimes they are damaged or "misled" and on numerous occasions incoming and outgoing letters have been "lost" altogether, particularly those with no state or a blank denial. It all helps to ensure that our already hostile environment deprecates and brings the men to breaking-point.

The routine strip searches and damage to personal property or "accidents" to the men in these searches is another effective method of putting pressure on the men. Is it any wonder that a system that adopts such brutalising tactics to dehumanise men produces so many determined people sworn to destroy the evil influences which have brought hardship to our men?

But the greatest single cause of immediate concern is the treatment (or lack of it) to a number of men held in Cage 17. We emphasise that the prison doctors and nurses are very capable men and have served their patients in the best traditions of their profession.

However, medical facilities in

Is iad Sinn Féin,
Bíró Phoblaigh na
Poblacht agus cinnír/
Ghluaiseacht na
Poblacht, ina gcuid
ráitisí, a leagan síos
polasaí offigíneála
na Gluaiseachta.

Leis na húdar na
tuarimí ní nochtairtear
sa pháipéar seo, biond
síad i litreacha, sna
colún rialtá sinthe ní
in aitaine eile, agus ní
gcoáná a siontaíonn na
foilsitheoirí leo.

Long Kesh do not provide amenities for seriously ill patients or patients who require intensive care. Only an outside and properly equipped, properly staffed hospital can do so, but for a prisoner to receive treatment at an outside hospital requires the approval of the Prison Governor and the "Security Forces" neither of whom are qualified to give a medical opinion. Yet a man might die because of the action of the Security Forces on their own prejudiced opinions.

Here are just a few examples in Cage 17: Eddie Brophy has a serious heart complaint. On a number of occasions a heart attack led to his heart stopping altogether but he was revived by his comrades. His condition deteriorates, his heart cannot operate. Only lengthy convalescence in a healthy environment (which hardly describes Long Kesh) would be of any assistance now; unless this is done very shortly it may be too late.

San Magill has been suffering from perforated eardrums for a number of years. Since he was arrested two years ago he has



Our picture shows Jimmy Reilly (right), chairman of the Luton Sinn Féin Cumann, and Paddy Simont, posing with the cumann banner in front of the minibus recently purchased by Luton Republicans for the use of Internes' families in the Ballymacarrett area of Belfast. Well done, Luton!

sentiments. - Sean Séamus O'Hara
Hut 71, Cage 7, Long Kesh
Concentration Camp.

MAGILLIGAN

ONCE again we, the Republican prisoners in Magilligan Camp, would like to thank the members of your newspaper to draw the public's attention to the situation here as regards food and facilities.

The milk sent up here from the canteen is inadequate for the 80 men in the cage. There are 20 pints sent up in the morning to do all the men throughout the day. The milk is of a watery substance and can only be used for making tea, coffee, etc. Tea or coffee can only be made at 10.30 a.m., 2 p.m. and 9 p.m. The reason for this is to economise as best we can on the milk.

The food in general is inedible. It has been turned back more often than enough at the cage gate when it arrives. The porridge in the morning (and it's porridge every morning) is more of a dried wheat substance. But even if this was edible there is no milk to go along with it. It would be a very laughable matter if the situation weren't so serious.

On six days of the week, liver and cabbage are sent up. (This is for dinner and tea as well). It has come to a point here that when men leave the cage they do not bother to go near the dining-hall as they know what to expect when they get there. We are left wondering if there is any cook in the canteen as the "food" is un-cooked.

The situation being as it is leaves us here with only the food parcels sent in by our own people to rely on. The majority of these parcels manage to get past the main gate, with the exception of the two or three that are blown up by the British army.

Hard to believe? Not here. The British army, after placing their metal detector over one of the parcels, found the frequency to be high. Therefore they went and blew it up, but what was left of the parcel revealed that it had contained only meat wrapped in tin foil.

Does this leave us wondering what the authorities are playing at. Are they trying to starve us all or what?

We hope that the public outside will take notice of this and will bring pressure to bear on the authorities before we are reduced to human skeletons.

- P.R.O.

Sentenced Republican Prisoners, Magilligan Concentration Camp, Baile Átha Cliath, 8.

Two slates of na Fianna Éireann have been formed in Gores. However, due to lack of funds, we are finding it difficult to launch the new slate.

All donations, however small, will be gratefully accepted and appreciated.

- P.R.O.

Fianna Éireann, Guaire

Ceirníní

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Arna foláidí ag Gluaiseacht
na Poblacht.

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS

SEND a subscription NOW to An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Cearnog Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, Éire.

There are almost 2,000 Republican prisoners in Irish, English and Scottish jails. Men and women are being lifted daily and with every arrest expenses increase. Stand by the prisoners by supporting their dependents.

Give, give, give until it hurts. Then give again. Bf dílis fáithíúil.

Is there a Cumann Cabhrach Committee in your area? If not, why not form one?

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