

An Phoblacht

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Spy post wiped out

SO MANY lies have been told by spokesmen for the imperial army of occupation in north-east Ireland about the dusk attack by a unit of Oglaih na hEireann on Saturday, November 22, on a Border spy-post at Drumuckavil Hill, where three enemy soldiers were killed and one critically injured, that it is difficult to find out exactly why no attempt to rescue the men was made for at least 20 minutes after the attack ended.

But it does appear that the men's commander callously decided to "write them off" rather than give help.

Local people are laughing at the enemy report, fed to the newspapers, TV and radio, that the soldiers were fired upon from Co. Monaghan, about two miles away. The local people, familiar with the terrain, know that intervening hills and vegetation would make such an attack a reckless expenditure of ammunition, probably also resulting in loss of arms as well as capture and imprisonment of the freedom fighters.

The attack had to be made from as close as possible to the spy-post. According to a statement from the local unit of Oglaih na hEireann, members of the unit crept up close enough to be heard by the soldiers. They were told they were surrounded and ordered to surrender, to throw out their arms and emerge with their hands up.

Lance-Corporal Paul Johnson, in charge of the post, refused to surrender and gave orders to fire, radioing headquarters for reinforcements. The statement that his two-way radio was out of order is believed to be a lie. Anyway, the post was only about a mile and three quarters from the R.U.C.-military post in the village of Crossmaglen. The firing was heard clearly in the village and in the barracks.

Shooting began at about 16.20 hours, as dusk was falling. It lasted about 20 minutes. But it was another 20 minutes at least before a helicopter moved out to survey the scene.

Blast shock for widow

IS ANOTHER enemy campaign of road blasting about to be undertaken? Last week enemy action resulted in the closure of the Crossmaglen road at Drumougher, the area from which enemy troops, heavily armed, were forced to flee by youths armed with only sticks, some weeks ago.

The blasting was done with a complete disregard for property. The civil rights leader, Mr. Paddy Shortt, commends: "A widow and her daughter were alone in a nearby house when a huge stone came crashing through the roof."

It is expected that a road-repair unit of local people will re-open the road within a few days or as soon as local conditions permit the work.

Enemy slander

Mr. Shortt added that the people of south Armagh are very angry at reports appearing in English provincial newspapers, fed to them by the black propaganda machine of the imperial army, holding the Irish up to ridicule and hatred.

One such "report" stated that "terrorists" had blown up a number of cottages in south Armagh occupied by old-age pensioners a lie. Inquiries in the office of the Birmingham paper responsible for publishing the lie resulted in the admission that the facts were supplied by the British army.

By that time it was dark but the helicopter had a powerful searchlight. It was long, long afterwards before enemy troops arrived in the area, to recover the bodies.

Abandoned his men?

Lance-Cpl. Johnson, critically wounded, crawled from the spy-post and down into a side road branching off from the road to Crossmaglen. It is not known if he abandoned the post during the attack or shortly after the last shots were fired.

A spokesman for the attacking unit said that, when the enemy refused to surrender and, instead, opened fire with SR rifles and a light automatic, the 12 volunteers concentrated their fire on the spy-post and stopped only when enemy gunfire ceased. Then they withdrew and dispersed.

"Free" State forces - police and military - collaborated with enemy troops after the elimination of the spy-post, attempting to seal off the Border, to prevent volunteers from entering the 26 Counties, or to capture them if they tried to cross. A similar back-up operation took place in south Armagh but every volunteer was reported as having returned safely to base.

These enemy spy-posts are resented deeply by the local people. There is considerable documentation of families having been kept under continuous observation for days, their every movement being reported back, their visitors noted for screening... or worse... later.

Many people believe that such observations have taken place before apparently inexplicable killings, sometimes referred to as "sectarian murders" and, perhaps, not always the evil work of bigots.

For years past the entire south Armagh area has been plagued by MRF and SAS units - heavily armed soldiers travelling in unmarked vans, sometimes in uniform, sometimes in civilian attire.

On one occasion, a few years ago, such a unit clashed with a RUC patrol, with dire results for the military; but the Lisburn propaganda machine said very little and its friends in the media hushed that up, like other similar incidents.

Abandoned

The apparent callous abandonment of the soldiers by their commander, Lieut-Colonel Brian Nichols, was criticised by the Westminster Tory M.P., Mr. Nicholas Winterton. But Mr. Winterton did not say what every enemy soldier knows only too well: most officers are unconcerned about casualties among their men and the enemy establishment is upset only when officers are the victims.

The M.P. said, in his criticism, that the four soldiers should not have been left "on their own", in the back of beyond, with no support



The killing of three enemy soldiers at Drumackavil was one of a large number of successful Oglaih operations in the Crossmaglen area. Pictured above is an I.R.A. ambush on a British patrol earlier this year.

whatever. He was conscious, obviously, of the effect on soldier morale in the area or that of those in danger of being posted there. Some 50 enemy troops have been killed in South Armagh by the national resistance forces.

Military solution

The Westminster Tory spokesman, Mr. Airey Neave, in a weekend comment on the attack, urged that the deaths of the soldiers should lead to a "determined counter-offensive" and to a "continuous military presence" in the area. The ceasefire was "ruined."

Action had to be taken to "restore confidence" and the imperial government should prove it "means to get on top of the I.R.A." A policy discarded years ago by military experts who emphasised that there was "no military solution possible." Mr. Neave also opposed the release of internees.

The Northern gauleiter, Merlyn Rees, replied to the Neave outburst, also in a weekend statement in which he told a very obvious lie, that there never had been a ceasefire in south Armagh because of the nature of local Oglaih na hEireann, of the countryside and of the people: there was little support for the Crown Forces in the area.

In fact, the Truce (the exact term) was observed strictly by the resistance forces in this "bandit country," as Rees termed it; and it was only when repeated resistance warnings, following enemy brutalities, had been ignored that limited actions were permitted by Comhairle an Airm.

Enemy breaches of the Truce have been

documented in detail by this paper and it was only when provocation no longer could be left unanswered, without a severe blow to the people's morale, that the Oglaih forces struck.

Always it was hoped that reason might prevail and that the enemy would honour its obligations and withdraw from the brink, but to no avail. There have been numerous warnings that spying activities would be dealt with severely: spying was mentioned specifically in the negotiations which resulted in the Truce, as Merlyn Rees very well knows.

More troops on way?

It is understood that additional enemy troops are to be flown into the Border area though there was no sign of an enemy soldier, never mind a checkpoint, last Saturday or Sunday.

The Truce still holds and will be observed as strictly as ever if the enemy observes his side of the bargain. Saturation of the south Armagh area with enemy troops, with the usual backlash of enemy brutality, however, must endanger the Truce and, at the very least, result in retaliation; and the greater the saturation, the more numerous the targets.

Gauleiter Rees speaks of not introducing martial law and curfew to the area "at present." He must realise that such an action would have the most serious consequences.

He must realise, also, that no repressive action can ever hope to succeed in crushing the centuries-old tradition of national resistance in the famous Fews and all over the Border counties on both sides of that arbitrary and illogical "frontier."

Our Christmas Arrangements

A special Christmas issue of An Phoblacht, price 12p will be on sale on December 19.

The following edition will be published on January 9.

An Phoblacht

SUPERFICIAL comment on the new Fianna Fail somersault on the solution to the national question, that Fianna Fail has stolen the political clothes of the Republican Movement, leaves out Sinn Féin but rather the commentators naked and unashamed in their ignorance, as the Haughey statement on his party's opportunism made only too clear last week.

For Haughey, from beginning to end, very obviously was thinking in terms of 1921 or 1925 or 1932, but hardly in terms of the present and the future, when he told diners at a function of his party's Dublin-Artane constituency: "The responsibility of ensuring that the achievement of Irish unity is kept firmly at the centre of democratic Irish politics seems clearly to devolve on Fianna Fail."

Earlier in his address he made it clear that, fundamentally, his party's approach was one of opportunism: Fianna Fail has changed its policy on the basis that British withdrawal was inevitable and "should not this be recognised and faced up to?" But the reference to "Irish unity" is the telling point: what Haughey and his cohorts are seeking is forcing the Six Counties into the straitjacket of 26 Counties politics, consolidating the entire 32 counties of Ireland as a puppet state of disguised imperialism and blatant, unashamed capitalism; and no better leader than the prosperous entrepreneur Charles Haughey.

Sinn Féin policy does not mention "Irish unity"; and the prime objective of the entire Republican Movement is freedom — for Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, for all who are prepared to give their allegiance to the sovereign Irish people. Sinn Féin is a democratic movement, concerned with freedom at all levels. But for those freedoms to be possible the key issue is the solution of the national question: freedom from the imperialist aggressor and the consequent freedom to choose.

As soon as the primary objective has been achieved Sinn Féin will work for its objectives of democratic socialism and the Eire Nua proposals which would

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Politicians in a vacuum

make that, the real local freedom, to the utmost realisable politically, possible.

The "unity" concept, certainly at present, is a will-o'-the-wisp: there was never any real problem of Irish unity as long as Irishmen or "Irishmen" were prepared to forego freedom and unite under the imperial banner. Thus, when Haughey talks in such terms he uncovers himself as a man living in the past, just as Tomas Mac Giolla uncovers himself as a politician naked of political clothes when he leaves the initiative to Westminster, in the form of a bill of rights, ignoring the essential, key issue of national freedom.

Mac Giolla has now been reduced to a pale shadow of his revolutionary self of some decades ago and has been outflanked by history, made by the Provos. This is recognised by elements which previously gave him support, among them the Irish Sovereignty Movement and Muirí Wolfe Tone (Wolfe Tone Society), which now recognise not only the principle but the political urgency of the imperial declaration of intent to withdraw forever from Ireland.

Enoch Powell is pressing the only logical alternative, that the Six Counties be considered within the concept of Westminster's declared policy of devolution of powers, along with Scotland and Wales.

It is amusing to observe the antics of the S.D.L.P. in this context: like the conolists they rebel against the logic of unionist politics, though in a different way. But, unlike them, they continue to seek to distort democracy by insisting on their

limited "power-sharing." No political realist would seek to impose their brand of "power-sharing" on Westminster, never mind on Wales, on Scotland or on Leinster House.

Whatever has happened to John Taylor, who, in talks in Dungannon and elsewhere, disclosed that if it were impossible to bring about an "independent Ulster" (Six Counties: but how independent?) he would back the Sinn Féin solution of a federal Ireland, with maximum power for the nine counties of Ulster?

High time John Taylor, and other erstwhile colonists, politicians, to face the realities. The imperial interloper can be forced to withdraw. The maximum freedom is possible for Ulster but only in the context of the maximum freedom for Ireland as a whole. This is the area for debate and the political vacuum of the present time provides the best opportunity to press that debate home. Ulstermen have an ideal opportunity, now, to analyse the situation, to see where their maximum advantages lie, to march forward to peace and real freedom, or to suffer for more months or years under a monster which has no concern for their wellbeing but which, when all is said and done, would be glad to be rid of them and the disruption they are causing its dominant concern, the home market that maintains it.

The Convention Report will be rejected by Westminister — outright and arrogantly or with careful diplomatic wording. For Westminister knows that the basic problem has not been solved nor is there any hope of solving it if the Report were adopted. The basic problem is that the Irish in the Six Counties cannot be beaten into the ground or fooled into accepting a bogus solution.

Most colonists realise this. Most of them realise, also, in all probability, that none of the various "solutions" advanced over the past six years is realistic. There remains, of course, the relatively unconsidered Republican proposal.

ÚDARÁS GAELTACHTA a bheas freagairt don phobl atá ag teastáil, údarás daonlathach; ach tá fáitíos ar dhaingine gur bord stáit nua, freagairt don aire aghaidh, a chuirfeas rialtas Bhláth Atha Cliath ar fáil. I gCáirne, i rith "Eigse Chonamara," a duradh an méid sin. Seanchaint scáinte, ab ea? Ní hea, ach polasáid nua de chuid Fianna Fail.

Níl sé ach tamall de sheachtain ó tháinig aithrú as cuimse ar pholasáid an phobla, agus an sin fáil chuirtear an Tuamaí. An t-áit a bhí poiblachtach i bhfad ni bá luád sampla eile fáid agaon faoin gcoajo a bhfhl Fianna Fáil ag ait.

Micheál Ó Moráin a dúirt an méid sin thugas agus is ag labhairt on útar ar an siompoisiam i

Polasaí eile athruithe ag Fianna Fáil

Debt

pháirtí theoblaithe beaga annas. Is dócha go mbheadha a fhios againn ar ball beag cás aibh hit ann, polasáid nua tuairim neamhthóigil.

Má bhíonn aithris pholasáid F.F., sa chás seo is féidir a bhfeidh

ipholaítocht is cuis leis — vóta a ghnóthu sa chead togachán eile agus an t-áitáir "a ghábháil." B'fheidir, ar ndóigh, go bhfuil ole ag Micheál Ó Moráin an imbealaí suarach a dhéanamh ar an mbéalaí. B'fheidir, freisin, go bhfuil a mhachnamh doimhín déanta agus go gceideann sé go bhfuil geografaí hÚdair Gaeltachta daonlathach, amach is amach; agus go mór é sin fein thíos le briseadh Chonamara: agus go bhfuil briseadh Chonamara le teach, gan amhras dá laghad, munu n-éiríonn leis an iarrachtaí aibhíodar daonlathach.

Bhí sé le tuiscint, as rudai eile a dúirt an Móráin, go raibh mianachas éigin age ar F.F. Is dhíreach é sin aon aibhíodar gur labhairt ar son a pháirtí a bhí sé nuaibh a labhairt ar an Domhnach úd.

Bhí an ceart ag Fad agus Ó Fiannail a mhobháil. Agus is é sin doibh síuil tár an aindíocht aon aibhíodar. Is dhíreach é sin aon aibhíodar, ar bhonn daonlathach, a bhaint amach, ghealadh le cabhrón Ó Mhícheál Ó Moráin, agus on bhFéar Mórán, má gá, chun gáin an cuspóir a thabhairt i gcech.

Cumana Chearta Sibhíata na Gaeltachta, díilar an tÚdarás daonlathach ón mbéalaí, agus an t-áit aon aibhíodar. Is dhíreach é sin aon aibhíodar, ar bhonn daonlathach, a bhaint amach, ghealadh le cabhrón Ó Mhícheál Ó Moráin, agus on bhFéar Mórán, má gá, chun gáin an cuspóir a thabhairt i gcech.

Is iontais cíneál dhuine tá ina bhailé Chumannach, ar aon aibhíodar, agus an t-áit aon aibhíodar.

B'fhearr i bhfad le Séamus Ó Dáibhí amblaid:

bhíodh tá sé sna comharchumann a d'fhág sé ina dhaidh agus a focann a gaird fear is báis níos fear, ní aon sthostaíreoirí príobháideach, agus go deimhín níos ná mar a laramm na comharchumannachas.

"Sí, 'n Eire Nua againn cheana fén," a deirteadh sé. "Ní h'ainm chomh déanamh bheith ag fachant go díaga an réabhlóid. Is amhlaidh a chathairteach muid an réabhlóid a deiseáil le meáidú milleantach ar an gcomharchumannachas."

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Massive welcome home for prisoner

Hundreds of men, women and children marched through the streets of Strokestown, Co. Roscommon in a massive "welcome home" to Mr. Henry Owens, Carniska, just released from Portlaoise Prison.

Mr. Owens had been sentenced to 12 months imprisonment in the Special Criminal Court, Dublin after the Chief Supt. J. Quill, Roscommon, said he believed, from reports made to him, that Mr. Owens was a member of the I.R.A. on June 6th, 1974.

CAVALCADE OF CARS

A cavalcade of cars met the car bringing Mr. Owens home at Tarmonbarry Bridge. There Mr. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Sinn Féin, welcomed Mr. Owens back to Connacht and the cavalcade escorted him to Strokestown.

At the edge of the town the car drivers and passengers joined hundreds of local people for the march through the town led by the Athlone Pipe Band. At The Square, Mr. Ó Brádaigh told the crowd that their very turn out gave the lie to the scurrilous reports circulated by defunct Leinster House politicians that the Republican Movement were merely thugs and murderers, and lacking public support.

PRESENTATION

Later at a dance in the Magnet Ballroom, Mr. Owens thanked the capacity crowd for their welcome and received a presentation from Mr. Paddy Sweeney, Chairman of the Carniska Sinn Féin Cumann.

Mr. John Joe McGirr, the Leitrim Sinn Féin Co. Councillor, said there would be no lasting peace in Ireland until the British withdrew and a new Ireland was created on the model of the Sinn Féin political programme – Eire Nua.

Mr. Ó Brádaigh urged the people, young and old, to join Sinn Féin and take their place in the struggle for a united Ireland. When the British go Sinn Féin would go before the people and ask them for a solid mandate to build the new Ireland with provincial parliaments and a power structure based on the people.

Among the guests at the dance were Mr. Mí. Nevin, Longford Urban Councillor, Mr. John Keaney, Leitrim, a former prisoner in Portlaoise, and Mrs. Keaney, and Mrs. Margaret Murray, whose husband, Peadar, from Mayo, is at present in Portlaoise.

Special Branch men from Roscommon, Athlone, Longford and Mullingar and uniformed Gardai noted car numbers at Tarmonbarry and Strokestown and made note of the speeches.

SINN FÉIN

SAOIRSE – PEACE WITH JUSTICE
EIRE NUA

These are our messages for Christmas 1975.

Cártai Nollaig (Christmas Cards): Six different cards on the above themes are now available from Sinn Féin Head Office. Prices, including envelopes: 7p each, 75p per dozen, 85p per post. 400 for £22.00, by post £23.00.

Calendars: 12p each, £1.15 per dozen, £1.30 by post. 100 for £9.00, by post £9.50.

Large Pictorial Calendar with seven photographs, in four colours. Size 15" x 12", with envelope. Price 50p, by post 60p. Six copies £2.25, by post £2.50.

Saoirse Seals: for all your correspondence. 100 for 50p, by post 55p.

Order early in view of imminent rise in postal charges.

Cash with orders to: Sinn Féin, 2A Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.



Our pictures (above and below) show Dublin members of Sinn Féin protesting at the offices of Irish Shipping against the decision to give an £11 million order for new shipping to a Japanese firm rather than to the Verolme Dockyard, Cork.

"By their decision to give the order to Japan, Irish Shipping have put profit before Irish workers", Sinn Féin have said.



Cork Republican family bereaved

The Republican Movement in Cork City suffered another sad loss on the morning of Sunday, 16th November, when Mrs. Mary Kennedy of Farmers Cross died suddenly.

Mrs. Kennedy was a woman who was little known to the public at large, she was one of that great band of people who serve 'faithfully but silently'. Those of us who did know her will remember her forever for the welcome she always gave us in her home, which was always open to us and for the manner in which she reared her family in the Republican tradition.

How well she had reared her family in the Republican tradition was shown on the day of her death. A few hours after her death the Annual Manchester Martyrs' Commemoration parade was being held in Cork and her daughter, Miss Joan Kennedy, who for years has been the flag bearer for Cork Cumann na mBan marched at the head of her unit carrying their flag as always.

Guard of Honour

As the remains of Mrs. Kennedy were being removed to her Parish Church on Monday 17th a Guard of Honour of Oglach na hÉireann flanked the coffin which was draped with the Tricolour, while pipers from

Sinn Féin back Iceland

Sinn Féin has sent a message of support to Iceland in her fishing dispute with Britain.

The pledge of backing made in a telegram addressed to Iceland premier, Mr. Geir Halgrímsson, care of his country's embassy in London, said:

"As a fellow small nation, we salute Iceland's courage in this crisis. Republicans have always actively resisted British interference in Irish affairs."

"We hope that you, too, will not be bullied by pseudosocialists who seek to destroy your nation's lifeline."

The late Edward Murray

THE late Edward Murray of Killaneen, Ballinamore was a founder member of the Seamus Wrynn S.F. Cumann, Ballinamore. The members of the Cumann and members of the Republican Movement in Leitrim formed a Guard of Honour on his Tricolour-draped coffin.

At a meeting of the above Cumann on November 1st, a vote of sympathy was extended to his wife, sons and daughters.

Go ndeana Bia trocáire ar a manam.

Votes of sympathy

AT a recent meeting of the North Leitrim comhairle cheanáin, Sinn Féin, a vote of sympathy was passed with the relatives of the late Hugh McManus of Boho, Co. Fermanagh.

A vote of sympathy was also passed with the McCabe family, Rossinver on the death of their sister, Mrs. Howard.

Gaeilge: essence of our nationality

Sinn Féin General Meetings

NOTTINGHAM

AT the A.G.M. of the Fr. Murphy Cumann, Nottingham, the following officers were elected: Chairman, Terry Murray; Secretary, Paddy Ivory; Treasurer, Mary Kavanagh; C.C. Delegates, Mona Ivory and Danny Jackson.

The outgoing Chairman, Paddy Ivory, reviewing the activities of the past year said that it is heartening to look back each year and see how the Republican Movement goes from strength to strength.

He continued: "As each year brings its joys so inevitably it brings its sorrows. Many have had their liberty taken from them in the pursuit of justice for Ireland. Men and women have given their lives for that same cause.

"We condemn the perpetrators of the foul murder of our friend and comrade Seamus McCusker. To his wife Betty and his two children, we send our deepest sympathy.

"I thank the members for their co-operation during the past year and I hope that you will continue to give your full support to our new chairman, Terry Murray."

A vote of solidarity with the Republican political prisoners in Free State, Northern, English, American and Canadian prisons was passed.

CORK

AT the A.G.M. of the Brian Dillon Sinn Féin Cumann, Cork, Donal McCarthy, who recently returned home, having completed a three year sentence in Free State prisons was elected Chairman.

The following officers were also elected: Vice-chairman, Una Ó Mhurcháin; Secretary, Nollaig MacCarthaigh; Treasurer, Anton O Brian; P.R.O., Bheanáin Mac Cíag; Delegates to the comhairle cheanáin, Nollaig MacCarthaigh agus Sean O Maoláin.

ARTANE

The following officers were elected by the Patrick McArdoy Cumann, Artane: Chairman, Tom McNamara; Vice-chairman, Joe Tobin; Secretary, Jim Klibride; Treasurer, David Farrell; Organiser, Gerry McNamara; P.R.O., Joe Tobin.

The outgoing officer-board were congratulated on their outstanding work during the past year.

LONGFORD/WESTMEATH

AT the A.G.M. of the Longford/Westmeath comhairle cheanáin the following officers were elected: Chairman, Tom Hayden; Secretary, Clare Delaware; Treasurer, Cáit Bn. Úf Mháimhneacháin; Finance Officer, Tom Leavy; Organiser, John Browne; P.R.O., Bap Lynch. Delegates to the Leinster Executive, Tom Hayden, Clare Delaware and Bap Lynch.

Twenty delegates from the various Cumainn in Longford/Westmeath were present at the meeting and a full discussion on public finance and organisation took place. Brendan Golden, Leinster organiser for Sinn Féin presided.

We hear...

WE hear that Labour's Barry Desmond got a cold reception from Labour Deputies, when he proposed a "Whip Around" for the Fine Gael, West Mayo By-Election Fund. Even King Conor was heard to rumble: "Let them raise their own bloody money."

Free Derry News

We shall resist — Magilligan P.O.W.s.

IF Merlin Rees and his henchmen have any illusions about attempting to remove political status from the Irish prisoners-of-war currently caged in the occupied Six Counties, the following statement which was issued from Magilligan P.O.W. camp should make them think again:

"Over 300 Republican prisoners in Magilligan Camp warn that they will not tolerate any attempt to interfere with their rights as political prisoners."

"We will use any and every means at our disposal to resist any measures introduced by the British which are an infringement on our hard-earned right to political status."

"We wish to make it clear beyond all preadventure that taking away political status is just not on, and anyone who believes it is will be tragically misleading the masses."

"There may well be a prison accommodation problem at the present time, but this problem is nothing to that which would exist if such infringements were implemented."

"Any moves in this direction will be purely destructive in every sense", the statement ended.

The statement was signed by Seasanach O Donnaille, P.R.O. for the Republican prisoners-of-war in Magilligan Camp.

State your Religion

From the Junior McDaid Sinn Fein cumann in Shantallow comes the following report of petty harassment at the hands of the Brits: "On Monday, 3rd November at 8 p.m. myself and four other members of the Junior McDaid S.F. cumann were in the Bloomfield area of Shantallow doing our usual rounds with *Republican News*, when we were surrounded by about twenty soldiers and two Jeeps. The officer-in-charge first asked for our names and addresses, which we gave (and which he already knew). When finished entering this data into his 'Little Black Book', he asked if we were Catholics".

A dog's right to life

The recent death sentence passed on someone's pet Alsatian because it bit a Brit brought forth the following letter from a Creggan resident:

I see in the columns of this week's *Derry Journal* that an Alsatian dog has been condemned to death for biting a British soldier. This is a cruel and unjust punishment which all humane men and women should condemn.

We humans have learned over the years to accept indignity, even torture, without protest or resistance. In the unofficial internment camp of Derry, we quietly accept orders and submit to searches and questioning. Even in our own compounds — I mean, houses — we are not free. Brits may surprise us at any hour of the day or night. They may dig up the gardens in which we have lovingly laboured. And the smallest whimper or wisecrack from us brings trouble, a beating or a prison sentence.

We know the consequences of protest, so many of us quietly accept this rude behaviour. But a dog cannot know. Even the best-mannered pet if upset by strange men in bizarre outfits running around carrying guns. Clanking armaments must sound harsh indeed to a dog's sensitive ears.

So in nervous reaction, or perhaps in defence of his human family, the dog barks, or even bites. In our hearts we know we would like to do the same. But we are human and in our cowardice repress our "dangerous" urges.

How can we condemn this dog to death? A dog bites a soldier, a man who points a gun at us while telling us he is protecting us from gunmen, and we execute the dog.

Yet the lawmakers have abolished capital punishment for humans, even those who coldly plan and commit murder.

There are some dogs who desert their families and befriend soldiers, begged by a biscuit and a pat on the head. Here we have a dog, though his ancestry is Alsatian or German that is truly Irish and who refuses to be conned. Not knowing — or caring — the risks involved, he angrily reacts to an alien presence.

Surely we, who through cowardice are so well-controlled, must support this dog's right to exist.

A man who said he would not serve on a jury because he was a "conscientious objector" was fined £25 at Derry Petty Sessions (yes, doesn't it sound petty?) last week for failing to fill in and return a jury return form.

The defendant did not appear in court, either — and we hope the £25 is not paid. Most civilised societies allow for the position of conscientious objector to jury service or — military service. Britain has yet to acknowledge the position of such persons within the confines of "Northern Ireland".

The person concerned is not a member of the Republican Movement, but simply cannot in conscience participate in any way with the farcical workings of the judicial system in the North.

Good on him for his courage .. and may more follow him.

Helicopter search for slogan

The recent art-work of Republican-minded people all over the Creggan and Bogside areas — including, on several different occasions, the Derry Walls, must have annoyed the Brits. Because they apprehended a young lady who was out with paint-bucket and brush at 4 a.m. doing her artistic part in the propaganda war against the forces of occupation.

Not only did the Brits feel sufficiently threatened to send out Land Rover patrols to apprehend her, but even got out their helicopter and pin-pointed her with a high-intensity spotlight so that such a desperate threat to the security of this Province should not escape into the darkness .. However, the infamous RUC apparently didn't know how to meet the over-zealous work of HM Forces .. they confessed to the young lady herself that they didn't know what to do with her, and released her half an hour later.

Free State Government and kidnappings

We have noted the Free State Government's attitude to the treatment of the Herrema kidnapping, which was viewed with shock and much concern and compared it with that Government's callous indifference to the daily kidnappings which take place here in the North; and also in England, where art students visiting kidnappers friends from Derry are themselves kidnapped and held incommunicado for several days.

We have viewed it also against the background of kidnappings by the Free State's own security forces.

We note a considerable difference between the Free State Government's attitude to the kidnapping of a rich industrialist and an ordinary working class person. There is also a considerable difference to publicity and television coverage.

The Brits have kidnapped hundreds of Northern Working class people and so far Cooney, Cosgrave and Conor Cruise have remained silent. The "concerned" mediators with their clerical collars who surface in large numbers at a Herrema-class kidnapping not only fail to appear but not a mumble of protest is heard from them nor has the tiniest protest-meeting for the kidnapped been heard.

The power of the news media, which is so potent in whipping up support and sympathy for the kidnap victim, is tightly controlled by the Herrema-class, which includes Cooney, Cosgrave, and Cruiser, plus a number of rich industrialists whose names will remain anonymous, however much power they wield, until they are perhaps kidnapped and the news media publicises their importance over television screens to every household in the country.

A kidnapping — whether your kidnappers are the B.A. RUC, or Free State Forces (or even Scotland Yard), or some unknown people, is just as upsetting for the victim. Just as much mental strain is put on the family and all who know and love the victim.

Why, then, if every civilised person should sympathise with the victim (which is the message the news media and the government is straining itself to put across to the public), is there such indifference in the vast majority of kidnappings?

Is it because the kidnappers are government agents or government soldiers and it is because the victims are ordinary working-class people?



Courtesy Andersonstown News

ON ECONOMIC RESISTANCE

INSECURITY

In *Eire Nua*, it is pointed out by the Republican Movement that there is no economic resistance movement at the moment. Whatever economic resistance which does take place is on an individual basis, directed by a few people or small groups at one or two aspects of economic exploitation on a sporadic basis.

The result is weak, and ineffective in combating the exploitation of our country and its resources (which includes its workers) now and so effectively by British, foreign, and so many native profiteers. This lack of effective resistance gives people reason to say: "Sinn Fein policies won't work. Republicanism is fone for nationalistic dreams but in the hard reality of everyday economic existence, we need the big money and financial backing from governments and big business; we'll never be able to control our own resources and run our own factories ourselves; it can't be done."

NOT TRIED

The answer to this is that it hasn't been tried. An economic resistance movement needs to be developed which is every bit as highly organised, enthusiastic and dedicated as the military resistance movement run by the Irish Republican Army. Just as much as that is effective against British military imperialist force, an economic resistance campaign can be effective against economic imperialism.

Most people realise, even if they dismiss the Republican Movement's economic policies as unrealistic, that the "benefit" of patronage money Britain puts into Ireland, even the amounts poured into the North in an effort to buy people's loyalty and submission, in reality benefits only a fraction of the people who are mainly businessmen and factory owners. Ordinary workers remain at the mercy of lightning shut-downs and surprise redundancies, against which they can do little. The unemployed expect to remain more or less permanently unemployed in many areas of the country; if they want jobs they will have to emigrate. Some may get jobs or training, but few find a permanent employment.

AIMS OF ECONOMIC RESISTANCE

After citing examples of the co-ops and unions and other forms of whole or partial economic resistance which currently exist in Ireland, such as farmers' co-ops, local industry, state-sponsored industry, fishermen's co-ops, industrial producer and consumer co-ops, *Eire Nua* cites the aims of an economic resistance movement as follows:

- to develop agricultural co-operatives, whose first step would be to get control of trade, cut-out the middleman, and then to plough back the profits gained this way into increased production (for example, providing loans to people wanting to buy tractors, or better, buying tractors for the use of all the farmers in the co-op),

- to develop a "vigilance network", so that any threatened closure of local industry will be met by a co-operative (which will appeal to emigrant organisations) so that the local industry will be bought and kept going on a co-operative basis. Workers' control could and should emerge from this.

* links should be developed with the trade union movement, so that any threatened economic war by big business (imperialist) interests would be defeated by the organised workers of the industry.

Eire Nua suggests developing a BUY IRISH campaign on a nation-wide basis. However, this needs to be carefully looked-into and researched: merely buying Irish products in general won't necessarily be effective, as we may be supporting native capitalist helping them exploit us while they invest in other countries. It is necessary to have a policy which keeps Irish profits inside Ireland, and used to expand jobs and develop new industry.

It is necessary to develop a "co-op of co-ops", in other words arrangements where all parts of the economic resistance movement trade together and support each other, especially against the present imperialist economy. Foreign trade with countries which we have a lot in common with than with England — such as the emerging African nations, like Freilmo, who are similar in both their economic situation and in the struggle for liberation — should be developed. We could help each other become free and independent, as we should.

We need a national financial system, to replace the present one, by which all Irish money is deposited in English banks, so England not only gets our money directly as profits, but gets the use of it, also, when we save through the Bank of Ireland. The Economic Resistance Movement must centralise its own finance, to use its own money. Insurance companies, which now take enormous sums out of the country, must be brought under national control.

Eire Nua mentions the necessity of opposing the purchase of land by foreigners. Not only is this necessary, but it is also necessary to enable Irish people to purchase their own land, to become self-sufficient. To do things like this, we need co-ops and our own banks. This will mean our own currency, etc. It could be started on a small scale with a Republican bank.

Padraig Páras S.F. Cumann, Derry.

Hugginstown remembers Manchester Martyrs

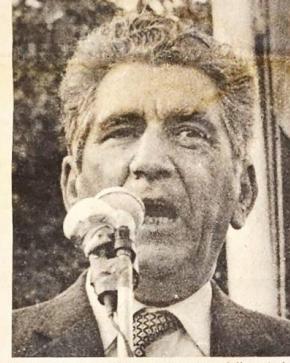
ON Friday, November 14, the annual Manchester Martyrs' commemoration was held in Hugginstown, Co. Kilkenny, organised, as it has been for the last 14 years by Willie Murphy.

A torch-light procession marched through the town headed by the Tricolour and a Guard of Honour; the local pipe band played martial airs and hundreds from outlying districts took part. Among those present were Brendan Golden, S.F. organiser for Leinster and Paddy Dollard of Kilkenny. Mrs. Connolly of Kilkenny was chairman.

The oration was delivered by Sean Keenan in the course of which he traced the history of the period leading up to the arrest and hanging in Manchester of Allen Larkin and O'Brien on the 23rd November 1867.

Support for the North

Mr. Keenan called for continued support for the present war of independence which he said was a continuation of the age-old struggle to rid the country of the "most evil power on earth" and help to bring to fruition the dreams of the Manchester Martyrs.



Derry Republican Sean Keenan who delivered the oration.

SHEIL HOSPITAL SURGERY ISSUE RAISED AGAIN

"IT seems the Minister for Health has no intention of acceding to our request for the restoration of surgery in the Sheil Hospital", said Cmr. A. O'Malley Daly at the monthly meeting of Ballyshannon Town Commissioners, when a letter from the Department of Health, in reply to a letter from the Commissioners asking if there had been any change in the policy in regard to the restoration of surgery in the Sheil Hospital, was read.

Campaign to continue

Cmr. Daly said the Minister's reply should not deter them from continuing their campaign. This hospital development plan, which had been described as the Comhairle na nÓg's ideal, did not approve of the replacement of a surgeon in the hospital. Under Section 41 of the Health Act, 1970, it was the Comhairle's function to make recommendations as to consultants' appointments in hospitals and the Minister had no power to interfere in their decision. The letter set out in detail the Minister's recent statement about the development of the general hospital services as already published.

The letter stated that as had been explained earlier, the discontinuance of surgery at the hospital resulted from a decision of the Comhairle na nÓg not to approve of the replacement of a surgeon in the hospital. Under Section 41 of the Health Act, 1970, it was the Comhairle's function to make recommendations as to consultants' appointments in hospitals and the Minister had no power to interfere in their decision. The letter set out in detail the Minister's recent statement about the development of the general hospital services as already published.

Cmr. G. McNamara read a

cutting from the "Donegal Democrat" of December, 1967, in which was reported a meeting of the Donegal County Council at which it was unanimously agreed that the Council would not approve of the transfer of surgery from the Sheil Hospital to Sligo. Yet they were now told that the members of the County Health Committee, who included members of the County Council, had agreed with the guidelines on which the Minister had made his decisions regarding the development of the hospital service.

Cmr. Mary T. McGee said that last year they received correspondence from a number of public figures, including hospital consultants, whose opinion was that surgery should continue at the Sheil until such time as the Letterkenny and Sligo General Hospitals could take over the work load from the Sheil. That time had not arrived yet and was not likely to for some years, but surgery was still discontinued

at the Sheil. Apparently these are the very people who agreed with the guidelines set out by the Minister that confirm that there will be no surgery for the Sheil.

Public representatives criticised

Cmr. O'Malley Daly said that with one notable exception the county councillors had done nothing for their campaign despite the assurances they had given. That one exception, Cllr. McEniff, had called repeatedly for the abolition of Comhairle na nÓg's ideal. One Leinster House Deputy had given him (Mr. Daly) an assurance that he would be introducing a private members' bill on this matter, but nothing further had been heard from him. These public representatives should be exposed as having done nothing about the Sheil Hospital.

Cmr. E. Doherty, P.C., said he had been in a deputation twice to the Comhairle and he was told by the chairman that the Minister

had nothing to do with the Board and had to do what was told.

Following the meeting of the Commissioners' annual general meeting of the Sheil Hospital Action Committee was held.

Action Committee Chairman's report

The chairman of the Committee, Mr. O'Malley Daly, reported that since the meeting of September, 1974, when the Sheil Hospital Action Committee was set up through the Ballyshannon Town Commissioners they had endeavoured to highlight the cause of returning surgery to the Sheil Hospital by publicly lobbying public representatives and keeping them informed of progress and meetings. "We have toured the catchment area addressing Development Associations, Amenity Associations, and Community Councils, and we have made public statements in furtherance of our cause", he continued.

"The response of public representatives at the levels of Government open to each of them has been disappointing with the exception of those on the action committee and one Councillor who has regularly supported our cause by calling for the abolition of Comhairle na nÓg's ideal. The public at large retain their interest in the endeavour, and we have received ample space for our press releases.

"However, despite all efforts, the Comhairle Plan for hospitalisation does not include the upgrading of the Sheil Hospital. This should not deter the S.H.A.C in any way from continuing to pursue our objective because the conditions remain the same and if the potential of the area is realised then sooner rather than later those opposed to surgery at the Sheil and who legislate against it will realise the error of their policies, so the case must continually be kept before them for the sake of all patients in the catchment area".

The financial report showed some funds remaining.

The decline of Irish Protestantism

IN this issue we publish the second and final instalment of our article on the decline of Irish protestantism:

After all, even in the hungry thirties there were still more than 150,000 here. The three Ulster counties at that time returned a number of Protestant members to the shop above in Kildare Street. They still held vigorous Orange demonstrations in Cootehill, Castleblaney, and Ballyshannon but their numbers there have shrank from 40,000 to 12,000. In Dublin they had two daily papers, the Evening Mail and the Irish Times, which were very definitely Loyalist and Protestant. (Both of them came out with black margins on the death of King George V in 1936).

ON AN EBB TIDE

No, Irish Protestantism is on a slow but ever quickening ebb tide. From holding a firm line on the Boyne nine generations ago (with strong bridgeheads all over the southern counties), they have retreated slowly ever since. When Randolph Churchill in the eighties of the last century declared "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right" he spoke of nine counties, but when James Craig made his settlement in 1920 it was for six. All of southern Ireland, all of the big blocks of Protestants in Louth, Meath, and even in Monaghan, Cavan, and Donegal, were jettisoned. Betrayal, they rightly called it.

There was even the shadow of a Boundary Commission to investigate two of the Six, and perhaps even reduce them to Four. That is why, as we know, Stormont ever since then has played hard the role of Protestant elitism, because Stormont itself feels even less sure than the southern Protestant about its ability to hold the Taigues down. This is regrettable, because it contains within it – even if Civil Rights or a Provisional IRA never existed – all the seeds of permanent confrontation. And anyone who is conversant with the detailed life and daily round of people within the Six Counties (jobs, names, schools, housing, local control) over the last fifty years knows that permanent confrontation exists everywhere and at every level.

There was no partnership, there was no bridge building, there were no converts across the divide (the few Irish Protestants who joined the Republican Movement in those years were the swallows that did not make a summer), nor could there be if even they were had a considerable majority, felt their existence so threatened that they must always keep their boot raised, a bolt on the door, and a bullet in the gun. This is perhaps expressing it crudely, but it is as well to look upon things as they are, or as they seem to this writer to be.

BATTLE FOR LIFE?

The Northern Irish Protestant, regardless of how the British Army bedevils the scene, may really feel that this is a battle for life, that without a clearly defined and permanent superiority over the 600,000 others there would be no living for them in the future. This is an aspect that we must recognise, just as we should recognise that in normal circumstances the growth in the numbers of Catholics would outpace the numbers of Protestants (and others, including, of course, the Presbyterians); the population of the Six Counties being divided in almost three equal parts between them, Catholics having a slight lead) especially if one takes it in the context of Ulster, as a whole. Protestant populations in the other three counties have decimated themselves – by non-marriage, and by emigration into the Six and elsewhere – and are now pale shadows of the lusty communities of forty or fifty years ago.

True enough, Paisley has established a bridgehead in Monaghan, but one can afford to smile at it. It is an abomination, and will die with him. There may still be an Orange demonstration in Ballybofey, and "contingents" may cross the border to take part in Twelfth marches in the North; we can smile at them too. They are harmless old men, on the way out.

BY JIMMY HOPE

FEDERAL ULSTER

But all of this rather torpedoes the basis of a federal Ulster which, although an excellent idea, is based partly on the carrot of a continuing Protestant majority in the Nine. That simply is not on, and they recognise the fact; which explains their fight "for an existence", i.e. to retain a local superiority where they are. When on this score, they have clear doubts. Witness the continuing talk of a repartition (i.e. Antrim and Down and bits of Derry and Armagh as a final Protestant redoubt, the sort of hedgehog area that the Nazis were said to have planned in the Bavarian Alps. But, of course, this is not on either though it is playful if a little cruel, to define the decline of Irish Protestantism by water boundaries.

1690 The Boyne

1880 The Black Pigs Dyke

1920 The Foyle and the Blackwater

1976 The Upper and Lower Ban

2000 The North Channel?

Perhaps the one saving factor that the ever retreating Protestant and Presbyterian community has is paradoxically the fact that religion now evidently plays a very small part in their lives. If one compares rural areas in the North where the number of the two religious communities are nearly equal one will find, to judge by Sunday church attendance, that the numbers attending Protestant Churches are a mere handful. Parts of Co. Fermanagh are reminiscent of County Longford thirty years ago, numbers attending are now small. In urban areas, especially in the heart of their fortress, Newtownards to Larne, the tale is much worse.

Ministers have simply lost all hold on their flocks, which explains how pointless and hypocritical in present circumstances is the Conway-Daly-Lundie-Simms charade. But if the religious grip is so weakened (and the sway of Loyalty and the Queen is weaker still) is there not a real chance that quite suddenly the so-called religious problem will resolve itself. That is, when the working populations – white collar, blue collar, and middle class north and south – realise the villainy of the ruffianly bureaucracies, politicians, and church leaders who have manipulated them, making them concert together to overthrow and end them?

Maybe so. Let us pray together for that day. Meanwhile let us be on the qui vive.

ROUSING WELCOME FOR PRESIDENT

Ruairí Ó Bradaigh, President of Sinn Féin was given a rousing welcome by a large crowd at the annual North Meath Sinn Féin function which was held in Kells recently.

The function which attracted patrons from over a wide area was very successful and over £380 was raised.

Guest speakers included Ruairí Ó Bradaigh and Tom Marry.

ATHY CRAFT CENTRE

A centre is now open in Athy Co. Kildare to sell handicrafts made by the Republican prisoners in Port Laoise and Long Kesh.

Initially the Centre will be opened on Saturdays only.

NOTEBOOK

Prof. Parkinson's advice to Europe

You must have heard of "Parkinson's laws" about this and that. "Work expands to fill the time available for it" and such like. Not so many people in Britain and Ireland know that Professor Northcote Parkinson is an eloquent advocate of decentralised and federal government. For some reason, he is better known for this on the Continent than in his own country, England.

A short time ago a friend in Brussels sent me a copy of Parkinson's latest article on this subject from a Brussels magazine called *Profiles*. The article is called "The Little (United) States of Europe" and Parkinson writes as follows:-

The greatest period of European expansion was from about 1500 to about 1900. For purposes of conquest in Asia, Africa and America the chosen political unit was the nation-state, large enough to be aggressive but small enough to have achieved a measure of cohesion. The more successful nations were those which united soonest, like Spain, France, Britain and Russia. The less successful nations were those which were unified at the eleventh hour, like Germany and Italy, or which failed to unify at all, like Scandinavia.

The latest period of European expansion has ended and the more intelligent Europeans have become aware of a growing external danger. The oriental world is renascent and has begun its own period of expansion which began with the Japanese victory over Russia in 1904-1905.

Although slowly beginning to respond to this new situation the countries of Europe have spent much of the 20th century in fighting each other ... When not fighting each other the nations of Europe have been fighting within their own borders, socialists versus the rest. It was not until after World War II that they became aware of the Asian advance. The urgent need was then for Europe to recover some sense of unity, partly to prevent World War III, partly to form some sort of front against external pressure. The result has been some tentative discussions about a possible United States of Europe, coupled with a first move towards dismantling some of the barriers which made for continued disunion.

Shrinking from the difficulties of political federation, the advocates of European unity thought that economic co-operation would be at least a step in the right direction. It was found possible to bring six countries into the EEC or Common Market, later to be joined by others. This organisation was open to three objections from the beginning.

Its purpose was strategic but it purported to be a customs union. It had all the drawbacks inherent in thus putting the economic cart in front of the political horse. It was then weakened still further by the fact that it covered only a part of Europe. Within these apparent limitations it has had a measure of success, for any immediate conflict between its members would seem to be highly improbable. Given some later measures of political as opposed to economic federation, the United States of Europe may, as its advocates claim, become more of a reality and less of a dream.

What is strange about this aspiration is that the planners of European unity would seem to pay no attention to the model from which their inspiration derives. There may be defects (and there obviously are) in the American Constitution, but the USA does at least present us with an example of a more or less successful federation.

But the United States of Europe, as now planned, would not have the slightest resemblance to the USA, the differences being those of proportion and scale. The 50 States in the American Union have an average population of about four million.

The States vary in both area and population, some as big as California and others quite small, but most are near the average and each is an efficient unit of administration within the federal structure; the constitution carefully defining the limit of state freedom and federal interference. It would be reasonable to assume that the American example is an illustration of what has proved workable.

Europe this side of the iron curtain has a population of over 250 million, four nations of the fifteen having roughly 50 million each. Too small as an economic unit, each nation-state is too large to be administratively efficient.

Those which were unified more recently - Germany and Italy - retain a system of provincial administration. Those unified at an earlier period - Great Britain and France - are centralised to the point of lunacy, being totally unlike the other large countries of the world such as the USA, USSR, India, China, Canada and Australia.

There is no obvious way of absorbing Britain and France into a United Europe for they were formed for purposes of war and indeed largely for the purpose of war against each other. An early step, therefore, in the unification must be to break down the larger nations into units of the right size. As a matter of efficiency, more than as a matter of sentiment, the units which make up a United States of Europe should be at least comparable to each other in population and area.

Accompanying Parkinson's article is the map which you see here. It allows for four self-governing provinces in Ireland. The only thing I find wrong with it is that it doesn't envisage a provincial subdivision of Scotland. The Scots would certainly have other ideas. And the Welsh, too, would probably envisage self-government for North and South Wales. But it's an interesting map. It makes you think of what Europe could be. Next week I'll give you the rest of Parkinson's article.



by

FREEMAN

Trouble in the ranks of Fianna Fail

ALL hell has broken out within the ranks of the Fianna Fail party after the debacle of West Mayo and it centres on that declaration of policy on the Six Counties made during the campaign.

Jack Lynch and his pro-British faction are gloating at the "republican" element. They say the demand for a declaration of intent by the British to leave did not bring in the expected vote rush.

But the "republican" crowd are incensed by what they see as a betrayal by Lynch of the enunciated policy. Lynch boasted at the hustings of the party's record in bringing in repressive legislation and jailing genuine Republicans.

Lynch, says his critics, has gone overboard on the law and order issue which, they add, does not exist in the mind of the public. The public are not impressed with scare-mongering about alleged threats to the institutions of the State.

They claim he should have side-tracked Coalition criticism of the Fianna Fail policy and concentrated on attacking the Coalition record of government and bread and butter issues.

And they add that this pin-points again, if it were needed to be pin-pointed, Lynch's lack of political acumen. Some, kindly, say that he might have forgotten the party declaration of a few days previously - he not being noted as a memory man.

It's all yet to come to the boil. But when it does it could be the end of the Lynch mob's rule and herald a tougher line in opposition in the Dail - and in relation to the party's attitude on the six-counties.

Attempts by Fine Gael to anglicise us continue and the latest is by Paddy Harte, Fine Gael T.D. for North-East Donegal. He tells us we must give up our national identity and be good little British boys and girls.

Listen to this extract from his recent speech: "The forced

POLITICAL NOTES
by MAREN

gaelicising of the South, which produced nothing more than mythological super Irishmen, was as repugnant to the Northerner as the policies of the old Stormont were to the Southerner".

Perhaps Paddy will give us his views on the forced anglicising of the South, North, East or West - and to whom would it be repugnant? Not Paddy, obviously.

Paddy goes on to say: "The myth that if Britain leaves we could find the answers is so far out of date that it must be puzzling to the reasoning of the entire island to continue the debate".

Will somebody please send Paddy an up-to-date copy of "Eire Nua", which has even been described by British politicians as the only possible solution to the problem of the Six Counties.

And a private message to the Fine Gael man - Paddy, stop being ashamed of being Irish and Gaelic, the red, white and blue cloak does not become you.

Paddy Harte also had a bit of advice for British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, albeit in a roundabout way. Wilson is at present faced with the prospect of a growing class war - a working class/lower middle class v upper middle class/aristocrat confrontation.

Paddy, in reference to the Six Counties, says: "No one can say that segregated education has caused the trouble but it is true to say that its continuance will not help solve it".

There you are, Harold, Paddy has solved your little bit of

bother. Open all the public schools, Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, etc., to children of all classes - make them comprehensive schools, too.

No one can say that an elitist schools system has caused the trouble brewing between the classes in Britain but it is true to say that its continuance will not help solve it - remember that, Harold!

Sinn Fein Officers

DUBLIN

At the A.G.M. of the Jim Bryson S.F. Cumann, Dublin the following officers were elected:

Chairman, G. Lynch; Vice-chairman, C. Byrne; Secretary, D. Gibson; Treasurer, P. Moran; and B. Leddy; Comhairle cheanáin delegates, D. Power and S. Curran.

LIMERICK

The Annual General Meeting of the Seosamh O'Donnachadha cumann, Limerick was held on Monday, 3rd November.

The following officers were elected:

Chairman, Pádraic MacLamáin; Secretary, Padraig Malone; Treasurer, Jack O'Donnell; P.R.O., Padraig Malone; Delegates to Comhairle

Cheanáin, Liam Ryan and Séamus Ó Cinnéide; Paper sales agent, P. MacEoin.

Plans were made at the meeting for the widespread distribution of S.F. leaflets throughout the Cumann area.

DUBLIN

At the Annual General Meeting of Cumann Roibeard Emmet, Inse Chor, held recently, a programme of activities was decided upon for the coming year.

The following officer board was elected:

Cathaoirleach, A. O'Gonchaire; Runai, S. MacConchra; Oifigach Caidrimh Poibhl, C. O'Conaill; Oifigach Oideachais, M. O' Mathuna; Cisteoir, S. Ó Flannáin; Eagráil, P. Nangle; Iontaobhaile, L. O' Cleirigh, A. O'Gonchaire.

Republican Post Bag

A reply to "The Visitors" view of Ardfheis '75

SINN FEIN is not a flawless organisation. It does not take a genius to write an article pinpointing some of the more obvious flaws which surface during the rough and tumble of an Ardfheis. Constructive criticism acts as a vital stimulant to a healthy political organisation. It prevents that organisation from slipping into the routine of a complacent mutual admiration society.

Undoubtedly, there was much constructive criticism in the anonymous visitor's view which appeared in the November 7th issue of *An Phoblacht*. He or she underlined the need to avoid 'pious platitudes' and 'meaningless clichés'. With that we must all agree.

As Ardfheis secretary it was my task to record the fate of motions: whether they were passed, lost or amended. This is my first qualification for writing this article. Secondly, as I was not a delegate at Ardfheis '74, I was among those on the Steering Committee of that year.

The Steering Committee is deliberately and purposefully representative of the rank and file of Sinn Fein. It consists of people who have proven their worth at local level but who would not be known to the mass of Sinn Fein members.

The visitor suggests that the Steering Committee 'could have been more democratic'. But what could be more democratic than involving these ordinary Republicans who were perhaps lacking in fame, but not in dedication or efficiency.

It is claimed that 'all the Ard Chomhairle motions were given priority'. It should never be forgotten that the Ardfheis is primarily the Cumain two days of say-so out of 365. There should be an obvious bending over backwards to show that that point is appreciated to the full.

As an ordinary member of Sinn Fein, who does not hold an elected position even in my own constituency, I feel entitled to speak on the sentiments of our visitor as expressed above. The first set of motions before an Ardfheis proposing the complete

re-structuring of the organisation. These motions were aimed at moving power away from the centre. Giving more power to the provinces and also more duties.

This step was taken after a long discussion. But there is no word or mention in the visitors critique of this development. This motion clearly proved that the Sinn Fein Leadership is eager to involve the provinces in *Eire Nua* policy.

The visitor seems unaware that when standing orders are adopted it compels the Chairman to follow a strict timetable as laid out in the Clár. He complains of a 'strenuous tussle' with the platform before Motion 13 could be raised.

But the visitor, then, proceeds to echo almost verbatim the words of the Cathaoirleach: '...would it not be wiser to leave strategy and tactics to the Leadership of the Republican Movement...'

The action of those who raised standing orders disrupted the Clár as previously agreed and chopped off valuable time from the section allotted to Education. Is this visitors idea of a 'more progressive Ardfheis'? But, I must also say that those who raised standing orders were acting in good faith.

The visitor continues 'the platform turned it's big guns on the innocuous Motion No. 18 which, briefly, sought details as to the background of those representing themselves for election to the Ard Chomhairle ... Did nobody tell this visitor that those on the platform only get one voting card just like every other delegate.'

Does a visitor have an answer to Ruairí O Brádaigh's dictum that members should work their way up from Cumann, Comhairle Cheantair and Comhairle Cuige level to the Ard Chomhairle?

Finally, I hope that the visitor is already a member of Sinn Fein. It is obvious that he/she has a penetrating mind. I would now like to see or she helping us to rid Sinn Fein of its real weaknesses rather than conjuring up some imaginary flaws.

—Aindrias Ó Ceallaigh, 2a Lower Kevin St., Dublin 8.

ORDEAL AT HANDS OF "SECURITY FORCES"

ON Thursday, 6th November, 1975, John Stitt was receiving treatment in the Royal Victoria Hospital for a wound received on 1st November, 1975.

While he was in the cubicle awaiting treatment, Special Branch men entered and took him to Springfield Road Police Station. John's father who was in the hospital waiting room was informed by a nurse that his son had been taken away by the Special Branch.

His father then went to Springfield Road Police Station to inquire about his son and was told he was being questioned in connection with the incident which took place on the 1st November, 1975 when his (John

Stitt) was shot. Mr. Stitt (senior) was told to come back at 7.00 p.m. Both Mr. and Mrs. Stitt went to the Police Station at 7 p.m. and remained there until 11.45 p.m. and still were not permitted to see their son.

On Friday 7th November, Mr. and Mrs. Stitt made several visits to the Police Station but to no avail. At 12.35 a.m. on the 8th November, the British army arrived at their home and told them to go to Springfield Road Police Station that their son was being charged.

Mr. and Mrs. Stitt went to the Police Station where they were informed that their son was being charged with 'Attempted Murders'. They were then permitted to see him for five minutes. They found him completely exhausted; he had not been permitted to sleep for 37 hours and had been interrogated

continuously by teams of Special Branch men. He had been beaten but no marks could be seen. Due to the wound on his face he was unable to eat but however was offered very little food. He was exhausted following the long interrogation, lack of food and the pain of his wound.

—R.G. McAnley, Cage 12, Long Kesh.

On Saturday 8th November, 1975, at 10.45 a.m. John Stitt appeared in Court and was remanded to Crumlin Road Prison until 20th November. Mr. and Mrs. Stitt enquired at the court about a visit but were told they would get one at Crumlin Road Prison. His parents went to Crumlin Road Prison with food and clothing. But, were refused a visit and also food and clothing they had brought for John were refused by the warders.

—Reader, Beal Feirste.

FEDERAL SYSTEM ONLY HALF THE ANSWER

I HAVE read condemnations of the Federal solution as 'superficial', and as being unrelated to the real Pearse and Connolly fought for. To call the Federal system a government 'superficial' and to say that it is not in line with Republican principles is a grave error.

The Federal system of government envisaged by the Republican movement is only half the answer to our present trouble and should not be taken out of context as I'm afraid Old Republican seems to have done.

The social and economic policies

which must needs accompany it

are the other half of the answer

and in these we follow closely the

pattern laid down by Connolly

and McWhinter.

The Federal system of government is in itself an attempt to decentralise government in Ireland, in order to allow the ordinary people, the working class, have a greater say in what is going on around them.

It is also so designed to accommodate the Protestant community in Ireland who while being Irish do have a culture and tradition different to that of the 32 counties.

This system then, along with new and far reaching socialist programmes in the social and economic fields, will unite the people of Ireland. *Eire Nua* (which combines the Federal system of government and new socialist policies on social and economic problems) is the Republican movement's answer not only to the national question but also to that other grave question: Who controls the wealth of Ireland — the Irish people or the foreign and domestic capitalists?

As an answer it is far from 'superficial', it is the only realistic political programme being put to the Irish people.

—R.G. McAnley, Cage 12, Long Kesh.

IRISH IN BRITAIN

SINCE SCOTLAND Yard's latest dirty trick of asking the British people to inform on the Irish Community in even the most 'trivial' incident together with an offer of 'Judas' money is low and contemptible, but typical of British strategy.

The British have always

discriminated, against the Irish and Scotland Yard's latest statement is intended to point a finger at the Irish people in order to make their lives harder and their persecution even greater than it has been.

Mr. McWhinter's demand that Irish living in Britain should register at a police station and carry an ID card makes one on 'Nazis', Germany and the persecution of the Jews, except for one detail; the Jews had to wear a star of David. But there again may be Mr. McWhinter intends also to demand that all Irish living in Britain should wear a "Shamrock".

Through these proposals we once again witness how the "Free" state Government (sic) stand firmly behind Ireland's enemies.

How dare they say that "they" speak for the Irish people when they, without one word of protest, stand idly by and watch the British Hun's draw up a plan to further oppress the Irish population in Britain. But there again they (the parasites at Leinster House) "more British than the British themselves".

—P.R.O., Thomas Smith Cumann, Ballyfermot, Dublin.

PADDY AND JIMMY

JIMMY TULLY, that long-standing friend of Liam Cosgrave, has been at it again.

This time he has ignored the County Dublin Development Plan, the Councillors, and the residents of the area, and has granted Planning Permission for a luxury housing development at Cabinteely Co. Dublin.

The lucky Landowner who has gained over £1 Million "At a stroke" is Senator Paddy McGrath, Liam Cosgrave's Senate nominee.

"Chairman" Michael Gaughan Cumann, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.

AMERICA - 1776 IRELAND - 1976

IT would seem that no country is more anxious to exploit the United States Bicentennial Celebration than is Great Britain. Reference the article "British Enjoy Our Revolution" (11/2/75) edition.

In normal times one might be pleased that the people of the U.K. are enthusiastic about our Bicentennial. However, in view of

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. Faile ar leth roimh Ghaeilge.

We regret that advertisements cannot be accepted for publication later than the Wednesday prior to day of printing.

what has happened, and is happening, in the 6 N.E. counties of Ulster (Special Powers Act, internment without trial, search without warrant, the British Army hell-hole Long Kesh Prison, ad infinitum), British participation in the American freedom movement reflects the height of hypocrisy.

It is contradictory to every effort undertaken by the Founding Fathers of 1776.

If the Crown government really wants to show the "Bicentennial Spirit", they will, at long last, announce a "declaration of intent" to withdraw from the 6 occupied counties of Ulster. That would definitely be more in keeping as to what the Bi-Centennial is all about.

It may have been the American cause in 1776. This same basic cause exists in Northern Ireland today, and this should not be forgotten by the people of the United States. Would that the people of Great Britain realise this.

—Timothy J. Scannell, U.S.A.

LEAS

Ar leas na hEireann
Ar leas a Gaeilge

Ar leas na Poblachtáin

Ar do leas féin

£2 12 eagrán
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Tuilleadh eolas ó Dhomhnaill O Lubhláin,
250 Cuarbhdóthar Theas, Baile Átha Cliath, 8.

Arna fóiliú ag Glúiseacht
na Poblachta.

Raffle Results

RESULTS of the Private Members Draw, held by the Jim Bryson Cumann, Dublin, at the Donaghmede Inn, on Wednesday, November 12, are as follows:

1st prize (£100) ticket No. 172 (Co. Down).

2nd prize (£30) ticket No. 294 (Dublin 1).

3rd prize (£20) ticket No. 027 (Co. Dublin).

Our Christmas Issue

If you wish to send Christmas greetings through *An Phoblacht* to Republican prisoners and internees, please let us have them by December 2, for inclusion in our Christmas issue which will be on sale on December 19.

Each greeting should be accompanied by a fee of 25p.

Traditional Irish Music

at

'THE GOLDEN BALL'

KILTERNAN

on

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1st, 1975,

at 8.30 p.m.

SUBSCRIPTION 30p.
Organised by the Michael Gaughan S.F. Cumann, Dundrum, Dublin.

Aonach na Nollag

The annual Aonach na Nollag (Christmas Fair) in aid of the Republican Prisoners' Dependents will be held in the Mansion House, Dublin on December 5, 6 and 7.

The organisers are appealing for gifts of any kind for the following types of stalls:

Groceries, toys, books, vegetables, bottles, wheel of fortune. Gifts should be delivered to 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

THE DEPENDANTS DEPEND ON YOU.

SUPPORT THEM GENEROUSLY.

Free State's Criminal Law Bill

"THE Free State's Minister for Justice, opening the debate in the Dail on the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill, said he hoped that those who speak on the Bill will show to all the people of 'Northern Ireland' that they are one with them in their detestation of terrorism", said a statement issued by the Republican Movement and signed P. O Murchu.

The statement continues: "The terrorist activities of the members of the R.U.C. and the British Army are well known to the beleaguered Nationalist people of the Six Counties. The arrest and brutal treatment of hundreds of men without charge or trial since 9th August 1971, the horrible dehumanising torture at interrogation centres, the orchestrated murder by assassination squads – such terrorism by the R.U.C. and the British Army is something that Mr. Cooney must heartily condone, since he has in fact set out to co-operate with it under his new Bill.

"The Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill allows for those giving evidence upon commission to include members of the R.U.C. and the British army. For this reason alone the Bill is an insult to the Nationalist People of the six-counties who find it abhorrently incomprehensible that the government of the South are prepared to accept evidence from such discredited sources."

Cork City honours Manchester Martyrs

ON Sunday, 16th Nov. the annual Manchester Martyrs Commemoration was held in Cork City.

Assembling near the Court House, the parade, headed by the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band, Fianna Eireann, Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCailíni marched to the National Monument on the Grand Parade where a wreath was laid, a decade of the Rosary recited and the Last Post and Reveille sounded by buglers from Na Fianna Eireann.

The following oration was then delivered by Gearóid Mac Carthaigh.

"Another year has passed and once again we have come to pay our tribute to the memory of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. I do not propose to give a detailed account of their story here this morning. You who have come here would not have here if you did not already know it as well as I do. Sufficient to say that they in their day challenged the mighty British Empire in the heart of her own country when they rescued their comrades from their captors. It has been written that 'greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for a friend'. How truly these words apply to Allen, Larkin and O'Brien.

"After the death of these three the ballad makers wrote 'never till the latest day shall their memory pass away, of the gallant lives thus given for our land, but on the fight must go through joy or weal or woe, till we make our island a nation free and grand'.

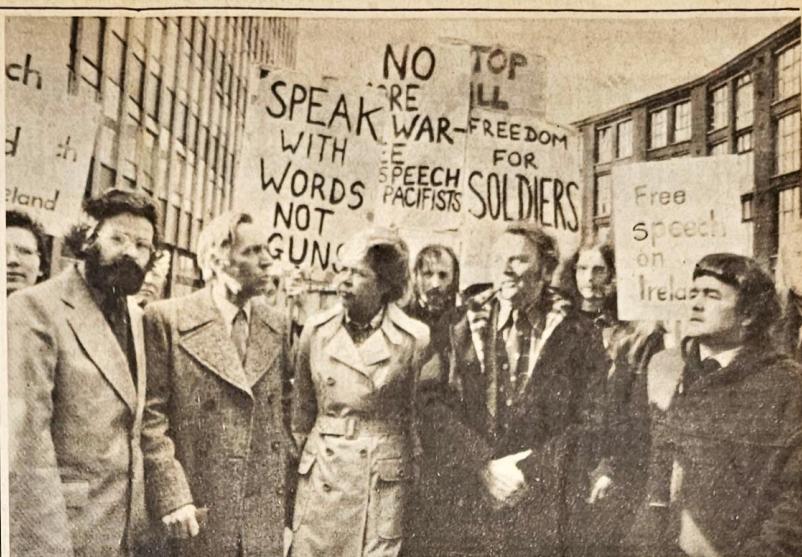
"The last two lines I have quoted you are the operative ones because since they died the fight has gone on through joy and weal and woe and shall continue to go on until we do make our Island nation free and grand".

"For seven years now the last phase of this fight has been going on, being fought by the greatest generation of Irishmen and Irish-women this nation has ever produced.

Join now

"In conclusion, I shall call as I have so often in the past and as shall continue to call in the future on all Irishmen who have not already done so to join the ranks of the Irish Republican Movement who today as in former years are spearheading the fight to make our island nation free and grand".

Mr. Mac Carthaigh concluded,



Five Labour M.P.s joined demonstrators outside London's Old Bailey on Thursday, 20th November where inside 14 people were alleged to be members of the British Northern Ireland Campaign on trial accused of "plotting with others to contravene Act and to seduce members of the Armed Forces from their duty of allegiance..."

From left to right the Labour M.P.s are Mr. Andrew Bennett, Mr. Arthur Latham, Miss Jo. Richardson, Mr. Stan Thorne and Mr. Ron Thomas.

Withdrawal of British Forces will impose responsibility

— Ó Brádaigh

"THE state of the Organisation in Kerry, as I see from the great attendance here tonight, and from the efficiency of the officer board, is in a vigorous and healthy condition. I am impressed and delighted by this as it will be a vital factor in the involvement of Sinn Féin in local affairs.

"This is in line with our policy of local endeavour, community effort, and protection of people and their way of life, at local level," said Mr. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, speaking at the Annual General Meeting of the North Kerry Comhairle Cheantair on November 17th.

The Truce

Mr. Ó Brádaigh continued: On the Northern question, the Republican movement in good faith maintained since last February a truce with the British forces of occupation. Recently, signs of deterioration have emerged, such as the action by the British in closing the incident centres. This type of action could lead to a re-opening of hostilities if they try to reactivate their efforts to impose their hold on the Six Counties. Any such attempt by the British would certainly lead to renewed resistance.

The withdrawal of the

British forces will impose on the people of Ireland a new and challenging responsibility – to build the New Ireland, Eire Nua. A strong, educated, responsible Sinn Féin Organisation must be ready to assume its role in the direction of this movement, lest the sacrifices of the recent years, and of past years, should fritter away into a 32 County affair.

Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill

The proposal to bring in the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill can be described only as an effort to bring British Rule back into this part of the country. This bill would jail here for seven years those who succeeded in escaping British Concentration Camps in the Six Counties. It has nothing to do with law and order in this part of the country – its object is to maintain British rule in the Six counties. It sets out to finish the work of the Paratroopers, by collaborating with British military might and by stamping on those who seek the freedom of Ireland and a just peace for the Irish people.

A further section provides for 15 years imprisonment in the 26 Counties for

anyone who highjacks a car in the North in any of the street protests there. It is up to the people of Kerry to watch how their T.D.s perform on this vital issue.

"A question for the Labour T.D. Dan Spring, will he vote in Leinster House to bring back British law south of the Border", Mr. Ó Brádaigh said.

Other speakers

The large attendance was also addressed by Mr. Walter Lynch, General Secretary of Sinn Féin and Mrs. Mary Lawlor, Munster Organiser.

Officers elected

The following officer board was elected for the coming year: Chairman, Mr. Patrick Corkery; Vice-Chairman, Mr. James Finnucane; Secretary, Mr. Patrick Campbell; Treasurer, Mr. Michael Hogan; Finance Officer, Mr. Robert Beasley; Organiser, Mr. Patrick Fitzmorris; Publicity Officer, Mr. Thomas Devany; P.R.O., Miss Aine Lynch; Education Officer, Mr. George Rice. Mr. Albert O'Gair was elected delegate to An Comhairle Chúige.

Republican Christmas Card

Supplies of our "Phoenix" Christmas Card, are still available from the Craft Centre.

The card printed in six colours has been published as a tribute to our hundreds of political hostages held in prisons and concentration camps in Ireland, North and South, and in England, Scotland, Canada, and the U.S.A.

Inside we have listed the names of the prisons in which they are held. On the back are pictured six of the grim dungeons which hold our "Felons".

The card is 9" x 7" folded and is most effective when framed.

The cards are priced 15p each; £1.50 per dozen. Special rate for S.F. cumainn.

All orders to: The Craft Centre, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Greetings

The Editor and staff of *An Phoblacht* send greetings and all good wishes for a speedy recovery to Mr. Paul Best, Sinn Féin Organiser for Anderstown, who is in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, recovering from gunshot wounds received during the recent feud in Belfast.

Sympathy

The members of the Lougheen Brothers Sinn Féin Cumann, Diarmagh, Dublin, wish to express their sympathy to the family of the late Christopher Maher, father of our esteemed comrade Michael Maher, recently deceased.

Oiche an Phúca
Bf LINN Dí Sathairn seo chugainn i nGaeilge Rath Cairn, Co. Maigh Eo, agus cuidigh leis an bpúcaidreach.

● Caint spriodúil ó Dháithí Ó Ógáin faoi "Púcaí".
● Caill spreagail ina dhiaidh.

Ma theastaíonn uait dún ann agus teacht ar n-aisí go Baile Atha Cliath ina dhiaidh sin, ma eiríonn leat éalú ón bpúca, déan teagmháil leis an gComhordáil (752231) nó le M. O. Cíosóig (854369).

VISIT THE CRAFT CENTRE