

An Phoblacht

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I.R.A. SMUGGLES A SOLDIER OUT OF COUNTRY

ÓGLAIGH na hÉireann have smuggled out of the country the British soldier who surrendered to members of a Belfast unit in the middle of October, according to a supplied statement, after shooting dead a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment some hours earlier. Fusileer David Moody is now safely out of the country, hoping to start a new life elsewhere and the resistance movement has made good its promise to genuine, defecting, British troops.

The story reached us last week as we were about to go to press and only a very condensed report was possible, on the back page.

At that time he was still in Ireland while his passage abroad was being arranged. A combined operation between the Crown forces north and south of the Border, the Dublin authorities, their forces and intelligence agents, failed to prevent Moody being smuggled out.

It would appear that news of the defection, and of the massive security operation mounted to prevent it succeeding, have been suppressed deliberately lest other soldiers be tempted to follow Moody's example.

Promise repeated

Óglaigh na hÉireann repeats its assurance, in its statement, that any British soldier who defects will be treated as a non-combatant and afforded safe passage out of the country.

On page three of this issue we present the result of an interview with Moody, whom we believe to be typical of British soldiers serving in Ireland.

He was surprisingly frank and outspoken in his conversations with our Belfast correspondent. This is particularly striking in his continued and repeated defence of the activities of his regiment, the Royal Regiment of Fusileers, which is about to leave the North.

"An Phoblacht" does not share Moody's opinions on most issues but we find the interview of interest in disclosing the mentality of the typical British "squad" in the North today.

Part of the duties of Moody's section was the guarding of the Hannastown electricity sub-station just outside Belfast. It was a once a week and much despised job because of its boredom.

Exclusive report by RÓNÁN Ó RUAIRC

On Sunday, Oct. 14, last, Moody went on duty there at 08.00 hrs. and was to have remained on duty until the following Tuesday at 10.00 hrs. He stayed on duty throughout Sunday, getting to bed, in a rucksack, at 01.00 hrs. on Monday morning, getting up again at 07.00 hrs.

Argument with U.D.R.

There were 12 soldiers on duty. As usual, they were relieved during their sleeping hours by eight U.D.R. men, who came on at 10.00 hrs. From about that time onwards on the Monday night (Oct. 15) eight of the soldiers had been outside the power station on car check duties. They returned to the station at about 23.30 hrs.

On their way in the gate, Moody and another soldier got into an argument with two U.D.R. men at the gate. It was over something very trivial but quickly developed into a heated argument about the respective merits of the U.D.R., as opposed to the British army proper.

Following some heated words, Moody and the other soldier left the gate and went towards the guard huts. The other soldier went into the one occupied by the remaining soldiers but Moody went into the adjoining one, occupied by two U.D.R. men.

His feelings of antipathy towards the U.D.R. had not abated since the altercation at the gate and he quickly got involved in another heated argument with two U.D.R. men in the hut.

Moody says that there has been tension between the U.D.R. and the British army for some considerable time and that heated exchanges such as these are not rare. The

tension is said to have arisen from the fact that British soldiers regard the U.D.R. as just another arm of the U.D.A. and U.V.F. and an embarrassment to the British army.

He says that the U.D.R. is so grossly incompetent in everything they did that they have become a laughing stock. This causes considerable bitterness.

But to return to the scene in the hut: Moody says he was depressed and tired and was getting more than he could stand from the U.D.R. men. Eventually he muttered, quite meaninglessly, he admits, that he was going to join the Provos.

Threatened by U.D.R. gun

At this point one of the two U.D.R. men, Forsythe, pointed a gun at him and said he was going to have him charged. In a burst of rage, Moody says he raised his gun and fired first, killing Forsythe.

"I did not know what I was doing and, really, I don't remember the details that clearly, he said. "I remember him falling and then I think I fired another shot in the direction of the other U.D.R. man.

"Instinctively, I ran out and towards the gate. I shot the lock off and ran out into the waste ground in front of the power station. It was only then I stopped and realised what I had done.

"I knew that if I stayed where I was I would be picked off by one of the other guys at the station so I headed towards some houses. There was also an army helicopter hovering overhead at the time and it was shining its beam down on the general area. So I knew I had to get off-side.

"Because I had been on patrol in that area



Fusileer David Moody

I knew it quite well, so I headed towards what I thought was a Republican household. I knew that if I went to the U.D.A. or U.V.F., I'd end up with the back of my head blown off. The same might have happened me had the army got me. At least, I would have been in big trouble with them.

"I didn't know how I would be received by the I.R.A. but I thought my chances were 50-50. Anyway I went to the wrong house but there I got civilian clothes and, after staying there for about two hours, I moved to a house that I was sure was Republican.

"From there I was taken to yet another house — a safe one — and one of the first people I met was one of the officers of that area whose picture I had been carrying around for months in an effort to capture him.

Safe with I.R.A.

"Almost immediately from the time I met the I.R.A. I knew I would be safe with them," he stated.

Moody is typical of the type of person recruited by the British: economically and socially deprived, psychologically and emotionally disturbed. Society deprived him of an identity and then made him a bogus offer of one, as a bully boy for those who had robbed him of a chance of life in the first place.

It is one of the tragedies of history and of our circumstances that the likes of Moody should present themselves on our streets as the blunt instruments of our oppression and the immediate target for our resistance. Our fight — the overthrow of imperialism — is their fight but Óglaigh na hÉireann cannot allow sentimentality to stay their hand in this cruel, bitter but determined struggle for victory.

Moody is now safe in a foreign land and no longer the enemy of the Irish working class. The same option is open to any other British soldier who defects and ceases to aid his and our common enemy, the supplied statement points out.

PICTURES OF ARDFHEIS: CENTRE PAGES

'Always getting into brawls'

• Fusileer David Moody

FUSILEER David Moody was born 25 years ago in Larkhall, Lanarkshire, Scotland. He is illegitimate and was adopted into a "brilliant" family when only a few months old. His background is staunchly working class.

He left primary school when 15 and went to a government training centre where his studies were interrupted after only three weeks. He was convicted of house-breaking and malicious damage and sent to an approved school.

"Larkhall is known as thieves' paradise, you know. Many of the older hands in the gang had been involved in this kind of thing and I just went along with it", he explained.

After a few weeks he was moved to another approved school for the first institution was reserved mainly for the more hardened juvenile criminals.

However, within a few weeks he was back in the first school again, following a violent outburst which seems to have characterised his behaviour off and on since then.

On the occasion for this first tantrum was a group therapy session where the participants were encouraged to talk openly about their frustrations and motivations. The issue of his illegitimacy arose.

"I just blew up and stormed out of the place", he said. "The headmaster was a soft bloke. I'd prefer a hard bloke, I don't know what it was about him. Anyway I clubbed him, I was quite violent to even my best mates at the time. I was always getting into brawls."

Off to London

Following his release from the approved school, he got a job as a clerk. This he kept for nearly three years. However, his predilection for violence was again to cause him difficulties, this time from a neighbouring family.

He had got involved in punches-up with younger brothers and the older brothers made life a little too hot for him. He left Larkhall and went to London in search of a job.

He worked for a while as a warehouseman at the Tesco supermarket chain. London was a super place for him. He knew nobody and found it difficult to make new friends.

On the advice of an acquaintance he met in the Y.M.C.A. hostel where he was staying, he went to a British army recruiting office and signed up with the Second Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers. The date was Oct. 26 1969.

Moody underwent 14 weeks basic training at Sutton Coldfield. Then his regiment was transferred to Berlin. While there one of his duties was to guard Spandau, where Herr Hess is held in captivity.

"The man is dying", he stated. "I saw him several times. He looks like a ghost, walking up and down like a yo-yo. He shouldn't be there. The bloke's done his time. He's been there since half way through the war, hasn't he?"

Berlin was great, particularly the night life. But the rioters were extremely hostile, rather like Belfast republicans. The Russian troops seemed to be decent blokes, though. They used to exchange cigarettes and berets on their occasional meetings.

Not many friends

He didn't make many friends in the army. "I think it was probably because it was an English mob. If I had been with a Scots mob I would have been well liked who would have understood how I felt."

EXCLUSIVE

The regiment returned to England in the autumn of 1970 (Moody is very vague on time and all dates from here on should be treated with some reservation).

They went on block leave and then returned to the regiment's base, at Caterick, Yorkshire. There they underwent a course of intensive training, largely in preparation for duty in Ireland.

One of the most important aspects of this training was riot control. Two techniques were taught. The first was used in the North up to the end of 1970 and the other employed thereafter.

They would fire at those they believed to be the riot leaders, and hoping to hit them, thereby leaving the roadway strewn with injured, leading rioters, just as the snatch squad arrived, unexpectedly, onto the street.

The snatch squad then would fall on the rioters or pounce on a few people who had been pointed out to them in advance.

They had to be prepared to take quite a lot of punishment from the crowd for a few minutes but their main job was just to hang onto a few of the leading rioters.

Once the front-line men saw the snatch squad emerging from the side streets into the crowd, they would charge forward, drive the crowd back, leaving the snatch squad secure with their captives.

The snatch squad would be comprised of the fittest and toughest men in thy platoon and would have received special training.

On some occasions the snatch squad would go through houses to make their surprise attack, when the location of side streets didn't suit their purpose.

Peculiarly, Moody's battalion was given no training, other than the initial basic one, in the use of CS gas. The use of the gas, however, was phased out during the early part of 1971 after its dangers had been publicised widely.

Moody's first tour in the North was uneventful. They went to the North sometime around Oct. or Nov. 1971.

Tales of torture

The killing of the three Scottish soldiers shook his fellow soldiers though it happened several months before his battalion came to Ireland.

"I don't really feel bad about the fact that they were shot", he said. "Oo, feeling was well, tough. However, we were told that the soldiers had been castrated and had their fingernails torn off before being killed. This made us mad and sick."

"It wasn't until recently I discovered that no such tortures had been done to them. The British propaganda machine is fucking brilliant, you have to admit, don't you?"

The only real action he saw on his first trip to the North was the curfew and search which lasted more than three days, in the New Lodge Road area, in the early weeks of 1971.

"Most of the weapons and things we found then, we got in the alleysways and entries", he said. "Once we had started the systematic search, the people panicked and from there whatever they had out of their houses."

"We were told to go into every home with

respect for it wasn't our home. It's not saying this was true of every mob but it was of the Fusiliers. There was never any charge against us for wrecking houses."

"The mob before us in the New Lodge Road area got the shit because they were known to be animals. This was the Duke of Wellington regiment. They were very very ignorant when they walked into homes."

He added: "You must remember that the Second Battalion Fusiliers had quite a lot of Irish descendants in the ranks. It's a Midlands mob and there are a lot of RCs in it, from Birmingham and places."

The only fatality the battalion suffered during this tour was Major Jeremy Snow, who was killed in Nov. 1971, in the New Lodge area.

Their Irish duty finished they returned to the regiment's base at Caterick where, after a block break, they engaged in further training.

They went to Canada for four weeks during this period and there they had survival training.

"We were sent out to the jungle for three or four days with nothing but some spare wire," he said. "We had to build our own shelter and hunt and fish for food."

"I ended up doing six days of this because a few of us hitched into the nearest town and bought 15 dollars worth of food. On the way back we tried hitch-hiking again but the first car to stop belonged to one of the officers!"

The block formation technique involved, as the name suggests, the troops aligning themselves into a square. The first line of about eight men would face the rioting crowd.

The two men on the extremities of this line would be equipped with eight foot shields, carrying rifles ready to fire, though not actually cocked unless shooting broke out.

The other six men in the front line would be carrying four foot shields and rubber bullet guns.

Handling riots

The second line, also facing forward, consisted of the snatch squad of about six men. They would be clad in light gear: rubber-soled shoes, no flask jackets, just helmet, visor and baton.

At right angles to both these lines there would be two lines, on the left and the right. The line on the left would actually be the front line for blast bombs, snipers etc., and vice versa.

Another line, again of about six men, would be formed at the rear, mostly walking backwards. In the middle was the commanding officer of the platoon, his bodyguard and radio officer.

The idea was for the front line to move forward towards the crowd, stop at a prearranged point and fire a number of rounds of rubber bullets at the rioters.

The second line (the snatch squad) then would run through, into the midst of the rioters, and hold as many of them as possible, preferably those whom they believed to be leading the riot.

The front line then would charge forward, past where the snatch squad was holding with its captives, and drive the bulk of the crowd back.

The snatch squad then would bring in arrested rioters back behind the formation to wagons, where they would be lodged to await transportation. The lines then would re-form and proceed as before. —More next week



At the end of the 69th Ardheis delegates crowded out into the street and stayed there, to give S.F. vice-president Daithi O'Connell an opportunity to leave without being delayed by undesirable elements. In the excitement which followed this car, operated by An Craibhin Sibhinn, was overturned but nobody was hurt. The crowd dispersed goodhumouredly soon afterwards.

HERE are further extracts from the address of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh at the 69th Sinn Féin Ardheis in the Dublin Mansion House.

After pointing out that Sinn Féin had given a lead in securing a massive 42 per cent. abstention or spoiled votes in the "meaningless exercise" of the Belfast Assembly elections in "playing with loaded dice", he continued:

"In the White Paper itself Britain is desperately trying to create new institutions with some credibility and support among the anti-Unionist population so as to stabilise the situation and perpetuate her own control over the area.

"The B Specials were abolished and replaced by the Ulster Defence Regiment of the British Army — a more modern and

Débe

(Continued from page two)

again. Rachadh sin i bhfeidhm ar inleachtóirí an domhain agus chuidíodh sé go mór lenár gus, go mór mór dá ndéanfadh na húdaráis an iarracht chun stop a chur leis, nó bacáin a chur sa mbealach romhainn.

"Déantar an scéal a phlé agus bíodh nuinir na Gaeilge chun tosaigh an.

Litriche faoi ghlas?

BHFUIL an ghearscéalaíocht nó filíocht Ghaeilge 4 cumadh sna príomhgh. Bheadh "Leas" sásta iad fhóilsiú. Agus muid, foicfidh muid chomh fál agus at ar ár géimias a leithid.

Ná bíodh sé le rá go bhfuil an Ghaeilge fáil chois go hiomlán sna príomhgh, gur áirigh chomh maith sin leis an namhad. Ná bíodh sé le rá gur áirigh le Sasana, fáil dhoicidh, a theanga féin a bhí orainn agus fíú i mease na laochra tá faoi ghlas nach bhfuil an dé ní.

Níl mórán de mhuintir na Gaeltachta faoi ghlas fáil láthair, ach tá siad an. Tá go leor Gaeilgeoirí, gail, leas, Céard é an sídíl ach? Tabharfaidh mise pobhíocht dóibh ach seala a tháil.

Is beag líne a theicinn muid i gcló i nGaeilge ar an bpáipéar seo. Tugim nach geitúir an chos orthu ach a mhairt: cuirfeair fáilte rompu. Ach ní thagann siad.

Más amhlaidh atá an páipéar seo bocht go maith ó thaobh fhóilsiú na Gaeilge de, ná cuirtear aon lecht ar lucht a fhóilsiú, ach ar mhuintir na Gaeilge féin. Ba chóir go mba leor nó. Nó an amhlaidh atá muid sásta le Sacsá eile darb ainm "Eire" (gan aon bécshúir ar an E-ualach?)

Ó Brádaigh at the Ardheis

efficient force; the old corrupt and gerrymandered local councils were removed in favour of a new system of local government; but this was stripped of all powers in health, education and housing to be left only with the care of public parks and cemeteries and the collection of garbage, similarly, the infamous Special Powers Act of Stormont was superseded by the Emergency Provisions legislation of Westminster which even more repressive, providing for non-jury trials, the arrest by British troops of Irish children of 10 years and upwards, and the internment without trial of boys and girls of 14 years and over.

"To Mr. Whitelaw, who says that this emergency legislation only Sinn Féin replies that so was the Special Powers Act; it was brought in for a year, in 1922, was renewed annually until 1928, when it was extended for five years, until 1933, when it was made permanent. But then, life in Ireland under British rule tends to be one long emergency.

In the same way the old Stormont parliament, brought down by the people's resistance, spearheaded by the Irish Republican Army, has as its would-be successor, the new Stormont Assembly.

"At the same time as elections to this new body were being announced the ban on Sinn Féin under British law was re-imposed and military repression in the Six Counties stepped up considerably.

"Rather than enter the election under such circumstances Sinn Féin called for a "boycott or spoil" campaign which was fairly successful — especially so in west Belfast.

"Despite all the adverse conditions even bitter opponents of the British have admitted publicly that we would have secured a number of seats had we put up candidates.

Declaration of intent

The number of seats gained by the S.D.L.P. by default means that they can now be called to account for the unconditional release of the prisoners, a general amnesty for all political prisoners, the securing of their declaration of intent from the British government and the other objectives we were told could be secured by us and through their form of political action."

"The much-heralded Council of Ireland, we will tell you, is things to all men? So it was with the ill-fated Boundary Commission which was used so effectively to 'sell' the Treaty settlement of 1921 to a section of the Irish."

"But in 1925, when the Treaty had been pushed through by an All-Ireland parliament, the first Free State Government was formed and cheated by British politicians.

"The Boundary Commission came to nothing and its abolition in return for the cancellation of alleged war debts was called a "good bargain" by Mr. Cosgrave at the time.

"Similarly, Nationalist Irishmen and women are told that the proposed Council of Ireland will grow into an All-Ireland parliament if only the warfare would stop, while Unionist people are told the very opposite. But if the civil disobedience campaign and the struggle generally does come to a halt and "demobilisation

takes place, what is there to prevent the Council of Ireland from being still-born? Nothing — nothing but the word of English politicians and we, in Ireland, know to our cost in blood and tears just how much value can be placed on that.

"No, we are not prepared to accept the British White Paper on trust as we are asked to do. The basis for a just and lasting peace in Ireland — and that is the only peace worth having — remains a firm commitment by the British government to:

• "make a planned, phased and orderly withdrawal from Ireland, over a period of years;

• acknowledge the right of the whole people of Ireland, acting as a unit, to determine their own future; and

• declare a general amnesty for all political prisoners, be they Loyalist or Republican.

"Within the last two days Mr. Whitelaw has called for tripartite talks on a common law-enforcement area for Ireland and the handing back to the British forces of political refugees who come south of the Border.

"Here we see the British openly and brazenly attempting to stretch their political and military tentacles back into the 26 Counties. Every day for weeks before Mr. Cosgrave met Mr. Heath on July 2nd last one could read in the newspapers of attempts at political extradition.

"At present 11 cases are pending before the Dublin High Court. In view of this it is interesting to read what the father of the present Attorney-General had to say when demands similar to those of Mr. Whitelaw and Unionist politicians were being made some years ago.

"Speaking in Leinster House on November 30, 1955, Mr. John A. Costello, then leader of the Dublin government said:

"I must, therefore, emphasise in order to prevent any further controversy or discussion on this point, that there can be no question of our handing over, either to the British or to the Six Counties authorities, persons whom they may accuse of armed political activities in Britain or in the Six Counties."

We will publish more extracts next week.

Civil Rights officers

AT its first meeting the newly elected executive of Cumann na gCéarta Sibhinní (Irish Civil Rights Association) and its first officer board: cathaoirleach, Capt. James Kelly; leasathaoirleach, Rev. Piaras Ó Duallín; Mariead Ní Mhuineachain; Tomás Mac Anna; stairthoir eagar, Mary Dempsey; oifigeach pobhlíochta, Seamus G. Ó Ceallaigh.

The annual general meeting was reconvened in Liberty Hall, Dublin, on Sunday last when the unfinished agenda of the adjourned meeting was completed and plans made for a nation-wide campaign against repressive legislation and the denial of civil rights generally.



Ó Brádaigh in America

WE continue here, from last week, extracts from the memorandum submitted by the Sinn Féin president to a sub-committee of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S.

House of Representatives in relation to its inquiry into the international protection of human rights, under the chairmanship of Congressman Donald M. Fraser.

Radio and T.V. services in the Republic of Ireland are under the control of the Government indirectly and there are no private radio stations or private T.V. stations permitted by law. Broadcasting powers are vested in the state radio and television service known as Radio Éireann.

The Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960, was introduced at the same time as the establishment of a T.V. service in the Republic of Ireland. Under Section 31 of that Act, the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs is empowered to prohibit the broadcasting of any material on radio or television which he wishes to suppress and the Broadcasting Authority must comply with his direction. The wording of this section is as follows:—

“The Minister may direct the Authority in writing to refrain from broadcasting any particular matter or matter of a particular class, and the Authority shall comply with the direction”.

This power has been used oppressively by succeeding governments to suppress independent viewpoints on the television service and the state radio service and there is no legal redress against same at present. It is to be noted that this power conflicts with the protection afforded by the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 10) which guarantees the right of freedom of expression and makes this right subject to qualification for specific reasons only, i.e., “In the interest of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the Judiciary”.

The powers given to the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in the 1960 Act are unqualified and unlimited. Following a change of government in March, 1973, the present Minister for Posts and Telegraphs indicated his intention to amend this Act but, as at present, no steps have been taken to do this.

Official Secrets Act

Under the Official Secrets Act of 1963 the rights of the courts are again being invaded by the Executive by virtue of the provisions of Section Two of the Act which provides that “A certificate given by a Minister under his seal that any official code-word or pass-word or sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information specified or indicated in the Certificate as secret or confidential shall be conclusive evidence of the fact so certified”.

This section thus leaves a citizen in the situation that if he is alleged to have any document or plan in his possession and is charged under the Act for violation of official secrets, the document or plan will not be produced to the Court but the Court will be asked to accept the certificate of the Minister that the document or plan in question was “secret” within the meaning of the Act, thereby denying the accused the opportunity of proving the contrary.

Furthermore, in Section Ten of the Act the onus of proving the innocence of the accused is transferred to him in relation to certain evidential matters and the principle that a person should not be deemed “guilty by association” is violated by a provision that states that if any person has visited the address of a foreign agent or a member of an unlawful organisation “or consorted or associated with such agent or member” he shall be deemed to be “in communication” with such a person in breach of the provisions of the Act, “unless he proves the contrary”.

Moreover, the definition given for “foreign agent” and for “member of an unlawful organisation” is so wide that it includes persons merely suspected of

being such. (Reference is made to the full text of Section Ten of the Act).

Prisons Act 1972

On May 25, 1972, the Dublin government introduced the Prisons Act, 1972, whereby they provided for the transfer of civilian prisoners into military custody where the Minister for Justice was of opinion that “prison accommodation or prison staff is insufficient to provide secure and reasonable conditions of custody for all persons then in custody in prison”. Reference is made to Section Two of the Act which gave the Minister power to transfer into military custody persons awaiting trial and if any such person is subsequently convicted by the Court, the Court is obliged to return him to military custody for the period of his sentence.

The law of Ireland has always maintained the normal strict division between civil law and military law and between the actions of the civil power and the military power.

In this Act a merger is created whereby persons convicted of relatively minor political offences involving not more than six months imprisonment have been transferred to military detention centres and kept under strict guard, by the military authorities. This Act is expressed to remain in force until May 31, 1974.

Forcible entry

The Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Act, 1971, was brought into law in the Republic of Ireland on September 1, 1971, and arose out of public dissatisfaction and protests connected with the shortage of housing, mainly in the urban areas as a result of which many people were homeless and thousands living in cramped and insanitary conditions.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that property speculators were buying up residential property and leaving it vacant until they got permission to convert the premises into business premises. There were many cases of persons entering such property and squatting there as occupants until they got proper housing accommodation.

The Act is objectionable in relation to its provisions which seek to enforce the idea of “guilt by association”. Section Four of the Act provides that any person “who encouraged or advocated the commission of an offence” in relation to forcible entry shall be guilty of an offence and then goes on to say that in statements made by any group or organisation in relation to the encouragement or advocacy of forcible entry shall bind all the members of the group and make them guilty if they “consent to the making of the statement”.

The section then provides that once an accused person is proved to have been a member of a group it may regard proof of membership and of the making of the statement by the group as “proof of consent on the part of the defendant in the absence of any adequate explanation by him”.

This, in effect, means that any statement advocating that a vacant residential premises should be occupied by those in need of housing accommodation is an offence and that every member of a housing association becomes guilty of the offence unless he gives an adequate explanation which, in effect, means unless he denounces the aims and objectives of the housing association.

(To be concluded next week).

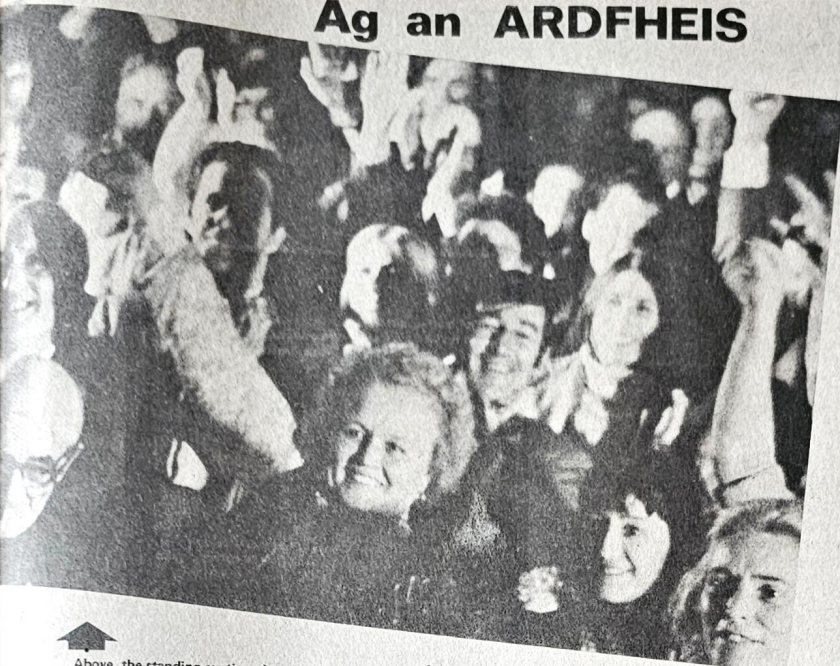


A delighted Dairí Ó Conaill at the reception given by more than 800 delegates at the 69th Ardthéis of Sinn Féin in the Dublin Mansion House to his reading of the statement from the leadership of the Republican Movement.



Above, the efficient Ardthéis chairman Niall Fagan (second from left) with unopposed leas-uachtarán Máire Duggan (right), some of the Ardthéis attendance who gave a standing ovation to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. Third from left is Barney Mahon, fourth is Doire Cholm Cille.

Ag an ARDFHEIS



Above, the standing ovation given by delegates to Dairí Ó Conaill's reading of the statement from the Republican leadership. Right, Seán Ó Cianáin, Doire, manager of "An Phoblacht", addresses delegates.



Re-elected uachtarán Ruairí Ó Brádaigh reading his address to an enthusiastic audience. To his left is re-elected Walter Lynch, rúnaí.



UNDER MY EYE

All children of nation

LAST week I was talking about Declan Costello, the lover of little children, when, once again, the editorial axe fell, because I had reached the end of the two columns of space allotted me. But, to continue where I left off.

I promised, when I started this column a few months ago, that I would tear the veil of hypocrisy and smugness from the faces of all Free State collaborators. I intend to continue doing just that.

These so-called charitable Christian gentlemen, much as they would like to forget it, will have to remember that the 1916 Proclamation promised "To cherish all the children of the nation equally". That includes the children in Occupied Ireland as well as the children in Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick, or anywhere else on this island.

They are all children of the Irish nation, be they Protestant or Catholic, Jew or gentile, or of no religious faith. This should never be forgotten.

It won't do for Mr. Costello or any of his colleagues to say that some of these teenagers were storming British troops or were rioting and brought this trouble on themselves. Young Irish children have as much right to support their parents in the struggle for freedom as had the children of Prague, when they came out with bare hands against the Russian tanks.

They were lauded as heroes and heroines by our politicians, by our clergy and by our press, but the children of Belfast and Derry, of Newry, Omagh, Enniskillen and Armagh, are "hooligans" and "blackguards" if they do the same thing.

Of course, the children of Belfast have thrown stones at the R.U.C. and the British army. So did the children of Limerick in 1690, when King William's guns were pounding the city walls. What Costello and Co. fail to remember is that even since 1968 a new generation has grown up.

Those who were 10 in 1968 are 15 today, and, in two years time, they will be able to join the ranks of Ireland's unconquerable fighting army. Mr. Costello, like many who sit beside him in Leinster House, was reared and nurtured on Free State colonialism. His father was Attorney General in the Government of W.T. Cosgrave and was responsible for framing and putting on the statute book many laws, including the infamous Amendment No. 17 of the first Free State Constitution, one which established military courts in peacetime for the trial of Republican offenders against Free State law.

When dream comes true

In 1931 over 300 Republicans were incarcerated under this Act, until Mr. Cosgrave and his friends were driven out of office in 1932. Unfortunately, the replacement of Cosgrave by De Valera made no difference, so that we have still Free State politicians who believe that they can achieve what their fathers failed to achieve. But they can never crush the spirit of Irish Republicanism.

Declan Costello should ponder the words of Pearse, who said, in relation to the mockers of his day: "What if the dream comes true"? It will come true in our time and, when it does, rest assured there will be no place for you as a judge in the courts of the Irish Republic.

Roddy Connolly

I NEVER thought I would see the day when Roddy Connolly, son of the executed leader of Easter Week, James Connolly, would become a hatchet-man for imperialism. He certainly played that role at the recent Labour Party conference in Cork where, as chairman of the Conference, he did his best to silence and curtail all criticism of the platform from the floor.

This was particularly so when he refused to allow a recount on the motion as to whether or not the Labour Party's attitude to the operation of the Offences Against the State Act by a Government of which the Labour Party is part, should be discussed or not. The motion for discussion was lost by only three votes, on a show of hands.

So the matter was shelved for another year, thus smoothing the path of imperial collaborators such as Brendan Corish, Conor Cruise O'Brien, Barry Desmond, Michael O'Leary, and, last but by no means least, Justin Keating, who ran away from the contentious issue of nationalising the mineral resources of this country, a strange performance indeed from an alleged died-in-the-wool "socialist".

It is a pity that, in the latter years of his life, Roddy Connolly should besmitch the Connolly name by giving his approval to the contemporary reactionary role of the Labour leadership. As long as I know him, and that is a good number of years, Roddy Connolly has posed as an adherent of the left and, during part of the time, as a leader of the left. Just for the record, let us look back over his political career.

As a boy of 16 or under, he served in the G.P.O. with his father during the Rising. He was not captured by the British because the Leadership of the Republican Government (including his father) made him leave the garrison and escape before the surrender took place.

This was done to save his life because Pearse and the others were convinced that the wounded Connolly's son might share the same fate as his father if he were captured by the enemy. In the years that followed Roddy Connolly continued to serve the cause of Irish freedom, as a member of the Labour Movement and as a member of the Republican Movement. More next week.

CORMAC MAC AIRT

Desmond Fennell looks at our

OVER the past few years a growing number of individuals and groups have been expressing radical dissatisfaction with the present structures of government in the Republic and proposing far-reaching changes.

Some have been concerned only with the structure of government in a particular locality, say, Ballyfermot or the Connemara Gaeltacht. Others have directed their criticism at the state as a whole, proposing changes in its entire fabric.

Both movements have been interrelated, not so much actually — in terms of persons or organisations (though that has occurred) — as logically and by cross-fertilisation. The local movements for change have raised the general issue by implication.

When the argument for district self-government in Irish-speaking South Connemara is based (as it is) not merely on linguistic, but also on socio-economic grounds, then some case is being made, willy-nilly, for a similar structure of government in English-speaking North Connemara or South Leitrim.

When it is maintained that Ballyfermot should be a self-governing township within the city of Dublin, then something to the same effect is being said about Crumlin and Clontarf. In this respect, therefore the generalised proposals for a re-structuring of government have represented the working out of the particular, local demands to their logical overall conclusions.

This new thinking on government does not merely seek structural "changes" or "reforms". If that were all, it could not properly be described as new. Since the first half of the 19th century, many changes (usually described as "reforms") have taken place in the structure of government in the 26 Counties. The most decisive of these occurred before independence, but further modifications have been made since 1922.

The new thinking on government wants changes of a different kind and degree than those which have been occurring: changes which would substantially transform the structure and ethos of government as these have

ÉIRE NUA

This article is based on extracts from "Sketches of the New Ireland" by Desmond Fennell (Association for the Advancement of Self-Government, 35p., 24 Bóthar na hOllscoile, Gaillimh). This series followed the recent Athlone conference. Discussion may be continued in the letters columns. We will conclude the Fennell extracts next week.

developed in Ireland over the past 100 years — first, under the British regime, then under an Irish regime which retained the British system, and its direction of change, in all essentials.

Direction change

A more precise way of putting it is that the new thinking on government wishes to change the direction in which change in our governmental structures has been moving. Thus, instead of the unco-ordinated proliferation of separate governmental agencies (Departments, Departmental offshoots, semi-state boards, county development teams, county and urban councils, county committees of agriculture and vocational education, regional health boards etc.), the gradual co-ordination of all governmental and semi-state services in a hierarchy of agreed local centres; instead of the progressive concentration of powers at the centre of government, the decentralisation of powers throughout the land; instead of government trying to cater, in a

fragmentary fashion, for an increasing number of fragmentary needs of individual citizens, government increasingly exercised on behalf of communities for the overall needs of each community and of its constituent families and persons; instead of government becoming more incomprehensible and irrational, government becoming more intelligible and rational; in short, instead of government rendering itself structurally more inhuman, government being rendered structurally more humane — more like a work of rational, feeling, caring, social man.

The basic reason why the new thinking on government wants this change of direction is that it has a philosophy of man and government which differs radically from that which has de facto — even if often unconsciously — shaped the present system. Consequently, it has a different set of values from that which has shaped the present system.

Its distinctive values, in respect of government, can be illustrated by citing two

statements which it subscribes to, and which the established philosophy of government implicitly rejects. The first is a resolution of the Council of Europe Deliberative Assembly (of which Ireland is a member). The resolution, passed on May 14, 1969, reads:

1. The autonomy of a local community is the right of that community to manage under its own responsibility its own affairs with a freely-elected assembly.
 2. The principle of local autonomy shall be embodied in the constitution of each state.
 3. To safeguard their autonomy, local communities shall be allowed such form of organisation as will enable them to meet the requirements of the population.
 4. Local communities shall have the right to associate lawfully with each other for any purpose serving their common interests.
 5. Any measures affecting local interests shall be taken by the local authorities in preference to the authorities of larger communities.
 6. Representatives of local communities shall be heard on any measure involving the future of such communities.
 7. Supervision of measures taken by local communities shall not exceed the control of their legality.
 8. Autonomy implies that local communities shall have the free disposal of finances distinct, particularly, from those of the state.
 9. Funds shall be available to the local communities in proportion to the tasks assumed by those communities.
- The second statement is from the submission of the Local

John Mulvihill, a Kerryman who spent most of his life in the Republican Movement, right up to his untimely death, was given a military funeral in Leitrim, where he had settled down. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

Government and Public Services Union on the Government's White Paper. It was published in the Union's journal *Forum*, Autumn 1971.

Concept defined

"Various definitions have been advanced for the term 'local government,' mainly relating to the nature of services provided by the local authorities. A more fundamental definition, however, would describe local government as *the basic socio-political territorial unit of government*. The unit to comprise a community of people, providing their social and economic services for themselves, taking an active and constructive part in the business of government, and deciding for themselves within the limits of what national policies and local resources will allow. Taken to its logical conclusion, this concept must alter the present legal use upon which local government has rested in Ireland" (Italics mine).

The new thinking on government wishes to see the values affirmed in those statements implemented in Irish governmental structures. It seeks this not merely because government so structured would be good in itself, i.e., humane, participative and socially just, but also because it would make possible many desirable developments in regard to equality of opportunity, mental health, population distribution, regional economic equality, Gaeltacht survival, educational adaptation and democracy which are impossible under the present system.

The intention is not to reform "Local Government", as the term is normally understood in the Republic. It is the system of county, borough and urban councils, with their managers and administrators.

Essentially, these bodies are merely the local agencies of a single department of government, that which deals with housing, roads, planning permissions and a few other minor matters. So they are concerned only with a very small sector of governmental activity — not to mention the activities of semi-state bodies. (Some academic writers, disregarding ordinary speech and understanding, use the term "local government" to include vocational education committees and county committees of agriculture. Needless to say, these bodies are not part of what is normally meant in Ireland by the term "local government". They are agencies working directly under the control of the Departments of Education and Agriculture, respectively; and they are seen as such — quite separately — from the "local authority" sphere).

Here is not the place to discuss why the local operations of "the Department of Housing and Roads" are differently organised than those of the other 14 or so Departments why, in this case alone, there are elected councillors and so on — or why these local operations of government, and none other, are described as "local government".

The point is that the new thinking on government is not concerned, in any special way,

with governmental services in respect of housing and roads, nor with reforming the agencies engaged in this activity.

It is concerned with all the local services of all governmental and semi-state agencies, and its aim is to re-structure and integrate all these services within common territorial units of small, medium and large size, to do this for the reasons mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Main purpose

The over-riding purpose is to create a system of government which is humane in its structure and operation in each territory and community of the nation, and as a whole. Naturally, a system of government which is humanely fashioned, in regard to its structure and its mode of operation, does not oblige its users to use it humanely, in order to make themselves a good, human life.

Human bodies and minds are humanely fashioned: some people use them humanely, others do not. What is important, however, is that they are humanely fashioned in the first place, so that the possibility of humane use and operation exists.

The movement for better structures of government urges us to conceive and create a system of government which will tend to enhance our lives rather than frustrate them, to increase our control of our affairs rather than diminish our mastery over them; a form of government, in short, which will tend on the whole to further a good human life (rather than a bad life or a mere existence) in each part of our country.

One aspect of the good human life which is frequently, today, equated with its entirety is a flourishing economy in which well-remunerated employment and a comfortable material existence — or at least the latter — are available for all who seek them.

The equation of this condition with the good human life is made by administrators, politicians, public ideologues and commercial advertisers — and by people in general, despairingly, and in spite of themselves.

The facts of life, death, mental suffering and material ugliness in our economically most prosperous cities show it to be a false equation. Not surprisingly, for man is human — not merely animal. The new thinking on government, being a humanist movement, rejects this equation and its implicit animalism.

It points out the human poverty and deprivation of the well-fed, well-housed, physically healthy masses; it says that they are starved of participation in institutions and need badly "to create units of society brought down to human size, where they can gain feel and have an existence as human beings, not merely as machine components" (Ivor Browne).



OUR MILLION SHILLING FUND Support Éamonn Mac Thomáis

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

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

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Landlords terms shocked delegates

WHEN three delegates from the Cappoquin Owners', Leaseholders' and Tenants' Association met Sir Richard Keane on Oct. 2., to discuss the problem of ground rents, they were presented with a statement setting forth the terms under which he is prepared to sell to leaseholders the fee-simple or freehold of their properties in the town.

The fortunate ones, whose leases comply with the provisions of the 1967 Landlord and Tenant (Groundrents) Act, will be allowed to purchase the freehold under that Act; but all others, such as those whose leases expire within 25 years, or whose ground rent is greater than or equal to the P.L. Valuation, will be treated with the utmost severity, in as much as they will have to pay, on average, 100 times the existing ground rent.

For example, a leaseholder now paying £32 p.a., must pay the landlord £3,200, plus a considerable sum in legal fees, etc., before the property is really his own.

If this be not an example of the type of extortion Shylock exulted in, then nothing is. Surely it is not too much to expect that an Irish Minister of the Government will quickly introduce amending legislation to protect the people of Ireland from the exorbitant demands of greedy landlords?

Sir Richard Keane, of course, maintains that his behaviour is reasonable and fair and expects the leaseholders to agree with him when they have read his terms. But the fact that this "generous" offer was unanimously and distinctly rejected at a large public meeting on the night of Oct. 2 proves that his thinking is all wrong and that his pretentious logic makes no impression.

His terms shocked the delegates who hopefully went to negotiate a settlement that would end local fear and misery. The result was bitter disappointment for everyone concerned and a widening of the rift between the local people and the landlord. Indeed, the way may have been opened for sterner action against a man whose sole concern seems to be for himself and for his "pound of flesh".

Nothing the delegates said could move him from a predetermined course which, however, may be fraught with unforeseen consequences and may prompt the victims to feel: "Mischief! thou art afoot: take what course thou wilt".

— Cappoquin Tenant,
Here is the text of the landlord's statement:

"First of all I would like leaseholders to be aware of how this property came to the possession of the Keane family. The Keanes were originally the O'Canhans of the County of Ireland and the O'Canhans, together with other members of the clan, owned extensive lands in the area of Lough Derg, where their rights account for the three salmon in the Keane Coat of Arms.

"The O'Canhans fought with distinction for James II at the Battle of the Boyne and as a result of their defeat were expressly forbidden by the Penal Laws from owning land in Ireland. All their lands were seized by the State.

"In order to circumvent the Penal Laws, the O'Canhans changed their name to Keane and one John Keane, son of the O'Canhans, became a lawyer and a Protestant. He established a lucrative practice and retired to settle in the Dungarvan. In 1738 he leased the Cappoquin property from the Earl of Cork and later, about 1750, when the Earl of Cork, whose junior title was Earl of Burlington, was raising money to build Burlington House in London, now the seat of the Royal Academy, John Keane bought the property outright.

"In the mid-nineteenth century following the famine and the collapse of farm prices, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, the estate Academy, financial difficulties. However, my great grandmother came to the rescue and in 1856 the property was bought back from the Incumbered Estates Court for a very considerable sum of money.

"On September 6 three representatives of the newly formed Cappoquin Owners', Leaseholders and Tenants' Association called on me and said that the members of this

Association wished to buy out their leases and asked on what terms the Cappoquin Estate would be prepared to sell leases.

"I promised to look into the matter and Cappoquin Estate has now decided to offer leaseholders the option of buying their leases from the date of this letter to buy out their leases at today's money equivalent of the true rent of the lease at 10 years purchase.

"This offer is set out in further detail below, but first I would like to point out that it is a formula which after adjustment for inflation, ensures that the estate renounces all claim to any benefits due to improvements or to any rise in the real value of the property.

"The offer is open to all leaseholders except those with pepper corn rents provided they have paid up their rent in full. In cases where a lease has expired, then the estate will accept that the rent has been paid up in full and the leaseholder pays from the date of expiry a rent which will be the true rent of the main lease adjusted for inflation.

"At the same time I would like to point out to leaseholders that they will have to find out for themselves whether their leases qualify for the more advantageous terms of the 1967 Act to which they may be entitled whereby leaseholders with more than 25 years of their lease to run can buy without any adjustment for inflation.

"Where a leaseholder owns more than one lease then this offer is subject to the condition that the entire leaseholding is bought out. "What is meant by true rent of the main lease? The main lease is the basic lease occupied, not any short-term lease and the true rent is the rent set out in the lease plus the sum which the leaseholder was obliged under the terms of the lease to expend in repairs expressed as an annual sum over the term of the lease.

"For example, the owner could have said to the prospective leaseholder - The fair rent for this property in good condition is £10 a year for 99 years; either can spend £100 putting it in good condition and you pay me £10 a year, or you can spend the £100 and pay me £9 a year.

"In the latter case the true rent is £10. In the case of every lease except one granted recently for 21 years, if there is a repair obligation on the leaseholder other than maintenance, this obligation is clearly set out as a precise sum of money to be expended by the leaseholder.

"What is meant by today's money equivalent of the true rent? In case it is not self-explanatory, I would explain that it is the number of pounds that today have the purchasing power of £1 at the date of the signing of the main lease. This information has been obtained from the Central Statistics Office in Dublin and their latest table of conversion is as follows:-

£1 in 1860	corresponded to	£ 8.75	in August 1973
£1 in 1874	"	£ 9.78	"
£1 in 1880	"	£ 9.41	"
£1 in 1891	"	£11.10	"
£1 in 1892	"	£10.98	"
£1 in 1895	"	£11.91	"
£1 in 1897	"	£11.63	"
£1 in 1906	"	£10.86	"
£1 in 1911	"	£10.19	"
£1 in 1921	"	£ 4.37	"
£1 in 1947	"	£ 3.22	"
£1 in 1961	"	£ 2.06	"
£1 in 1964	"	£ 1.81	"

a chara

"Why 10 years' purchase? Hitherto the generally accepted figure has been 14 years purchase to provide a sum which would give the owner selling the property the opportunity to make another investment, bringing in the same income as the lease first brought in. Under today's rates of interest these conditions are met with 10 years' purchase. Leaseholders, however, should bear in mind that today's rates of interest are exceptionally high and may not last.

"The estate's offer of 10 years' purchase is for cash down in full within six months of the date of this letter; but there may be leaseholders who will find difficulty in finding the cash. For them the Estate is ready to offer a scheme of extended payment at 1 1/2 years purchase, with 40 per cent. cash down and the remainder to be paid on the basis of 20 per cent. a year, spread over three years.

"A personal letter will be sent shortly to each leaseholder setting out the cost to him of buying out his lease, together with a contract form, once the leaseholder has expressed his interest in buying out his lease on the above terms. Leaseholders so interested should write direct to the estate office. — R.M.K."

Móinseoirche

TA scáta de phríofúnaigh polaitiúla i bPríofúnaigh Móinseoirche iar éis Comharcchumann agus Éire Nua (Príofúnaigh Polaitiúla Móinseoirche) nó, imlárdá, Éire Nua Co-operáití (Political Prisoners, Mountjoy Jail), a bhunú.

Go bunúsach, is é ár gcuspóir ealaíon agus saothair a chur ar fáil agus adá dhíol le cumann de chuid Sinn Féin agus le daoine eile. Don Chumann Cabhrach a rachaidh an chuid is mó den bhíalláir. Fantiádh, cuid den bhíalláir leis an gCearchumann chun bunbáthar a cheannach.

Is iad Sinn Féin, Bíúró Phoblóicé na Poblachta agus cinirí Ghluaiseachta na Poblachta, ina gcuid rólaita, a leanas agus polasaí oifigiúil na Gluaiseachta.

Leis na húdair na tuairimí a nochtaítear sa pháipéar seo, bíodh siad i litreacha, sna coilín rialta sinithe nó in atanna eile, agus ní gcoinná aontaíonn na foilsitheoirí leo.

Dhláir grúpaí cásála orainn tá tanaí 6 dhin ealaíon agus saothair (saws, planes, chisels, etc.) and timber. —Bainisteoir Comharcchumann Éire Nua, Príofúnaigh Móinseoirche, B.A.C.

an gCumann Cabhrach, dá imeachtaí agus dá bhailiúcháin. Iarrtar arís arís a dteastaíonn samplaí uatha litreacha a scríobh chuig: Gearóid O'HEILTHIR, Bainisteoir, Comharcchumann Éire Nua (Príofúnaigh Polaitiúla), Príofúnaigh Móinseoirche, Baile Átha Cliath. Seo a leanas an cineál oibre a bheadh dhéanamh againn: saothair i leathair, in adhmaid, ceadair, bratanna úrláir agus seodair.

Déantar seodair faoin bhíalláir leis an gCumann Cabhrach agus le géaga de chuid Ghluaiseachta na Poblachta. Go neamhbhrabúsach go bhíodfaidís an Cearchumann. Is ar imbhaite leis an gCumann Cabhrach agus Gluaiseachta na Poblachta atá maid ann. Fáilteógúil roimh bhreistais, mar ábhar nó eile, a chuidíos leis an obair.

Má chuidíonn tusa leis an gComharcchumann agus má éiríonn Jinn, beidh muide neamhspleách agus, mar sin, ní bheadh muid ag brath chomh mór agus atáimid faoi láthair ar an gCumann Cabhrach a bhfuil muid an-bhuíoch de.

Seo an t-amas cuid des na rudaí atá a dhíth orainn go mór faoi láthair: scuabainí peinte; péint; vearmais ghlas; uirlisí adhmaid (gríos, plánaí, sísd); agus adhmaid.

A GROUP of political prisoners in Mountjoy Jail has formed Comharcchumann Éire Nua (Príofúnaigh Polaitiúla) or Éire Nua Co-op. (Political Prisoners, Mountjoy Jail).

Basically our aims are to provide arts and crafts for sale or auction to Sinn Féin Cumann or individuals. The proceeds in turn will be channelled towards the Cumann Cabhrach (Prisoners' Dependents Fund). A small portion of the proceeds will be donated to the Co-op, to help us buy materials.

In the past we have been asked by various groups to supply them with handicrafts. This work has been left to a few individuals. Now, with our Co-op, we hope to be in a strong position to fulfill all orders within a month.

We are also aware that a few counties where A.C.C. is in operation have not been receiving enough handicrafts to help them in their fund-raising collections. They are now invited to write direct to: Gerry O'Hare, Manager Éire Nua Co-op., Mountjoy Jail. By this direct route we hope to see that all branches of A.C.C. are supplied with a steady distribution of handicrafts.

Our first workshops will be in leatherwork, woodwork, hankies, carpets and jewelry. Prices will be standard. At auctions, the proceeds will have to be agreed with the local branch of A.C.C., and that branch of the Republican Movement holding the function.

Our Co-op. is completely Non-profit-making. We are motivated purely to assist A.C.C. and the Republican Movement. Donations in the way of materials would be most welcome.

By making our Co-op. a success you will be helping us in a practical way to make ourselves self-sufficient and consequently less a burden on A.C.C. to which we are so deeply and humbly indebted.

Some items we require at once: small paint brushes and paint; clear varnish; woodwork tools (saws, planes, chisels, etc.); and timber.

—Bainisteoir Comharcchumann Éire Nua, Príofúnaigh Móinseoirche, B.A.C.

BELFAST

Readers may get copies of the paper now from local, friendly newspapers. Ask in your local shop for

AN PHOBLACHT

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE

NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION

A Chara,

A Meeting of the National Graves Association Committee was held in Dublin on Sunday 14th October last for the purpose of giving assistance to the Belfast Committee in providing suitable burial places for the Belfast men and women who have fallen in the present struggle for Irish Independence.

The enormity of this task can be appreciated from the fact that almost one hundred have been killed in action since 1969. The third burial plot has still to be purchased. At present it is an unmarked plot of ground, with grave only identifiable by the wreaths on them. It is of the utmost importance that the area of the plot should be paid for, and a surround erected with a suitable memorial stone.

Belfast who have maintained the other two plots and carry the burden of almost £4,000 per week for Prisoners Dependents find this extra expense impossible to meet.

A National Appeal for funds to meet this expense has been launched. If you believe in the cause for which these men and women gave the supreme sacrifice, do not stand idly by, as true Irishmen, while the graves of our Belfast patriots are in need of maintenance.

The following is the Belfast Roll of Honour, in the present campaign. Naturally in the present situation the Roll of Honour may not be complete.

Fiann Gerard McAuley	Killed by U.V.F.	1969
Vol. Liam McParland	Killed in car crash	1969
Vol. Henry McIlhone	Shot by U.V.F.	1970
Vol. Peter Blake	Car crash	1970
Vol. Tom McGoldrick	Car crash	1970
Vol. Michael Kane	Explosion	1970
Vol. Tony Henderson	Shot by accident	1971
Vol. Ernest McDermott	Explosion	1971
Vol. Martin Forsyth	Shot by R.U.C.	1971
Vol. Charles Hughes	Shot by U.V.F.	1971
Vol. Seamus Simpson	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Dorothy Maguire	C. na mb. Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. James Saunders	Shot by U.V.F.	1971
Vol. Billy Reid	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Patrick McAdurey	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Tony Nolan	Shot by accident	1971
Vol. Gerard McDade	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Albert Kavanagh	Shot by accident	1972
Vol. John Fidan	Car crash	1972
Vol. John Fincaine	Car crash	1972
Vol. Danny O'Neill	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Albert Kavanagh	Explosion	1972
Vol. Gerard Crossan	Explosion	1972
Vol. Tony Lewis	Explosion	1972
Vol. Sean Johnston	Explosion	1972
Vol. Tom McCann	Explosion	1972
Vol. Fiann Sean O'Riordan	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Patrick Campbell	Shot by U.V.F.	1972
Vol. Fiann Michael Magee	Shot by accident	1972
Vol. John Douglas	Shot by U.V.F.	1972
Vol. Michael Clarke	Explosion	1972
Vol. Ann Parker	C. na mb. Explosion	1972
Vol. James Quigley	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Daniel McArdace	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Patrick Maguire	Explosion	1972
Vol. Joseph McKinney	Explosion	1972
Vol. John Donaghy	Explosion	1972
Vol. Stan Carberry	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Fiann David McAuley	Shot by accident	1972
Vol. Joseph Cunningham	Shot by R.U.C.	1972
Vol. Gerard Bell	Explosion	1972
Vol. Gerard Steele	Explosion	1972
Vol. Robert Dorrnan	Explosion	1972
Vol. Joseph Magee	Explosion	1972
Vol. Samuel Hughes	Explosion	1972
Vol. Charles McCrystal	Explosion	1972
Vol. John McPhelan	Explosion	1972
Vol. Edward McDonald	Explosion	1972
Vol. Jackie McIlhone	Explosion	1972
Vol. Joseph Fitzsimmons	Explosion	1972
Vol. Martin Engen	Explosion	1972
Vol. Joseph Downey	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Seamus Cassidy	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. James Reid	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Terence Toolan	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Louis Scullion	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Robert McCadden	Explosion	1972
Vol. Fiann Sean Hughes	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Arthur Ligtitt	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Edward O'Rawe	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Tony Campbell	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. James McCann	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. James Sloan	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Patrick McCabe	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Brian Smyth	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Tom O'Donnell	Car crash	1973
Vol. Sidney McGee	Shot by British Army	1973

Subscriptions should be sent to: Willie John McCorry, 93, McDonald St., Belfast; Sean Fitzpatrick, 18 Dromard Rd., Drimnagh, Dublin 12; Any member of the National Graves Committees.

Is Míse, le gach beannacht, SEAN FITZPATRICK, Roinn, National Graves Association, Dublin.

Was U.D.R. man an arsonist?

WAS THE U.D.R. man recently protected by Gardai in Dundalk and escorted as far as the Border a planter of five bombs or a British intelligence agent?

Raiftéirí ar stáitse

SEANS gurb é "Mise Raiftéirí an Fíle" an dárma is fearr dá scríobhóir Críostóir Ó Fíoinn go fóill, is é sin, más é féin a scríobhóir. Ní an amhlaid a bhí lámh an fhíle féin an lámh an scríbhneora?

Is tada ó chuir idar an méid sin beochtá i gcarachtair is a d'Éirigh le Ó Fíoinn ar stáitse na Párlaiminte mar bhí Raiftéirí ina stéalla beatha romhainn, an fear mar a bhí sé, más fíor don bhéalaíodas.

Táthar ann, is dóide, a dearfadh nach bhfuil ann ach bollecaireacht; ach fear polaitiúil poiblí is ea an fíle i gcóir má bhíonn buancheangal ann idir é féin agus an pobal as an eascair sé. Agus is fíor go bhfuil bollecaireacht sa dráma seo (tá aor fiontáich snóite againn ar an gCúirt Speisialta Chóirial).

Ach duine daonna fearúil a bhí i Raiftéirí, más fíor agus bhí sé in ciontí línn agus muid ag siúl an doras againn.

Tá soch in haisteoireacht againn. Tá fíliocht, árá, cool, dath, gluaiseacht, fealsúnacht, polaitiúil ann, iad fite fuaithe ag an idar is ag an stiúiróir sa chas tháinigse na pobal na Gaeilge. Ní scríobhneoireacht go fírinne agus tá sí i léibhár, chomh searbh is a bhí i sráth.

Ach chun go n-éireadh leis an dráma seo mar bhí chéir, cáilíoch, éiríocht ann, iad fite fuaithe ag an idar is ag an stiúiróir sa chas tháinigse na pobal na Gaeilge. Ní scríobhneoireacht go fírinne agus tá sí i léibhár, chomh searbh is a bhí i sráth.

-D.B.

Báiread, laoch

In Otherralann na Gaillimhe, an deireadh seachtaine seo caite, fuair an sárcheathair Tomás Búircroide U.S. Ar diéis Dé go raibh sé. D'han sé dílis don náisiún agus don Ghluaiseacht go deireadh.

An tseachtain seo chugainn, le cúlannam Dé, fóilsóid muid curas ar a bheatha ar son na saoire.

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Arna foilsú ag Gluaiseacht na Poblachta.

Reasonable Rates



Oglagh na hÉireann, in a supplied statement, corrects a report in the papers on Mon. Oct. 15, concerning the U.D.R. man in Dundalk the previous Saturday.

In view of the frequency of the ever growing fire bomb incidents in Dundalk recently, we felt it our duty to handle our volunteers on guard, against these vicious attempts, endangering the people and property of Dundalk," according to the statement.

On the Saturday in question a man was seen acting suspiciously in Clanbrassell Street. He was followed by some of our members. Some time later he went to his car which was parked in Crowe Street, where he was approached by two of our volunteers.

One of them asked him for his identification. This he refused. At that he jumped out of the car, and ran towards Park Street and into Dowd Street.

"A short time later, members of the Special Branch arrived, led by Det. Sgt. Hawkeshaw who is well known to Republicans in Dundalk.

"They gave this man an escort to his car in Crowe Street. They escorted him to the Border. Our men were not with his wife and children as earlier stated. He has also been seen a lot around Dundalk in the past few weeks. None of our men were armed. At no time was there an attempt made on his life.

"We were not even aware that he was a U.D.R. man at that time. Our men were following this man because we believed he was involved in the planting of the bombs in the town recently.

"If anyone is injured by any of these fire bombs in the future, Mr. Hawkeshaw and his men will be as guilty as the ones who plant them. Our members will be on the look out, this weekend, and every week-end, and will do their utmost to apprehend those responsible.

The statement is signed S.D. O'Neill.

Gaeilge agus S.D.L.P.

BHÍ beirt den S.D.L.P. le feiceáil eochair anáin le linn Seachtaine an Oireachtais i gClub na Fíle, Choir Poblachtóirí in iúl doibh nach raibh fáilte rompu na roimh a gcuid Beirla agus d'ímhig siad leo. Hume agus Devlin bhí iontu.

Mas fíor da gloseann muid ba é fath a gcaithear ar an ardhathair cursaí Gaeilge a phlé le Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge. D'ítheadh se go bhfuil "póilias Gaeilge" ag an S.D.L.P. le mar ata, mas fíor, ag Fianna Fáil, tráth.

Ní feasach duinn cin toradh a bhí ar na cainteanna. Beirla a bhí in uachtar.

MOTORCYCLES

Wanted: used motorcycles and scooters in "needing repair" condition. Any year. Price must be reasonable. Write: M. O'Brien, Dillon's Downs, Blessington, Co. Chill Mhantáin.

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Districts STRABANE
Regions EAST ULSTER
Regional capitals o
Parliament of Ulster o
Gaeltacht

WE present here, for the first time, Ulaídh Nua or the New Ulster, as foreseen by Desmond Fennell.

His work on this had not been completed by the time his "Sketches of the New Ireland" was being prepared for publication.

It is hoped that the various bodies interested in democracy, in changes in local government and kindred subjects, especially Comhairle Ulaídh, will use the Fennell map and proposals as a basis for discussion.

Desmond Fennell writes: the New Ulster is a self-governing community of communities.

The community council is a voluntary, representative body speaking and acting on behalf of local communities of between 1,500 and 6,000 people in urban and rural areas.

Fennell plan for a democratic Ulster

A delegate from each community council has a seat on the statutory district council. The district is the basic unit of statutory government. It contains a community of between 10,000 and 70,000 people. Most districts have a population of between 25,000 and 45,000, the average per district being 33,000.

The district council has charge of all public services to individuals and families in the spheres of social welfare, education, labour guidance, trading and employment practice, housing, planning permissions, agriculture and fishing, small industry development, etc.

It controls the district police and joins with other district councils of the region to maintain a regional police service with specialist functions. District councils, at discretion, can delegate functions to community councils.

REPORT FROM FRONT LINE

Reproduced from "The Crocky", Derry

that they had sustained several casualties. All the volunteers of the I.R.A. units involved returned unharmed to base. FOOTNOTE: In the above actions against the enemy, the I.R.A. inflicted heavy casualties of 13 British officers and men killed or wounded. These figures are suppressed by the B.A. Brass in Derry, just as the general enemy casualties in the North are distorted, all because the morale of the B.A. is at an all-time low. The men "serving" here cannot get out soon enough, and their replacements do not want to come in the first place.

This is one of the trump cards in this war for freedom which the I.R.A. holds. Whereas the I.R.A. is a disciplined band of volunteers, the British Army is a disjoined, drug-addicted, undisciplined force, as can be seen by their actions in Derry every day and the untasked insubordination by lower ranks towards their officers.

Friday Oct. 5 - An active service unit claimed a "hit" after an attack on a patrol. Later a senior officer, critically injured another and wounding a third.

Saturday Oct. 6 - Two British soldiers were injured, one seriously, when an A.S.U. attacked them in the Blucher Street area.

Saturday Oct. 6 - After being pinned down by an A.S.U. in the Kildrum Gardens area of Creggan, a British Army patrol found it necessary to call for reinforcements to get them out. The relieving enemy patrol was also attacked by another A.S.U. and, when the first patrol withdrew under heavy fire, it was noticed

that they had sustained several casualties. All the volunteers of the I.R.A. units involved returned unharmed to base.

Tuesday Oct. 2 - After luring R.U.C. and B.A. units to an area of Shantallow, I.R.A. units attacked them with accurate and sustained fire. Two R.U.C. men were hit. The I.R.A. suffered no casualties.

During a visit to the enemy post at Bligh's Lane, by the "G.O.C. Land Forces" an active service unit left an explosive device which detonated, killing one senior officer, critically injuring another and wounding a third.

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Go Portlaoise?

Is é a cheidann na cimir polaitiúla a bhíodán Mhóineoige go bhfuiltear chun iad aistriú go Fríosa. Phortlaoiseo i mímh Phortlaoise na seachtaine seo.

Ní feasach dúinn an bhfuil an aistriú céanna i ndán do na cimir polaitiúla eile ar fud na tíre, an Cúrrach san airmh.

Cumann na mBan

Once again we would like to make an appeal, especially in the Dublin area, for people willing to billet men and women from the North, forced to come South, either on the run or for a rest.

We would be grateful if those willing to put up people would have the names to: Cumann na mBan, c/o An Phoblacht, Ceardghé Phárléil 44, B.A.C., 1, specifying the number of people who can be accommodated and for how long.

Bear with us

Due to exceptional pressure on space in this issue we have had to hold back articles and news items. We hope to publish next week.