

# An Phoblacht

Iml.4 Uimh.37 5p 26 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR 1973.

# 'VICTORY OURS FOR TAKING'

DAITHÍ Ó CONAILL, a re-elected, unopposed leasuachtarán (with Mrs. Maire Drumm), made a dramatic appearance at the 69th Sinn Féin Ardtheis in the Dublin Mansion House last Sunday afternoon, to be greeted by a standing ovation by more than 800 delegates whom he told 'victory is ours for the taking'.

After reading a statement from the leadership of the Republican Movement, though the building was surrounded by Gardaí and Special Branch members, and Dawson Street closed to traffic, Garda cars blocking the way out of the street, Mr. Ó Conaill escaped once again.

His escape was aided by the delegates who poured out into Dawson Street and crowded on the roadway, causing a diversion. Terrified Branchmen ran for their lives, to the jeers of the delegates. Uniformed Gardaí covered back.

A Branch car was overturned and damaged but, apart from that, there were no incidents and the crowd dispersed peacefully as soon as the tall Corkman was safely away.

Following a previous escape, in Ó Connell Street, Dublin, the Gardaí denied that there was any warrant out for his arrest or that he was wanted for questioning.

Since then, for the best part of a year, the elusive Ó Conaill has been "on the run" but, nevertheless, has made a number of public appearances, north and south of the Border. His last appearance in the Six Counties was at the Requiem Mass for the late Captain Jim Bryson, and he made a fantastic escape through heavy cordons of R.U.C. and military.

## Greatest ardtheis

For about 20 minutes, as he read statement from the leadership of the Republican Movement, Ó Conaill was interrupted time and again by a wildly enthusiastic audience composed mostly of young people.

It was the greatest ardtheis of the organisation since its founding, according to the Mount Street Battle veteran, Seosamh Ó Cleirigh, and the other four survivors of the Rising, the War of Independence and the War in Defence of the Republic, present among delegates.

"Victory is ours for the taking", said a confident Ó Conaill and the audience went wild. "We smashed Stormont. We made direct rule impossible. The Assembly will go the same way. The major objective now is to force the British to withdraw from our country."

Here is the text of the major part of the statement.

"The leadership of the Republican Movement sends fraternal greetings to the delegates, visitors and friends of the Sinn Féin organisation assembled in national convention. We welcome the increased attendance at this year's Ardtheis and we view it as an indication of the failure of British and Free State forces to smash the Movement over the last 12 months. Despite naked military terror in the North and vicious Free State oppression in the

South, the Movement has held its own and forges ahead in the struggle for freedom.

"The British army terror campaign, initiated by the breaking of the Truce, and followed up by the launching of Operation Motorman, has been defeated. The British objective of isolating the I.R.A. and breaking the will of the Northern people has not been secured. Despite the massacre on the New Lodge Road of February last and the massive extension of internment, the Irish Republican Army continued to spearhead the resistance to British military rule with the full support of a determined and unconquered people.

## British casualties

"Since Maulding's declaration of war on the Irish people, British forces have suffered almost 300 fatal casualties and thousands wounded. Their economy has been severely strained in maintaining the war effort and the futility of their policy is becoming clearer to the British public. No British soldier can walk with ease through any part of the occupied area today.

"In areas like south Armagh, Tyrone and Derry, enemy troops are prisoners in their own garrisons. The British army has all the attributes of a defeated occupation force wishing to hell it could extricate itself from an impossible military situation.

"From time to time we hear bombastic British claims as to making inroads into the I.R.A. command structure. That some of our leadership personnel have been killed and imprisoned cannot be denied but Britain should well know that, in a guerrilla army, there is always a reservoir of tried and trusted leaders who step forward to fill the breach caused by a fallen comrade.

"The leadership of today is of this generation, disciplined and seasoned by the vigours of the last four years and united in grim determination to pay any price and use whatever means are necessary to end British rule in this country.

"We succeeded in smashing Stormont. We have made direct rule impossible and now we move forward to secure a British withdrawal. We must not underestimate our enemies or be in any doubt as to who they are. The British have obtained complete lordship over the Cosgrave-Corish regime. Mr. Whitelaw boasted at the Tory Party Conference that they had motivated the Dublin government towards increased harassment of Republicans.

"That motivation was secured by British agents exploding British bombs in this city last December; by British agents operating freely in the Dublin Special Branch; and by British agents being honoured guests in the Donegan political camp. The Free Staters of today in the government, judiciary and police are as willing servants of the British Crown as were their predecessors of 1922 and we must recognise them as such.

"We repudiate the claim of this quisling element to represent the interests of the Irish people. Their actions are totally inimical to the welfare of the Irish nation. They have turned the 26 Counties into a Stormont-type, police State. They have jailed our people on the word of known public perverers. And they now threaten to hand men and women over to the torture squads of the British army.

"We wish to state explicitly to the Dublin politicians that the Republican policy of non-military action in the South does not guarantee them immunity from the logical consequences of handing

over any Irish Republican to the forces of the British Crown.

## S.D.L.P. betrayal

"Like their counterparts in the South, the opportunist politicians of the S.D.L.P. have succumbed completely to the wiles of William Whitelaw. Their acceptance of the Constitution Act is an outright betrayal of the people's decision on the Border Poll, upon which the Act is based.

"The promises made to the electorate last June are now forgotten in the indecent haste to share the crumbs of Whitelaw's table. The interning of school children must be condoned so as not to embarrass Heath. British army terror must be accepted for fear of offending Whitelaw and the 200-odd sectarian killings must not be mentioned in case Brian Faulkner withdraws his co-operation to form an executive.

"British puppets are the same to us, whether the name is Faulkner or Fitt. The system they are now trying to establish will be no more acceptable than the old Stormont, which we destroyed. Like fools and knaves, they have prostrated their bodies across the path of an inevitable British withdrawal and, while such heroic action may be pleasing to a 'benign' British government, it is contemptible in the context of our nation's long struggle for freedom. If the English came to Ireland to the welcome smiles of Diarmuid Mac Murchadha, they shall depart to the screaming curses of a trampled Gerry Fitt."

"In the months ahead, the Republican Movement will pit its strength against the unholy alliance of British Tories, Free State puppets and opportunist, Northern politicians. We have the capacity, strength and courage to fight and defeat these forces. Our success to date have driven them together to defend the last vestige of British imperialism in this country.

"For four years we have fought the only revolutionary war in Europe and, with the experience of the past and the resources of the present, we shall bring that struggle to a successful conclusion and our nation into the full light of freedom.

"Our struggle will be developed on a number of fronts. In the South, a vigorous campaign of political action will expose the quisling policies of the Cosgrave-Corish regime. We warmly welcome the intensive programme of political education now under way in the organisation. The basic political and economic policies formulated for the New Ireland must be further developed and made known to the public as a credible alternative to the disastrous policies of the present regime.

"The Movement's stand on the E.E.C. issue has been fully vindicated when we observe the appalling rise in the cost of living and the realisation by the public that they were tricked into a bad bargain by shortsighted politicians.

## Vigorous street politics

"An immediate concern for Sinn Féin in the South is to wage a strong campaign of street politics on the issues of extradition, repressive legislation and the oppression within the jails, particularly the Curragh.

"The victory of the prisoners in Mountjoy must be shared by our comrades in the Curragh and, until



Daithí Ó Conaill

decent conditions are conceded to them, the politicians must be confronted, day in and day out, in their homes, clubs and councils.

"Imprisonment, harassment and censorship must not deter us in putting our policies before the people and exposing the fascist regime of the 26 Counties state. A steady flow of material on Free State corruption is now being fed to various agencies in the United States, the Continent and Africa, and the sales of 'Freedom Struggle' have passed 25,000 copies.

"The betrayal of the people's struggle by the S.D.L.P. must also be highlighted. Our northern comrades have repeatedly demonstrated the value of dynamic street politics and the role played by them during Michael Farrell's hunger strike made possible the epic victory secured.

"A grave responsibility now rests with Sinn Féin in the North to provide the political leadership which will lead the people of Ulster from the morass of spoils-sharing politics, beneficial for the few and disastrous for the many.

"We are confident that Sinn Féin will rise to the challenge of establishing the fact that a new Ulster parliament, based upon the old historic province, guarantees the best basis for harmonising diverse traditions and moving forward to the creation of a New Ireland.

## Major objective

"We shall never see a New Ireland until the British make a commitment to leave our land. That is the major objective before the Republican Movement now. There are those who say it cannot be achieved; but these were the very people who said Stormont could not be abolished.

"It was abolished. We destroyed it and we shall go on to secure a British withdrawal. The full resources of the I.R.A. will be directed towards that end and our forces will strike when and wherever it is deemed necessary, opportune and advantageous. We guarantee the British no peace until they commit themselves to leaving our country.

"We have defined our current major objective. Securing it will be a momentous turning point in almost 1,000 years of Irish history. Many generations have sought this valued prize; 120 of our comrades have paid the supreme sacrifice to achieve it.

"Our boys and girls, women and men, in British and Irish jails, remain steadfastly loyal in their determination to see an end to British rule. Above all, the people who have stuck, through thick and thin, with this Movement, have an implacable faith in our ability to achieve it.

"We will achieve it and give effect to the Declaration of Independence promulgated in the very room you now occupy by the only legitimate and lawful government ever established in this country.

"The authority of that Government is vested in the Republican Movement and enhanced by the God-given right of this nation to full freedom and sovereignty. Let us go forward with confidence to fulfill the historic task for which this great Movement was founded.

# An Phoblacht

Imleabhair 4. 26 D. Fómhair 1973. Uimhir 37

44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.Á.C., Éire.

Guthán: 47611

## The Labour Party

DEFENDERS of the Labour Party, especially after the Conference which ended in Cork in the middle of this month, will point to a widely accepted definition of the word "politics" in western Europe: the science of the possible. They will say that their Party's activities have resulted in betterment or reform, even if members may have lowered their sights. And, with Máirín de Búrca, they may well cry out: "What's wrong with reform, anyway?"

The bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Better compromise and get half the loaf than stand on a principle and get nothing. To dare all, heroically, is not of the mid-Twentieth Century: thus the respectable thinking of respectable people, bourgeois to the tips of their latest pop clichés. And over the Conference loomed the shadow of the Fianna Fáil Conman: delegates were told bluntly that if the idealists were to win in Cork it would be the end of the bus-ride with Fine Gael and back into draughty Opposition, with Fianna Fáil spawps on the loot once again.

All this makes sense to practical, efficient, herd politicians with tired consciences and exhausted minds. It seems only too reasonable that there should have been no picture of James Connolly, the Party's founder, visible, as in other years, because he was a "man of violence": it is not yet time to be absolutely practical and absolutely efficient and say that Connolly must not be seen, must be disowned and forgotten, because he was a patriot and a revolutionary socialist. And was not Roddy Connolly on the platform? Tri gháin, ó rí go ramhain ...

Labour Party "leftists", a little ashamed of the Cork performance, will say, perhaps, that "we must move slowly", that the thing, now, is to strengthen the Labour Party so that, at the next general election, more seats may be won ... and so on ... until the Labour Party is able to form a government on its own. But is it not so much more likely that Labour will lose to Fine Gael? After all, why go to the client if you can go straight to the boss?

Many radicals will be disappointed with the Labour antics in Cork of holding the boat steadily at all costs and will be looking around, now, for another party. The first thing these people should do is to read Connolly's works and intelligent people's views of the man. Then they should ask themselves how the ideals of Connolly — which were equally the ideals of Pearse, as is obvious from a reading of "The Sovereign People" — may be realised: through evolutionary methods, clipping away at the capitalist monster with a pebble and a nail file; or through revolution?

How many kinds of revolution are necessary: military, cultural, economic, political, administrative, spiritual? What is the party most likely to spearhead that revolution in Ireland today?

The present scene is more hopeful, from that viewpoint, than it has been for decades, even in the 26 Counties, where people have been aroused over the scandals of ground rents, fisheries, land and building speculation, building societies, take-overs, mining, rising prices, virtual freezing of wages, with the worker losing on real terms with every pay increase. Ask the average housewife if we are living in the much boasted "affluent society".

The radical who believes that inside the Labour Party at present there is no redemption might care to examine critically the Republican Movement and, particularly, Sinn Féin. Are its ideals valid? Are its plans realistic? Can it bring about Éire Nua? Does the party deserve support? Membership?

On the other hand, Sinn Féin might have a look at the disappointed radicals and see how best these people may be approached and accommodated, what faults they have to find with Sinn Féin, and what can be done, at the very least, to form a broad front with

them against monopoly capitalism and imperialism in all their forms. Many of these radicals are experienced in the mechanics of politics and are hard workers. They can be expected to give generously of both work and experience.

Seldom before in the history of this land have the issues been so clearcut, the public figures cast so obviously as heroes, patriots, idealists, or traitors, collaborators, cowards; yet, despite all, the wide mass of the public is still confused. The people must be won to achieve anything and certainly no revolution can take place without them. An influx of Labour Party radicals, idealists and dedicated trade unionists, could well be the tinder to the spark of revolution created by the defence of the people in the north-east.

Thus, while the Labour Party sheds its idealists and puts all the reins in the hands of the pragmatists, a new opportunity is offered the Republican Movement. It could hardly happen at a better time. For the thing which started as a pleasant E.E.C. dream for the masses now is turning into a brutal E.E.C. nightmare, with all the Republican prophecies coming true.

Sooner or later the Irish people will start shouting "enough" and demand withdrawal of membership. Even the bribe — the regional fund alms — is miserable and insulting. Only a party with a revolutionary programme and committed to the social revolution has an alternative to the role of Éire an Méirdreach, as she is when a puppet of the new masters in Brussels.

The disillusioned Labour Party radicals can help us a great deal in getting that message across to the industrial worker. Once it is obvious to the worker that the revolution is a practical proposition which will leave him better off, the most important battle has been won and final victory is assured. And it is going to take the average industrial worker a very short time indeed to weigh the Labour Party in the balance and find it wanting.

# Ollscoi Uí Chadhain chun tosú ar an gCurrach?

TAMALL Ó SHIN, anseo, d'iarr me ar Chumann na Sagart rud a dtug mé Ollscoi Uí Chadhain ar a bhunú, ar leas na gcimí polaitiúil.

Ba é a bhí i gcóir agam seirbhísi ollscoile a chur ar fáil do na Poblaighigh a mbéid orthu idir sé míniú agus seacht míbliúna a chaitheamh "faoi ghlas ag Gallailbh", thuaidh thús, muna dtagann athrú ar chúrsaí, athrú as cuimse mhó.

Nár mhóin an rud é dá mbeadh ar chumas dhúine óg (nó seandúine, fíú) theacht amach on bpríosún agus céim ollscoile ina phoca aige?

Nach rud é, cúrsa ollscoile, a choinneadh cuicí mhaith daoine as dul as a stáim sa charac?

Nach é an rud is mó a ghléannear ar dhúine, agus é faoi ghlas, go bhfuil cuid dá shuíl é chur amú aige sa phríosún?

Ar an chaoi, tá freagra agam ó Chumann na Sagart. Tá na baill sásta tús a chur leis ollscoi tá mólta. Agus má éiríonn leis an tús sin is dóide go n-éiríodh leis an ollscoi ina hionann ar ball.

Deir an Cumann gur leis na cimi ar an gCurrach is ea a thosóid siad. Tá an Cumann sásta leachtóirí le Gaeilge, le Fraincis agus le stair a chur a threastair ar na cimi polaitiúla gach tráthóna Sathairn ach na cimi a bheith á n-iarraidh agus cead a tháil ó na

## CÚRSAI REATHA le Débé

hudaráis (an Roinn, is dócha).

Faoi na cimi i gCamna an Churraigh atá an bhreith, anois. Níl, ann, mar thús, ach taiscintí ar fáil leachtanna. Níl aon chaint go fóill faoi cheim ná, fíú, faoi theastas. Ach ní hionann ualach é an teolas.

Agus má féidir le hOllscoi Londain ollscoilach a chur ar fáil tríd an bpost, "tuige nach mbeadh ar chumas Chumann na Sagart" — agus Má Nuad — gníomha a dhéanamh den ollscoi faoi ghlas, Ollscoi Mháirtín Uí Chadhain?

TAMALL de sheachtain ó shin dúirt mise anseo rudai faoin U.F.F. Dúirt mé go raibh saighdiúir Sasanach i mbun an eagrais.

Tá an fear sin daoirthe, anois, don phríosún ar feadh a shaoil. Is é Albert "Ginger" Baker atá i gcóir agam. Tá a chuid oibre i gcrích. Ach ní chuirfeadh sé a dhath d'iontas orm dá n-athródh na Sasanaigh go príosún i Sasana é agus dá n-éiríodh sé uaidh. Nó, fíú, dá n-éiríodh leis "éala" as an bpríosún sa Sé Chontae, Tharla sé cheana. An fear a dhúmharráigh Skeffington, mar shampla, i 1916.

Nach bhfuil mag ag Tully atá ina rúnai ag Tara? Agus nach bhfuil fear a ime ina cheann an gearchumann? An bhfaca síb aon rud fúailte chomh deas náisi ariamh?

Ba chuma, h'éiríodh, dá dtuigfidís na mianadóirí a leas. Ach tabhair faoi deara an té faoi dhéireadh na mianadóirí ag iarraidh crós a chur ar náisiúna na mianach!

seachtainí ar stailc ocrail sú má bhí sé de chiall — nó de charthannacht — san easpag géilleadh don rud réasúnta a d'iarr sé faoi na hAifrinirí Ghaeilge.

Proinsias Ó Mianáin is ainm agus is sióine é agus an tseachtain seo chaite d'ingh sé féin, a bhean, Róis, agus a gcuid páistí d'ait cónagarach do Chnoc Fola, thart ar cheithre míle ó Ghaoth Dóbbhair.

Ar an "dole" a bheas siad ag maireachtáil go dtí go n-éiríonn le Proinsias job a fháil. Deir sé gur b' é an t-aon seans t'ag déine t'ag iarraidh obair a fháil sa nGaeiltacht dhúil ann nó ní bhfaighidís sé tada agus é ag fanacht i mBale Atha Cliath.

Cloddóir ó ghairm atá i bProinsias. Tá deartháir aige i nDoire atá anghníomhach i gcórsaí Gaeilge sa chathair sin: Pádraig, Guíomh ráth Dé ar an mbéirt acu.

### Táillíuracht

Ní hion iontas é Tully, an tAire, bheith chomh búilín an tacht gaimbín na mianach. Ní haon iontas é an drochchonaradh a shíngin na hoibrithe na banadh na mianach, le déanaí.

Ar an chaoi, tá freagra agam ar an gCurrach is ea a thosóid siad. Tá an Cumann sásta leachtóirí le Gaeilge, le Fraincis agus le stair a chur a threastair ar na cimi polaitiúla gach tráthóna Sathairn ach na cimi a bheith á n-iarraidh agus cead a tháil ó na

### Ambsáid Ríiseach

TA na Sasanaigh thar a bheith míchomordach as teacht na Rúiseach go Baile Átha Cliath. Má chuirfidís na Rúiseigh leis na hAibairigh nach bhféadfaidís cúlú, chomh maith canna, le hóglaigh na hÉireann sa chogadh thuaidh?

Níl mise féin leath chomh dóchasach is atá na Sasanaigh imríodh nó is mó bhairfidís mba mhaith leis na Rúiseigh mair a chlaoi san áit thuaidh — ar mhaith le comhréiteach le Meiriceá agus le Sasana. Níl saoire na hÉireann tábhachtach do na Rúiseigh.

Ach ní faoi sin atáim, ach seo. Tá na Sasanaigh ag áiteamh ar Mhac Gearailt agus ar Mhac Gearailt aon cead a goos a thabhairt do mhuintir na hambaísde nua thar 12 míle thart timpeall ar Bhalie Atha Cliath. Tá na Rúiseigh ag iarraidh an trí oirde sin.

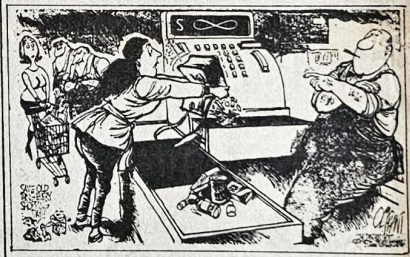
Féicimís an éiríodh leis na Sasanaigh a dtíol a imirt ar an "stát saor neamhspleách ceannasaoch" a dtugtar an "Republic of Ireland" air.

### Do leas

IS é Dhomhnall Ó Lubhlaí fear eagan "leas", an iris Ghaeilge a bhunaigh Gluaiseacht na Pobla. Ba chóir do gach Gaeilgeoir sintiúis a gach lífritheacht chéile chun an iris a choinneáil ar a bonnaibh nó is fíú go mór i.

San eagrán reatha tá aiste fhada le Pádraig Ó Fiannaigh, i bunaithe, creidim, ar léacht a thug sé i gColáiste na Tríonóide, faoi Aislinge Meic Conghaime. Is mór an spert an aiste a léamb.

Mar sin féin, tá lochtanna agam uirthi. Ní gá an Bheárla a bheith ina leitheidí d'aiste. Más i nGaeilge (nó i nGearmáinis nó



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éile) an téacs as a bhfuil an t-udair ag baint, is cóir Gaeilge a chur ar an méid de a bhfuil sé sfsta a fhóilú.

Agus, creidim, is cóir Gaeilge an lae inniu a chur ar mheánGhaeilge nó ní féidir leis an gcuid is mó dinn aon adnamh a dhéanamh den seanrud. Níor mhiste an tseanGhaeilge, nó an mhéidGhaeilge a fhóilú ach is cóir leagan an lae inniu a chur fé.

Tá fógra de chuid "Leas" áit éigin sa pháipéar seo agus eolas aige faoi rátaí. Na cuir do leas ar chaireá ... ach níor mhiste "Leas" a chur chuig do chaireá. Dhéanfadh sé bronnanna breá Nollag.

### Faoi dheireadh?

DUIRT Aindrias Ó Conluain, A.C.R.A., ar na mallab, agus é ag cur síos faoi chios talún, go bhfuil an mhéianéime gála i réabhlóid mar gheall ar an sagóir seo ("the middle classes are now in revolt").

Nach bhfuil sé in am don mhéianéime thabhairt faoi réabhlóid ar fáthair éicint? Nuair is déine don challeach ...

## Mass for Mac Swiney

IT COME as a surprise to many Irish people to learn that the Administrator of Westminster Cathedral has refused to make arrangements to celebrate Mass to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Terence MacSwiney.

Right Rev. Monsignor Bartlett did say that, in normal times, he would be very pleased to do so. I would like to ask: Since when has the celebration of Mass been restricted to "normal times"? When normality returns to Ireland there will be many rushing, to pay tribute to Ireland's patriots, many who, today, condemn them.

By the refusal we can only conclude that pleasing the establishment takes precedence over the celebration of Mass.

— Eileen Grogan, Secretary, Terence MacSwiney Cumann, Sinn Féin, London.

Following Monsignor Bartlett's refusal, the Old I.R.A. and the United Ireland Association have arranged for the Mass to be celebrated in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, at noon, on Sun. Oct. 28. This is the church where MacSwiney was laid out after he died from his hunger strike in Brixton Prison. Ar dheis Dé go raib a anam.

**AN CUMANN**

Seol a bhfuil ar do chumas go dtí doif an pháipéir seo... anois.

**CABHRACH**

**LITREACIA:**

**LEATHNACH**

**A SEACHT.**

**FEASTA.**

# 'ONLY ONE WAY WITH TYRANTS'

Leanáir dTuairisceoir Polaitíochta

HIGHLIGHT of the recent Labour Party annual conference in Cork was the address given by the fraternal delegate of the Chilean Radical Party, Don Carlos Parra. His speech, warmly and continually applauded, traced the recent history of his country since the Popular Front achieved power in 1969.

He gave a detailed analysis of the mutual importance of political and economic independence as has now been learned in a very painful way by his own country.

It is easily understood why Republican opinion here would be strongly in favour of the martyred President Allende. He was a Democratic Socialist, a patriot who saw the full social and political significance of that term.

What is certainly surprising is that members of the 26 Counties Government, Messrs. Cruise O'Brien, Corish, Tully, O'Leary and Keating, also should express their support for the concepts and actualities of political and economic independence in so vociferous a manner.

Senor Parra passionately condemned such instruments of repression as special courts, prison camps, police harassment and torture, dismissal from employment of opponents of the regime, and the limiting of freedom of speech by censorship and intimidation. All these he passionately condemned. And even more passionately was he applauded.

He stated that in Chile at the moment the jails were crammed with political prisoners. Referring to Fascism, Senor Parra said that the Fascists were all in favour of the rule of the majority as long as the majority is for them; but once they lose the backing of the majority they show their true colours.

He was again loudly applauded when he stated that there was only one way to get rid of tyrannical governments.

## No change of heart

Less Republicans should think that the thunderous applause suggests a radical change of heart on the part of Cruise O'Brien and Co., however, it is as well to examine some of the resolutions and topics dealt with at the week-end conference.

In the context of the 'only method of getting rid of the tyrannical governments, the "Labour" Party offered on view on its stand delegates from two of the parties which are helping to set up Mr. Whitelaw's Assembly in Stormont.

Mr. Gerry Fitt strongly condemned the "men of violence" (meaning Odlagh na hÉireann) and blamed the Provos for causing the death of Senator Wilson, of his own party.

The delegate from the Unionist N.I.L.P., Mr. Brian

Garrett, referred to the importance of protecting British soldiers and police on duty in the Six Counties.

Mr. Fitt assured the conference that if the new Stormont failed, it would not be the fault of the S.D.L.P. He also praised the recent legislation introduced by the British Government for the Six Irish counties of the North.

The greatest bombshell of all was dropped when Mr. Frank Cluskey, I.D., accused the I.R.A. of being responsible for most of the sectarian assassinations in the North.

## A Protestant voice

Utter docility was not, however, the order of the day, for when Mr. Cluskey made his attack on Northern Republicans, a Protestant delegate from Dublin, Mr. John Throne, himself from the North, stated:

"The problem of the North is one of repression by British imperialism through the British army. Does Mr. Cluskey want the Free State army gun and the British army gun removed from Irish politics?"

No answer was forthcoming from Mr. Cluskey on this point of information.

There was a strong tendency discernible, also, to press for the deletion of articles two and three

of the 26 Counties Constitution.

A motion to this effect was referred back to the Administrative Council of the Party.

The Party believes that such articles are a barrier to peace, and that the Six Counties should be regarded as a foreign state under the Stormont Government, acting according to legislation of the British Government.

This would be very pleasing to the British Labour Party delegate present, who was given a special reception.

## Mines nationalisation

The Chilean delegate also referred to the actions taken by the Allende government, such as nationalisation of the copper mines, expropriation of large land holdings and the nationalisation of key industry.

All this was done, he said, in an attempt to build an independent country.

Great enthusiasm was shown by the conference for such moves - in Chile. Coming a bit nearer home, however, motions in favour of the nationalisation of mines and declaration of a housing emergency were neatly dismissed.

Another highlight of the conference was of course, the address delivered by the Party leader Mr. Brendan Corish.

His speech was filled with references to "our partners in government" (a very popular phrase throughout the conference) and such catchphrases as "the achievements of Labour in power".

In an obvious reference to Republicans and Nationalists, he said that such "evil men of violence are trying to overthrow the state".

The conference was set in proper perspective by the final remarks of Don Carlos Parra.

Referring to the internment of men, women and children, he said that when the soldiers come at night to take away the man of the house, the wife at that moment can only raise a fist of impotence.

Amid rising acclamation, he called on the conference to "fill that fist".

The delegate was then afforded a standing ovation.

A collection immediately afterwards realised the sum of £500 for the freedom fighters of Chile.

The authenticity of the Dublin Special Criminal Court is



# Nuacht na gCumann

PHYLIS Byrne, secretary, Wolfe Tone Cumann, north London, writes to wish the Four Martyrs of Drumbrum Cumann, Co. Donegal, every success. So do we all.

A series of public meetings has been held recently by Co. Mayo Sinn Féin. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Sean Keenan spoke at meetings in Ballina and Crossmolina. The Sinn Féin president also spoke in Castlebar. Further meetings are planned for the next few weeks.

Two Mayo men have been charged in court with shooting at a party of R.U.C. men in September. Following reports of brutality inflicted on them while in custody in Castlebar, Sinn Féin held a press conference and got widespread publicity, particularly in the local papers. Over 30 members picketed Ballina Court-house during the hearing.

Members from cumann in Westport, Kiltimagh, Newport, Ballina, Lahardane, Claremorris and other areas took part in these highly successful activities.

Youghal, Co. Cork, Cumann has elected the following officers: Cathaoirleach, Sean McCarthy; rúnai, Tomás Ó Conaill; cisteoir, Pat Parker; P.R.O., Michael Parker; Comhairle Ceantair, T. Myers, B. White.

The Cumann voted full confidence in the Republican leadership and promised to increase membership and activities.

Barey Cumann, south Wexford, held a highly successful folk concert in Camross Ballroom, about 1,000 people attended. M.C. was Rev. Michael Funge of Wexford. Proceeds went to An Cumann Cathrach.

The Pat McAdurey Cumann in Artane, Dublin, has adopted a new plan to help raise money for An Cumann Cathrach. Each member pledges to collect from among his friends a minimum of £1.00 per month.

Since its inception last February this cumann has given €437 for prisoners' aid.

The purpose of this announcement is not to boast, the cumann secretary writes, but to hope that other cumann will think the plan worth trying in their areas.

Malden Unit of Irish Northern Aid held a pool party and cook-out at the home of Ms. Mrs. Tony Fitzpatrick of Medford, Massachusetts, U.S.A., on August 18 last.

Well over 100 guests enjoyed the evening. Prominent Northern Aid members from south Boston and a former Mayor of Medford, Patrick Skerry, attended. Proceeds went to help the prisoners and dependents.

The organisers tell us to watch for the Boston Tea Party, 1973, next month.

A new cumann of Sinn Féin to be known as the Mellows-Kavanagh Cumann, was formed recently in the Inchbucktown area of north Wexford.

Chairman is Mr. James Kavanagh and Mr. D. Christie, Ballytegan, Gorey, is Secretary.

Mr. Kavanagh was a member of the Old I.R.A. before leaving for the United States and took part in the War of Independence along with his brothers Din, Ned and Murtha.

Another brother, Liam Kavanagh, died after being interned and undergoing a prolonged hunger strike.

The late Liam Kavanagh is buried in Castletown Cemetery near the Republican leader, Liam Mellows. The new cumann decided to honour both these patriots by naming it after them.

therefore now in the balance.

Will charges of "incitement to violence", of assisting an "illegal organisation", and of holding an "illegal collection", be brought against Cruise O'Brien, Corish, Tully, Keating, O'Leary, Connolly and the rest?

Or will a chief superintendent form an opinion?

Incidentally, the total business of the conference was conducted entirely and solely through the medium of the English language.

Ms. Elaine Hopkins.

Sittingbourne, Kent, hurts leaves in the air - "like rising prices" - outside the Houses of Parliament in London when last week, E.E.C. membership is one thing that keeps prices going up and up in Britain. Another reason is Britain's expensive colonial war in Ireland, and Britain has as little chance of winning as the U.S. had in Vietnam.

# British recruiting drops again

RECRUITING for the British armed forces is down once again and the Whitehall authorities are worried that the trend will be difficult to reverse until the war on Britain's doorstep is over.

The only possible way for it to end, now, is for Britain to withdraw completely from Ireland and leave the Irish to solve their problems without alien interference, without foreign bribes in the form of subsidies, without backing, covertly or openly, any Irish political grouping.

Only when Britain recognises and respects Irish sovereignty can there be peace.

According to figures just released, 13 per cent. fewer joined in August compared to the same month last year.

The drop, from 998 to 864, was the lowest for several months, but this was because of "temporary bunching" in the recruiting system and "the underlying level of entries remains low".

In the Navy there was a drop in intake from 335 in August last year to 156.

This was due entirely to one less recruiting period during the month, says the Ministry, but overall the number was still below the required level.

# Broken glass in prison food

Republican remand prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail Belfast, are refusing to eat prison food after finding particles of glass in vegetables and in other foods. One has been treated for internal bleeding.

This is the second time this year that an attempt has been made to kill or impair the health of Republican prisoners in Crumlin Road. "Loyalist" prisoners are engaged in the kitchen of this prison and some of them might avail themselves of the opportunity to attack Republicans in this way.

# Torturers unmasked

A Dungannon priest claimed that he had uncovered vital evidence on the R.U.C. officers alleged to have subjected I.R.A. suspects to in-depth interrogation, including the use of what is now known as the hooded treatment.

Rev. Denis Faul claimed that one of the 10 men subjected to the hooded torture had informed him he could identify "with confidence" two of the police officers who took part in his in-depth interrogation.

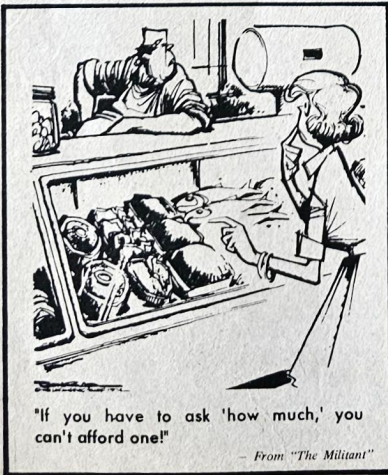
Father Faul revealed that he had passed on the names of the two R.U.C. men - said to be senior officers - to the European Commission of Human Rights, who will begin to take evidence on December 1.

He hopes the R.U.C. officers named in his allegations will be called to Strasburg to give evidence to the European Court and will be ordered to identify other members of the "torture squad".

Father Faul said he had also passed his information to the Dublin Government.

# Cinsireacht ar R. na G. ?

Cén fáth nach raibh aon trácht faoi cachtir agus caint Uí Chonaill ag Ardcheif Sinn Féin ar Raidió na Gaeltachta Dé Domhnaigh seo caité? Cinsireacht? Ach bíodh é t-eolas ar fáil do Bheathúrí. . .



(continued col. 4)



# O'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 chairmanship of Congressman Donald M. Fraser.

THERE are a number of statutes in force which gravely infringe human rights in the Republic of Ireland but against which there is no legal protection because of the mentioned weaknesses in the Constitution itself and because (as mentioned hereunder) the European Convention on Human Rights has not been made part of the domestic law of the State. The principle acts involved are the Offences Against the State Code, The Broadcasting Act, 1960; The Prisons Act, 1972; and The Official Secret Act, 1963.

The Offences Against the State Act, 1939, introduced two main features into Irish civil liberties law. At the time of enactment (although similar type of emergency legislation had been enacted from time to time during the period 1922-31) these features were:—

- The provision for Special Courts which would sit to hear political offences without a jury and the members of which court would be removable at will by the Government;
- The introduction of imprisonment without trial, popularly known as "internment", but referred to in the Act in question as "Detention".

### Special Criminal Courts

The basic invasion of the citizen's rights and, indeed, of the rights of the existing Courts under the Constitution, was that the Government could set up special criminal courts by simply issuing a proclamation that, in its view, the existing courts were inadequate "to secure the effective administration of justice and the preservation of public peace and order".

It is submitted that this extraordinary power vested in the Government to declare the ordinary courts inadequate and to set up its own courts — it appoints the judges and dismisses them at will — is a grave and fundamental violation of human rights.

The Irish Constitution jurisprudence agrees with the American constitutional jurisprudence in that there should be a separation of the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the State and that each should be as independent from the other and not subordinated in its functions to any one or more of the others.

In this particular instance, the Irish Government invaded the right of the judiciary as well as the rights of the citizen and it is permitted to do so by reason of the loopholes in the Constitution.

Moreover, on two previous occasions the Government appointed military officers to these courts instead of ordinary judges and this resulted in many grave miscarriages of justice. The military personnel in these courts inflicted extremely severe sentences for relatively minor offences.

In May, 1972, the Dublin Government introduced Special Criminal Courts again to deal with alleged political offences arising out of the conflict in the Six Counties, but, on this occasion, judges of the ordinary courts were appointed instead of military officers.

There is a right of appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal from a decision of the Special Criminal Court, provided the appellant obtains the leave of the Special Criminal Court to make the appeal (Section 44, Offences Against the State Act, 1939).

This right of appeal has largely been negated in use by reason of the fact that most citizens brought before the Special Criminal Court refuse to recognise its jurisdiction because it denies the right of trial by jury and consequently they do not exercise the right of appeal against its decisions. In most cases before this Court since May, 1972, the accused persons refusing to recognise the jurisdiction of the Court have not been legally defended or represented.

An additional objectionable feature of the 1939 Act is that, in many cases, the burden of proof of innocence is placed on the accused, a violation of the normal presumption of innocence in criminal cases. Reference is made to Section 15 (5) of the 1939 Act relating to drilling and military exercises; to Section 20 (3), where the burden of proof is placed on an organisation to prove that it is not an illegal organisation once it has been banned by Government decree; and Section 26, where the mere opinion of a police officer, that he believes a document was published by the accused, will stand as evidence until the accused denies on oath that he did publish it.

In addition, under this Section 25 of the Act, a police officer can, without applying to any Court, close down the headquarters of any political party or organisation or any of its buildings by pining a closing order on the door of the premises and any organisation so affected must apply to the High Court and satisfy the High Court that the police officer's opinion is unreasonable.

In the only case tested before the Courts under this Section, the Court held that the police officer's opinion was reasonable, notwithstanding sworn evidence of the building by the occupants of the building, denying any illegal use of the building.

### Arrest without warrant

While the Special Criminal Courts are sitting and part of the 1939 Act is in force, any citizen can be arrested without warrant and detained for up to 48 hours by the police and can be asked to give an account of his movements and can be forced to disclose to the police information not only in relation to himself, but also in relation to "the commission or intended commission by another person of any offence under any Section or Sub-Section of this Act or any scheduled offence".

This extraordinary power not only violated the basic rule against self-incrimination but seeks to make every citizen an informer to the police in relation to his fellow citizens. It was admitted in a parliamentary debate on the enactment of the 1972 Offences Against the State Act that the Government had been advised that this section violated the European Convention on Human Rights, and at present it is not being used, but the Government, nevertheless, has not repealed the Section and it still part of the law in force.

There are very oppressive consequential penalties automatically imposed on convicted persons under Section 34 of the 1939 Act which provides that if a person is convicted by the Special Criminal Court of a

the international protection of human rights, under the scheduled offence (i.e. an offence which the Court is authorised to try), such person is automatically dismissed from any employment or office remunerated out of the central fund provided by parliament or out of monies raised by local taxation.

This means that a person convicted, for example, of membership of an illegal organisation, automatically will be dismissed from his post and employment apart from any other penalty imposed by the court. The section also provides that, in the case of a person convicted, who has not been the holder of a public office, or remunerated from public funds, he is disqualified from such office for a period of seven years from the date of his conviction.

The government has power to remit in its absolute discretion any forfeiture or disqualification so incurred. It is submitted that penalties should be imposed, even in ordinary courts which are acting independent of the executive, only as the court itself thinks fit and proper in each case and the imposition of automatic penalties by Parliament — such as under Section 34 — are a further invasion by the executive of the judicial domain.

It is estimated that as high as 25 per cent. of the labour force in the Republic of Ireland is remunerated directly or indirectly out of public funds, either from the central fund or from local taxation or by virtue of employment by statutory bodies.

### Internment without trial

Part VI of the 1939 Offences Against the State Act provided for imprisonment without trial on foot of a warrant issued by any Minister of State when part VI was in force with the effect that the citizen could be arrested and imprisoned without any charge being brought against him and without any trial being held.

He could be detained for years without any legal remedy purely by virtue of a ministerial arrest warrant. When Part VI of the 1939 Act was first used to imprison hundreds of people in September, 1939, its validity was challenged by one of the prisoners and it was held to be repugnant to the Irish Constitution. Consequently, from that date it was null and void.

However, the Government passed the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act in 1940 to give itself precisely similar powers with a minor change in the wording so as to come within the High Court decision affecting the 1939 Act. The Amending Act of 1940 was challenged again in 1957 when the Government resorted to powers of internment and, in that instance, the person interned, contended that the 1940 Act was a violation of the European Convention on Human Rights to which the State became a party in 1953.

The prisoner in this case invoked the European Convention to seek to defeat the operation of the 1940 Act within the Irish State but the Irish Supreme Court held that they could not apply the provisions of the European Convention internally in the State because the Convention had not been made part of Irish domestic law.

Consequently, the prisoner Gearóid Ó Laighléis, took a case against the Irish Government before the European Commission of Human Rights and subsequently before the European Court of Human Rights. In the course of this it was decided by the Court that the 1940 Act was a violation of the European Convention. In this instance the Government was allowed to derogate from the rights of citizens by using internment because of the conflict then existing in the border areas between the 26 Counties and the Six Counties of Ireland.

There have been recent threats by the Dublin Government to re-introduce internment in relation to the present conflict in the North of Ireland and as the Committee will be informed, internment is in full force in the Six Counties area under Emergency Provisions Act introduced by the British Government. More than 400 persons were interned between 1939-45 and over 200 persons, between 1957-61 by the Dublin Government.

### Lair of evidence

There was a further substantial invasion of the rights of fair trial created by the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act passed by the Dublin Parliament on December 3, 1972. This Act changed the law relating to evidence as to membership of an illegal organisation by providing that if a Garda Officer not below the rank of Chief Superintendent gives evidence that "he believes that the accused was at a material time a member of an unlawful organisation, the statement shall be evidence that he was then such a member" (Section 3.2).

This provision is in force as long as the Special Criminal Courts are sitting and in being. This provision completely transfers the onus of proof from the prosecution — as in normal criminal law cases — to the accused and, since the accused is asked to prove the negative, it is objectively impossible for him to establish clear proof.

Even if he denies the charge on oath the Court has still a discretion to accept the evidence of the police officer rather than the evidence of the accused. The fundamental objection to the section is that the presumption of innocence provided for in the ordinary criminal law of Ireland and further guaranteed to Irish citizens under the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 6) is displaced.

Since this Act was introduced in December, 1972, approximately 40 persons have been convicted on the evidence of a Chief Superintendent who merely stated that he was of opinion that the accused person was a member of an illegal organisation. In no case yet heard has the officer sworn that his opinion was formed on his own information alone, or evidence personally known to him.

The Superintendent giving evidence always has admitted that he was relying on information supplied by other persons. He has claimed privilege in respect of such information. Consequently, the accused is not allowed to cross-examine the police witness as to the basis or accuracy of his information.

The unreliability of such police evidence was underlined when one accused denied he was a member of a particular organisation during the previous six years notwithstanding the sworn evidence of the Chief Superintendent that he was such a member.

In that case the Court accepted the denial of the accused and acquitted him but made no comment on the fact that the Garda officer's evidence apparently was quite wrong. Subsequent options of the same officer have been accepted as adequate to convict other accused persons.

(more next week)



Ruairi Ó Brádaigh (extreme left) and Frank McManus, M.P. (extreme right), were two guests of U.S. Congressmen at a reception in the Rayburn Building, Washington. Next to the Sinn Féin president is Congressman Silvio O. Conte, Mass.; next to him, Bishop Thomas Drury, Corpus Christi, Texas (he visited the men in the Long Kesh recently); and Congressman T.P. O'Neill, Mass., Democratic majority leader in the U.S., House of Representatives. The occasion of the O Brádaigh visit was the detailing of evidence against the violation of human rights in all parts of Ireland.

The scene at Great Victoria Street Station, Belfast, recently after a bomb planted on a train exploded. The series of train bombs that day showed once again the ability of O'Laughlin na hEireann to deliver an efficient, well co-ordinated punch to British "security" while safeguarding innocent lives, unlike the Brits.

# Phone-tapping in Belfast

By JOHN MARSTON

THE EDITOR of *The Times*, of London, William Rees-Mogg, is refusing to publish a report which reveals the extent of British army interference with telephones and mail in the Six Counties.

The story was submitted over three weeks ago. Since then not only have changes been made to it by the D-note committee, but it has twice been re-written on Rees-Mogg's instructions to give it a less anti-army slant. Nevertheless it is still being held back as being too embarrassing for the Government.

The story alleges that over the past five years hundreds of telephones have been tapped at the instigation of the forces. According to sources inside the Post Office, the lines of such men as Paddy Devlin (SDLP Chief Whip) and even Tom Conaty (a Roman Catholic member of an Advisory Commission set up by Whitelaw) have been "adapted" at the Balmoral Exchange in Belfast to enable them to be tapped.

Apparently not even a Roman Catholic priest, described as an "outspoken critic of the L.R.A.", Father McNamara of St. Theresa's Church in Glen Road, Belfast, has escaped such attention.

Other prominent figures whose phones have reportedly been interfered with in this way include Westminster MP's Bernadette McAisley and Frank McManus, and leading politicians in the Social Democratic and Labour Party, Vanguard, and Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party.

Leading Republicans such as Mrs. Máire Drumm and Mrs. Mary McGeigan have had their phones tapped, along with UDA leaders such as Jim Anderson and the late Tommy Herron. Phones in clubs, public houses and known meeting places also apparently receive similar treatment.

### Two systems

The centre of these tapping operations is reported to be at Churchill House in Victoria Square, Belfast, where, according to Post Office sources, more than 150 phones are tapped on a 24-hour a day basis.

Two systems are apparently used for this. One method is to record telephone conversations onto a 35 millimetre multi-track magnetic tape with a time strip attached.

Codes are used to indicate the tapped lines, and some can be monitored by earphones as well as recorded.

Telephones are also modified by the security forces using the "Trunk Offer Facility" (TKO), which is built into the exchange system. This was originally designed to allow the operator to cut into a call to

(concluded, back page)



# JOE O'CONNOR

From ROSEMARY SULLIVAN in London

IRISH political activists in Ireland and Britain were saddened to learn of the sudden death in London recently of Joe O'Connor from Brosna, Co. Kerry.

Joe had been a life-long Republican and socialist, active in Dublin and London, as well as in his native Kerry. In 1941, he was placed on trial for his life before the Special Criminal Court, charged, along with George Plant, with the killing of Michael Devereux.

On March 5, 1942, George Plant was executed by firing squad.

Joe spent the rest of the war years in prisons and internment camps. On his release, he resumed activities and played a leading part in organising the George Plant Memorial Fund.

Later, Joe went to England, where he played a prominent part in a number of organisations active on the Irish issue, including the Comolly Association. He was also active in the Earls Court branch of the National Union of Railwaymen.

In 1969 when the "split" came, Joe, then a member of the staff of the London Unit, tried to maintain Republican unity. Even after the "split" he managed to keep good friends among both those who had chosen the Provisional side and those who had chosen the N.L.F.

His greatest wish, often expressed, was to see Republican unity rebuilt on a principled basis.

On the Saturday before his death, he confided to friends a very deep depression over a bitter attack on the Provos, made by a leading member of the N.L.F., and which had appeared in an Irish newspaper that day.

Joe is survived by a sister, Sister Mary Bega, of Roehampton. Members of the Republican Movement in London sent a wreath to be placed on his coffin.



# PATSY QUINN

PATSY Quinn was a lad full of youth, adventure and patriotism. He was inspired from an early age with a love for his country and a longing for freedom and justice. He was determined to carry on the fight for the cause and as soon as he was able he took up arms against the oppressor.

At the age of 15 he was arrested for "bearing arms" and sent to a detention centre. But locks and chains could not hold this youthful volunteer.

He made a daring escape and went on the run. Undaunted, he took up the fight in earnest. He was always eager to take part in the action and earned the admiration and praise of all who worked with him.

Patsy was only a boy in many ways but politically he was years ahead of his age. Militarily he showed the courage and bravery of a veteran.

The late Volunteer Patsy Quinn of the First Battalion, East Tyrone Command, Ogligh na hÉireann, was killed in action during the attack on Pomeroy Barracks.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.  
T. O'NEILL

# Dan McAnallen

"Over hills and through dales  
Have I roamed for your sake,  
All yesterday I sailed with sail,  
On river and on lake,

The Erne at its highest flood  
I dashed across unseen.

For there was lightning in my blood,  
My Dark Rosaleen,

My Own Rosaleen,  
O, there was lightning in my blood,

Red lightning lighted through my blood,  
My Dark Rosaleen".

These lines taken from James Claranee Mangan's "Dark Rosaleen", could be most aptly used to describe the late Dan McAnallen.

His unyielding determination, his solid steadfastness, his dashing daring against the highest odds, the "red lightning in his blood" inspired and encouraged his

Continued - back page.

UNDER MY EYE



# A lover of children?

WE HAVE been told over the last 15 or 20 years that Mr. Declan Costello, was the most progressive "social thinker" in the Fine Gael Party. When he retired from politics some years back it was even suggested that he had been forced out because he was the leader of the left wing of his party, and the author of the Fine Gael policy document, "Towards a Just Society".

Be that as it may, Declan Costello was noted for his personal activities on behalf of mentally handicapped children and, I am told, by people in the know, people who are parents of such children, that he did good work in the establishment of various voluntary committees which resulted in pressuring the Department of Education to provide a number of schools suitable for retarded pupils.

All this work is to Mr. Costello's credit. Nobody wants to take away from it. But he has come under my eye because of his performance on a recent T.V. programme, where Dr. Paisley also appeared and where Mr. Kennedy, Fianna Fáil spokesman on Foreign Affairs, also gave his views.

The programme was a discussion on what was to be expected from the recent meeting between Cosgrave and Heath. It was shown on the night of the meeting.

## Astutely avoided

Mr. Costello was the only one on the panel of a programme which lasted over 90 minutes and who actually mentioned Ogligh na hÉireann. The others astutely avoided that subject, although they all knew that a meeting between Heath and his Dublin subordinate would not have been necessary but for the fact that the freedom fighters in the North had upset the status quo.

They brought Stormont crashing to the ground and, as a result, of their four and a half years of defensive and offensive warfare made sure that the 1921 settlement, whereby Britain maintained two satellite states in Ireland, was no longer viable.

Mr. Costello is Attorney General in the Cosgrave Government. As such it is his job to organise and promote the prosecution of Republicans and ensure that the obnoxious Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act, setting up the Special Criminal Court, runs smoothly.

As a lawyer, Mr. Costello is betraying the best traditions of his profession for he is lending his support to a law which sends a man to jail on the mere opinion of a police officer in the Special Branch, which, of course, is the Free State political police.

Mr. Costello many times has condemned Communism. One of the grounds for his condemnation has been that the Communist state, maintains and controls a political police force which, by its operations, denies individual freedom or the right of political expression to political opponents.

Now Mr. Costello is operating through the perjured statements of a similar type of police force; and the editor of this paper is in jail today as a result of such operations.

## Northern children

The real reason why I have placed Declan Costello under my eye this week is that he referred to the L.R.A. as "terrorists" and "men of violence"; but he very conveniently forgot the terrorists in British army uniform, and the S.A.S. terrorists in mufti who have been guilty of sectarian assassinations, North and South of the Border. I am referring here to the murder of the two Dublin busmen on the night on which the Amendment Act was passed.

I want to take this matter a step further. I will refer back to Declan Costello's interest, or, should I say, alleged interest, in the welfare of children. The British terrorists under Whitelaw's coercive legislation have arrested and interned three teenage boys in Long Kesh.

Teachers have protested. Lawyers' organisations have protested. Trade unions have protested. Sinn Féin branches have protested. But Declan Costello has remained silent; and the government of which he is a member continues its policy of collaboration with the terrorists who arrest and ill-treat children.

Declan Costello must know that as well as the three teenage boys mentioned, Joe Cahill's niece, a girl of 15, was arrested on a Belfast street and taken to a British army centre where no woman was present.

Later she was handed over to the terrorists of the R.U.C. Special Branch and the child was frightened out of her wits after hours of mental torture. He must also know that teenage girls are detained in Armagh Prison and have been subjected to brutal treatment. If he reads the papers, he must be aware that the British army threatened to arrest a three-year-old child in Derry because he threw a small stone at them.

Are the children of the nationalist areas of Occupied Ireland not entitled to protection against mental torture? Will Mr. Costello please state where he stands on this matter? If it is right for him to work for the rehabilitation of mentally handicapped children in the 26-Counties area, why does he not work to prevent children of the Occupied Area from being driven insane by the murderers and terrorists sent here by Ted Heath? These are questions which Mr. Declan Costello will have to answer some day.

**CORMAC MAC AIRT**



# Money system that destroys money

DESMOND Fennell's excellently thought-provoking article in "An Phoblacht" (21/9) straggled (to me) omits any reference to the core, the essential basis, of the grip of the British ruling class on the policies of the various Dublin governments over the last 50 years of alleged independence.

It is the money system that was operative before 1921 throughout the U.K., and originated in the setting up of the Bank of England, after the triumph of what a sturdy English patriot, William Coffey, called "Dutch finance", under William of Orange.

It was later called "Sound Finance", the essence of "Sound Finance" is that nobody, in or out of government, shall have the power to create money, other than the bankers and that they shall have a complete monopoly of that power.

This monopoly gives them a stranglehold on the economic life of the Irish nation. There is a very good text book by Dr. Alfred O'Riordan (president, for years of I.C.C.) titled simply, "Money" which explains how, (and gives plenty of corroborative evidence from bankers, themselves orthodox economists and from government commissions of enquiry into "Sound Finance"), banks create and destroy money. It is in the public libraries and (though out of print for some time) can be had from Carriga Books, Blackrock, Dublin.

Most people now know and admit that banks create money but boggle at the idea that they destroy money. On that, an Irishman, Reginald McKenna, long time chairman of the Midland Bank of England and one time chancellor of the British Exchequer in Asquith's government, explains how he fought against Montagu Horman's aspect fastening a merciless policy of deflation on the British people and on all Ireland, from 1922 to 1935.

He explained how banks create and destroy money. A quote: "Every bank loan creates a deposit; every repayment of a bank loan destroys a deposit".

His book, "Post-war Banking Policy", explains the process in some detail. It must be grasped that even in Ireland, woefully inhibited though it is in its economic life, 95 per cent of all money transactions are by cheque.

I am a social creditor. For over 40 years I advocated it in "The Kerryman" but, to my disappointment, never got discussion going on it beyond very rare occasions. All the party politicians avoided it like the plague.

I could not explain social credit in a short letter. It would use too much of "An P's" precious space. I dare say Desmond Fennell knows about S.C. His opinion of it would be valuable. It is based on the facts: that we live in an era of potential plenty; that money is the means in our money-governed economy of producing and distributing that plenty; that poverty can be abolished is merely paper and ink; and that prices and taxes can be very much reduced.

S.C. is the only cure for inflation that hurts no one except the "sound financiers". It is not, therefore, worth delving into S.C.?

E. Ua Cúinnín, Doon, Baile an Bhúicéanaigh, Co. Chiarraí.

## Warrior woman

In a Maureen Lynch-like letter this week to the Red and White newspapers, Mrs. Conor Cruise

## BELFAST

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

## AN PHOBLAcht

## a chara

O'Brien inquired after the cultural climate in which a certain stateside Sinn Féin grouping operates.

Now that this warrior woman has at last awakened from her slumbers on the summit perhaps she might be anxious to answer questions as she is to ask them.

Maybe she might even like to enlighten us about the to machinery of a mentality which encourages Ghanaians to speak the Gaelic but which discourages the "white wogs" on the Curragh, from doing ditto?

Diarmaid Mac Dáibhéid, Léim an Bhradáin, Co. Chill Dara.

## Why denied

REPUBLICANS have got one snag in, at least on one of the "dogs of war", namely the Honourable Robert Carr, British Home Secretary, and successor to Noel Johnston's "War" Reggie

(Poulson) Maulding. There can be no doubt that Óglaigh na hÉireann's economic campaign is hurting the imperialists' millions of times more than this little blow on the chops but, as the public relations men, say: "You can't beat personal contact".

The occasion was an inspection by the Brits' Home Sec. of H.M.S. prison, Welford Rd., Leicester (where Noel Jenkinson of Aldershot fame and, more recently, the Luton Three, are being held).

The time was approximately 11.30 a.m., "dinner" time, when one of the Luton Three managed a swing at Carr's pasty yellow

facings. Because of Carr's cowering attitude the greater force of the blow was spent before it reached target (shades of B.A. taunts to Irish civilians "Stand up and fight"). Robert was led away, holding his face and visibly shaking, and was later seen sportng a sticking plaster above his left eye.

The assailant was handed off to the "chakey" (punishment cell), none the worse but for a small bruise on the centre knuckle of the right fist. Strangely enough, his watch, when returned later broken, was stopped at 11.40 date 25.

The official "castrated" account of the incident played the whole thing down and denied that Carr had been struck. Are they so afraid of truth that they are willing to cover up even this petty incident?

Although all this might be a bit of a laugh, remember that just as the Nazi Luftwaffe cut its milk teeth on Guernica, so Carr's Kitson terrorist perverts cut theirs on Ulaidh.

J. Mealy, Leicester Prison, Sasana.

## Five coffins

"THE Derry massacre proved to be the catalyst that finally precipitated a reversal of eight centuries of British policy in Ireland... The long strain of military involvements in the North since 1969 forced a reconsideration of British policy".

These sentences were in Dr. Fitzgerald's speech in Boston which was published in the Irish press last Monday which also carried reports of the hunger strike in Mountjoy Jail, and about the vigil of wives and families outside Mountjoy, and a little, and that wrong because censored, about the men on strike; we had, too, the callous and shameful statement issued by the Government Information Bureau that the Government would not release the prisoners or grant their demand.

If the prisoners, or any of them, were to die that would be the responsibility of the men themselves, or those who gave them orders. Most members of the Dublin

government were elected by Dublin, or Co. Dublin, constituencies.

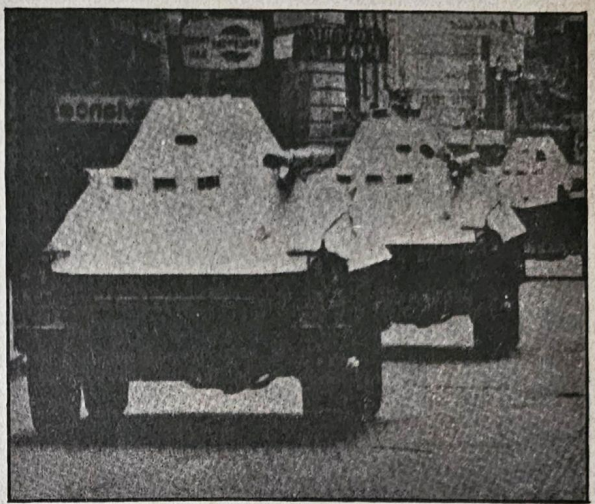
Five of the eight hunger-strikers are Ulstermen. So the present position is that Dublin's gift to Ulster at this moment acclaimed by FitzGerald will leave Mountjoy Jail in five coffins in five hearse bound for Belfast (2), Armagh, Donegal (2) and Fermanagh.

These processions will do nothing to suppress the history of the country through which they pass; but no story springing from Irish earth will be more shameful to our common nation.

For time will not erase the fact that the men now suffering are the prisoners of their own code of honour and the ancient allegiance to Dáil Éireann — which now begins to show signs of surviving the foreign oppression, and the last phase of the 800-year-policy now reversed, according to Dr. FitzGerald.

Which of the "Special Court" prisoners would be where they are if they had decided to reverse their old principle, recognise the court, and make the Gardaí state and prove their charges, and against which authority in six or 26 counties the alleged crime was committed.

A lot could be written about the rules and conditions of imprisonment, which are invoked or set aside for reasons of convenience by the authorities. The refusal of remission is a new thing belonging to the panic legislation which followed the Dublin bombs and is part of Dublin's spy scare. It puts the Republicans in a special class for Special Vengeance. They alone cannot ever hope to attain the level of the "ordinary grade" prisoners. In their case every day



One aspect of the repression in Chile.

and every hour must be served. Maire Comerford, William Ryan, Co. Sl. Keshan's, Sandyford, Co. Bhaile Atha Cliath.

● This letter was written before the victory of the Mountjoy hunger-strikers.

## Irish sovereignty

IT IS now becoming a realistic political possibility that Britain will either withdraw from the E.E.C. in the relatively near future or else will insist on such changes being made in the E.E.C. as a condition of continued British membership that the character of the Community Ireland has joined will be drastically altered.

In these circumstances it will soon become necessary for the Irish Government and Irish public opinion to reconsider our present relationship with the E.E.C., which is already in any case showing itself much less favourable to Ireland's interests than was envisaged by those who supported full membership for this country.

The Irish Sovereignty Movement, as the successor to the Common Market Study Group and the Common Market Defence Campaign, which put the critical case in last year's E.E.C. referendum, will be glad to contribute to this process of reconsideration and will be organising a number of conferences during the coming months for this purpose, in which

both supporters and critics of Irish membership of the E.E.C. will be invited to participate.

The Irish Sovereignty Movement welcomes the decision of the British Labour Party, at its conference this week, to maintain its refusal to participate in the institutions of the E.E.C. and to submit the issue of continued British membership of the Common Market to the votes of the people under the next Labour Government.

As the wishes of the British people have been entirely ignored by the Heath Administration in this matter of the Common Market, it will be a victory for democracy if the British people are at last to have a final say in this way.

— Anthony Coughlan, secretary, M.S.O. Loingsigh, chairman, Irish Sovereignty Movement, 24 Belgrave Road, Baile Atha Cliath, 6.

## Jim Bryson

WE HAVE lost a true patriot and friend in James Bryson. His courage and audacity have been and should be an example to all true Irishmen and women. In following J. Bryson's career in the Republican Movement I had developed a form of relationship with him even though I never met him.

Any soldier of Óglaigh na hÉireann is a lesson to us all, especially a soldier so brave as J.

Bryson. While the Irish nation exists there will always be men and women prepared to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of the land they love.

May your memory be never forgotten and, please God, this present war will be the last in the cause of Irish freedom.

Tomás Cullen, P.R.O. Michael Larkin Cumann, Sinn Féin, Binn.

## Republican Ireland honours James Daly

Assemble on Sunday, November 4, at 2.30 p.m. in Tyrellspass, Co. Westmeath, for parade and unveiling of memorial. Prominent speakers will attend.

A bus will leave the office of "An Phoblacht", 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, at noon. Those requiring seats should book well in advance at "An Phoblacht" office.

# 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.

Send us that bob, and send it now.

## WHY NOT ADVERTISE WITH US?

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

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

# SOLDIER DEFECTS TO I.R.A.

A BRITISH soldier wanted by the Six Counties authorities for the killing of a U.D.R. man on Oct. 15 last, has defected to the I.R.A., which is providing him with safe passage to a foreign country, we are told in a supplied statement.

The soldier is Fusilier David Moody who, late on that Monday night, shot dead U.D.R. man Thomas John Forsythe at the Hannanstown electricity sub-station, outside Belfast.

A spokesman for Ogligh na hÉireann said they were prepared to give safe passage to any British soldier who defected to them.

"We operate in a war situation and we recognise that, for various reasons, soldiers of the opposing armies may want to opt out."

"If they defect to us and cease to be combatants in the situation, we guarantee that

their safety will be secured and that they will be speedily conducted to a foreign country," the spokesman said.

### Heated argument

Fusilier Moody shot Forsythe, following a heated argument between them and another U.D.R. man.

It appears that the dis-sension arose largely because of long-standing and deep-seated tension between the U.D.R. and British soldiers. Moody says that the British army regards the U.D.R. as just another partisan element in the Northern conflagration and, therefore, an embarrassment to them.

On instinct, Moody ran from the guard hut where the shooting occurred and calculated that his safest refuge was with the I.R.A.

Knowing the Lenadoon area quite well, having been stationed there for more than three months, he sought out a Republican household.

Because of his state of confusion and general

nervousness, he went to the wrong house, that of Mr. Bernard Rooney.

He held the Rooney family at gunpoint for more than two hours. Then he left, dressed in civilian clothes but still carrying his rifle. A few streets away, he made contact with a known Republican who brought him to the staff of the area's unit and, from there on, he was described as being in "safe hands".

Moody talked at length last week-end to our Belfast correspondent and revealed some fascinating insights to the operations of the British army in the North, the attitudes of British soldiers, and his own mental make-up and background.

"It is not often that we have an opportunity of studying at close quarters a member of the enemy forces", our correspondent writes, "though Moody now no longer is regarded an enemy by the I.R.A."

In our next issue we will present an interview-profile with this man whom we have come to accept as the typical British "squaddy".

## Stormont 'contempt for rule of law'

LACK OF CONFIDENCE in the judicial system among Six Counties Catholics has been "a major factor" in the continuing troubles of the area.

This is the opinion of the Cobden Trust, a charity which undertakes research into the causes of injustice and which recently completed a survey of justice in the Six Counties.

Their report, out last week, says that a greater commitment by the authorities to stamp out differences in treatment between Protestants and Catholics in law enforcement and to ensure complaints against police and military if fully investigated and dealt with, would have helped to halt the trend towards violence.

Instead, the judicial system was "openly used by the Government, both before and after the imposition of direct rule from Westminster, as a buttress to the existing order."

Both Stormont and Westminster had shown "utter contempt for the rule of law."

The Unionist Government, says the report, reacted irresponsibly when its authority was called into question in any complaint made against it.

Westminster reacted in a similar way to claims of misconduct by the military. Both resorted to the appointment of judicial inquirers to report on issues which should have been dealt with directly by the courts.

The report concludes: "Public confidence in the institutions of law and justice is bound up with a popular conception of the rule of law. "It reliance on the independence and impartiality of the

judicial system among Six Counties Catholics has been "a major factor" in the continuing troubles of the area. judges is to play a part in achieving a just settlement to the present crisis, much more attention will have to be paid by all concerned to the crucial issue of restoring social confidence in the administration of justice."

Welcoming the report, the National Council for Civil Liberties says the document provides strong support for abolishing sectarian discrimination in judicial decisions.



A moment at the 69th Ardfeis in Dublin's Mansion House last weekend. Next week we hope to publish some pictures and other matter about this historic Convention. In this issue, due to the time factor and our deadline with the printers, our space has been drastically curtailed.

## Ó Brádaigh at Ardfeis

THE "bending" of all democratic processes in the North by the British and their allies was condemned, at the Sinn Féin Ardfeis in Dublin last weekend, by the organisation's uachtaran, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, in his address.

"The unnatural and undemocratic basis of that stateletic divide Protestant from Catholic and effectively, by its very existence, prevents reconciliation based on justice," he pointed out. "The only just solution, and a democratic one, would be the provincial parliament based on the historic nine counties of Ulster, as proposed by Sinn Féin."

We reproduce here extracts from his address. Fearain cead faite romhabh go léir ag an Ardfeis seo. Is tomái sobhairt agus is me fúlaingí ata deanta ag ar muintir o bhallig muid le cheile anseo anuraidh. Ce gur i ngeire ata an troid imthe le bliain anuas níl teipthe ortha na baol air.

"Seasann siad an fod go calma ga tabhairt misnigh agus inspioráid do phobal Éireann sa bhlaic agus i gcein, thaid is ata an chaibidil deiri den troid a scróbh agus. Ni mor duinne sna Se Chondata Fiechad agus that lear ar ngealltuinn a choimhlonadh tri sheasamh gualainn ar ghualainn le. Chugis sin, caithfidh muid tabhairt faoinar ndualgais go fuinnamhach agus go bhíomhar. "Mar sin, ba mhait liom an cur oideachais pholaitiúil ata da chur i bhfeidhnt a lua agus a thogair, go bhfuil an curas sin rianachan do gach ball thri Shinn Féin. Ní caint gan fairde theastainis anuas ach gnomh grod."

"The splendid resistance of the people to British rule at the Six Counties has been maintained with all the idealism and self-sacrifice of this generation of young people. Despite unprecedented repression by British militarism with the now notorious Paratroopers well to the fore, that resistance has continued in all its aspects: civil disobedience, mil-

itary and the promotion of the only realistic political solution in the form of Dail Uladh. The number of prisoners in jail in the North - over half of whom are now without charge or trial - is at an all time high figure of approximately 1,500. Girls and schoolchildren 15 years and under the past year joined their menfolk behind the wire, making the Heath and Whitehall regime in Ireland the only government in Western Europe since the fall of Nazi Germany to hold women and children in concentration camps.

The late night and early morning raids, the harassment, the arrests, continue at an ever increasing pace: civilian deaths at the hands of the British Army, uniformed and plain-clothes squads, mount up; and the number of horrible sectarian assassinations of politically uninvolved people, which started about two years ago, has now passed the 200 mark. But, far from surrendering in the face of all the suffering, the torture, the heroic people remain unbeaten. They stand "bloody but unbowed".

Meanwhile, the British have been erecting a political smokescreen behind which they continue to seek a military solution. The Green Paper for discussion of a year ago was followed by their White Paper on constitutional proposals for the Six Counties of March 20 last. The White Paper, of course, was completely restrictive in that it was based on the worthless Border Poll of March 8, the result of which was a foregone conclusion.

"The vote was confined to the Six Counties' area, artificially brought out of the body politic of Ireland in 1920, on the basis of a pretain head-count.

Further extracts next week

## Mountjoy's thanks

WE HAD BEEN asked to publish this statement on behalf of the O.C. Political Prisoners, Mountjoy Jail, Dublin:

"On behalf of the Republican Prisoners in D Wing, Mountjoy Jail, I would like to thank all those who supported us in our recent hunger strike and protest for political status. Without your help we would never have succeeded."

"A special word of thanks to support every day, during the Irish Civil Rights Association which we understand, was the spearhead of protest, pickets and deputations on our behalf. A special thanks, also, to the Sinn Féin members, the People's Democracy members, to the general public and the families of the eight gallant hunger strikers who blocked the roads outside Mountjoy Jail.

"The after effects of the hunger strike have hit the men into the Mater Hospital and the other six men are still very weak, some of them very ill. It will take many months before they recover fully."

"The agony of the strike itself, the shock of Donal de Barra's illness and the terrible shock of Joe Cahill's collapse have had an effect on all the prisoners. "We would also like to thank the other prisoners who have always had our respect and help and who sent us a petition of 159 names and verbal messages of support, every day, during the hunger strike.

"The Gardiner Place statement was issued without the knowledge or consent of the "Official" prisoners in Mountjoy Jail. Segregation to us does not mean that we are an elite group or any better than ordinary prisoners. In fact, we have done more for these prisoners inside prison walls than those who climb on their backs outside jail gates: the statement concludes.

## Dan Mc Anallen

(continued from centre) comrades and his friends; embraced the fire of patriotism and nationalism in all who came with him, and made him a much feared opponent of the forces of oppression.

His valour, courage and cool, calm approach, along with his unceasing devotion to the cause, could not but be recognised and admired, and, above all, emulated, by all under his command.

Dan was a true soldier. Before an engagement he would plan with meticulous care and perfection while during it he fought with cool courage and fearless determination.

Those who knew Dan can never forget his friendly, reassuring smile, his homely banter, and his quiet, carefully spoken word.

Who can forget his most outstanding attribute - his great power and strength - physical, moral and political. His wife, family and friends have lost a loved one. Ogligh na hÉireann has lost a brave, dependable and honest leader.

Ireland has lost yet another noble son - a son who gave his life for the cause of freedom justice and liberty.

The late Dan McAnallen was adjutant with the first battalion, East Tyrone Command, Ogligh na hÉireann. Ar dheis Dé go raibh Sé.

"And we will pray that their cry: 'Full many a race may start. Of true me like you men. To act as brave a past'."

T. O'Neil

## ELECTED AT ARDFHEIS

Uachtarán: Ruairi Ó Brádaigh. Leasuachtaráin: Mrs. Máire Drumm agus Daithí Ó Conaill. Rúnaith: Malachy Fooks (Béal Feirste) agus Walter Lynch (B.A.C.). Cisteoirí: Cathal Mac Léid (Béal Feirste) agus Tony Ruane (B.A.C.). Ardchomhaithe: Gerry Adams (Béal Feirste, Campa na Cise (Cill Fada), Richard Ó Bealaigh (Cill Fada), Niall Fagan (B.A.C.), Barney McFadden (Doire), Mary McGuigan (Béal Feirste, Príostán Ard Macha), Brendan Magill (Londain), Máire Moore (Béal Feirste), agus Séan Ó Brádaigh (B.A.C.).

### MOTORCYCLES

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

## Phone - tapping

(continued from centre)

warn that a trunk call was on the line, and by using this the British can quickly and simply overhear conversations and monitor phones in a particular area of the city.

### Sorting centres

The forces also reportedly interfere with mail passing through the three main Belfast sorting centres, located in Bath Place, Beerbridge Road, and Royal Avenue.

After letters are sorted into street destinations by Post Office employees, selected mail is taken aside and checked by members of the Post Office's special investigations branch.

The method used is that of inserting a needle-type device under the flap of the envelope: this is then turned to wind the letter round it, after which it can be taken out, inspected, and then replaced.

Since Direct Rule the orders for tapping and inspection of mail apparently, have been signed by William Whitelaw. Before Direct Rule was introduced in March 1972, it is understood that such activities were authorised by the Governor under regulations established after the Birkett Report in 1957.

This article was first published in "Red Weekly".

## LEAS

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Ar leas na Gaeltachta  
Ar leas na Poblachta  
Ar do leas féin

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Arna foilsíú ag Gluaiseacht na Poblachta.

## ÉIRE NUA

(continued from page six) Mac Suibhne: "It is not those who can inflict most but those who can endure most..."

Meanwhile, let the dialogue continue; let the educational process begin. We know we can have a better Ireland. We are sketching the type of New Ireland we want. We have to convince our fellow Irishmen that this is a task worth undertaking.

In last week's article on the Athlone conference by Deasún Breathnach, the second paragraph, following the asidehead, "Crisis of identity," did not make sense.

It should have read as follows: "It seems to be agreed that, where there is a strong local identity, based on the historical experience (one thinks of the Dublin Liberties, the Conamara Gaeltacht, Breifne, Siabh Luachra, the Déise, the Donegal Gaeltacht, Ráth Cairn in Co. Meath), planning should take that into account, to strengthen and develop it, economically and culturally (permanent employment, housing, social centres, music, archaeology, literature, games)."