

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical and mental well being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

(1st Dail Eireann)

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 8, Uimhir 29, 10p.

LEO J. MALONE, B.A.,  
161 27, 1977

College Square,  
KILLARNEY,

# PRESIDENT CARTER AND IRISH UNITY

WILL CARTER send the Brits packing from Ireland? The short answer is "no": The only people who will send the Brits packing are the Irish people. What, therefore, is behind the reports of a major Carter speech on Ireland, to be delivered, perhaps, within a fortnight?

## Say 'sorry' Crown told by Church

HOW CAN the English people make reparations to Ireland? A special report, commissioned by the Church of England, urged the Crown to make an "explicit and symbolic expression of repentance" for the long history of "injustice visited by Britain upon Ireland."

This would help bring about a solution to the Irish war.

The report says: There is a particular need for us to avoid the easy dismissal of a whole society and its problems — "those impossible people" — which reflects surviving imperial attitudes rather than a realistic attempt of two close neighbours to live side by side.

The explicit expression of repentance is urged "for what has been done amiss in time past and for our part in its continuance."

It points to the good that followed in the German churches following the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt for the Nazi Atrocities in 1945.

### How sorry?

So far, so good. Unfortunately the authors, Mr. Giles Eccleston, secretary, Church of England's Board of Social Responsibility, and Canon Eric Elliot, Belfast, believe that the enforced partition of Ireland is justified; that the setting aside by Westminster of the results of the last all-Ireland election in 1918, declaring overwholly for a united, independent, Irish Republic, was justified; and that British troops should remain in the Six Counties.

It sees the British armed

In early June the U.S. Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, met in Washington members of Congress associated with the "Irish lobby" to discuss the war situation in the Six Counties; the then coming general election in the 26 Counties; the possibility of a Fianna Fail victory; and Fianna Fail's vaguely worded policy of seeking British disengagement in Ireland.

It was the first meeting of its kind and those present were the House Speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill (Dem., Mass.), Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Dem., Mass.) and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (Dem., New York).

Representatives of the Governor of New York, Hugh Carey, also attended. Those present made a strong plea for an intervention by the Administration towards a "peaceful solution" of the war in our north-east.

Carey, Moynihan, Kennedy and O'Neill are regarded by many Irish men and women in America, and sympathetic Irish-Americans, as, at best, stooges of the Crown and its allies in Ireland. But they are under considerable pressure from friends of Ireland in the U.S. and Carey fears that the antagonism of patriotic Irishmen in the U.S. may lose him the governorship of New York in the coming election (see report: page five).

### Civil rights issue

President Carter also is under pressure from patriotic Irishmen and their allies in the U.S., as well as from others concerned with the issues of religious and civil rights, generally and specifically.

Recently, President Carter received a letter about Ireland and civil rights from the president, Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Rev. Virgil C. Blum, S.J.

On behalf of the U.S. President a reply was sent on June 8 to Father Blum from the Department of State (June 8). In the course of this letter the writer, Hodding Carter III, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and Department Spokesman, said the U.S. Government had offered and would continue to offer "moral support and encouragement to all those of good-will among the parties directly concerned who are working to break the circle of violence and to build a peaceful, just society in that area."

The letter concludes: "At the same time, the carefully considered policy of the U.S. Government has long been and remains one of specifically avoiding unsolicited involvement in Northern Ireland. In our judgment, a solution to this centuries-old dispute can come about only through the efforts of the U.S. Government could play a useful role, to date, however, none of the parties concerned has requested that the United States take any active part in this matter. In the absence of such requests, the U.S. Government is convinced that U.S. intervention would be both inappropriate and counter-productive."

### Just peace sought

Father Blum replied in a letter dated June 17, in the course of which he thanked the Assistant Secretary of State for the courteous response "to our letter asking President Carter's assistance in mediating a just peace" in Ireland.

The writer then pointed out that the reply was "a direct contradiction" of what President Carter had told the Irish National Caucus in Pittsburg on October 27 last, just before the presidential election, quoting President Carter thus: "The world knows that it is a mistake



Jimmie Carter



Cyrus Vance

for our country's Government to stand quiet on the struggle of the Irish for peace, for the respect for civil rights, and for unifying Ireland.

"I don't disavow my own Irish heritage . . . it would be a mistake for all of us to forget that we have a dual commitment, first and foremost, of course, to our own country here, the United States. But then secondly, and very importantly, to the nations from which our families came."

That, said Father Blum, coupled with the President's efforts for civil rights elsewhere, "gave us reason to hope that he would not turn a deaf ear to the gross violations of human rights of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland."

As to the special requirement imposed before the U.S. would act to defend the human rights of Irishmen: "If this condition were imposed with regard to . . . the Soviet Union, Latin America or Southern Africa, the United States would have been able to do nothing in regard to the human rights of the peoples of those areas."

Why such a special condition in Ireland's case? This condition would be virtually impossible of fulfillment. The people concerned "are merely private persons with no means of effectively calling upon the United States for assistance," the letter continues.

### Torturing political prisoners

The only government involved in the situation was that of Britain, "but since they have recently been found guilty in the European Court of Human Rights of torturing political prisoners, it seems highly improbable that they will request outside assistance in redressing those grievances, against violations of human rights of which they have been among the chief perpetrators."

It seemed almost cynical, according to Father Blum, to refuse to speak out in defence of human rights in Ireland until invited to do so by the British Government. It would be similar to waiting for an invitation from the Chilean junta before complaining about the treatment of political prisoners in that state.

The U.S. wished to act in a neutral manner. Yet it had been alleged that the U.S. had:

- Relieved the British of part of their NATO commitment so they could increase their military presence in Ireland;
- Provided transport into the Six Counties for British troops;
- Sold armaments to Britain for use against "the civilian population" of the Six Counties;
- Trained British troops for use in Ireland;
- Denied visas to Irish Nationalist representatives "who wished to come to this country to tell the American people their side of the story";
- Attempted to "interfere with and discourage the collection of funds by American citizens wishing to provide economic assistance to the suffering people" in Ireland; and
- Stationed U.S. customs officials on the Border in Ireland.

### U.S.A. 'not neutral'

Father Blum added that his organisation was trying to investigate and substantiate these charges and stated that, if true, "it would appear that the United States has not been neutral and uninvolved" in the

(Ar leannair at chúl)

*But don't relax your grip*

presence in Ireland as a "means of reducing disorder"; that another "representative institution" (Stormont or like body) must be provided; and says that the "history of Ireland . . ." is punctuated by Britain and answering violence from one or other of the Irish communities.

It reiterates the Crown myth that the Six Counties is a province and that it belongs to the Crown: "We cannot unilaterally disentangle ourselves from the affairs of a province which owes its separate political existence to a desire for a continuing relationship with Great Britain and an unwillingness to be absorbed into the Republic of Ireland."

"The province is part of the United Kingdom . . . Whatever political solutions to the present problems are found will have to

(Ar leannair at chúl)

**Brits out, peace in Tourists, yes; troops, no**

# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 8. Iúil 17, 1977. Uimhir 29.  
44 Ceannóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eira, Guthan : 747611.

## 'When I was in jail . . .'

UNDER THE title, "when I was in jail", the Dublin morning newspaper, "The Irish Times" (July 21), published a thoughtful, compassionate and realistic editorial in the course of which it said:

"Books written about the Irish war of independence show how much jail life left its mark on the participants and on the wider public. Few of the men who were to become Ministers and leaders of the new institutions had escaped some period of incarceration, and memoirs of the time dwell on jail riots, forced feeding, objects smuggled in (as with Dev's key to Lincoln Jail) and a whole sub-culture of survival within thick walls.

"Our Governments, then, might be expected to have had an special insight into the running of prisons, if not the most enlightened in the world, then our prisons might be expected to be at least efficient and open to question and experiment.

"The prison system is as much part of the fabric of the 26-County State as are the schools . . . Yet the last Minister for Justice seemed to talk of the system as if he owned it . . . No one could get into Portlaoise — not one of the Twelve Apostles — because it was nobody's business except for the Minister and the prison staff.

"This is not just a stupid attitude; it is a dangerous attitude and unpopular in quarters very far removed from the Provos . . . the new Minister should be able to do better than Mr. Cooney's surly stone-walling".

The leader went on to refer to remarks by the Roman Catholic Bishop Daly of Derry regarding the humiliation and trials imposed on the visitors to Portlaoise, "comparing the system in the 26 Counties unfavourably with that in the North" and suggested that the new Minister, "without soft-headedness or smarm, can take the public more into his confidence than his predecessor did".

The editorial concludes: "There may be innocent men in our jails; there are many dangerous men, but is it the official attitude that so many are completely irredeemable? In fact, the more vehement the political feeling, the more need for adequate channels for the discharge of energy to be directed by study, by recreation.

"What does the State do with men who are violent, mendacious, anti-social — take any of the customary epithets — and who are due to become more so? These same people, viewed in a different light and treated better, perhaps may in time become politicians and statesmen as did so many 50 and 60 years ago".

That editorial does not go even half way to meet the Republican viewpoint but the compassion, for the men inside and their relatives outside, comes through warmly. Far more needs to be said, by "The Irish Times", Bishop Daly and others, but perhaps it is a beginning, in a week which saw the revolt and, from some accounts, brutal suppression, of the Mountjoy revolt (where members of the Republican Movement are not held). Perhaps, also, the leader-writer was aware that this is the Year of the Political Prisoner and that the political prisoners in Portlaoise are denied that status and branded as criminals.

In sharp contrast to the compassion of the "Times" leader were the callous remarks of a senior counsel intent on doing the best he could for his client — understandable — but not very scrupulous in his methods, referring to Portlaoise as a "university of crime", thus helping to perpetuate the malicious myth that the Republicans in Portlaoise are what the Crown labels them and against which the men in the Long Kesh H Block, naked in their cells, are making such a sustained and valiant protest.

Séan Mac Bride, widely respected throughout the world as a lawyer, a humanitarian, a genuine searcher after national and international peace, should have a word with Patrick MacEntee. And if that lawyer has a sense of honour he will make amends to honourable men incapable of defending themselves against this latest slander from an unexpected source.

# Mí sa phríosún ag bagairt ar Fhlann Ó Riain

DEALLRÁIONN SÉ go bhfuil na húdaráis ar a seacht dhéicéal chun fóibairt dóite a dhéanamh de Fhlann Ó Riain, múinteoir scoile, cartáin den scoth (Doll) agus Gaeilgeoir dhís.

An tseachtain seo caite daoradh arís é ar ucht ceardnas teilifíse gan bheith fócha aige. Níl sin fócha aige toisc go bhfuil sé i measc Gaeilgeoirí tí á dhúilt, chun brú, má beag féin é, a chur ar RTE, chun go bhfaighe an teanga a cearta.

An uair dheiridh ní raibh sé faoi ghlas i Múscoge ach cupla lá, gur foc "cara" an fhíneál, i ngan fhios dó.

Mar a dúirt sé, ar theacht amach dó, ní "cara" a rinne sin ach namhaid. Tá cosúlacht ar an cáinma seo uilig gur é an ríttas a fúaim, imféargracht.

Tharla an rud céanna, nuair deirannaf fós, d'ar-caragairfúir an pháipéir seo, mar atá Gearóid Ó hÉithir. Ní fios go hoifigiúil é a dtioc.

Níor chaill Gearóid oiread is oifige amháin istigh. B'fhéidir gur amhladh a cheap stad go rabha a

## Cúinnla

dhóithean ama caite sa phríosún aige, thuairisc agus theist! Ba dhéicair a rá.

Ach tá sé gál le bheith cinnte nach deasta fonn ó na húdaráis go gcuirfear fórsaí daoine eile isteach sa phríosún faoin "geoir" seo, ar eagla go ndéiseadh "geoir" na n-Éiricann agus go ndéanfai faochra poillí d'ibhí agus cé mór pobail den fheachtas tá ar síd ag Conradh na Gaeilge.

## Cat agus luch

TUIGTEAR DOM go bhfuil tleirt ar scór duine sin fheachtas sin faoi líthair, idir fúir is mhúid. Cúisíodh chun díobh. Níor foc siad aon fhéin. Agus ní fhios acu, ó na go lá, cén uair a thiofais na Gadaí go dtí an doras eoin tad a thabhairt go Múscoge.

An cat agus an luch. Ní deas ná uasal an rud, mar chluiche. Dá mbeadh aon tuisicid do dháin an náisiún agus d'uaiskeacht na ndaoine seo acu chuirfeadh na

húdaráis deireadh leis an innf nó ní-ní-shuamhneas, agus don náire úd i Montrós, trí ráiteas gonnta a císínt.

Tá an Conradh — agus na daoine sin fheachtas sin — réacsánta. Dá gceapfaidís go rabhais chun an rud uilig a chur ina cheart dhúairfidís deireadh leis an bhfeachtas. Ní bhfuair siad oiread is nód.

Faoi líthair teastaíonn ón gConradh an feachtas a leanúid agus na scóirfa a thabhairt isteach ann. Tá Gaeilgeoirí mór le rá tar éis litreacha a tháil, sa réaltacht agus sa nGálacht, ag impí orthu pháir a ghlacadh ann.

Cuirfidh mé an-spéis sa toradh. Ar ndóig, tugim chomh maith le duine ar bheith nach acmhainn dó gach áinín páir a ghlacadh ann. Corrluime.

Ach tá na daoine eile ann. Agus cén chlo a rachadh ar móladh seo i bhfeidhm ar mhainistir Shion Féin? Ar Ghluacacht na Poblachta i gceitim?

Céist mhór. Níor mhuid i fheachtair mhó chreidim mhóid sa réabhlóid chultúrtha.



'Doll' Ó Riain

## Scothlitr

IS DÓCHA go gcuirfeadh cuid mhíbhith den chreidim, faoi bhfeachtas, a thabhairt do Mhaoisheachlann Ó Caolta, bail 6 Dhiair.

Mar a feicimid sé léir an-áiríomna an-ífrineach, ar na nuachtáir an na mulláirí faoi na "lobbies" id a chur dallmáil ar na méid sin daoine, go raibh an oiread sin ag iarraidh BB(Ca-Da) a bheith áthchraic anseo ar chostas an phobail.

Mar a feicimid sa t-olltoghachán, agus mar a thabhairt Mhaoisheachlann dhúinn, ní rabh ach beagan os cionn 300 daoine a thug vóta don iarbhíor a bhí "cinnte dearta" go ngníothóidh sé saoiachas ar chostas an Pháirtí Breacachais.

## Spike Island

# TRENDY - LEFTY WHEN THE GOING WAS SAFE



Ms. Kenny

FOR THE past two years the London Freelance Branch of the National Union of Journalists has been a battleground where left and right factions have fought bitterly for control.

At the moment the right, led by the voluble snob, Bernard Levin, is in control.

Among those voting with him at the last monthly meeting in support of law and order and NUJ a real union, was a small, plump woman wearing dark glasses and a beret.

Her name was Mary Kenny.

When Scoopie-do tried to engage her in conversation in the pub afterwards, keen to discover how someone who once had a reputation for radicalism had come to be associated with Levin's unsavoury crew, the poor thing became quite agitated and bustled out, trilling: "I believe what I believe".

This is the type of trite, meaningless remark which exactly typifies Ms. Kenny.

Most Irish people who are aware of Ms. Kenny's existence draw their knowledge from her column in the "Sunday Independent," which many people begin reading every week but hardly ever finish.

It is the most consistently boring piece of journalism regularly on sale in Ireland.

Many journalists are puzzled by this. Once upon a time Mary Kenny was not boring. Silly, maybe. Inaccurate, often. Naive, hopelessly. But not boring.

There is no need for praise. The reason Ms. Kenny has become boring is precisely that she has adopted the afore-

mentioned right-wing attitudes. Which is not to say that she has really changed.

In the past couple of years Ms. Kenny has competed with the most rabidly chauvinistic Brits in her denunciations of the I.R.A.

After the assassination of the Brit Ambassador last year she stumbled from fantasy to farce and back again, in articles confessing that she had helped "start the trouble" in the sixties and was sorry, for ever having done it.

She has bemoaned the passing of the Latin Mass, boasted of voting Tory in the last local government elections in London, denounced unofficial strikers, supported repressive legislation, gushed and goshed about the royal jubilee.

Indeed, no right-wing cause ever will be entirely lost while Mary Kenny can find newspaper space to twitter in.

All this is, at first sight, in stark contrast to her days as women's editor of "The Irish Press" in the late sixties.

She is remembered as bright and breezy and occasionally out-rageous. The times have changed, as the times ever do.

All the with-it fun-people were revolutionaries way back in '69. The North was stirring. In the south, glittering intellectuals such as O'Brien, Keating and Thornley, had come into politics.

New ideas staked conservatism through the land. Suddenly, it was fun to be involved, committed, passionately partisan in a blissful dash towards a new dawn.

In a word, it was the fashion. Different now. The golden promises of the glittering intellectuals have all turned to dust.

## le Scoopie-do

The heady ideas about revolution in the North, now tested against reality, are anything but fun.

## Real effort, now

The deepening of the economic crisis and the quickening tempo of the class struggle, both here and in Britain, make a commitment to the "working-class" no longer a matter of easy rhetoric in late-night pubs and sharp little puns in Monday's "Press".

Now, it demands a real contribution to a real struggle — and that's more than the Mary-Kenny's of this world are ever prepared to give.

It is no longer the fashion.

In retrospect, the fact that she was regarded as progressive in the 'sixties tells more about Irish newspapers that it does about herself. Because, in truth, she was never really all that good.

But the Irish media was so bleak-stultified and stultifying, so bleak and bankrupt of living ideas, that any new-sounding voice was bound to sound sweet.

She stood out like a bright butterfly fluttering against the grey-black background. And, perchance, she is due a little credit for that. But, then, butterflies are the least stable of creatures, buffeted hither and thither by whichever way the wind blows.

She was a radical chic when it was chic to be radical. And is now a reactionary when her own class interest demands it.

That, and not a conversion to different ideas, is why a woman who whooped it up for liberty in 1969 now spits hatred at anyone who continues to struggle. And Ms. Kenny, however, may have little spite left.

She is, as they say, over-stretched. Having never lost her

desire for publicity or her keenness to be seen as having "made it", she writes desperately for anyone who will give her space, spreading her shallow ideas ever more thinly.

Often, she contributes a piece to one of Beaverbrooke's elite broadsheets — the "Express" or the "Evening Standard" — during the week, and submits the same scribble to the Indo on Sunday.

In recent weeks she has been reduced to receipts and shopping lists.

Fatally, even touchingly, she boasts on her trips to Dublin about how well she is doing — telling companions over a Sach's lunch that she gets "a three-figure sum" for the Indo column. (She gets £50).

She cannot but be aware that staff writers at the Indo, reckon her column a disaster and are urging her removal. Or that many of her Dublin friends from the old days are faintly embarrassed to meet her.

She told me a few weeks ago she might give up journalism entirely, become "just a housewife". ("Just a housewife!" Not a phrase she would have used a while back). And perhaps that would be best for her.

Political commentary isn't her weight, she being a poor class of a middle-class being, ten degrees to the left of centre in good times, ten degrees to the right of centre at bad times and a bubble-brained buffoon at the best of times.

## HELP THE PRISONERS

# Time we got this clear, once and for all

A FEW issues ago, in response to our editorial, a reader's letter revived an old Republican controversy (or uncertainty). Are we nationalists? "Green Tories"? Socialists? Left-wingers or right-wingers? Is it enough today to be merely a separatist? Should patriotic Irish men and women today be content, as vaguely-grouped "Republicans", to be components of the anti-imperialist, pro-freedom, mass movement against the intruder, leaving party-political grouping for the day of freedom?

For Sinn Féin the die is cast. At ardheiseanna, the party has ratified democratic socialism. Other elements in the Republican Movement have accepted that decision. Future ardheiseanna may define the position more exactly.

## 'Left'?

Here, we present two replies to views expressed in recent issues.

# LEFT?

AT A seminar recently a young member of Sinn Féin admitted that he was having trouble correctly identifying what actually is meant by a "left-wing" and a "right-wing" organisation. He was unsure as to exactly where the Republican Movement stood in the broad political spectrum in left-right terms.

It is not difficult to understand his dilemma when organisations and parties, calling themselves "left-wing", spend much of their time and energy in accommodating themselves to the reactionary status-quo, debasing themselves before the entrenched establishment and ignoring the necessity for drastic revolutionary action in this country.

To add to the confusion, several supposedly enlightened commentators in the media insist on describing members of the Republican Movement as "right-wing Catholic nationalists". To clarify, let us consider this left-right terminology. The distinction arose in the French House of Representatives where those seeking change sat to the left of the Speaker and those wishing to retain the status quo, on his right.

In other words, those who are dissatisfied with the system of the day and favour rapid changes to improve and alter it, are described as "leftists". Those who oppose change, who are conservative and would like to see development continuing along established lines are called "rightists".

### Inexact terminology

We have to be very careful about these terms. The farther left one goes the more extreme one becomes in one direction, through the spectrum of Democrats, Socialists, Communists in different forms, to Maoists and farther.

To the right, one can go from Liberals to Conservatives through to Fascists. In addition, it is important to realise that these terms have different meanings in different countries, at different times, and in different historical and political contexts.

These terms can be misleading and the Republican Movement does not wish to be identified under vague labels. Our stand can be determined easily by an analysis of the contents of our political, social and economic policies.

Even a cursory examination of our Éire Nua programme should convince us that it rests on the fundamental belief in the necessity for revolutionary changes in all aspects of life in Ireland today.

We stand for the absolute overthrow of British rule in Ireland, directly and indirectly, as this most certainly is a radical altering of the present depressing situation in the colonial Six Counties and neo-colonial 26.

### Power to individual

In our programme for regionalised political structures, we advocate a system of government which will give an active part in decision-making to the individual, and fundamentally different from the centralised undemocratic political regimes in power in Ireland today.

We envisage revolutionary new economic structures, based on Democratic Socialism, to ensure that Irish resources will be exploited for the benefit of the Irish people, protecting the national wellbeing against the private interests of strong or rich pressure groups.

Our proposals are very radical and, obviously, genuinely left-wing. Therefore, how is it possible to describe an organisation struggling to free this

country from foreign domination and occupation as "right-wing"?

Is it considered "right-wing" to advocate a complete revolution in the political structures by which the Irish govern themselves or to desire to replace the present unjust economic system with entirely new economic alternatives?

Evidently, commentators who would describe us as "right-wing" have not made an honest, intelligent analysis.

### Non-sectarian policy

As regards their labelling our Movement "Catholic", this again is incorrect. It is true that most people in the Movement are Catholic by religion or origin.

## Le CHRISTENE ELIAS

Nevertheless, there are many Republicans who are Protestants or of a Protestant background. There are also people in the Movement who do not profess any religion at all.

What is important is that the Republican Movement does not categorise its members by religion.

At the same time, it is true also that we do not categorise our opponents by their religion. We do not oppose Protestants, Jews or those of any faith or none.

We oppose only those who accept that Britain has some inalienable right and mandate to occupy this land, to control it, to exploit it to her own advantage.

### Fundamental rights

We oppose only those who stand in the way of Ireland's national right to self-determination and independent development.

There is no place for sectarianism in the New Ireland and our draft charter of rights guarantees the rights of all Irish citizens, regardless of religious beliefs.

By no stretch of the imagination can the Republican Movement be described as "right-wing" and "Catholic" but we admit proudly that we are "nationalists".

We believe in the Irish nation and we believe its interests must be defended. We abhor the anti-Irish climate that has developed in some circles, thanks to the encouragement of the Leinster House "Internationals" those who regard basic Republican principles of nationalism and separatism as some sort of vague, unsophisticated and unworthy expression of fanatical "die-hard" Republican traditionalists refusing to accept the merits of British and E.E.C. "internationalism" and native Irish revisionism.

This, as can be confirmed by history, is impossible. British imperialism will never give us our country. We must win it. Therefore, he has no reason to believe that the Provos are going "sticky". As to Republicanism being referred to in the context of Karl Marx's writings, I can only say that, in the present day, when the Brits are in possession of Irish industry, north and south, and using their old ploy of "divide-and-rule", it seems a necessity

# RIGHT?

WHAT is left-wing? What is right-wing? What do the terms mean in relation to Irish politics or in the politics of any nation? What connotation do they have on a world scale?

It would be worth while examining those questions in view of the extremely important letter published in "An Phoblacht" from "Disgusted Student", who objected to an editorial which said that the Republican Movement "always was inclined to the left".

The terms, of course, are only very broad, generalised, ideological labels and, only in the broadest sense, do they express the spirit and outlook of two main camps in politics. They may mean different things to different people, depending usually on how one's first understanding of the terms was acquired. If you first learned to associate the term "left-wing" with mobs of anarchists roaming about burning churches, you certainly will not be sympathetic to anything "inclined to the left". But it is not as simple as that.

Generally speaking, throughout the world the left is considered to be the radical and revolutionary party, progressive and "for the people" against exploitation and oppression.

### Romantic revolutionaries

The right, especially the extreme right, is broadly recognised as conservative and reactionary, against democratic progress, the defenders of major exploiters such as landlords and vast capitalist combines, who squeeze not only the workers but small enterprise as well.

This does not mean that everybody "on the left", or everybody who claims to be left-wing, is a grand fool. There are more "bait cases" on the left, such as romantic revolutionaries and exhibitionist cowards, than there are on the right. Nearly always they do more harm than good.

There are those who are so inhibited by left-wing dogma that they cannot adapt to realities. Their actions often produce results the opposite of that desired by people of left-wing outlook.

One also can find moderate right-wing people who are tolerant, broadminded and sympathetic "to the people", but usually, because of their conservative caution and their desire not to induce radical changes too fast, their position is harmful in practice.

The writer of this article considers himself to be left-wing, would always like to be considered such, although there are other "left-wingers" who would disagree with him.

But, although left-wing, I sympathise entirely with "Disgusted Student" when he writes: "Did those brave men and women die for the red flag? ... No. They died for the green".

### Jimmy Steele's views

Quite right, "Disgusted Student" is here echoing a similar sentiment expressed once by a great Republican, Jimmy Steele of Belfast. He declared at a famous commemoration that he had no intention of fighting or dying "for the red flag".

That quotation from Jimmy Steele was trotted out recently by some "left-wingers" or liberals, one of whom actually described it as an expression of "bigotry"! Utter rubbish.

Jimmy Steele was a shrewd Republican. The truth is that, although the red flag may be honoured internationally, as a symbol of popular revolt against unjust oppression, in the Irish context the red flag often has been introduced as a red herring to divert the course of affairs away from the struggle for national liberation.

But for all that, it is doubtful if Jimmy Steele would have called himself a "right-winger". I would be surprised if "Disgusted Student" regarded himself/herself, as being right-wing. Who are the right-wing in Ireland?

### Far-right unionists

First and foremost, the Unionist politicians of north-east Ulster are recognised to be very

# On what side does the enemy stand in the line-up?

## Le FEAR FEASA

right-wing. Always they have represented the interests of the landlords, the aristocracy, the major employers, and English political and financial domination.

As with all their class, they have opposed the introduction of social measures to alleviate the conditions of the working people - even those fools whom they have tricked, by inflaming bigoted hatreds, into voting for them.

In the "Free" State, the precursors of the present Fine Gael party, the Cumann na nGaedheal, were the agents of the English interest trying to suppress the Republican struggle and in imposing the Treaty-Partition arrangement with English guns.

They showed their right-wing colours when they spawned the fascist Blueshirt movement, in the Thirties.

The Republican Movement at that time, by its struggle against the Blueshirts, showed it was undoubtedly "on the left" of the Irish political spectrum.

It is equally obvious that it is the English interests in Ireland who have always been identified with right-wing politics.

### Popular democracy

There are many other examples in history to show how the really revolutionary, Republican Movement for Irish freedom was always, in that broad and general sense, "to the left" - that is, popular and democratic.

That is by no means the same as embracing the modish, rubbishy and fashionable "leftism" of the "Stickies" and all the crap in the "United Irishman".

Because the Republican Movement is not doctrinaire left-wing, sometimes it has made right-wing mistakes and failed to support, in a few isolated instances in the past, the cause of the people.

In the same way, some members of it (and often good members) have made left-wing mistakes and gone off, as they say, at half-cock.

But just because the Republican liberation movement is, by its very nature, popular and to the left, there have always been disagreements within it about "how far left" it ought to go.

This gave rise, for instance, to the Republican Congress in the thirties, which had many good features but which was harmful in some ways.

### Radical illusion

Whatever its faults, it certainly was not as disastrous as the "Stickies". Yet, at the same time, many good and true old Republican fighters for freedom, such as the late Frank McDade of Belfast, were attracted to the "Sticky" doctrine because it seemed more radical in social policies, without realising that that sort of "leftism" inevitably led to the down-grading of the struggle for national freedom.

There will probably always be some dispute and debate within the Republican Movement on the proper approach to matters of a left-wing nature. This is natural and healthy.

Indeed, there is no reason why policies which might be considered left-wing should not be adopted where they are considered appropriate, as long as Republicanism consistently maintains to the fore the primary and overriding objective of national liberation.

"Disgusted Student" raises some other very important points concerning our attitude to the English workers and to working-class Unionists in the north-east.

These deserve careful consideration and will be discussed here next week.

## Tuairimí eile

I BELIEVE the "Disgusted Student", whose correspondence was reproduced in your paper of July 13, is probably less aware of Republican history than he believes.

The "split", for instance, came about over serious irreconcilable differences, the "Stickies" taking what may be seen as an internationalist socialist stand, calling themselves "Republicans" and yet advocating freeing Ireland by peaceful means.

## 'Recognise the validity of class struggle'

for the working class (for it is we who are being suppressed) to unite against the common enemy and force the Brits out, or, as Tone put it "to break the connection" once and for all.

This is why we must recognise the struggle as a class struggle in a "them-and-us" situation.

Let us go back to Tone who, at the dawn of the industrial revolution, drew inspiration from the French revolutionaries and attempted to free the

Irish from the tyranny of foreign landlords. Times have changed little although, with modern industrialisation, we no longer have a strong aristocracy or clergy but a strong ruling capitalist class oppressing us, the working class.

Connolly recognised this and, as a Marxist, proved the class struggle to be true, without ever refuting nationality or religion. Our brothers have

# The story of three mothers

BY NEWS LINE REPORTER

**THIS IS the plastic bullet that killed a 13-year-old Belfast boy.**

**His mother holds it out for the world to see.**

**All three women want the world to know how their sons have been killed by British army 'terrorists'.**

**And they have brought from Ireland a message to the working class of this country. 'This,' they say, 'is what is waiting for you. The British army is just training in northern Ireland for the job it will have to do over here.'**

The three mothers from Belfast spoke to News Line yesterday about the killings of their sons by the army and about the web of lies spun by the army to cover up for their crimes.

They indict the soldiers for the brutal and cowardly killings. They indict officers for covering up the facts and for lying.

They indict Cabinet Minister Roy Mason and the government for putting innocent people at the mercy of armed thugs, and they demand that the army should be withdrawn.

Leo Norney, aged 17, was shot dead by the army on September 13, 1975, while on his way to see a girlfriend.

The army said he was a gunman, but the Ministry of Defence has admitted that he was totally innocent.

Mrs Annie Norney told News Line how she had warned her son not to come home that night along White Rock Road, where soldiers on patrol made the streets unsafe for any passer-by.

## TAXI

Leo travelled in a taxi with some friends, thinking he would be safe. He set off to walk along Shepherd's Path just after the taxi had been stopped and searched by the army patrol, and was then shot.

Said Mrs Norney: "The first lies that came out were that Leo was a gunman. They said that they had shot one man and that a second had escaped with the weapons.

"Of course, they had to invent a second man to explain why there were no weapons at the scene."

Leo Norney lay bleeding on the path for three-quarters of an hour before he was taken away - not to a hospital, but to an RUC police station.

Mrs. Norney said: "Four children saw it happen. One of them says he heard a soldier say: 'I could always say there was a sniper's bullet' and

another said: 'If he's not already dead I'll finish him off for me.' I had three cousins killed here."

Fourteen soldiers with a dog raided the Norney's home in the early hours of the following morning. They searched thoroughly and found nothing. They said nothing about Leo.

It was not until later that day, after she had searched Belfast for her son, that Mrs Norney was told by a priest that Leo was dead.

At the inquest on Leo Norney, the army said the soldier responsible for his death was in prison in Scotland for a separate offence. They would not be bringing him back.

Mrs. Norney said: "They gave me £3,000 compensation. I don't want their money. I want justice. I want justice for my son and I want to make sure that nobody else's children are killed on the streets of Belfast."

## SMASHED

Kathleen Stewart's son Brian, aged 13, died in hospital just six days after being hit in the face by one of the army's notorious 'baton rounds'.

The bullet smashed his skull and a British army major said later on television that he deserved it.

Brian had been out of the house only three minutes. His

mother had been helping him with his homework. When a boy came to the door to say Brian had been injured, Mrs Stewart sent two of her other children to find him.

They saw an ambulance take Brian to hospital where he was later to die. While he lay in hospital, the British army lie machine was rolling into action again.

Major Tom Sewell appeared on television to condemn Brian as a "notorious stone thrower" and the "ring-leader" of a riot involving 400 youths.

In fact there was no stone throwing and no riot. The only trouble occurred in response to the brutal shooting of an innocent child.

Mrs. Stewart told News Line: "For three weeks they stayed out of the area. There was a different atmosphere. The children could play out and things were almost back to normality."

"Then a new lot arrived. They started to move back into our area and the same situation developed again."

"Roy Mason has made our children targets by saying that there are 'godfathers' in the area who send out children to commit acts of terrorism."

"This is totally untrue. There are no 'godfathers' and nobody in their right minds would send out children against armed soldiers. Mason was deliberately giving the army the excuses they need to shoot children."

## DIED

Mrs. Roisin McCooey is still shattered by the brutal killing of her son Danny, aged 20, just two months ago. Danny was about to become engaged. He was a hard-working and well liked young man.

The night he died, he had been for a beer and a game of snooker at a local club.

When he was leaving with his friend, Michael, soldiers taunted Michael about his glasses and swore at them.

When Danny intervened to cool the situation, the soldiers attacked him with rifle butts. He died 20 days later from grave internal injuries.

The army lies say he was 'violently resisting arrest' and that he was rushed to hospital."

In fact, hospital records prove that he was admitted to hospital at 03.05 a.m. - more than three hours after the incident.

Danny had been taken first to an interrogation centre.

Mrs. McCooey asks: "What happened to him while he was at the interrogation centre? They claimed he was in the Provisional IRA, but I know he was not a member of any organisation."

"They say he was resisting arrest. I ask you would you resist arrest against eight armed soldiers?"

The three mothers insist



Mrs Kathleen Stewart shows the plastic bullet which killed her son. On the left is Mrs Annie Norney. Right is Mrs Roisin McCooey.

# The British army killed our sons

that they want to bring home the truth about what is happening in northern Ireland and just what the role of the British army has been for so long.

Mrs Norney said: "Don't think this is just the army either. The police are in on it, too. These soldiers don't care who they hit or shoot... it's all the same to them. They shoot first and ask questions later."

## POLICE

Mrs. Stewart said: "We have seen on television what the

police have been doing to people at Grunwick's and we can see from that what is coming.

"You are going to get the same treatment over here."

Mrs Norney added: "Northern Ireland is a training ground for them. We'll see how you like it when they come back over here."

The visit by the three has been organised by the Committee against British Brutality in Ireland, who aim to continue campaigning for army criminals to be brought to justice.

## Ireland's case distorted

PEOPLE from four countries dissatisfied at the treatment of Irish affairs in the media in their own lands were in Ireland last week and visited newspaper offices in Dublin. Michele Grumet, Los Angeles, spokeswoman for the group, said that newspaper, TV and radio in the U.S. were giving a very biased account of what is happening in the Six Counties.

She said that the organisation she represents, The Irish Coalition for Fairness in the Media, recently had brought a court action against CBS in Los

Angeles over coverage of Irish affairs.

Other actions were being brought against other news agencies in the USA, including the "New York Times."

Ms Grumet said that the British viewpoint about the war in Ireland had been allowed to go unchallenged in the U.S. media.

As a result, American people had a distorted view.

She was accompanied by Margaret Lavin, from Australia, Harold Storen from Norway and Bernard Spiteri and Michel Daulas, from France.

# Mr. Carter:

THE REPLY by the new U.S. Ambassador to the Dublin regime, William V. Shannon, to the publication of "The Sunday Press" of opinions expressed by him on the Irish question two years ago, is the clearest indication to date that President Jimmy Carter's Democratic administration is trying to walk the tight rope between various pressures.

Rather than take a moral stand on the fundamental question of the right of the Irish people to self-determination, he seems to want to hide behind the simplistic shield of condemning "violence".

The Irish National Caucus sought a commitment to the principle of Irish national self-determination from the Democrats before asking the Irish community to vote for Mr. Carter last November.

It is important to understand that the main inspiration for a stand on the Irish question in America today comes from friends and relations of Six Counties nationalists who see themselves at war with the British authorities and who reject the right to the Dublin regime to speak on their behalf.

### What he means

When Mr. Shannon claims, therefore, that Mr. Carter owes nothing to the Irish-American community or to the work of the Caucus, probably it is true that what he really means is that they do not carry the same weight in Democratic circles, now that the election is over and won with Irish support.

That, too, is the nature of American politics.

What is a little more difficult to understand, however, is Mr. Shannon's effort totally to disown his views on the Irish national question held two years ago.

True, anybody, even President Carter, or a prominent former journalist such as Mr. Shannon, is entitled to change opinions on reflection.

Surely, however, as was obvious from the passages quoted in the reports, his was an analytical approach, delving into the sad historical evolution of the mess, indicating a basic diagnosis "in the interests of truth" which,

## Why this odd discrimination in human rights?

Le Séamus Mac Mánaís

Mr. Shannon freely claimed, "is not the viewpoint officially expressed" by the 26 Counties government.

### Very well briefed

Mr. Shannon alleged, in his reply, that he never had anything to do with the Irish National Caucus.

This I accept. But one must conclude, from minute details of the historical evolution of the Irish problem documented by him two years ago, that he had been very well briefed by that body or by persons who share its general approach.

Mr. Shannon dismisses the sentiments expressed as "a speech that I made two years ago to an audience, some of whose members believed that the 'Northern Ireland' problem would be solved if the British withdrew."

That may be so. But it is also a fact that his paper was published at the time, as an important essay in the prestigious annual volume of the American Irish Historical Society (vol. no. 36) which, subsequently was presented to Mr. Hugh L. Carey, "lawyer, industrialist and public servant, whose life reflects the ideals of our Society."

It is less than accurate, therefore, to try to transfer the views expressed in the paper from the author to "some members of an audience", to which it may originally have been delivered, and to suggest that it was these members, and not Mr. Shannon, who seemed to be advocating a British withdrawal from Ireland.

Mr. Shannon may have changed his mind since 1975. He may now regard his basic historical analysis as not "bearing witness to the truth."

Indeed, he may now be a convert to the official attitude of the recently defeated Dublin administration, which, two years ago, suggested, would be believed only by "a man who can believe in six impossible things before breakfast."

President Carter, too, may have had a similar change in attitude, since November. If he has, his Irish supporters in America should be told so.

The entire episode is of greater interest to the Irish on this side of the Atlantic, in view of the moves which began with the declaration on St. Patrick's Day

by four leading Irish-Americans - Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Daniel Moynihan; Thomas O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and Governor Hugh Carey of New York - condemning violence in the Six Counties.

This move, generally accepted as a diplomatic coup by the Dublin administration, caused angry reaction in Irish-American circles because it concentrated on one aspect only of the problem, generally accepted to be a result rather than a cause of the disease, and because the declaration lacked positive political proposals for a realistic, lasting solution.

But, as Senators Kennedy and Moynihan were back again with Irish support, and Mr. O'Neill had secured his position as Speaker, they could afford to adopt the cautious line.

### Carey's predicament

Governor Carey, however, to whom the volume containing the Irish analysis of the Irish problem and his call for a deeper

Irish-American involvement, was dedicated, is in a rather difficult position.

He will be standing for reelection next year in New York state, where the Irish are particularly active.

Carey, whose grandparents came from the Tuam area, and who at one time was being considered as possible Democratic presidential material before the Carter badwagon began to roll in the deep south, recently visited Dublin to lecture the Royal College of Surgeons.

During his visit he attacked the Republican Movement. This won him considerable admiration in the usual circles.

Reaction back home in New York was quite the reverse. His condemnation of "violence" was said to have been very one-sided. His failure to address himself to suggestions for a just and lasting solution of the underlying problems was criticised roundly.

A particularly bitter attack was published by columnist Pete Hamill in the "New York Daily News" on April 27 last, under the title "Some IRATE Comments on Carey's Attack of Ulsters".

### Election issue

Irish-American groups in New York, in general and not simply the Irish National Caucus, also expressed disagreement with his performance, and will make it an issue in next year's elections.

They point out that Carey always has been identified with the traditional Irish national aspiration, having sponsored a number of pro-United Ireland-type motions in Congress over the years.

They point to his association with supporters of the traditional Irish viewpoint, even in the recent past.

Jim O'Gara, charged with gun-running to Ireland in the early seventies, was chairman of the Irish for Hugh Carey Committee in the Bronx in the election for governor in 1974.



The U.S. Ambassador in Dublin, William J. Shannon (left) with Dr. Hillery (centre) and Michael O'Kennedy.

Another prominent Irish Northern Aid figure, Gabriel Kennedy, was on another support committee.

### Price sisters

Frank Durcan, the New York lawyer who, in conjunction with professional associate Paul O'Dwyer, was involved in a number of legal cases concerning human rights in Ireland, north-east and in Britain - the forced feeding of the Price sisters, for example - also worked in Carey's campaign.

New Yorkers have been reminded that Carey attended Northern Aid functions, including one at which Ruairi O'Bradhachtaigh, Sinn Féin, was to have been the principal guest. At the last moment Ruairi O'Bradhachtaigh was denied a visa to travel. His wife went instead and spoke.

Even those who concede that Mr. Carey may wish to put his past associations behind him, and will not be seeking support from this segment of the Irish-American Democratic Party next time out, still believe that he should not be so selective in his new public stand.

The question of visas, in particular, is an especially sensitive one, as most Americans believe that pressure is being brought to prevent advocates of certain viewpoints on the Irish situation from getting into their country.

If Mr. Carter applies the same freedom of movement to Ireland which he seems to favour for dissidents in other parts of the world, the role of Mr. William Shannon, the new Ambassador in Dublin, may become an extremely sensitive one.

# Clé, deas, clé, deas, clé, deas, clé

BOB

(Ar leantainn ó Ioch 3)  
not died for any red flag but a green and honourable one, the flag of the Irish people.

"Let us free Ireland," says the patriot who won't touch socialism. Let us all join together, and crush the bra-utal Saxon. Let us all join together, says he, all classes are one. And, says the town worker, 'after we have crushed the Saxon and freed Ireland, what will we do?'"

"Oh, then, you can go back to your slums, same as before."

"Whoop it up for Liberty!" - James Connolly  
"Organise for a full, free and happy life for all or for NONE."

- R. Ascal,

Haringey, London, Sasana.

### CLASS STRUGGLE

JIM CONNOLLY declared himself to be a Marxist for Ireland. He worked hard and wrote well and died bravely. His writings make sense to those of us who have played our parts, minor or major, in the trade-union and language and Republican movements.

I am an old man, now, and I have learned that the class struggle is a real struggle. The organised has any intelligence, as is the fighter for language rights, civil rights, human rights, the national rights of the Irish people to their own land and its resources.

It seems to me that the Provo fighter of today is a part of that class struggle as is the small farmer, the small fisherman, just as were the men who followed Flintan Lalor, just as was Patrick Pearse, is not "The Sovereign People" a class-struggle document of importance?

In that context you could call me a Marxist. We have a lot to learn from Marx as we have from Connolly and Lalor and Mitchell, and we have from Lenin and Mao, Castro and Che, Ho Chi Min and the heroes of the struggling people everywhere.

But I do not believe that Marx, or Engels or Lenin, in their published writings, have the complete formula; that there is nothing more to be said or written; that the book is closed and that all that remains for us to do is to follow their formulae, their receipts, their plans.

For life continues to unfold before us, to disclose new perils (such as the new classes created in my lifetime in so-called socialist states) and new economic and financial dimensions (such as hire-purchase).

I would embrace communism or anarchism if I were to see either at work, bringing justice and happiness to people. But their theories, given human freedom, are too romantic, too idealistic; and if freedom is denied what are they worth?

We must make our own way forward, having won, by force, that way forward, it seems to be, is the democratic socialism of Sinn Féin. It will be a matter of trial and error, of evolution, and an ideal society never will be reached. But if the people - and every individual - has freedom and power, we can achieve much.

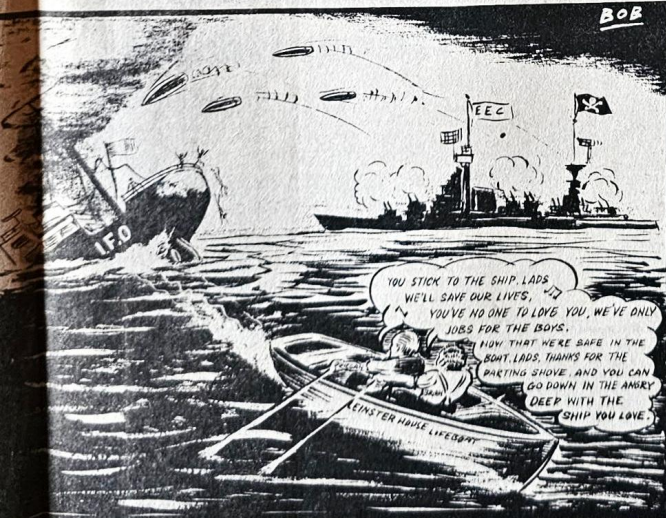
All I ask of the new society is that no class, no individual, exploits another; that we cherish our young; protect the old, the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the lame, the less well-endowed, as we do ourselves. And that we stretch out our hands in love and peace to all mankind.

Does that make me a "red"? God bless the Provos.

- A Forties Man, Cruimhlinn, Baile Átha Cliath.

...is reproduced from the English "News Line" (July 19, 1975). The accounts given by the three mothers should be known to most Republicans. Our main reason for reproducing the feature is to provide a small minority of Irish people who otherwise that we have friends and supporters among the working people in the neighbouring island, people who realise that, finally, our cause is theirs, as Mrs. Norney writes elsewhere.

...any textbooks written by Bigadier Shannon, made all this clear years ago. Whether in Ireland or in Britain they are "low-density systems" to be conducted along clearly marked lines. Their objective is to safeguard production and its capitalist clients.



POCKET (BOOK) BATTLESHIP

**CURSAI EACHTRACHA**  
**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**Le Eldrida**

**CAMILO TORRES** was born in 1929 in Colombia, a South American country where 24 families split the wealth and power of the country with American companies. The two official parties - against whom there is no opposition - take it in turns to rule four years each. And 3.6 per cent. of landowners own 64.2 per cent. of the land.

Camilo's family were well off but he began questioning the status quo when he met some French Dominicans who were teaching that true Christianity was a total commitment to the well-being of society: a new idea in Colombia.

Despite family opposition, Camilo entered the priesthood. At the seminary he had begun to see the role of a priest as that of a catalyst for social change. He went on to study sociology for his ordination. He had a drive to express his concern in practice.

As late as 1961 he was not a revolutionary. He was looking for gradual reforms by the oligarchy in power. This was still true in June, 1962, when he was elected 10 student leaders against the government, and was ordered to resign both as teacher and chaplain by his archbishop.

It was still true in his new job as dean of the Institute of Social Administration, and a governor of the Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform, when he was founding schools, co-operative farms, and training centres.

**Priest who died with gun in his hand**



**CAMILO TORRES**

"After each contact with the agrarian community he was filled with a growing rebellion and an intense desire to do something positive for the people", says his friend, Guzman.

By 1965, predicting that the simmering social conflicts would soon erupt, he drafted a programme for a united popular movement that was clearly revolutionary and which he read out at a student rally in May.

The Cardinal condemned it as "irreconcilable with the doctrine of the Church".

In July, 1965, Camilo proclaimed the necessity of "a revolution which consists of a change of structures."

If Christianity is concerned with eliminating the serious evils from which we suffer, and with saving us from the continuous violence in which we live without possible solution, the ethic is to be violent once and for all in order to destroy the violence which the economic minorities exercise against the people".

**Our charity**

Days later he said that Church properties should be expropriated and a bank was inevitable. He asked for, and was granted, laicization in a short interview with the Cardinal.

"I took off my cassock to be more truly a priest. Our charity... will be determined in so far as we have given food, drink, lodging, clothing, refuge and welcome to our brothers", he said.

The following month he met in secret the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of National Liberation, the guerrillas of central Colombia.

The two men became friends and he was to be allowed to join the guerrillas. But his first task was political.

Camilo worked to build up the United Front through writing, speaking, campaigning. He joined strikes, marched in picket lines, resisted the police. He was jailed, beaten.

He travelled throughout the country setting up cells. The peasants, workers and students loved him but the United Front leadership was too fragmented to agree on tactics or policies.



Cartoon is reproduced from U.S. paper, "The Militant".

**NEUTRON BOMB:**

**Buildings more important than people**

BY FRED MURPHY

"WE WANT to deter attack and defend territory without destroying what we want to save", said a top Pentagon official on July 7. He was referring to U.S. plans to arm NATO battlefield missiles and artillery with "enhanced radiation weapons", or neutron bombs, within the next 18 months.

These warheads are designed to kill living things through the release of massive quantities of high-energy neutrons.

At the same time, they do far less damage to buildings and other property than do the present generation of nuclear weapons.

The editors of the "Wall Street Journal" praised this development on July 8. They applauded "the thrust of technology... toward more discriminating weapons - ones tailored to particular tasks and able to accomplish military missions with less damage to innocent bystanders, or, for that matter, buildings.

At the same time, they deplored the "anti-technology bias so evident in the neutron bomb debate".

**Soviet comment**

The Soviet government made its first statement on the new weapon on July 9. The news agency TASS said "development of this and other new types of weapons for mass annihilation can only complicate the international situation and bring about a new and extremely dangerous round of the arms race".

The Soviet commentator took Carter to task for considering such a lethal bomb: "How can one pose as a champion of human rights and at the same time brandish the neutron bomb that threatens the lives of millions of people?"

FOOTNOTE: If the Dublin regime dragged the 26 Counties into NATO neutron bombs might very well be based on Irish soil.

**Norwegians want Brits withdrawn**

Le ROSEMARY SULLIVAN

TWO-THIRDS of the population of the small town of Bjerkå, northern Norway, have signed a petition demanding that a 200-man detachment of British Marine Commandos be withdrawn from the town.

The locals have complained to the Social Democrat-controlled local government authority. They say the Marines have been turned into brutes in Ireland and that they bully local Norwegian civilians, sell drugs and alcohol, attempt burglaries and indulge in sexual obscurities.

By October Camilo was impatient. One night he told his mother he would not be home to sleep, and he joined the guerrillas as a simple soldier. On February 15, 1966, he was shot and killed during a battle with a military patrol.

Four peasant guerrillas who tried to recover his body themselves were killed.

He was buried by the military in an unmarked grave. He died for the voiceless people of his country.

Colombia, too, has its "Fenian dead". The fight goes on.

When local people report incidents to the police, the cases are handed over to British military police under a NATO agreement. In effect, they say, the tiny Arctic town is virtually under British martial law while the Marines are there.

A spokesman for the locals emphasised that they were concerned that the Marine Commandos are "professionals" (mercenaries and murderers specially trained to subdue civilians).

They say that when one Marine was asked if he would obey orders to shoot local people in Bjerkå, he muttered: "An order is an order."

The local people add that, despite a virtual news blackout on their protest, their campaign is spreading. Recently, when British Commandos disembarked at the nearby industrial town of Mo i Rana for their annual camp, they were greeted by a spontaneous demonstration, with local people shouting: "British, go home!"

**Growing rebellion**

But the frustrations he met every day were gradually changing his outlook.

**COIMHLINT**

WASHINGTON - Panama has demanded one billion dollars now and 200 million a year for the rest of the century as the price for a continued U.S. role in the Canal. The U.S. has rejected this. At present the U.S. pays Panama an annuity of 2.3 million dollars and now offers to raise that to 30 or 50 million dollars.

UNITED NATIONS - The sixth session of the United Nations Law of the Sea conference adjourned last weekend. After eight weeks the bitter talk failed to break a deadlock between rich and poor nations over sharing the mineral wealth of the seas.

MICHIGAN, U.S. - The police chief of Leoni, Michigan, was suspended last week after being charged with running a "date-date" prostitution ring.

CORSICA - Freedom fighters exploded 24 bombs across the island last Thursday night, damaging police stations, Government buildings and farms and shops, belonging to French nationals. No injuries were reported. The Corsican National Liberation Front claimed responsibility.

CANARY ISLANDS - Don Antonio Cubillo, the MPAIAC (Canaries Independence Movement) leader, has warned tourists to stay away from the islands. The armed struggle is about to begin, he stated at the weekend.

BRITAIN - Is about to sign a deal to supply Iran with arms and defence equipment worth £350 million, the Financial Times has reported. The contract includes an order for four cargo vessels costing £80 million for the Iranian navy, and the construction of a tank maintenance base to cost another £80 million. British Leyland is negotiating the sale of 1,000 tank transporters worth £100,000 each to complement the Chieftain tanks

already being delivered to Iran.

SPAIN - The Spanish "Euro-communist" Party is supporting the right-wing Suarez government in its attack on wages. Leader Santiago Carrillo said the Suarez economic policies were "adequate though incomplete". They include "wage restraint" and a limited wealth tax. Spain has 1,000,000 people unemployed. No plans for new jobs have been announced.

IRAN - Western powers and the USSR are collaborating with this most cruel police state of the Middle East. Britain is about to sign an arms deal worth £350 million. America is to sell Iran 10,000 million dollars worth of nuclear power stations. Federal Germany is building two atomic power plants and France is about to sign a contract for two more plants. An Iranian atomic energy team at present is touring Soviet nuclear installations.

PERTH - The trial of the first of 21 pickets to be prosecuted by the Australian government for taking part in "illegal assemblies" opened here last week. The government also is prosecuting an additional five people, charged with taking part in a protest demonstration on June 14, held after the original arrests.

LIMA - Peru's military regime has clamped a curfew on the central city of Huancayo following street riots there in protest against rising living costs.

STRASBOURG - five delegates of the European Commission of Human Rights visited Brodmoor Hospital, England, on July 21 and 22 to inquire into complaints by two patients about "inhuman and degrading conditions, in contravention of the European Human Rights Convention.

MEXICO - Police have arrested 20 workers who were part of an occupation of the National University campus, demanding pay rises and union recognition.

**WHO OWNS WEAVER IN BALLYFERMOT?**

Le ELDRIDA

WEAVER (or Plunack, as it has been known of since a takeover by a British firm) on the Ballyfermot (Dublin) industrial estate, may look a small place, with 50 workers, a few office workers, and the management. Actually it is not so small.

Weaver is owned by Thomas French and Sons of Manchester. This company has factories in Derry, Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Belgium, Iran and Switzerland, all of which make curtain suspension materials and other products, including armaments.

**Deep web**

The spiral of ownership

Their turnover was almost £10,000,000 last year and profits exceeded £1,000,000. Thomas French itself is owned by a holding company, Groovewood Securities, which owns half the motor-racing circuits in Britain and had a turnover of £30,000,000 in 1974, with profits of almost £3,000,000.

Its Board of Directors contain many representatives from banks and large companies, including some with a life-time experience in British military and political intelligence.

Profits for Eagle, Star Insurance in 1976 exceeded £33,000,000.

**Health gap**

DO YOU KNOW - that 38 per cent of the population of the 26 Counties is covered by medical cards for free doctors, free drugs and free hospital services? That another 47 per cent. is entitled to free hospital services? That 15 per cent. is not covered at all? That the doctors are opposing a free-for-all scheme?

**Bleak outlook for the gas industry**

A CONFIDENTIAL report by a study team into the prospects for the gas business in the Six Counties disclosed a bleak future.

Sinn Féin in Derry said that the 9-page report indicated little prospect of growth in the business and that that had been reflected in sales estimates for 1977-78 of 2.5 million therms below the 1975-76 period.

The report said that the options open to the industry were:

- Close the gas industry, dispersing the market in the following manner: 40 per cent. electricity, 30 per cent. coal, 25 per cent. bottled gas and five per cent. oil, "pay off all debts in convenient increments."
- Importation of natural gas into Belfast with interconnecting high pressure mains to other works.
- Importation of natural gas into Belfast with interconnecting high pressure mains to other works.
- Pipelined natural gas from the 26 Counties with interconnecting high pressure mains to other works.
- Pipelined natural gas from Scotland with inter-connecting

high pressure mains into other works.

● Importation of liquefied petroleum gas (L.P.G.) into Belfast as synthetic natural gas, (S.N.G.) feedstock inter-connecting mains to other works.

● Importation of liquefied petroleum gas (L.P.G.) into Belfast with satellite storage at other works to be sent out as bottled gas.

● Importation of liquefied petroleum gas into Belfast, satellite storage distribution as bottled gas."

**Brit violence**

The major source of violence in the Six Counties was the British army, according to a statement from the Wolfe Tone Cumann, Doin.

"While things in Derry are relatively quiet, the harassment of the British army has reached immense proportions with an average of 40 arrests per day accompanied by beatings, early morning house searches, etc.," said the Cumann.

POSTMHÁLA

POSTBAG

POSTMHÁLA

POSTBAG

# Anti-busing: a defence

I BELIEVE your report from Jenny Brookstone (Meitheamh 29) New York, will not help us gain any more adherents to the Irish cause. The story she sent to the paper indicated that she was a supporter of the Socialist Workers' Party candidate for New York's next mayor.

The Democratic Party's record for helping Ireland in past years, though inspired, was real. I have never heard of this socialist party ever mentioning Ireland in any

way. Much the same can be said about Catarina Garza, the candidate whom Miss Brookstone advocates for mayor.

Quoting Garza in this piece, he criticises the American-Irish for helping the Democratic Party's "anti-busing drive" and says we will never get the support of blacks and Puerto Ricans for this reason.

In every case of forced school busing, widespread education has consumed every aspect of education. Once this kind of forced integration takes place all those families with young children leave hurriedly for other communities, to escape. This exodus includes blacks who abhor school-busing as much as whites.

The man who introduced busing and who, as head of the U.S. Government's Education Board, believed this to be a worthy plan, later declared that he was mistaken because it did not work. He was William Coleman and a Black.

Yet certain misguided social engineers persist in pushing Coleman's plan. Much more could be written about this whole miserable arrangement which has destroyed the education of the very people who need help most, the Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

It is tragically wrong to compare the Black struggle in America with the Irish struggle. There is as much comparison between the aims of American Blacks in White America and the aims of a French underground against German occupation in World War II.

Could you imagine a French leader lecturing his freedom-fighters before going out on a troop-train bombing mission that they must identify with American Blacks before they can be clear in their minds about their own patriotic aims?

Various Republicans have been sternly lecturing Irish-Americans on their social attitude to blacks and all they have done is create a vague feeling of dismay or bewilderment among our supporters.

We do not see ourselves as having done anything to worsen the lot of the people. In fact, the opposite, for the past 15 years, at least.

Laws have been passed specially, to ensure the progress of

blacks. Blacks have been moved into top positions of committees and boards the specific purpose of which is to ensure availability of jobs and housing to Negroes and hispanics.

The individual in charge of New York's Human Rights Commission has been Eleanor Holmes Norton, an outspoken Black, on behalf of her own people.

This is only a fraction of the prospects held out to those formerly deprived people. Could you imagine the British or their Orange allies granting any such social helps to the "Native Irish", Never.

Furthermore, the plight of Republicans and all native Irish, for that matter, is caused directly by continued British oppression. None of the evils perpetrated by the Orange overlords in the past 55 years could have been possible were it not for the British presence sanctioning everything done by the Loyalist bully-boys.

The deprivations in housing, jobs, voting and all that goes with these evils were caused by the inability to throw off the British yoke.

The deprivations experienced by American Blacks were caused by the disinclination of whites to remain in a neighbourhood once large numbers of Blacks moved in.

Discussions continue all the time, as to why Blacks fail to "keep up" social standards whenever such a neighbourhood becomes "theirs" but no one denies the fact that invariably a decline quickly sets in.

No Irish-American can be blamed for that. This flight of whites from the cities and the inability of Blacks to uphold former standards IS THE MAIN CAUSE OF RACIAL DISCONTENT TODAY.

In spite of federal and state assistance, as pointed out, this urban decay proceeds at an alarming rate. If one insists on comparing the lot of nationalists in the north to the lot of American Negroes, one would have to contend that "ghettos", such as the Bogside or the Falls, and the long years of misery therein, were caused by the

reluctance of the Loyalists to live beside us!

That, I'm sure, was the least of our worries. Herein lies another mistaken notion held by too many, that the ghettoes of nationalists were just like the ghettoes of blacks.

I have lived many years in Derry and too many years in New York and I can assure you that it is an insult to our struggling people to make such a false comparison.

Lecky's Road, The Wells, Bishop Road, Brandywell and all those great neighbourhoods were the essence of neatness and care. They might be called "ghettoes" just because, for many years, it was impossible for those people to move into bigger houses.

But, if the faulty comparison persists, those Derry streets would be similar to the south Bronx an all-black section which, just a few years ago, was mostly Irish.

But the south Bronx is a territory now area full of abandoned, burnt houses, where nobody is seen on the streets after dark. It is a living nightmare.

The Irish didn't do that, either. If they moved away because they knew what was coming, should we blame them? I really believe that some Irish "liberals" would chide those Irish and all other whites for leaving such a scene of devastation.

No, there is no comparison between the Black "revolution" and the Irish freedom struggle. Every law possible has been passed to ensure Black progress and upward mobility. But no law has been passed, no law is possible, that would entice whites to live in areas with a rising Black population.

If you really want to pass judgement, wait till they are living in large numbers in your street. Postpone your judgement while you are hundreds of miles away from this, till now, insoluble civic problem.

It would be wise to cherish the supporters who are sure of than those who have no logical or emotional attachment to the cause of Irish sovereignty.

Tom Duffy, Irish News Service, 290 Briggs Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. 10458, Meiricea. (We have condensed this from a very long letter - EDITOR).

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(plus 40p post and packing)

Ornaments

- Miniature Harp; Irish cottages ..... £2.00
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(plus 40p post and packing)

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- Silver Phoenix Badges ..... £2.50
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- Gents' Gold Phoenix rings ..... £12.50
- Ladies' Silver Phoenix rings ..... £6.50
- Gents' Gold Phoenix rings ..... £25.00

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- Long playing records: Those marked with an \* are also available in 4 Track cassette.
- \*Ireland Live On... by Saoirse ..... £2.50
- \*Hang my country, The story of a Tragedy ..... £3.00
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- \*The Town I Love so well by Paddy Reilly ..... £3.00
- \*Rites of the I.R.A., by the Wolftones ..... £3.50
- \*Let the People Sing, by the Wolftones ..... £3.50
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- Singles: (All prices 70p plus 20p post and packing)
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- My Little Armalite: Pevvie Birdie, The Ballad of Michael Gaughan
- Provo Lullaby: Brave Frank Stagg, by the Wolfhound.
- The Town I Love So Well, by Paddy Reilly.
- Portlaoise Jail.
- Crossmaglen, by the Freeman.

Call or phone or write: Craft Centre, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, ÉIRE.

### Éire Nua carrier bags

These plastic bags are available from: Craft Shop, Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, 1, Éire.



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£13.00 for 500; £23.00 for 1,000.

### CUIMHNEACHÁN

## Stagg - Gaughan

From two years onwards the two patriots will be commemorated on the same day. This year's commemoration will take place on Sunday, August 14. Details later in this Page.

**IRISH CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION**

**Support demand for political status in Six Counties' jails**

Protest in BELFAST on Sun., Aug. 7  
Bus will leave Blessington Street, Dublin, 10.00 hours: Return fare, £3.00.

**SMASH 'H' BLOCK**

**SINN FEIN**

Another new cumann has been formed in London. If interested in joining write to Box Eight, 182 Upper Street, London, N.1.

**Pipe band for Dublin**

Those interested in forming a Republican pipe band in Dublin are requested to contact:  
The Secretary, Pipe Band Committee, 5, Blessington Street, Baile Átha Cliath, 7.

**LONDON RALLY: Aug. 7**

DUE TO circumstances beyond our control the Sinn Féin national rally and demonstration to mark the 1971 introduction of internment without trial by the British has been postponed to August 7.

The rally will assemble at 14.20 hours Speakers' Corner and at 15.00 hours will march down Oxford Street to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where the rally will be addressed by members of Sinn Féin from London, north of England and Home Counties.

Speakers from other revolutionary organisations in England also will address the rally.

All members of Sinn Féin and their supporters are urged to support the rally by attending in person. All Cumainn and Comhairleachtair banners should be displayed.

Further details may be had by writing to:  
Box 8, 182, Upper St., Islington, London, N.1.

### Beannachtáí

**JIM DELANEY**, Portlaoise Jail. To a wonderful husband, wishing you a happy 21st birthday, from your loving wife, Mary.

To Daddy in Portlaoise Prison, a very happy 21st birthday. Soon you will be home. Your loving son Jim.

To our son in law, Jim Delaney, Portlaoise Prison: a wonderful 21st birthday. See you when you come home. From Richard and Alice.

To our brother-in-law, in Portlaoise Prison, a happy 21st birthday, from Jacko, Alice and Darran.

To our brother-in-law, the best 21st birthday. See you when you come home. From Caroline, Richard, John, Bobby, Anne, Billy, Jacqueline, Olivia, Paul and Jennifer.

To Jim Delaney in Portlaoise Prison, a very happy 21st birthday, from Noreen and Johnny.

To Jim Delaney in Portlaoise Prison, best wishes on your 21st birthday. See you soon. From Tricia and Kevin.

Jim Delaney, Portlaoise Jail: Happy 21st birthday. God bless you.

Love from Grannie and Grandad Delaney also aunts, uncles and cousins in Belfast.

Jim Delaney, Portlaoise Jail: Happy 21st birthday. God bless you.

Love from Grannie and Aunt Edith; aunts, uncles, cousins in Craigeavan and Belfast.

(We regret having had to publish these greetings one issue late due to pressure on space. We would appear to readers to let us have such greetings at least a week in advance to ensure timely placing).

### BOOKS?

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**The Last Post**

A valuable historical record containing the names of those who have given their lives for the cause of Irish freedom. Published by the National Graves Association. Available from the Republican Craft Centre. Price £2.00; Postage and packing 20p extra.

### JOIN SINN FEIN

For a Federal Socialist Democratic Republic based on Community Government

Ann (Name): .....

Seoladh: .....

(Address): .....

Send this form to: Sinn Féin, Srdáí Chaoimhín, Baile Átha Cliath, Éire.

