

REPUBLICAN NEWS

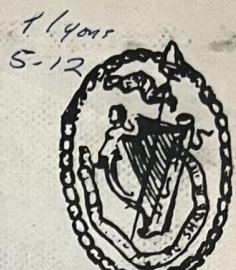
THE VOICE OF
REPUBLICAN ULSTER

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POLITICS A SECOND FRONT

Those of us actively engaged in the revolution against English imperialism and its local capitalist agents must realise that the revolutionary struggle must be separated into two absolutely distinct stages; that of the armed struggle, and the political, economic and social changes following its successful conclusion. The political machine which will set the wheels of change in motion should now be gathering full steam. This political machine should now be ready to make an intense effort, in the middle of the work of building a mass structure, to give ideological attention to the ordinary people who are daily coming into contact with the revolution and who are anxious to learn. *What we must avoid, at this critical time, is to allow our political machine to become a peaceful and cozy bureaucracy, which might well be seen as a springboard for political promotion and for bureaucratic positions of varying importance, eventually becoming totally cut off from the mass of the ordinary people.*

The political exponent of Irish Republican philosophy comes a tremendous responsibility. He or she should be an individual who has reached a sufficient level of political development to be able to interpret the general directives of the leadership, to assess them, and to transmit them as ideas to the people. Besides this they should be able to understand the people's wishes and deepest motivations. Their faithfulness is proven by their physical and moral courage which is equal to their ideological development, so they are always ready to face any struggle. In addition they should be capable of self-analysis, which allows them to make necessary decisions and practise creative initiative, while maintaining discipline. In a movement which is beginning to build socialism our members should be constantly striving to obtain a high degree of political awareness. But this means more than the learning of Irish Republican history and policies.

There has been no shortage of members these past years, but their development has been uneven because they have found themselves faced with the daunting reality of revolutionary struggle without adequate political preparation. Some have triumphed over their uncertainty and confusion but many have not been able to do it completely and, for the moment, have become lost in the maze of political developments.

The political machine is the driving force of the ideological engine which is the Irish Republican Movement. It is dynamic in the sense that it is not merely a transmitter of slogans or demands but rather a creator that will aid the development of the people and the instruction of the leaders, serving as a point of contact between them. Its mission is one of vigilance, making sure that the great spirit of the Revolution does not disappear or doze or slacken in its rhythm. It is a sensitive responsibility it transmits what emanates from the people and instills them with what the Movement teaches.

Closely tied to the concept of political development is that of the capacity for sacrifice, for demonstrating by one's own example the truths and watch-words of the Revolution. *The political leadership must win the respect of the workers by their actions. It is indispensable that they can count on the respect and affection of their comrades whom they must guide along the road of political progression.*

Vindicator.



Mr. and Mrs. Skillen at the funeral of their son, Volunteer Martin Patrick Skillen, "D" Company, 2nd Battalion, Oglagh na h-Eireann.

NEWS MOBILE UNIT

We are pleased to announce that we have purchased a touring caravan that will be used to help spread the gospel of Irish Republicanism throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

The caravan will be in use every weekend, manned by a team of four or five workers, charged with the task of selling REPUBLICAN NEWS and other literature; holding public meetings; billposting; recruiting members for Sinn Fein; holding advice centres and helping in any other way considered necessary.

The new venture will be known as The Republican News Mobile

Continued on Page Two

NEWRY TAKES TO THE STREETS

The August 9th protest in Newry, against internment were the largest since 1971. The demonstrations in the town indicated a strong return of the idea that it is only on the streets that the struggle against internment, and the type of society and State which uses internment, can be won.

Those parties who have carefully ignored the many opportunities offered to them to identify themselves with the public demonstrations against internment will soon be ignored by the people for the hypocrites which they are.

At least now it should be realised that internment is only one of the weapons used by the English in order to perpetuate their stay in Ireland. No longer should any party play the English game of political hostages.

Nothing was gained by 50 years of

weak-kneed, half-a-loaf politicians. There is no future now in listening to politicians who tell us to get back on our knees and crawl to our English master.

Remember that struggles against colonial oppression are always successful and that the Occupation Army is always ultimately beaten.

The recent example of the successful liberation struggle of the people of Guinea Bissau shows us that even the most implacable colonial powers must bow before a resolutely determined people. The rubbish talked by commercial, party politicians gets us nowhere - a struggle kept up for a long enough period and occasionally increased - as it undoubtedly was on August 9th, will defeat the English and end internment.

The message of Sinn Fein, the various Anti-Internment Committees and REPUBLICAN NEWS this year is:-

- Renew the struggle on the streets.
- Support financially and morally those on rent and rates strike even if you yourself have been fooled or tricked out of your pledge to with-hold rent and rates until the last internee is free.
- Support Sinn Fein and the various Anti-Internment Committees with money or by joining.
- Make a contribution to Cumann Cabhrach, Green Cross or the local PDF Committee in your area and thus support the dependents of political hostages.

Remember Us

ATTENTION all Sinn Fein Cumainn and all other branches of the Irish Republican Movement!

When you are thinking of advertising such as meetings, functions, ballots, etc., please remember AN PHOBLACHT and REPUBLICAN NEWS.

We are doing our best to get across the Irish Republican message, but we need your practical co-operation.

The Soil is Fertile but the labourers are few

Antrim Glens Anti-Internment Committee, in conjunction with Sinn Fein and REPUBLICAN NEWS, organised a very successful demonstration against internment, which was attended by 800 people in Cushendall on August 9th.

The speakers included Sean Mac Eochaidh, Seamus Mac Oisair and Harry Diamond. Mr. Alaister Mc Donnell, Glenarriff presided.

Some local people approached the REPUBLICAN NEWS representatives after the meeting and suggested that Sinn Fein Cumainn be formed in the Glens in order to counteract the confusion caused by the SDLP in the area.

Our representatives were also told that the local PDF Committee are finding it extremely difficult to get the use of halls to run functions. We hope our readers and supporters in the Glens will use their influence to ensure that halls become available for this worthwhile work of mercy. The dependents of the political hostages must not suffer because of the whim of misguided clerics.

Sinn Fein could do worse than send organisers to the Antrim Glens. If the SDLP manage to get a foothold in the glens, Sinn Fein can only blame themselves for not getting there first.

ARDOYNE FLEADH CLEOIL

COMMECING FRIDAY
16th August at 8.00 p.m
SATURDAY AND SUNDAY
17th and 18th AUGUST.

Appearing on stands throughout the area:
**THE FREEMEN — THE WOLFHOUD — THE CORRIB
FOLK GROUP**

TRADITIONAL MUSICIANS are coming from as far away
as Cork, Derry, Waterford and Dublin

Special emphasis will be placed on Traditional Irish
music throughout the Fleadh Ceoil.

Sports activities include: Tug 'O' War, Table Tennis,
%a-side Ladies and Gents Darts Matches. 5-a-side
Soccer matches and handball competitions

MISS ARDOYNE '74 — Knobbly Knees Contest!
For the children . . . Egg and Spoon races, 100 metres
and 500 metres races, Hop Skip and Jump, Long Jump
and Sack Races for the Under 12s and Under 16s.

**FANCY DRESS PARADE: BEAUTIFUL BABY COMPETITIONS
AND THE WHOLE AREA WILL BE DECORATED.**
Refreshments available. Car parking facilities only in Flax Street.

NINE IRISH EXILES

Mr. Patrick McCarthy,
202 Westford Street,
Lowell, Massachusetts.

Dear Mr. McCarthy,

May I thank you at the outset for
your keen interest in the occasional
article I am so happy to write, con-
cerning the Irish people and Irish role
of which (though country born) I
am a part. For I can say, as your-
self, that my father and mother were
born in the old country. I have never
been banished, in the proud Irish tra-
dition, of showing my pride in that
blessing alone for I am as Irish-blooded
as any native; my birthplace is, as
a man would say, purely geographical;
in any event, my blood is your own.

So, now to the business you so gra-
ciously requested in your appreciated
letter to me here dated June 28, 1959.

The story I wrote as a newspaperman
of some 30 years in my game, appeared
in the Lowell Sun appropriately
enough on St. Patrick's Day, this year,
under the title "Incredible Tale, The
Nine Exiles of Erin". If you
wish to read it, assuming that you
have not, you may visit The Lowell
Sun, take the elevator to the 4th
floor, and ask anyone there (whom
you'll find to be courteous, I think)
to direct you to the "file room" with
the explanation that you have been
directed to do so by Mr. Kenney, the
undersigned. You may use this
letter if you wish. The ladies and
gentlemen of The Sun are tradition-
ally courteous.

In this story, I recalled hearing many
tales as a boy brought up in an Irish
boarding-house early in the century, of
the Exiles of 1848. In fact, one Cork
man named Pat O'Neill (from Hare
Island) sang a song about them. He
is deceased. However, I got my in-
spiration for the St. Patrick's Day
article by seeing in the Cork Weekly
Examiner of early 1959 date a
letter to its editor from a man named
James Ryan of 22 Ranelagh Road,
Wembley, Middlesex, England, who
listed eight exiles but failed to in-
clude the ninth man of a known
party of nine Patriots because he
simply did not know. I wrote a
story around the facts I recalled
from memory plus Mr. Ryan's
missing parts, and I may say here
that I received 46 letters from
pleased readers — everywhere.

One of these readers was a gentleman
at a nearby state hospital (a therapist
employee) who supplied me with an
old newspaper clipping which
identified ALL NINE and from this,
of course, I was able to deduce that
the missing "Ninth Exile" was
Morris (or Maurice) Lyne, who
became Attorney-General of Aus-
tralia!

This "Ninth Exile" identification
of course, made another story,
and I accordingly wrote it as a new
article and this appeared on the
Back Page of The Lowell Sunday
Sun of April 12, 1959.

I am sure you will be interested at
his point to learn that the editor
was Cork Examiner, Mr. Coughlan
of his authorship for

his own paper and he was courteous
as to send me a clipping of it, in which
full recognition to my newspaper as
well as to my authorship was given.
So, therefore, the story of the "Exile
caught on in Cork as well as in Lowell,
and to complete everything, Editor
Coughlan sent my account to the
original inquirer, Mr. Ryan, in Eng-
land and I presume finally that
everybody is pleased all round.

A very brief synopsis of the article
I wrote on March 17, 1959 in The
Lowell Sun is that in the Young Ireland
Rebellion of 1848, nine fine Irish-
men were arrested by the Crown and
were sentenced to be hanged.

When asked if they had anything to
say, one spoke and said: "W' Lord,
this is our first offence but should
you have mercy on us this time, it
would not be our last: we would try
again and again, and you may be
sure we would not be fools enough
to be caught again." For this
truth and valor, they were sentenced
to be hanged.

The story got into other nations
however, and inspired men and even
government officials brought such
pressure on Queen Victoria that she
yielded to a compromise whereby
their lives would be spared if they
were removed from the green isle,
their homeland.

Some 20 years later, a Charles Duffy
was elected Prime Minister of Vic-
toria, a state in Australia. This had
a familiar ring to Victoria, and she
asked that they be accounted for.
It must have been to her conster-
nation to learn the following: Thomas
McGee, President of the Council in
the Dominion of Canada 3 and 4,
Terrence McManus and Patrick
Donaghy were Brigadier Generals in
the U.S. Army;
No. 5, Richard O'Gorman was
Newfoundland's Governor General,
to which No. 6 Michael Ireland suc-
ceeded; No. 7 was John Mitchell, a
great N.Y. politician whose son
became Mayor there and the eighth
Thomas Meagher, was Governor of
Montana.

There's your story and I hope I
have helped you satisfactorily. It
just goes to prove that you cannot
keep a good Irishman down, nor can
you hang one up either.

My mother was born in Skibbereen
and died in Lowell in 1951. She has
nieces and nephews named McCarthy
indeed, as she brought one of them,
Nora, over in 1930. Nora married
a boy from home, named Driscoll
and they lived in Charlestown, and
one of their sons is now a Captain
jet pilot in the U.S. Air Force. My
father was from Portumna. Go,
Galway.

Say a prayer for me. God bless you
and good on you.

John F. Kenney.

(It was felt that publica-
tion of this letter, written
in 1959, would be of in-
terest to our readers.
Editor.)

Seamus Steele

WE SHALL ALWAYS TRY TO BE
STEADFAST AND TRUE TO WHAT
YOU BELIEVED.

Friday, the 9th August was the 4th
anniversary of the death of Seamus
Steele, life long Irish Republican and
founder of REPUBLICAN NEWS.

He was born on 8th August, 1907,
and he joined Fianna Eireann as a
boy. From that day until he died, he
was an active Republican. He spent a
life of unswerving and unselfish de-
votion to duty. If it related to the Irish
Republican cause, nothing was too
much.

Seamus had many talents, as a writer
as a poet, as a soldier. He used them
all to the utmost for the cause he
loved. In all his struggles with Eng-
lish imperialism, he retained his un-
broken spirit.

During his term of office as Chairman
of the National Graves Association,
he produced many books and papers,
always advocating the Irish Republic-
an tradition.

The present Editor was invited person-
ally by Seamus Steele to join the Ed-
itorial Staff. He pledges to be faithful
always to that trust placed in him by
Seamus.

Falls Road Taximen Unite

One of the most progressive steps
taken on the Falls Road for some
time is the formation of the Falls
Taxi Owners.

The F.T.A. has obtained premises
at the WHITE ROCK INDUSTRIAL
ESTATE, and fares have been laid
down. The Cabs will carry F.T.A.
stickers to let the public know that
they are members of the Taxi Owners
Association, any cab without this
sticker is free-lancing. Anyone using
one of these cabs does so at their own
risk.

We in the Republican Movement
welcome this step by the drivers
and see in it an attempt to give the
public a decent safe transport system
long over-due on the Falls. We hope
these positive steps will be ironed
out eventually. We ask the Public to
make note of any Misdeemeanour
by any driver and give the details
to the men's committee. For the
drivers themselves it is an opportunity
to unite and by doing so safeguard their
livelihood as taximen on the Falls.

We have now the nucleus of a proper
public transport system outside
Citybus and outside the establish-
ment which was always biased and
unreliable. We urge all to give the
Association the fullest support.

LEAS

Ar leas na hEireann
Ar leas na Gaeilge
Ar leas na Poblachta
Ar do leas (Ní)

42 12 agairín
41 84 agairín

Tuillendh eolais 6
Dhomhnaíl Lubbhail, 250
Quarshóthar, Theas, Baile
Átha Cliath, 8.

Ama fólaid ag Gluaisteach
na Poblachta.

LUTON SINN FEIN

Editor a chara,

This is a short report to inform you that Sean Campbell (of Luton Three)
has been informed by the Prison Authorities that he has lost three months
remission from his ten year sentence. He is at present in Wakefield Prison.

In a letter to his wife, he has told her he was lost the remission since ending
his hunger-strike two weeks ago. The Wakefield Prison authorities accused him
of threatening a prison guard. He strongly denies this charge. Early in June
he was put in the 'punishment block' of the prison after being accused.
Whilst there, he complained of paraffin-tasting food. His complaint was
investigated. Later he was told "paraffin never killed anyone".

Arising from this matter, he went on hunger-strike in protest. He was removed
to the hospital wing of the prison during his ten day hunger-strike.

He ended his hunger-strike after being told his case would be fully investigated
it appears that after investigating, he lost three months remission.

Luton Sinn Fein have always been of the opinion that Sean Campbell - who was
secretary of the Cumann up to the time of his arrest on the 9th August '73 - is
an innocent man, as are his two comrades, Phil Sheridan and Gerry Mealy.

None of them should be in prison today. Their arrest, and subsequent "trial"
was a farce and an affront to the British people in whose name it was carried
out. During the trial the police officers involved in their arrest contradicted
themselves several times when telling the "court" the details of the arrests.
Furthermore, it has since come to light that they also per-jured themselves in the
witness box when giving evidence against the three men. Prior to his assassination,
the Special Branch agent and informer Kenneth Lennon confessed in a written
and signed document that he was told to frame three men by the Special Branch.
They directed his activities and he operated under those directions and under
their control. A recent edition of the "New Statesman" has highlighted this
fact very forcibly. ('NEW STATESMAN' June 14th, page one 'A CASE FOR
CONCERN' and 'WAS LENNON'S TRIAL RIGGED' page 832 by Geoff
Robertson.

We believe the British Home Office are behind the latest victimisation of the
"Luton Three" and their persecution in prison in an effort to white wash their
own Secret Police activity. The NCCL and Irish Civil Rights have been informed
of this matter and have been asked to intervene.

At present two of the three men are refusing all visits from their families in
protest against the serious injustices being done to them.

We call upon all right-thinking people in both Britain and Ireland, to protest in
the strongest possible terms against the ill-treatment of these three innocent men
and demand their immediate release pending a retrial for all three victims.

Yours faithfully and sincerely
Michael Holden
(Secretary.)

REPUBLICAN MOBILE UNIT

Continued from Page One

Unit which will work in close
conjunction with Sinn Fein, the
Campaign For English Withdrawal
From Ireland, An Cumann Bábhrach
and other bodies of an Irish Ireland
nature.

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end, manned by a team of four or five
workers, charged with the task of selling
REPUBLICAN NEWS and other
literature; holding public meeting; bill-
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The new venture will be known as
THE REPUBLICAN NEWS MOBILE
UNIT, which will work in close con-
junction with Sinn Fein, the Campaign
For English Withdrawal From Ireland,
An Cumann Bábhrach and other bodies
of an Irish Ireland nature.

RNMU was in operation last weekend
in the Andersonstown, Beechmont
and Ball'murphy areas where it attracted
widespread attention and interest.

The caravan was parked on Andersonstown
Road from 11 a.m. until 6.30 p.m. on
Saturday. A steady stream of visitors
called to offer their best wishes; to make
enquiries; to offer suggestions and to
buy papers and books.

The team parked near St. Agnes Church
Sunday morning from 10 a.m. until after
1 o'clock Mass, where our paper was sold
to the churchgoers.

Later the caravan was moved to Beech-
mont before the parade organised by
the Political Hostages Release Committee
assembled, where again, many papers were
sold and visitors were welcomed.

The weekend campaign concluded at
Corpus Christi Church in Ballymurphy
where a large number of C.E.W.I. posters
were distributed.

Our visitors included members of the Eng-
lish Army, who requested and who were
given, copies of the highly successful
Anti-Internment poster published by the
Poster Department of Brigade Press.

R.N.M.U. will visit the Andersonstown
and Ballymurphy areas again this
weekend and will be on duty during
the Ardoyne Flash Ceol on Sunday.
Our readers are cordially invited to
pay us a visit.

This undertaking has incurred some
expenditure but we believe this is
well worthwhile. Any donations to
help us develop our venture will
put good use for the Irish Republican
cause.

We also need volunteers to assist in
the manning of R.N.M.U. If you
wish to help in this important work
of national service for our Mother-
land, call at our offices at 170 Falls
Road, Belfast, or ring 46841

GARAISTE AN PHOBAIL

Upper Springfield Road
Beal Feirste

SEIRBHIS IOMLAN GLUAISTEAN

WAR IN THE NORTH IS BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER

What these Anglo-Irish colonialists do not see is that the war in the North is bringing people together, not separating them. Neither will they admit that this is happening under the umbrella of an Irish and not a England dimension. As an example of the closing of the traditional right between Orange and Green the following appeared in a recent article in "Combat", a journal of the loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force:

"Somebody said that the Irish language was stolen from the Protestant people by the Papists. It would be more correct to say that the Protestant people gave their culture away to the Roman Catholics".

England's Sunningdale plan was based not only on "power-sharing" but on the denial of the historic values of the people. The loyalists would have none of that. They smashed it by force. The English yielded to this force in Machiavellian fashion. The Ulster Workers Council enforced a militant strike that destroyed Sunningdale. Merlyn Rees, the North's English Secretary of State, immediately said that recognition must now be given to the "new Ulster Nationalism". (Where does that leave the Nationalists or the Nationality of the minority, one wonders?) But one workers strike and Ulster Nationalism received recognition. It proves that John Bull sees only that which suits him. It is hoped that he at last sees fit to be rid of the Frankenstein he created in Ireland - the Frankenstein of Colonialism.

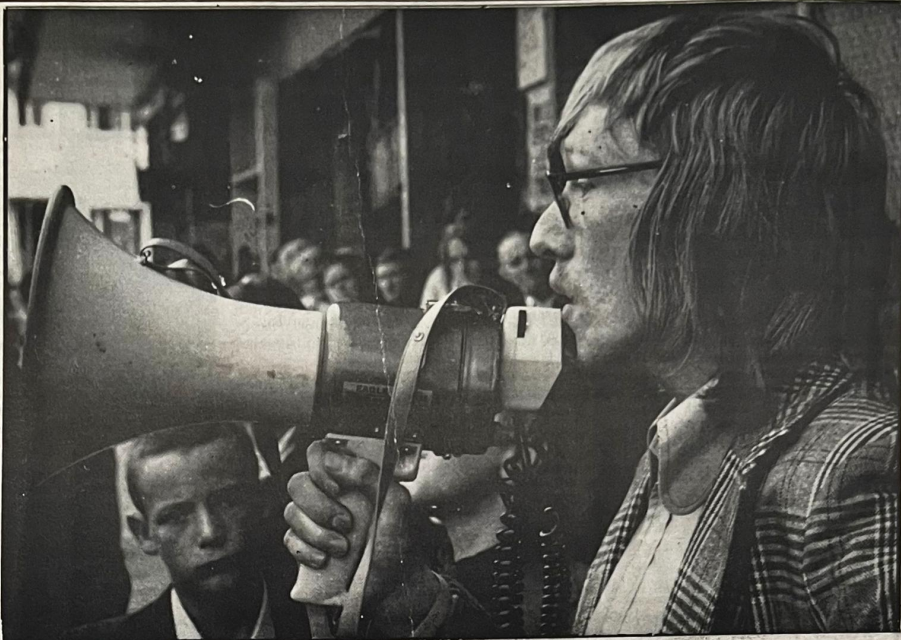
Week-end Fleadh Cheoil in Ardoyne

A Fleadh Cheoil will take place in Ardoyne next Saturday and Sunday organised by the local clubs and various voluntary bodies.

The organisers have gone to a lot of trouble to ensure that only the best in the traditional field, both groups and individuals, will be present. The competitors will play on the stages which will be put up throughout the area. The Fleadh will close on Sunday evening with a grand céilidh in Butler Street.

There will also be children's sporting events, some of which include boxing, handball and the women's and men's dart league. The Green Cross will provide refreshments in Holyrood Hall, Butler Street.

A spokesman for the organisers said that he hoped "that this festival period of traditional music and song will help to lift the morale of a people, who, although always cheerful and resilient, have become somewhat dispirited due to the amount of suffering and oppression endured by the area of these past years."



Dan Turley (Jun.), speaking at a recent Sinn Féin rally in the Bullring, Ballymurphy. Dan's father was released from Long Kesh Concentration Camp just recently. Welcome home Dan! We salute an unrepentant Irish Republican.

THE CONDITION OF PRISONER FRANCIS STAGG

The British Government is persisting in its policy of degrading, humiliating and inflicting hardship on both former hunger strikers and their families. The latest victim is the Stagg Family. Not content to have driven Francis Stagg to the edge of death in pursuit of his legitimate request for a transfer from the prison of the Isle of Wight to the Mainland not content with murdering Michael Gaughan, his closest friend, they are now neglecting the man on his road to a possible recovery. While the British Home Office have now consented to transfer Stagg to the mainland Prison of Long Lartin his health remains unchanged.

"He appears to be suffering from odemia", his sister, Mrs. Rose Doyle, a State registered nurse, said after a recent visit. "His hands and legs are swollen because of fluid retention in the tissue. He also suffers from dizziness and black outs, but what worries me most is the fact that he seems to be vomiting all the time". She went on to say that Francis himself

was worried and depressed about his condition. Mrs. Doyle has applied to the British Home Office to have her brother seen by an Independent specialist, but has only received an acknowledgment letter "I am very displeased at the attitude of the prison authorities and I am disgusted at the way Frank is being treated by the prison doctor". Mrs. Doyle added.

Two other sisters of Francis Stagg, Mrs Veronica Phillips and Mrs. Mallett, were openly humiliated on their last visit to their brother. They were forced to strip naked during body searches both before and after their visit. Upon their arrival at the prison they were escorted to the Governor's Room and told they would have to strip for a complete search. They then undressed separately, in the presence of a Prison Matron and had their clothes searched.

"I have been searched every time I've visited my brother but this left us in a terrible state of distress. We have not

been subjected to this type of search in the past and never have we been touched in any way like this, nor made to take off our clothing. We decided that we would not tell Frank about it and we went in and had our open visit for two hours. When it was finished, we were subjected to the same complete search. Relatives of other Republican prisoners there are not subjected to this type of search. We are terribly searched."

Mrs. Phillips went on to substantiate what Mrs. Doyle had said about her brother and added that he was receiving no medical supervision in the prison hospital wing.

Sympathy

The Editor and Staff of Republican News deeply regret the death of Mrs. Mary Twohig, mother of Ruairi O Bradaigh, President of Sinn Féinn. We offer our sincere sympathy to all the family circle.

We also offer our sincere sympathy to Miss Mary Boyle, member of An Phoblacht Editorial Staff, whom we very much admire, on the recent death of her mother.

Go ndeanadh Dia trocaire ar a anam.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE NOW?

For the Irish Republican Movement the future is very simple. We are at war with English Imperialism. We are fighting because our country was divided by those who know well how to handle the puppet governments of the two statelets for their own selfish purposes. We will continue to fight for a society in which the Irish people will be able to develop their own culture and their own destiny. Our political programme for new structures based on a Federal scheme for the four historic provinces in Ireland would assure the people of Ireland power to govern themselves at all levels. The Ulster Protestants would govern themselves with very real power as would the Gaelic speaking communities in the South and West of the country.

The programme caters for power sharing on four levels of government based on the economic, social and traditional divisions of the country.

In such a scheme of things the dreams of all earnest Irishmen would be fulfilled. There would be an end to our long war with England, a peace final and honourable wherein the soul of the country could rest, revive and express itself after its long and arduous suppression. But who can hope for this final peace while any part of our Independence is denied, while England insists in having her say in the kind of country we are to have. Ireland demands to be left alone to shape her own future. And in our demands for self determination we are inspired by the culture and traditions and love of our country and not the mere hatred of the enemy, or desire of satisfaction for the past.

ENGLISH INTERESTS IN IRELAND FOUNDED ON USURPATON

Republicans stand on the ground that the English Government in Ireland is founded on usurpation. This usurpation is acquiesced in by the Dublin Government for their own selfish reasons. Irish Republicans have always claimed that usurpation not only may but ought to be resisted and the authorities responsible deposed. This is still the Republican claim in a time when it has become the fashion to praise the fighting men of former times but to deny their ideal of independence to which Republicans adhere.

Dublin Government Acquiesce in Rule Over Ireland

The Coalition Government in the South of Ireland is a total failure. The wonder is that it has not fallen before this. They have succeeded in nothing. Everything they backed with enthusiasm has failed. Sunningdale (the English so-called "settlement" of the "Irish Question") has failed miserably. The Common Market has failed. The cost of living in the South is sky high. Bureaucracy reigns. Everybody knows that this government does not want to be united with the North and to save face want the English to stay in Ireland. Their censorship of the media is widely criticised as is their denial of nationhood. They allow English spies escape while they hound, repress and imprison Northern nationalists who go South for a little respite from the vigours of war. Yet they are full of themselves as ever. One would think that all their failures were successes. They are of course brash enough to put the skin of success on every failure.

What the Dublin Government is saying to the Irish people is "be passive"!!

But far from propagating a virtue what they are saying is "be neutral in speech be neutral in thought, be neutral in propagation. Stay outside the bounds of any kind of culture and there will be peace". And all the time the

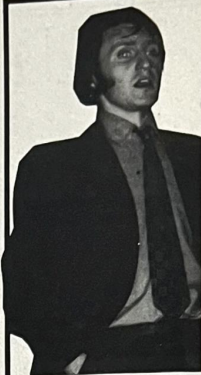
Ministers of this so-called "Irish Government" speak in English, academic English, the English of money. One of Ireland's foremost and most important poet-writers, Sean O' Riordain, described it as the "English that is spreading a particular culture, that is full of prejudices and symbols and tyrannies..... English that amounts in every syllable the arrogance of the troops from Dover. It is not the language itself but the mannered style which gives insult to the Irish People"

ASCENDANCY GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH:

The pro-British postulations of many of the leaders of the present Dublin government show the presence in the South of Ireland of the same ascendancy bug that has been checked in the North in recent years by the risen people there. The symptoms are the same dictatorial ministers of government ordering the people under threats to withdraw support from a young impatient generation that opts for renewal and return to the founts of their culture and national aspirations. And how is this looked upon North of the border? Each day indicates every one in the North is turning away from the South. Some sort of independent Ulster is what is

being called for. Each day the truth is seen clearer and clearer that the Dublin government would not want the North even as a present. Northerners used to laugh at the Premier of the last Dublin Government, Jack Lynch, saying that the then English Premier Ted Heath mastered him by threatening to hand over the North.

However, no one in Ireland, least of all the Republican Movement would wish the Dublin Government to rule a united Ireland. Politicians, both Irish and English are under a serious misapprehension if they think for a minute that this is what the fight for freedom in Ireland is about. The Republican Movement have pointed out in the past that they have more in common with loyalists and Protestants than with English fellow travellers in the Dublin Government and that once the English presence is removed, the chief source of violence will be gone and the Irish people can build anew. Peace will evolve and satisfaction to all sides will be achieved only with a structure of government as will take account of the different social and cultural realities of the nation.



Boyd Black of the Ulster Workers Council.



Gerry Duggan, expounding the policy of Eire Nua.

A chara,
Enclosed are some of
at the recent two days
of the Irish Civil Rights
Friday 28th and 29th
were numerous speakers
topics, among which:
Workers Council, Inter-
Prisoners, Eire Nua: The Press and Ireland;
The Federal Solution, and other
sundry topics.

The main speakers over the two days were Boyd Black of the Ulster Workers Council; Margaret O'Brien of the Irish Civil Rights Association, Maire Drumm, Vice-President of Sinn Féin, Brendan Magill, Organiser of Sinn Féin, Britain, Gerry Duggan, Sinn Féin (Dublin) Daithi O'Hagan Sinn Féin (Dublin)

Aidan Corrigan - writer of various books etc Fintan Vallely of Peoples Democracy Capt. James Kelly of the ICRA Eamonn McCann - journalist.

The seminar was held at the Conway Hall, London and was very well attended over the two day period. Originally seminar was to have been held at the Architectural College but was hastily abandoned by the College because of the ravings of the British gutter press. They claimed that the meeting was a front for the Provisional IRA and was an attempt to have talks with "Protestant extremists."

It was with a great deal of hard work that the organisers were able to book the Conway Hall at such short notice (24 hours)

At the end of the seminar a forum was held, voicing all shades of political opinion, ranging from Unionists to Sinn Féiners, to left and right wing political groups. At the outcome a number of proposals were passed and voted upon.

They included a call to the British Government to set a date for a withdrawal from Ireland, and a call to designate a special wing of prison on the mainland (Britain) for political prisoners, where Irishmen both Protestant and Catholic could serve sentences for politically motivated crimes. Another resolution read: "We extend the hard of friendship to the Protestant people and invite them to join with us in a Federal Republic of Ireland"

I have written this report, just in case nobody has already sent one into you. I have written on the backs of the photos who they are of.

If you publish them could you please mention that they were sent in courtesy of Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin Cumann, North London.

Mise le meas,
Noel F. Mooney.

Fintan Vallely, P.D.

Left: Aidan Corrigan and right, Captain James Kelly



Caught having a chat during the interval, Mrs. Marie Drumm and Brendan Magill.



Mrs. Margaret O'Brien (Chairman) and Brendan Magill addressing the meeting on Political Hostages.



The Sales Shop, which sold crafts and goods made in Long Kesh and other Internment Camps.



EIRE NUA

12 RIVERDALE PARK SOUTH
ANDERSONSTOWN

PORK AND STEAK SAUSAGES A SPECIALITY

SILVERSIDE 70p	LEG OF PORK 55p
SIRLOIN STEAK 90p	PORK AND STEAK
PORK ROASTS 50p	MINCE STEAK 36p

GLENTEN

72 ANDERSONSTOWN ROAD
BELFAST

BEHIND THE WIRE

Mr. Rees claims that he has "some of the worst" under lock and key in the North. He referred to certain events and stated that those responsible were in prison. Haven't we come a long way since people were horrified because the English Defence Minister described everyone captured on the 9th August '71 as "murderers".

If Mr. Rees believed the truth of his statements certainly neither he nor his troops would be hesitant to make charges in Court. It would even give a boost to his statistics! The basic evil of the system is that no distinction is made between guilty and non guilty, between political opinions and opinions that are converted into militant action. It appears that now some of the political groups in the North are again cultivating a demand for an end to internment. They have become aware that they cannot face a new election without some change.

HE NEVER ASKED FOR MUCH BUT GAVE ALL FOR IRELAND

Michael Gaughan died on hunger strike at 7.25 p.m. on Whit Monday, 3rd June, 1974, feast day of the Ugandan Martyrs. He was 24-years old, and had spent three years in prison. He was due for release about 1976.

Michael was a member of the Wolfe Tone Sinn Fein Cumann in North London and was sentenced with J. Moore, J. Mc Eliduff and F. Golden.

By Terry Gavin

London Branch, An Cumann Cabhrach

As is well-known in Irish Republican circles, An Cumann Cabhrach never overlooks any Republican prisoner - so it was with Michael Gaughan. He was not lonely, neither was he forgotten. If he ever needed anything, he would ask for it to be sent to him through An Cumann Cabhrach.

He never asked for much - the odd book or paper, which were sent to him regularly. In his last three or four letters to us, he made a special request for REPUBLICAN NEWS. Two large bundles of back numbers were sent - some were held back by the prison authorities, but Michael, not a bit put out about this, requested some more. These were sent on by us. Most of them were returned to his Mother among his personal effects.

Returned also to his Mother was a record of Irish songs and music sent in by An Cumann Cabhrach and which he often referred to in his letters. Returned also, after much correspondence were picture post cards, books, St. Patrick Day badges and Easter Lilies. An Cumann Cabhrach saw to it that Michael was always remembered.

Among his personal effects, were greetings from people all over England, Ireland, America, Holland and from other lands. Michael did not have a lot of visitors - he liked to save his time and when members of his family called to see him they had long visits. Visits were held in this manner at his request.

Michael had many friends in Albany and later in Parkhurst. Each friend has a story to tell. Those who knew him and were privileged to be his friends, will in time, give their version of their friendship with this lovely, quiet, unspoilt young Irish patriot who served his country faithfully and who would have dearly loved to be home with his compatriots in the fight for Irish freedom.

He constantly asked for news of all prisoners especially the boys in Long Kesh, Magilligan and Belfast. He often asked to be remembered to the brave girls in Armagh. He often sent his best wishes to the men in Mountjoy and Portlaoise. He always made mention of the other hunger strikers - especially

the two Price sisters and wondered at their strength.

His heart bled for the tortured and he was greatly concerned when the girls in Armagh were badly beaten on a few occasions. His letters - through time will be published.

Before he died, he wrote to An Cumann Cabhrach asking for some money for stamps and radio batteries. This was sent to him and a receipt from the prison certifying he received the money is with an Cumann Cabhrach.

While he was fond of food, he ignored the tempting meals placed in his cell while he was on hunger strike. He once said: "I told the Home Office that the next time I eat, chips will be when I am in Ireland." Again: "It is a terrible shock to the nervous system to be force-fed.

He never intended to die on 3rd June. Though he was quite willing to die for his beliefs. The force-feed of that fatal day finished him off, to put it quite bluntly.

Before Michael died he asked his Mother to thank everyone who wrote to him and who had been kind to him. He made her promise to do this.

On behalf of Mrs. Gaughan, An Cumann Cabhrach wishes to thank all Michael's friends and associates for their love and kindness to Michael and thanks to all prisoners who were always on so friendly terms towards him. To the prisoners who let him play his records on their players - to the people who sent him letters and cards, to the staff of Republican News, on behalf of Michael Gaughan, thank you one and all.

Statement From The First Battalion, Belfast Brigade

Sir,

The alarming increase in vandalism and petty hoodliganism in the greater Andersonstown area can directly be attributed to juvenile drunkenness. Appeals were made as long ago as 1970, to the owners and management of licensed premises asking for co-operation in combatting this problem. All but a few of these approached have lapsed into what amounts to criminal negligence on their part. Youngsters, some still in short pants, have been apprehended in possession of alcohol; bottles of cheap wine and cartons of beer are sold nightly to gangs of youths who are still attending school.

Once again we appeal to those concerned in the management of licensed premises in this area to exercise extreme caution in the sale of drink, if approached by someone who may be under 18

barmen should insist on some proof of the person's age. Any child claiming that the drink is for their father/mother should be told to leave the premises and send someone older. We hesitate to issue warnings for action such as has been outlined, however, in this case we must be firm. Anyone found guilty of selling alcohol to children in this area, no matter what their excuse, will find themselves in extreme trouble. The people of Andersonstown have suffered enough over the past four years without having extra burdens placed on their shoulders through the thoughtlessness of some barmen.

Signed,
Seamus Lynch,
PRO. I
First Battalion,
Ogligh na h-Eireann, Belfast Brigade.

"Cracks" in the Loyalist Structure

The solidarity and unity of purpose which existed between the Loyalist Ulster Workers Council and the various Protestant paramilitary groups during the recent general strike, is beginning to show distinct signs of strain. This is not an entirely unexpected development.

To bring down the Faulkner Executive gave them a common purpose in union with Paisley, Craig and West. However, having achieved that immediate objective, it is now clear that there is strong divergence of opinion between them as to the next step. The Ulster Defence Association which is numerically the strongest, wants to talk to Nationalist groups and has very graciously consented to correspond with the I.R.A. Some members of the Ulster Workers Council are in agreement with this move, others are strongly opposed to it and are getting rather annoyed with the Ulster Defence Association as a result.

In addition the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force are engaged in a rather bitter row. It appears that the U.V.F. who are a tightly disciplined outfit, recently decided to teach rowdy elements in the U.D.A. a lesson.

This took the form of blowing up some public houses frequented by the U.D.A. and pistol-whipping the rowdy U.D.A. members. Naturally, this is not producing an atmosphere of sweetness and light between the two organisations concerned, and generally weakens the solidarity of the combined Loyalist Workers and para-military groups.

IS LOYALTY TO IRELAND TREASON TO ENGLAND?

Dear Mr. Editor,

Treason is an offence committed against the state of which a subject owes allegiance.

The Irish in Britain who never took out British Citizenship papers cannot be termed to be British Subjects and therefore the British 1351 Treason Law cannot be made applicable to Irishmen, even though they reside in England.

I.R.A. men are Irish Republicans, loyal to Ireland and as such cannot be deemed Englishmen. There are no such persons as English Republican Irishmen.

If all the Irish were to leave Britain it would mean England's loss of Doctors, Irish Regiments, Dentists, Lawyers, Teachers, Priests, Nuns, Nurses, Tradesmen, News Editors, Policemen, and Road-workers. Say that the three day working week comes in who will do all the work.

Are the Immigrant Asians recognised as British? They have passports to prove they are British subjects then why are they refused entry to their British Motherland?

No stretch of imagination nor two-way thinking or double dealing "Widgery Style" can make an Irish I.R.A. man an Englishman! If they are considered as British, aren't they an unruly lot? So that's a good reason for British to disown such Englishmen!

In Ireland we don't beat about the bush with words we just say that Englishmen in Ireland are Englishmen and are British subjects!

In twenty years time who will populate the streets of England? After abortions, pills and divorce and Euthenasia? By all such means the English are wiping themselves off the map!

It surprises me that English statesmen have dared to mention that Irishmen be accused of treason to England. It proves to me that their way of thinking tries to prove to us that white is black and vice-versa, considering that English is our second language we appear to understand it better than the English themselves.

(Mrs) Una Toal.

After the Ulster Workers' Council Strike

LOYALISM - WHERE IS IT GOING?

Bob
Purdie

Since the victory of the Ulster Workers' Council strike, and the collapse of the Northern Ireland Executive, three myths about the current situation in the North of Ireland have become popular.

The first is that the UWC strike was an assertion of militant, working class politics. The second is that there is a growth of anti-British Ulster nationalism which could bring Loyalists and Irish Republicans closer together. The third is that recent Loyalist statements show a willingness to negotiate a settlement with the Republicans.

The conclusion drawn from these myths is that peace is nearer following the strike.

To start with, the third myth can be easily disproved. The precise nature of the proposal for talks with the Republicans which came from the West Belfast Brigade of the UDA was spelled out in the Shankill-based paper *Loyalist News* (Vol. 5, No. 20):

... those amongst the minority who have carried on a guerrilla war against the State of Northern Ireland must also be heard. Should they be ignored a lasting peace cannot be attained. It is desired that the Provisional IRA will also realise that this is the time for them to call a halt to their bombing campaign and seek to be represented at a general election ... and if elected then and only then can they have a say in the administration of Northern Ireland.

For the Republicans to accept such a proposal would mean giving up all they have fought for in the last five years. The pre-condition being laid down for talks is that they accept the continuation of the sectarian Northern Ireland state, which means also the traditional subordinate place of the Catholics within it. What the Loyalists are offering is not a rapprochement, but terms for a surrender.

The purpose of these proposals is clearer when we examine what the *Ulster Loyalist* (published by the Loyalist 'Ulster Defence Association') said on 6 June about the main electoral force amongst the Catholics, the Social Democratic and Labour Party:

'The SDLP will have to make up its mind once and for all whether it is an anti-partitionist party or a party which will support the interests of the Catholic community within the Union ... What is required now is a definite division between anti-partitionist politics and power-sharing politics within the Catholic community.'

Seen in this light the Loyalist initiatives appear not as steps towards reconciliation, but as an attempt to create a political split in the Catholic community.

NATIONALISM

Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Rees' recent talk about 'Ulster nationalism' is well founded. Today the Ulster Flag has almost supplanted the Union Jack in Belfast and the Loyalists are coming out with plentiful supplies of anti-British rhetoric, like the following quotation from the *Ulster Volunteer Force* magazine

Combat:

'The day is fast approaching thank God when the Englishman must be told in no uncertain manner that his era of lordship is over. The Scots and Welsh are demanding the right to be free nations and the Ulsterman is demanding the return of his 'stolen' parliament. They are all demanding the right to determine their own destinies and administer their own internal affairs.'

But lest anyone think that this Ulster nationalism is compatible with the Irish nationalism of the Republicans *Combat* stresses that:

'Such nationalistic sentiments should in no way be construed as disloyal to the British Crown. The British Crown is not the exclusive property of the English people. On the contrary it is the property of the British people throughout the world and is the symbol of the ties that bind the people of the Commonwealth together.'

'Ulster nationalism' is in fact a demand for less British interference in the North of Ireland, so that the province can return to the days before the destruction of Northern Ireland's old Stormont Parliament.

Even some of the more radical departures in Loyalist thinking come back to this starting point. Another article in the same issue of *Combat* said:

'The majority of Ulster Protestants equate Gaelic and Irish culture with Roman Catholicism ... The truth of the matter is that Ulster Protestants have as much claim, if not more in some cases, to the Gaelic culture as the Roman Catholic population ... Gaelic culture is clearly the most important strand of our Ulster culture ... Even our Orange culture is a development of our Gaelic traditions ...'

Then comes the punch line:

'There is no contradiction in being British and at the same time wishing to enjoy and preserve our own distinctive culture. Our Loyal Scottish brethren find no difficulty in enjoying their national culture and at the same time still maintaining their loyalty and their Faith and British Citizenship.'

Clearly the Loyalists are trying to grapple with new problems. Successive British Governments have attempted to force changes in the North of Ireland in order to protect British interests. This threatens the businessmen and farmers, and the labour aristocracy, who have benefited most from the Protestant ascendancy.

In contrast to the anti-home rule agitation of the early part of this century no substantial section of the British ruling class, or British population supports their resistance to these changes.

This has required a re-working of Loyalist politics to find new justifications for their sectarian separation from the rest of the Irish people. *Combat* has therefore been returning to Irish history, which it has begun to interpret in its own terms.

Significantly they have fixed on Henry Grattan's 'revolution' of

1782, when the Anglo-Irish protestant colonial population in Ireland asserted their political independence from the British Parliament, while maintaining the disenfranchisement of the underprivileged native Catholic Irish. *Combat* (Vol 1 No 11) says of this period:

'When he hailed "Ireland the Nation" Grattan hailed a nation within the United Kingdom, or British family of nations. A nationalist yes, but a Republican never ... Present day Republicans look back to Wolfe Tone as the father of Republicanism ... They fail to recognise that Tone was nothing more than a disgruntled and unpatriotic revolutionary. When Henry Grattan and the Volunteers fought for Irish independence they fought a bloodless war with the full support of the Irish people. When Wolfe Tone fought for his Irish Republic he waged a bloody civil war in which only Irishmen suffered ... The abortive revolution of 1798 spelled the death-knell of Ireland as a free nation and so divided the Irish people that Ireland has never been free since. Where Republicanism replaced nationalism and patriotism Ireland became a divided people and lost her right to nationhood.'

Small wonder that the Loyalists balk at Wolfe Tone. He criticised the inadequacies of Grattan's revolution, and showed how its failure to win complete independence for Ireland, and to break the stranglehold of England, was the result of its failure to involve the whole people of Ireland and to emancipate the Catholics.

Red Weekly has already offered evidence against the alleged 'militant, working class' character of the Loyalist strike. Still further facts can now be offered to explode this myth.

STRIKE

In Harland and Wolff's shipyard, for example, a mass meeting was called to discuss the UWC strike. Of the labour force of 10,000 (of which fewer than 500 are Catholics), less than 1,000 turned up. The UWC representative called, not for a vote on the strike, but for an indication of those willing to take part in a demonstration. When only about 50 hands went up the meeting was ended. Some time later the UDA came in and enforced a shut-down.

The much publicised street committees which sprang up in protestant areas to distribute bread, milk and other necessities were in fact the outlets for the UDA distribution network. Since they used Orange Halls as distribution centres they discriminated quite deliberately against Catholics.

NATIONAL FRONT

It is not surprising that the British National Front is having increased influence. The NF claims to have eight branches in the North of Ireland, and recently opened a headquarters in the Ravenhill Road, Belfast. This drew the following comment from *Combat* (21 April):

'*Combat* magazine wishes every success to the National Front in

Northern Ireland and trusts that it will grow from strength to strength ... We may not always agree with National Front policy, but we agree that there is room and a need for a strong loyalist patriotic party to emerge in Northern Ireland.'

There has always been an implicit contradiction in the fact that the protestant skilled workers, who have been generally militant in economic struggles, have accepted a non-sectarian trade union leadership so long as this did not challenge the sectarian distribution of jobs in Northern Irish industry. This put substantial difficulties in the way of the UWC when it tried to use the industrial strength of the protestants.

Following their victory the Loyalists have turned to tackling that problem. The second issue of *Combat* following the strike was headlined: 'Communism the Enemy of the Working Class'. This was part of a campaign against the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (to which most Northern Irish unions are affiliated) which was opened in the previous issue with the statement:

'Thirty-two trade unionists, many of them shop-stewards, have been served with 28 day Interim Custody Orders by the pro-Communist Secretary of State Mr Merlyn Rees ... The bulk of the names of the detained men were supplied to the Special Branch by officials of the Northern Committee of the Communist Irish Congress of Trade Unions ... Loyalist suspicions that the present Labour Government and especially the Secretary of State Mr Rees, is ultra-left have been confirmed.'

Two issues later this had been expanded into a full-scale anti-Communist campaign, adding the charge that the names were also given to the 'Red Brigade', to be marked down for assassination. (The 'Red Brigade' is an invention of the British army).

The demolition of these three myths not only destroys the idea of a 'progressive' development in protestant politics. It also shows that the aim of the Loyalists is not to break with Britain, but only to modify their relationship with British imperialism. They want to resurrect the Northern Ireland that existed before the Civil Rights movement forced the British Government to introduce reforms. But they still require British subsidies, British political support, the ideology of the British link, and British arms and equipment to hold down the alienated Catholics, one-third of their population.

The key to the Northern Irish problem is still the British connection. If the link is broken the Loyalists will have to come to terms with the rest of the people of Ireland. If it is not then the poisons being secreted in Loyalist politics today will create a new and more virulent danger for the beleaguered Catholic minority.

SINN FÉIN

A Cumann of Sinn Féin will be formed in the near future to cover CARNLOUGH, WATERFOOT, MARTINSTOWN, CUSHENDALL & BALLYCASTLE. If you are interested in joining Sinn Féin to work for the overthrow of English rule in Ireland, please complete this form and return to Mr. Malachy Foots, 170a Falls Road, Belfast BT12 4PY

To Mr. Malachy Foots:

I wish to join Sinn Féin. Please send me details

Name.....

Address.....

.....

IRISH MINERAL WEALTH

For Irish People Or for Multinational Monopolies?

The question of mineral wealth in the soil of Ireland has become a burning issue in the past year. Hitherto, it was the accepted opinion, duly brainwashed into the people, that Ireland was "a poor country with no natural resources". As late as February 22nd, 1973 the Southern Prime Minister, Mr. Liam Cosgrave publicly stated: "In this country we have few natural resources except arable land. Compared with other countries we have no great natural reserves of raw materials, nor minerals capable of exploitation".

THE NAVAN MINES PROJECT:

This new-colonial-type indoctrination has been exploded with the discovery at An Uaimh (Navan), Co. Meath, of one of the richest known zinc-lead deposits in the world. The gross value of the Navan mine is now generally accepted as being at least £2,000 million calculated on the basis of an estimate for 77 million tons of zinc and lead ore. However, if there was a proper State-resources development plan to utilise this enormous wealth to its full capacity, involving all stages - extractive, smelting and processing to consumer goods - that figure of £2,000 million can be multiplied by as much as a factor of 10.

THE TYNAGH MINES PROJECT

At Tynagh mines, Co. Galway, we have seen the results of the economic policies of a quisling government. Thousands of tons of zinc have been shipped out of the Galway port at the extractive stage. And so the impoverished areas of the West of Ireland have given their own natural wealth to enrich the economies of Britain, Canada and the U.S.A. This rape and pillage was carried out with the full permission and protection of the Southern Government.

SOLD TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER - SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT:

No developing country can afford to give away its mineral resources. Ireland is a poor country trying to develop and in the throes of colonialism in the North and neo-colonialism in the South. Inflation is racking the country. We have a chronic housing problem and the huge figure of 800,000 people living in poverty. Our education system is highly unsuitable to Irish needs and requires a radical overhaul. The health and social welfare services are particu-

ly bad in the South. Yet the Southern Government, like the British Government in the North, has persisted in giving all support to multinational monopolies, to plunder our people of what is rightly theirs.

SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT FORCED TO SAY "STOP"

Public opinion has, however, brought pressure to bear on the quisling Government in this aspect of Irish life. In an attempt to survive public outrage at handing away the wealth of Ireland, the Southern Government has tried to act worried and concerned. When Irish speculators tried to sell potential mineral-holding land on the foreign market, a public scandal was only avoided by the government heading off a small part of the speculation and making great noises about their efforts. Now, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Justin Keating a well known pro-British politician, has found it necessary to take what he would call "drastic" steps to enable his Government to survive. In secret deals with two monopoly companies, Tara and Bula, he has arranged that the State will have 50% stake in the holding of the Canadian Tara Mining Company in Navan. This might be viewed as a "white elephant", or just another route to persuade the people that the Government is "doing its

best". However, in yielding somewhat to public opinion, Mr. Keating is admitting that the policy of the Republican Movement is the best one. In a policy statement "Mining and Energy" issued in April, this year, Sinn Féin stated:

"The first priority is to set up an Irish mining exploration and research department which would provide information we need in any deals that have to be done with the multi-national companies. Such a national body would not only engage in research however but would develop as many new resource discoveries as our technical resources would permit.

"The second aim of this national body would be to co-ordinate the mining and energy developments in the country and to maintain strict control on any multinational companies that would be interested in developing any particular sectors

of wealth. In this respect an attitude similar to the present policy of Norway would be adopted. Thus while the Irish tax rate on profits from exploration at about 50% is rather similar to the profits imposed in Norway, Sinn Féin would also insist, as Norway does, that the state company have a share in the development and that a permanent royalty be paid where a successful strike was made"

In partly yielding to this demand, the Government now considers it has preserved the "security" of the exploiters and speculators in all the other mineral holdings as well as the oil wealth in the sea-bed surrounding Ireland. The authorities hope that they can head off the more radical demands made by the Republican Movement, and by an ever increasing body of opinion in the country at large. Yet, by yielding and having been forced to make a concession the sell-out Government is objectively admitting that the only realistic policies are held by those whom they are continually jailing and trying to provoke into civil war. But with the British Government in the North facing defeat in the economic as well as military and social fronts, how can their puppets in the Southern Government be expected to achieve success over Republicanism. They can hardly be expected to keep 75% of the State's wealth in the hands of 5% of the people much longer...

MOTHER OF SINN FEIN CHIEF DIES

Mrs. Mary Twohig of Longford, mother of Ruairi O'Bradaigh, Galway Road, Roscommon, president of Sinn Féin (Kevin Street) died at the Manor Nursing Home, Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford, yesterday. She was 74. Mrs. Twohig, daughter of the late Mr. John Caffrey, Donegal county engineer, was born in Clonard Gardens, Belfast. She was captain of the first branch of Cumann na mBan in Donegal Town in 1917 and was active in the Gaelic League.

During the Truce in 1921, having graduated from UCD, Mrs. Twohig was appointed secretary of the County Longford Board of Health. When the Board of Health was abolished in 1942 she continued as a County Council staff officer and superintendent registrar of births, deaths and marriages for Co. Longford until her retirement in 1965. In 1926 she was married to Mr. Maitiu O'Bradaigh who was severely wounded in the fight against the Black and Tans.

Mr. O'Bradaigh, a member of Longford County Council died in 1942. Two years later Mrs. O'Bradaigh married Mr. Patrick Twohig, a local school teacher and a native of Inchigeelagh, Co. Cork. Mr. Twohig died in 1961.

A sincere and dedicated Republican, here home at Battery Road, Longford, was always open to shelter men on the run who were fighting British forces. This led to the house being raided by the Gardaí on several occasions.

A frequent visitor to her home was Mr. Pat McManus who was killed in an accidental explosion at Swanlinbar in 1968. He was a brother of Mr. Frank McManus, former Fermanagh - South Tyrone Westminster M.P.

WE NEED MORE SELLERS

SECOND ANNIVERSARY

Volunteer Colm Murtagh, Drumalane Park, Newry, died on Wednesday, 9th August, 1972, as the result of Active Service in the cause of Irish Freedom.

Colm joined Oglaiha na h-Eireann when internment was introduced during August, 1971. Go ndeanaidh Dia trocaire ar a anam.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY

Volunteer Eamonn Lafferty was shot dead by English soldiers on the 18th August, 1971 as he and his comrades were defending the hard pressed people of Creggan against the enemy who tried to penetrate the area.

Eamonn's bravery was told to a priest by an English Army officer who said: "The fearlessness and bravery of Eamonn on that fateful morning made my blood run cold."

Eamonn was a tireless worker for the Republican cause in Derry. His good example is an inspiration to us all who are carrying on the fight for a free Ireland.

Remember him in your prayers, for he died for a people he loved.

SINN FEIN FOR A NEW IRELAND

OUR AIMS

An Ireland of self-governing communities in which the people control their own affairs: their own employment, their own natural resources, their own schools, their own wages and prices, their own housing and environment. An Ireland which Irish men and women can call their own and take pride in.

OUR MEANS

In the cities of Dublin, Belfast and Cork, and in each of the 32 Counties: DISTRICT COUNCILS for every 10-40,000 people, with district administrative offices. Representation for elected COMMUNITY COUNCILS on the District Councils. The District Offices to deal with Social Welfare, Primary Education, Trading Practice, Employment Conditions, Job Opportunities, Agriculture, Fishing, Small Industry, Co-operative Enterprise, Housing, Lands and Planning Permission.

The Districts to be grouped together under 15 REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS & FOUR PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENTS in Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht. A self-governing GAELTACHT REGION. An ALL-IRELAND PARLIAMENT in Athlone.

BANKS to be nationalised.

MINES AND MINING under public control for Irish profit.

A NEW CONSTITUTION through all-Ireland consultations.

A STATUTE OF BASIC CITIZENS' RIGHTS.

If you want this sort of Ireland, help us build it by voting SINN FEIN or by joining a SINN FEIN CUMANN.

I would like to become a member of Sinn Féin and to work to smash English Rule in Ireland and to establish an independent All-Ireland Republic.

Name: _____ Address: _____
For a card into 770a Falls Road Belfast BT12 4PY

SINN FEIN O'BRADAIGH

The Chairman and Officer Board of Belfast Comhairle Ceannair, on behalf of all Cumann in the Belfast area, offer their sincere sympathy to their President, Ruairi O'Bradaigh, and also to his brother, Sean, on the death of their mother, Mrs. Mary Twohig, -R.I.P.
AR DHEIS LAIMH DE GO RAIBH A M-ANAM.

ENGLISH OCCUPATION IN IRELAND ALMOST

AT AN END

THE ENGLISH ARMY HAS BEEN DEFEATED in its latest push for a military defeat of the Irish Republican Army. This was the strategy decided upon after the collapse of the power-sharing Executive and the resisting Irish people from Belfast to the border have felt worse repression than anything experienced in Ireland since the pitch cap atrocities against the United Irishmen.

630 men were 'screened' by the Royal Highland Fusiliers in Andersonstown before they were replaced by the sectarian thugs 'The Black Watch'. A farmer's son was taken out and murdered deliberately whilst he was being questioned in his own hayfield.

A Trillick Councillor was abducted and murdered on a stretch of road saturated by UDR patrols. Two Newry men had Alsatian dogs set on them by the Royal Horse Artillery. A young man and an RUC man were killed in collisions with unlit trap army road blocks at Besbrook. Two Fermanagh men were ordered across the border into the 26 Counties by the English Army. And internment without trial still continues.

This reign of terror has failed, as have mass arrests, 34 in Belfast, between 1st and 3rd August, because the Republican Army has been punishing the enemy. On 25th July the ineptitude of the enemy forces was demonstrated when six major bombs exploded in the centre of Belfast destroying Government offices and damaging the infamous Spy-Centre, the Europa Hotel.

Brian Shaw, an English SAS agent who had served with the Royal Green Jackets in the Falls area, was caught planting a bomb which was aimed at destroying civilian lives in this working class residential area. He was summarily executed by the Republican Army. This was followed by the ritual denial by the English defence secretary that the SAS were operating in Ireland. The denial was all the more hollow as it followed a carefully planned 'escape attempt' by the notorious SAS agent, Baker, from Parkhurst Prison. Though the Royal Navy had a helicopter conveniently waiting, the courage of the ordinary convicted prisoners foiled this attempt. This is a clear proof that the example and sufferings of Michael Gaughan and Priormias Stagg bore fruit among the most exploited and oppressed of the English people.

During the last week of July the air, rail and sea links of the 6 Counties were systematically attacked. On July 22, a bomb was placed on a Cross-Channel ferry. On 29th July, a bomb was placed without loss of life on a Belfast-London plane which was carrying the chief constable of the RUC and some other policemen to be given their 'honour' by the second English Elizabeth. From 2nd to 10th August the Dublin-Belfast railway line was sabotaged again and again and almost continuously put out of service.

The main Dublin-Newry road was blocked again and again by hijacked vehicles full of explosives. Though adequate warning was given of these 'security forces' did not in any way notify travellers of the hazards on the roads and so publicly showed their lack of interest in the nationalist border areas for any purpose except the punishment and harassment of the inhabitants who clearly let them know that they are invading foreigners.

This wanton provocation of the border inhabitants reached a new height at Killyclogher on the Leitrim/Fermanagh border. Here the invading army blocked off three roads causing untold hardships and inconvenience to the residents. When they gathered on the Leitrim side of the block to protest on Sunday, 2nd August, the English Army fired rubber bullets and baton charged the crowd well inside the 26 Counties 'frontier'. One man, Sean Gallagher, of Killyclogher, was very severely injured and is still in hospital. A second protest on Sunday 11th August was again baton charged.

On Monday two 26 County citizens travelling on the express bus from Derry to Omagh were taken off the bus by the UDR and are still held in Omagh. As these incidents follow hard on the English Army shooting up a Garda patrol on the Armagh-Louth border, talk of collaboration between 26 County government and the English occupying forces on 'border security' seems to be becoming more heated and in panic for their own skins the SDLP collaborators are calling on the Dublin government to 'protect' them.

The bombing campaign against economic targets has been sustained. The Belfast Co-Op and Meena's in Donegall Street were devastated by fire-bombs (22nd July). A large timber yard in Derry was destroyed by a bomb (28th July). The same day incendiary bombs damaged Etam's stores in Belfast and the Royal Hotel in Killeel. In Portadown the meat store of Windsor Foods Plant was destroyed (30th July). The Belfast Co-Op was destroyed (1st August) by a car bomb containing 500 lbs. of explosives, and the next day a 200 lb. bomb caused widespread damage in High Street.

In Derry incendiaries caused huge fires in Crooks' drapery stores and at Littlewoods so that Waterloo Place is now obliterated. Incendiary bombs destroyed two furniture stores in Portadown (4th August) and also caused considerable damage in Downpatrick.

The following day large bombs exploded in Rathfriland and Caledon, whilst in the Grand Central Hotel headquarters of the English Army in Belfast a major fire destroyed what is left of the upper stories of that largely wrecked building.

In Trillick a fire destroyed Irvine's sawmills showing the emptiness of Vanguard Assemblyman Baird's boast that the UDR had destroyed a Republican Active Service Unit in the area. There is no doubt that the UDR have conducted their private reign of terror in the area but this has only strengthened the determination of the people to get rid of the invader and his colonial henchmen forever.

On 8th August the Manchester and Midland Electrical store in Downpatrick was damaged by a bomb, as were the offices of the Down Recorder. On 7th August a bomb destroyed the Coach Inn in Strabane. Four business premises were destroyed by fire bombs in Derry (9th August) whilst travel in Belfast was totally

disrupted on Internment Day by a series of barricades and hoax bombs.

In Kesh in Co. Fermanagh the RUC station was damaged by a large bomb and another exploded in Aghahealy. In Belfast in the Markets area a tyre warehouse was destroyed by fire. A 250 lb. bomb exploded in Ballynahinch causing structural damage to the main street (11th August), whilst a big bomb was discovered and defused on the road to Newcastle.

The "Newsletter" commented on August 6, "The Provo bombers are showing an ever increasing degree of sophistication. They are not so mad as was once thought."

Their reporter should know, as he had just returned from a British Army briefing at Lisburn where five new types of bombs were displayed, including the "Darkie Houghes Special."

Republican fire was directed against the English Army with deadly effect. On 30th July Sergeant Bernard Fearn was shot dead on the New Lodge Road. His 4th Light Field Artillery regiment is based in Yorkshire. Another soldier was shot dead at Craigavon on 10/11th August whilst his companion was wounded.

In a statement the North Armagh Battalion of the Republican Army said: "Our Active Service Units have also been successful in breaching security in Portadown and attacking economic targets with incendiary devices over the past fortnight inflicting a heavy drain on Britain's ever decreasing financial resources. We reiterate:

"All Units in our area are on active service and will continue to attack the enemy until our just demands are met . . . we again warn those who may feel induced to succour, or give information to the enemy of their eventual

fate. The cowardly attacks by the English army on civilians at Drumbeg and Lurgan after their suffering casualties only proves their imminent defeat."

Another casualty was admitted by the English Army in Belfast on 11 August and this is not surprising since their cover-up stories of the casualties suffered at the hands of the Republican volunteers is becoming ever more improbable. The Observer (11 August) reports the English Army as claiming that only 24 soldiers were killed in Northern Ireland from July 1973/July 1974 whilst in the same period 126 'died in accidents' outside Northern Ireland. This just shows how effective the fire directed against the English Army has been even if their relatives have to think that the soldiers ambushed on a Northern Ireland road really died on an emergency secret helicopter training flight in Cornwall or Macedonia.

A British soldier was wounded in an ambush near Clogher on 28th July. Mortar bombs landed on enemy positions at Crossmaglen (29th July) two English soldiers were wounded in Lurgan (2nd August), three direct mortar shells hit were made on the enemy post at Flax Street (4th August) in Belfast, two soldiers were wounded in Belfast whilst from 8/10th August enemy posts came under fire in all of the six counties. A statement from the Mid-Ulster Brigade Ogligh na h-Eireann pointed out:

"Whilst the scourge of internment has destroyed the essence of family life in Northern Ireland it has also served to strengthen the resolve of those who pledged themselves to force an end to English interference in Irish affairs."

On television on 13th August Marilyn Rees admitted to the failure to force a military solution and admitted that the English were now in effect seeking disengagement from Ireland. Make no mistake about it, this change of English policy has been forced on them through the successful summer campaign of the Republican Forces. The English case is so desperate that Biggs-Davidson has recommended the re-introduction of conscription, and the commanders on the ground are using even more horrific terror tactics to try to maintain their presence in Ireland. The increasing terror is destroying the SDLP collaborators' base of support so that they who are responsible for the English troops still being here are forced to call for the withdrawal. The call of the united people for an end to the invaders' presence is growing louder.

The Republican Victory is in sight and it is the people's duty to remember who won an end to enemy occupation of Ireland and at what a sacrifice.

Only this week Volunteer Martin Patrick Skillen was buried with full military honours, mourned by the people of Belfast, his cortege, followed by thousands. He was killed because he committed his life to ending English imperialism in Ireland. 520 Republican are interned, 1,000 are sentenced or on remand in Northern Ireland, 160 in Portlaoise, over 100 are imprisoned in Britain. These are the men and women who are winning freedom for the Irish people and these are the ones who have to suffer not only persecution but also slander and betrayal.

The Irish people must never again allow lying politicians to climb to power and position on the backs of the Republican Volunteers.

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