

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 6. Uimhir 40. 8p. Deire Fomhair 3, 1975.

## PEACE or WAR?

### It's up to London

EVERY BRIGADE of Óglaigh na hÉireann in the Six Counties went into action last week in co-ordinated operations which proved, once again, the discipline and bravery of the liberation forces and their capacity to continue the fight against imperial oppression. There were no casualties.

The operations, according to a statement from Comhairle an Airm, Óglaigh na hÉireann, were ordered in view of murders, torture, harassment of the civilian populations and other crude breaches of the Truce agreements.

These breaches have been documented carefully by this and other Republican publications, giving names, addresses, time and place of incidents and other details.

We have not been alone in our documentation and corroborative material has been published by neutral sources, such as by Rev. Denis Faul of Dungannon. Increasingly, the newspapers have been forced to report and comment on these incidents and last week, in an editorial, the "Irish Press" pointed out the return to torture by the enemy, as part of his repression machinery (the "Irish Independent," true to form, took its traditional line, in editorial comment, bringing to mind, once again, its part in the 1913 general strike in Dublin and its appeal for the execution of James Connolly, in 1916).

Despite urgent warnings from the leadership of the Republican Movement, enemy repression not only continued but escalated, leaving the Truce virtually in shreds.

#### WARNING SHOTS

Two days of bombings and armed attacks on members of the Crown forces were intended as a warning. If the enemy pulled back from the brink the Truce could be saved. However, as we go to press, there is little indication that the enemy is interested in saving what is left of the Truce.

"There has been no noticeable increase or decrease in enemy violence in the Belfast area since the warning shots of last week," according to a spokesman for a Truce Incident Centre in Belfast on Monday morning. "The same level of violence seems to have obtained last week as was the case before the operations of Monday and Tuesday.

"If the Imperial Government has any control over the forces under its command and wants to give the Truce another chance, the Republican leadership, and its disciplined forces, will react favourably — but not to words, only to deeds. Repression must stop at once. Henceforth, action by the liberation forces will be proportionate to the level of enemy violence.

"There can be no question of an acceptable level of enemy violence: the Truce must be honoured in detail or the war continues, widely or locally, as the need arises."

#### ARMY STATEMENT

The Republican stand was explained unambiguously in an official statement issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, on Friday, September 26: "We wish to remind Mr. Rees that it is not a 'ceasefire' that exists between the British army and the Provisional I.R.A. but a bilateral truce.

"During negotiations between representatives of Mr. Rees and representatives of the Provisional Army Council, points were discussed and agreed upon. The British, for their part, have failed to implement certain points of the Truce.

"Blatant examples of the non-implementation is the continued murder and harassment of innocent civilians and the torture of prisoners in Castlereagh, Dungannon, Antrim town and south Armagh.

"The Provisional I.R.A. has taken action against these violations of the said Truce in the past and reiterates that military action will be taken against each and every violation in the future. All active service units have been instructed accordingly."

An Imperial statement from Stormont Castle alleged that the accusations of harassment, torture and murder were false but failed to refute the accusations in detail.

#### CLUMSY DENIAL

The Stormont statement denied the existence of a bilateral truce and said, instead, that a "ceasefire" had been declared by Óglaigh na hÉireann on its "own initiative."

It did not attempt to explain the Truce machinery in this context: the frequent meetings between representatives of both sides; the truce incident centres set up to monitor the Truce; and their contacts with Imperial civil servants in Stormont Castle.

Briogáid Bheáil Feirste, in a statement, following the statement of Comhairle an Airm, said it endorsed fully the Army leadership statement, "exposing the hypocritical utterances of Merlyn Rees."

The Brigade accepted the Rees descriptions of the Truce as a "mockery and a travesty" but pinned the blame squarely on him and his colleagues in the Imperial government.

The statement concluded: "We reassert that any future breaches of the Truce by British forces will be met with severe retaliatory actions by the Belfast Brigade."

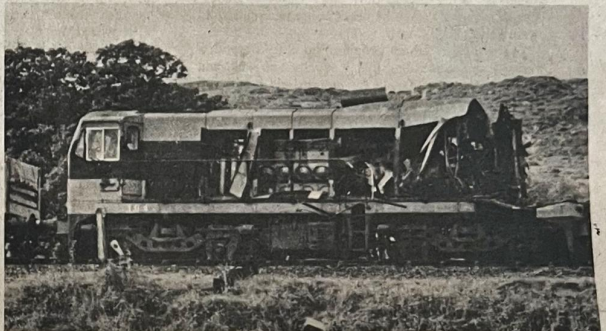
#### BROOKEBOROUGH'S VIEW

Republicans were not the only ones to accuse Merlyn Rees of hypocrisy. Viscount Brookeborough, speaking in the House of Lords on September 25, stated that the Imperial government had made an agreement with Óglaigh na hÉireann and that, for Merlyn Rees to say anything else, was "sheer hypocrisy." The Crown Forces were to keep a "low profile" if Óglaigh na hÉireann did likewise.

He quoted the case of Séamus Twomey being allowed to move freely in the north-east as an example of one of the Truce agreements and said Séamus would have been arrested and handed over to the Dublin government, on the basis of his escape from Mountjoy Jail, but for the Truce agreement.

The reaction of the Dublin administration to the growing evidence of torture and other enemy brutality, being increasingly exposed by the media, was to send Dr. Garret FitzGerald to the United Nations where he surprised many delegates by saying that his government desired no U.N. intervention in Ireland. Leinster House collaboration with the enemy continues.

The deteriorating situation was reflected by Fianna Fáil opportunism in the mild criticism of Dr. FitzGerald by Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, a vital by-election is near and Fianna Fáil is tempted, once again, to bid for a return to power on the back of the I.R.A.



The C.I.E. train which was wrecked causing a 2½,000,000 worth of damage at Newry. See also pictures on page 8.

## Repression continues

REPRESSION CONTINUES at the same level. A particularly sickening example was supplied by members of the Parachute Regiment on the Cliftonville Road, Belfast, on the night of Friday, September 26.

On that night a car containing a man and three women was stopped and searched by the Paras. The man was put against the wall and, when the Paras were about to beat him between the legs, his wife, one of the women, screamed out in protest.

Two Paras grabbed her and forced her into their Land-Rover. One of them then beat her and tried to pull her clothes off, succeeding partially, and she fainted. The other two women started screaming, alarming the Paras, who threw the woman out of the vehicle. She was helped into the car, on regaining consciousness; the two women and the man followed; and they drove away.

Those in the car met a R.U.C. mobile patrol and stopped the vehicle, made their complaint against the Paras (one of whom beat up a R.U.C. constable last week when stopped with stolen goods) and were told by the R.U.C. to follow them back to the scene of the attack. There, the assaulted woman identified the Paras responsible.

Then the party went to Oldpark R.U.C. Barracks, where the assaulted woman was examined by a doctor and advised by the police to make a formal complaint next day. But the following morning the identified Para, accompanied by a R.U.C. man, knocked at the woman's door. The Para begged her to withdraw the charges, otherwise he would not be allowed return home (the Paras left Belfast at noon on Saturday last).

The woman refused to withdraw the charges; the Para has been detained in Belfast; and a charge has been brought against him.

#### Divis Flats rape

This is the nearest thing to rape reported in some months in Belfast. There have been a number of rape cases over the war years but in only one case was the evidence documented. It happened about 18 months ago in the Divis Flats. A member of the Gloucesters was involved.

The Republican Movement supplied detailed documentation, including photos, to two newspapers, the "Irish News" and "The Irish Press." Both papers refused to publish.

On September 24 an entire family was "lifted" in Belfast, the Corrys of Hatfield Street, Ormeau Road: four sons, Martin (23), Brian (20), Tom (16) and Jimmie (13), and their middle-aged mother.

Allegedly illegal documents were found in a military search of the house and Brian was charged with possession: the others were held for more than six hours before being released and the mother had to watch while her sons were being beaten. Psychological torture also was used.

An example of worse physical torture was provided by the R.U.C., in full public view, on the night of September 26-27 in McCauley Street. A 17-year-old youth had left his girl home when he was pursued by *colon* elements and had to run for it, along the Ormeau Road, making for the Markets area.

#### Beaten by R.U.C.

The R.U.C. gave chase in a Land-Rover, caught up with the lad and gave him a terrible beating. Local people were prevented from interfering by a military patrol. Then he was taken away by the police, to be handed over to his parents when they arrived at the R.U.C. station.

His hands were in a terrible mess — some of the fingers were believed broken — and he had to go to hospital for treatment. The parents have preferred an assault charge against the R.U.C. who have cross-charged the youth with "disorderly behaviour."

On Thursday, September 25, the Paras, once again, vented their frustration against the people of Tel Ardoyne by doing further damage to the James Saunders Memorial Hall, by breaking down the door at 03.00 hours.

Members of the committee have been sleeping in the hall to protect stocks, following the bid to destroy the hall by fire (reported here in a previous issue).

The five committee members were kept in the "search" position for 20 minutes and abused while they and the hall were searched. The Para excuse was that they had heard a shot (nobody else heard it). It was just another bit of harassment.

# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 6. Deire Fomhair 3, 1975. Uimhir 40.  
44 Ceardúg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthiún: 747811

## Indecision costs lives.

Ireland, just as Westminster paid a heavy price last week, through bombings and other actions, for the murders, maimings and torturings by Crown Forces of innocent Irishmen over the past few months.

Some of our contemporaries paint a bleak picture of the inevitable enemy withdrawal following, as they see it, the handing over of power in the north-east to a fascist administration. Such contemporaries fail to realise that Westminster (and Whitehall) are in no ignorance as to the price they would have to pay for such an act of treachery, both at home and abroad.

Could a better fate be put on it by turning the blind eye to preparations for a unilateral declaration of independence by the planter element and giving way to it without a shot? Not unless the enemy took the Irish for utter fools.

It is said that it is never safe to forecast what is going to happen in Ireland because neither the hopes nor the fears ever are realised; but the real reason, perhaps, is that the people are not free to make any worthwhile decision. It is difficult to believe that the most bigoted and cruel of the planter element could succeed in leading about 1,000,000 persons of planter stock over the precipice on the basis of an unpolitical statement by a not very intelligent politician, that they could tyrannise the Irish in the north-east through a fascist regime and get away with it, with no intervention from the people of the 26 Counties.

Donegan has never to learn that no politician, knowing his job, yet says "never"; but Paisley, his Tara and U.V.F. gangs, surely have more sense than to believe Donegan? All the while, too, there is the unbeaten, skilled Army of Ogligh na hÉireann, its all-Ireland and foreign support.

MOST people believe that the Convention has failed. A tiny minority, however, believes that the Craig offer is the beginning of the end of planter intransigence; and that, if Westminster returns the majority report for "reconsideration," more and more Convention members will back the Craig line until he has a majority.

The danger is that Westminster politicians, even the most humane and intelligent, being so remote from Belfast and so ignorant of the political facts of life in Ireland, may grasp at this straw, to the terrible and unnecessary cost of the Irish people in general.

The Craig ploy was a conjuring trick which did not deceive even, the S.D.L.P. who would be only too eager to accept any face-saving compromise which would not blow up in their faces. They saw the Craig plan as a booby-trapped political device. But now, even if full power-sharing were offered the S.D.L.P., could they afford to go into a government backed by the R.U.C. and other elements of the Crown Forces, in view of the ever-increasing and cruel irregularities of those same forces and the one-sided way in which they are being used so obviously? Or is Ivan Cooper speaking for all when he backs police and military in the Belfast High Court?

The danger about propping up the Convention corpse and pretending that it is alive and well, and maintaining the charade for months and months, is that planter violence will be increased rather than decreased, resulting in reaction of a similar nature.

Only the blunt, unambiguous statement by Westminster of the new political facts (and end to Westminster's carrot-and-whip, its divide-and-conquer policy) can make it possible for all to examine the new situation and, by inter-community talks, reach agreement on the minimum requirements for public and individual safety.

Westminster has no excuse, political or otherwise, in maintaining the Convention myth. Such action is criminal. There is a price on everything, we are told, and Westminster will pay a very heavy price, indeed, for delaying unnecessarily the moment of truth for

Paisley must be aware that he and his fellow conspirators have as much chance of getting away with a fascist dictatorship as Smith in Rhodesia, now being abandoned even by Vorster and Co., or as had the fascist South Vietnam regime before the people's victory.

It is one thing to murder innocent people in the dark. It is another thing entirely to face full-scale war waged by the entire Irish people. And let there be no doubt about it: the Irish people WILL fight and they will have world-wide support from the enemies of imperialism and colonisers.

It would be as well for everyone if the realists among working-class planter elements pushed aside Paisley and the other Convention opportunists - who will desert them and flee, as well they know, when the going gets too hot - and show that they are willing to talk with their fellow workers so as to find a means by which both communities may live in safety and peace. But this is impossible without freedom, and Westminster still, stubbornly, foolishly, criminally, is standing in the way.

All those who clamour for peace must speak out, now, and demand that the major obstacle to peace - the foreigner in our midst - must quit, to leave us to solve our own problems in our own way. The Convention farce is over. It is time the curtain was rung down and the producers and managers and backers withdrew.

Every day they dawdle, dither and procrastinate brings further bloodshed and destruction. Enough blood has been spilled. The Republican Movement wants peace with justice and will work with every man and woman of goodwill to achieve it.

The recent statement of the Belfast Sinn Féin Comhairleachtair, appealing to the workers among both communities to join to bring about that genuine peace is a bright light of hope in a dark situation. We hope that we may be able to report reciprocation before the psychopaths and the opportunists can do further damage.

SEACHTAINÍ ó shin dúirt scríbhneoir litre gurb é an Béarla tá i réim i Ráth Cairn, Gaeltacht Cho. na Mí. A mhalairt atá fíor.

Tá 60 teaghlaigh sa nGaeltacht seo atá Gaelach go smior, cois teallaigh, sna sráideanna, ar an mbóthar agus, nuair a fhaigheann siad a rogha, ar fud an domhain.

Níl le déanamh chun an fhúinne sin a chruthú ach cuairt a thabhairt ar Ráth Cairn agus ad isteach sna títhe. Níl son súrbhéid ceart déanta ar na Gaeltachtaí eile,

ó thabhaí stad na teanga cois teallaigh, ach óna bhfuil feiceáil agus cloiste agamsa tá faifios orm gur ag meath go tubaisteach atá an Ghaeilge, mar thoradh ar pholasaí rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath.

Eisceacht is ea Ráth Cairn. B'fhéidir, a ndéir tú, gur faoi thionchar na nGaeilteoirí i mBaile Átha Cliath, dhá scór míle ó dheas, atá Ráth Cairn.

Is feasaigh don aois gur iomaí teaghlaigh san arda-thiar a bhfuil an Ghaeilge i réim agus gur ag méadó atá an nós sin agus a comhartha sin ar fás na naisc-collanna agus na mbunscóileanna ag, fíor, na meánscóileanna, le scéim, sin, amach is amach, ach oiread, mar a chruthaigh pobal Bhaile Muna.

Seans is fearr "DEARFADH gur fear an seans go maifridh an Ghaeilge beo sa nGaeltacht seo ná i nGaeltacht ar bith eile," a ndéir Pádraig Mac Donncha, mac leis an amhránaí cluicteach úd, Colmín Neasín Pháidin (bhí an bheirt acu i gCorr na Míona ar na mallabhaí).

Caint i sin a chuireann imní orm. Nuair a bheas comórtas faoi Ghaeilchas na nGaeltachtaí is baolach don chultúr. Ach ní dhearna éinne mó chuid cainte anois, maidir le meath na Gaeilge sna Gaeltachtaí, a bhíreáim.

Bheadh sin deacair. Tá daoine a bhfuil baint acu le Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta agus Béarla i réim sa mbaile acu. Tá daoine mór le fáil i nGaeltacht Fíol, agus Béarla i réim sa mbaile acu.

Mar a chéile an scéal faoi Fhine Gael agus faoi Pháirtir

# An fhúinne bhlasta faoi Ráth Cairn

Lucht Oibre. Tá daoine, fíú, a bhfuil baint acu le Ráidíó na Gaeltachta, agus Béarla i réim sa mbaile acu.

Tá duine nó beir atá mór le rá i Ráth Cairn, freisin, faraoir, agus beim ar Bheáras in ionad na Gaeilge, sa mbaile; ach níl a leithéid faisriú na baol air agus is éasca sin a chruthú.

Ar na mbeáras is suara sa nGaeltacht i gcóimhín tá muinteoirtí scoile ag tógáil claimte le Béarla; agus dochtúirí; agus siopaóidí; agus Gardaí a fhaigheann píol breise toisc Gaeilge bhéidh acu.

Agus tá líon mór daoine a fhaigheann deontas £10 na Gaeilge, agus deontais Gaeltachta nach é, agus iad ag nairtí an Bheáras agus ag fuairas féin. Fim-inteach, saint agus mion-actas!

B'fhéidir, freisin, go mbeadh Poblachtóirí ábalta a bheith ag déanamh feille ar an nGaeilge; ach, má bhíonn, i ngnáth dom atá an scéal amháin.

B'fhéidir, freisin, go mbeadh Poblachtóirí ábalta a bheith ag déanamh feille ar an nGaeilge; ach, má bhíonn, i ngnáth dom atá an scéal amháin.

Ní Gó maith a d'eirigh le Éigse Uí Ghramhnaigh i Ráth Cairn tá coicís ó shin, ceáil poblachtúchá, is coicís, dúirt Pádraig Mac Donncha liom go raibh sé scrúitear go ndeanfaidh Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge an scéim sin dóibh; ach d'abhaíail bíogeo a fuairas féin.

Ach ab é Ráidíó na Gaeltachta agus fógra beag ar "Imní," ní bheadh a fhios again agus ní chloisfimid an t-acht breá a thug Aodh Ó Dubhainí oicé Shathairn, ná ní chailfimid púit nó dhó (measáin) agus an gcéill bríomhar ina dhiaidh sin.

Faraoir, faoin am céanna, thit an Scéim féin as a chéile. Fúinne daoine amháin, Co Sasana a d'ingh dúine eile. Na cúrsaí thuaidh ba chúis le daoine eile fós a bheith gníomhach ar pháircanna eile, mar a deárf.

Ach táim ag súil le go mbeadh deireadh seachtainíe iontach ag Ráth Cairn mar móráir moille agus go dtiocfaidh na sluaite chun cúidí le muintir na háite chun na fiacha a ghlanadh, óir tá sin ar na cúidí na mbíonn na héigis is áite ar siúl acu. Slam mór airgid a chostáigh ionad an phobail.

Ach ní chun fiacha amháin a thócas na daoine ach chun spóirt agus scéilpe agus, ar ndóigh, chun a geoid ómós a chur in iúl do mhuintir na háite.

Táim ag súil le scéim ó Ráth Cairn faoin óicid sin - thart faoi Oicé Shamhna, a bheas sé, is dócha - agus fuairseoid mé é comh luath agus a bheas na sonraí agam.

Bua na Scéime NUAIR a bhí Scéim sa nGaeltachumann beo bhí nasc léir idir Ráth Cairn agus oibríthe Bhaile Átha Cliath. An Scéim a bunaigh Saothar, mar Chomharhúmann a chuidigh le muintir Ráth Cairn a geoid fátá ó dhíol.

B'fhéidir, rinne an Scéim agus muintir Ráth Cairn dianstaidéar ar gheilleagar faime nach bhfuil ach 22 acta aici agus tá beo bocht ar bhainne. Dá mbeadh daoine sísta fáta a chur, dhíolfaidh muintir na Scéime iad.

Níor níhair an pian ach bliain amháin agus thit, ceáil cleachtaí, sa chuid is mó de. Lóit an t-oidé cuid mhéid le fáil.

Ach, mar sin féin, chruthaigh an triail úd go bhféadfaí níos mó airgid a thuilleadh ar fhataí ná ar bhainne; agus chun a leithéid de scéim a chruthú amach tá amach bheadh níos mó na bliain amháin a dhíol.

Faraoir, faoin am céanna, thit an Scéim féin as a chéile. Fúinne daoine amháin, Co Sasana a d'ingh dúine eile. Na cúrsaí thuaidh ba chúis le daoine eile fós a bheith gníomhach ar pháircanna eile, mar a deárf.

## Debe

Mar sin féin, tá iarsmaí d'obair Shaothair le feiceáil i Ráth Cairn. An Scéim a mhol ionad an phobail: agus tá sin tógtha. Agus leabhair mé le Marcus Ó Cúrsaioin agus dúirt sé liom go bhfuil acra faoi fhatai aige. Ba chóir go bhfuil uaidh sé níos mó airgid uaidh sin ná acra faoi bha.

B'fhéidir go mbeadh na fátá sin bainte nuair a bheas an chéad scéilpe eile eagraithe ag muintir Ráth Cairn agus go mbeadh deis ag gúor deis na cuairteoirí míla a thabhairt abhail leo ar phraghas réasanta.

Is cinnte gur daor, agus an-aor, a bheas na fátá i mbliana agus, deaillrionn spe, go ceann píosa fhada.

Cas amhrán LE BLIANTA beaga tá folúisitheoirí ag cur seips sa hamrán nó ag saothru go maith suas toisc an reachair sin orthu ag fod na hÉireann agus ar an Míde-Róim.

An folúisheán is déanaí, go bhíofas dom, "Cás Amhrán 1" (Cló Chois Fharrage, thar cheann Cromchoiste na nGcoláistí Samhraidh, Clóidrí Lurgan, Indreabhán, 75); fuairas cóip de, an tseachtain seo caite.

Michael Ó Héidin, B. Mus, a chuir an leabhar seo in eagar ar son Roinn an Oideachais. Molaim í.

Tá 136 amhrán sa leabhar, le foclaí agus le ceol (nótaíocht). Tá an cló pas beag beag ach is féidir liom é leamh gan spagáil: b'fhéidir dom é bhíreáil níos mó.

Is trua go mór nach bhfuil na véarsaí ullg atá ar fáil do gach amhrán i gclo ag Míchéal nó do bheagach gach amhrán: ar éigean a chuirfidh sé, gach véarsa de chuid "Cúla" ar fáil don aos óg, ní fheadar?

Ach dá ndeanfaidh sé é sin, bheadh an leabhar ró-thóir agus ró-chostasach, nó thá gineamhrán áit. Idir dhá thine Bhealt-áine!

Tá margadh maith ann do chnuasacht amhrán nach mbeadh véarsa (fátha ar lír agus b'fhéidir go smaoineoidh Comharhúmann Chois Fharrage ar iad a chloí? D'fhéadfaidh an costas a dhéanadh ach iad a fhóisiú ar léidh ar "Amrách" agus an cló a "choinneáil" don chnuasacht.

Ach, mar sin féin, molaim an leabhar seo. Is í fear dá bhfuil déanta don aos óg é fada an lá; agus maidir liomsa, nach bhfuil óg a thuilleadh ach im chroí amháin, is mór go mór liom í, agus áisiúil.

# Cursáí reatha Leabhar eile ón gcillín uaigneach

BEIDH ATHAS ar a chairde go léir go bhfuil biseach ar Eamonn Mac Thomáis, a d'fhulaing an oiread sin nFríosiún Phortaíleo, agus go bhfuil an teanlob fáite agus aithuair. Go mairr sé an nuachtóg agus go mba fada buan é.

Scála maith eile agam daoibh: beidh Gluaiseacht na Poblachta ag cur cló ar a chuid dánta agus is gearr go mbeidh an leabhar ar fáil. Agus cur síos ar laethe a óige agus ar Bhaile Átha Cliath Duibhíne mar a bhí sé an t-am sin.

Michael Ó Bráin a fhóiscéar an tarna leabhar, an fear a d'fhoiligh "Me Jewel and Darlin' Dublin," saothar a bhí ar na cinn ab fhearr a dhíos i "Me Jewel and Darlin' Dublin," saothar a bhí ar na cinn ab fhearr a dhíos i mbliana agus a choniac an tarna eagrán (atá beagnach díolta amach anois: deirtheoir).

Mar is eol dar fhoiligh, sa phríospón a scríobh Eamonn an "Jewel." Sa phríospón a scríobh sé an leabhar faoina óige. Bhí cuid mhaith scríofa aige nuair a scríos na báidríoirí an lámhscribhin (agus gach rud eile, nach mór, a bhí sa chlíllín aige).

Go ceann i bhfad ina dhiaidh sin dhíoláigh siad páipéar d'Eamonn chun leantúint liana chuid scríbhinní. Tógadh raic faoi sin, lámugh den phríospón, agus rinneadh scannal mór de. B'éigean na na húdaráis géilleadh agus faoi dheireadh fuair sé a raibh uaidh de pháipéar. Sa fhíospón, tamall gearr nuair sé shaothair é, chuir sé croch leis an leabhar, atá ag na clóidríoirí.

Is cinnte go mbeadh Eamonn nach beidh an leabhar seo chomh daor agus a bhí an "Jewel" chun go mbeid deis ag an ngnáthdhúine lenn i cheannach.

## Comortás dáin

TAMALL ó shin bhí fear mór inár measc. An Déan. Beo i gcónaí atá sé i mBeáilóideas - i guimhine - na ndaoine. Tá áit i báire an Fhinnice na Poblachtáigh é i 1939, measáin).

Nuair a rinneadh é scríobh agus d'fhoiligh an Déan an ceathrúin seo a léirithe.

"Here is a proof of Irish sense. Here Irish wit is seen. When nothing's left that's worth defence we build a Magazine."

Ar mhaith liob, a léitheoirí, é sin a chasadh, a chur as a riocht, beagán, le freastal ar fháidh seo na teilifíse óir is ionann an dá scéal? eile a úsáid má fheallain sin daoibh. Cuirfidh mé leabhar, mar bhíontranas, chuig an t-é fear a chruaifonn, dar liom.

POINTE maith tá deas Ruise ar an "Irish Independent" nuair a leagann sé beim ar chnó na ceiste, maidir le hatcheradh BBC-1 in Éirinn ar chostas mhuintir na hÉireann, mar atá beartúite ag Carousor Ó Bráin; ionann seo, dar leis, agus fáil a rialú trí shearbhéanna.

# THE MOMENT OF TRUTH



REPRESENTATIVES from all parts of Ireland were assembled at a press conference called by Sinn Féin to announce a new massive publicity campaign including the initial distribution of over 250,000 leaflets and posters.

This campaign will be carried out throughout Ireland over the next three weeks.

With the collapse of the Stormont Convention, Sinn Féin believe that a vital stage has been reached in the struggle for Irish freedom. The objective of this publicity campaign is to stress this fact; to encourage a public demand for a phased and orderly British withdrawal; and to show the necessity of by-passing the professional politicians in order to win complete freedom.

## NEW IRELAND

The publicity campaign is also designed to spell out the kind of New Ireland Sinn Féin envisages and to reassure the Unionist-minded people that we seek to build structures which will guarantee their rights - not to dominate them in an extension of the 26-County state.

The leaflets will be available in both English and Irish. A French version is also available for use abroad. This operation marks a stepping up in the Sinn Féin publicity drive in Ireland and overseas.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh addressing the very large Press Corps stated that the purpose of the conference was to indicate once again the present Republican policy so that there could be no ambiguity in anybody's mind.

He recalled the warnings and the correct forecasts that Sinn Féin had made about the many British attempts to foist a solution on the Six Counties.

"Where do these policies lead now", he stated. "The Stormont Parliament, the Assembly and the Convention are scuttled".

## MESSAGE FOR LOYALISTS

In answer to a question on the Loyalists, Ó Brádaigh replied: "We have a message for the

Pictured at the press conference, which was held at the Sinn Féin headquarters, 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin, are (from left) Joe O'Neill, U.D.C., Bundoran; Charlie McGlade, joint-treasurer of Sinn Féin; Ualtair Ó Loingsigh, joint-secretary; Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán; John Joe McGirl, C.C., Leitrim; Sean Keenan, Derry; Marie Moore, Belfast; and Brendan Magill, Sinn Féin National Organiser.

Loyalists and it is this. The Republican Movement has struggled to remove the British presence from Ireland, and will continue to do so.

The Republican Movement accepts that British withdrawal is inevitable.

We believe, that you the Loyalists, accept this position also. If you look to our new leaflet you will see we quote the teachings of Wolfe Tone, whose philosophy was based on Truth, Justice and Liberty. I know the Republicans of Ulster have no wish or desire to be at war with you.

If the Brits leave, we can govern ourselves. Ulster Loyalists have much to contribute to this country. If we fail to agree the only victor is the grave. But if we work together, peace and prosperity are assured."

When questioned on the attitude of the Free State Government and politicians, Ruairí explained that the truce had made no difference to their approach to Republicans.

"If the truce lasts nine years instead of the present nine months it will not change them", he added.

## GREEN LIGHT?

Continuing he said: "As peace draws nearer so repression by the Free State will increase. I ponder this question though: When Mr. Donaghy, the Free State Minister for Defense made his 'doomsday' statement, was he in fact giving the green light to the I.R.A. to defend the Nationalist population?"

## The moment of truth for all Irish men and Women

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT has struggled in the tradition of Theobald Wolfe Tone to break the connection with England and to establish an Irish Republic. To achieve this we have worked to make English rule in Ireland impossible. The old Stormont is gone; so also is the Sunningdale Executive. We asked for a boycott of the Stormont Convention and it is also doomed to failure.

### A PERMANENT PEACE

The inevitability of a British withdrawal from Ireland is now clear, and the time has come for Westminster to announce it. Sinn Féin does not want an overnight withdrawal, but we demand a declaration of intent, to be followed by a phased and orderly withdrawal. We believe that this is the only basis for a permanent peace in Ireland. Any other course, like complete integration of the Six Counties into the U.K. or repatriation can only prolong the struggle and condemn future generations to further suffering.

### WHO OPPOSES WITHDRAWAL ?

Now that the moment of truth has arrived, it is important for the Irish people to identify clearly those who oppose a phased British withdrawal and who seek to maintain the British presence in Ireland. They are the professional politicians of both Stormont and Leinster House. Their jobs, salaries and privileges within the partition system are more important to them than the bringing to a conclusion of the 800-year struggle that has cost this nation so much in suffering. If they have their way they will prolong the suffering in their own selfish interests.

### DEMAND DECLARATION OF INTENT

We have reached the stage where these people are "more British than the British themselves". As examples of this we note the hunt to arrest Seamus Twomey in the 26 Counties when the British Army in the North have taken his name off the wanted list; and the cultural surrender as typified by the attempt to adopt BBC 1 and broadcast it as RTE 2.

### THE NEW IRELAND

Sinn Féin seeks to create a New Ireland of self-governing communities in which the people control their own affairs; the banks to be nationalised; mines and mining brought under public control for Irish profit; and a federal system of government which would give each of the four provinces a considerable degree of autonomy. The All-Ireland parliament which would sit in Athlone would deal only with such matters as foreign affairs, national defence and over-all finance. This is the only constructive proposal which has met with a positive response from the Unionist side. (cf. proposals of Desmond Boal).

### MORE BRITISH THAN THE BRITISH

We ask all the Irish people to join with us now in demanding a British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland. We ask all to reject the professional politicians who have a vested interest in preserving the partition system; we also ask all groups to join with us in designing the shape of the New Ireland which will replace the two states we have had since 1921.

### ROOM FOR ALL TRADITIONS

The wealth of Ireland, both spiritual and material, belongs to all the Irish people. There is room in Ireland for all traditions, which can exist side-by-side in a pluralist society. To the Unionist-minded people we say that an Ulster Parliament for the nine counties will guarantee the rights of all. With our mineral resources, our potential offshore oil and gas, our rich fishing grounds and our natural deep-water harbours, there is a great future in store for us if we grasp this opportunity now. To do so we must by-pass the professional politicians who would condemn our nation to an indefinite continuation of strife; and we must get a phased and orderly British withdrawal.

We ask the Irish people, North and South, to study the Sinn Féin programme for a New Ireland and to demand that we have freedom of access to press, T.V., and radio so that we can explain it to the people.

náisiún ag an gcroíbhóthar arís. Tógámis bóthar na síochána agus na saoirse, mar is é an bóthar céanna é. Ná déanaimis son dearmad an bhábhta seo.

### THE COMMON NAME OF IRISHMAN

"To break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils and to assert the independence of our country... to unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of past dissension, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter".

Theobald Wolfe Tone.

Irishmen and Irishwomen united under this proclamation in 1798. Let us do so again and bring peace and prosperity to our land.

SINN FÉIN, 2a LOWER KEVIN ST., DUBLIN 8, - 170a FALLS RD., BELFAST.  
September, 1975

Leagan Gaeilge ar fáil.

# JOIN SINN FÉIN

For community government, socialist policies and a Federal Ireland.

Sinn Féin

ARD FHEIS

Mansion House, Dublin, October 25 and 26

# THE NEW LODGE FESTIVAL

FOLLOWING the wonderful success of the Flea Cheoil that was held recently in Ardoyne, a group of young lads (all under 21 years) got together and despite the warnings of the old hands who thought they knew better decided to hold a Festival in the New Lodge Road area.

That was exactly three weeks ago and their faith, optimism and a lot of hard "graft", carried them through and made a wonderfully happy and carefree weekend for the district. I enjoyed myself and everyone I spoke to was having a ball, from the toddlers to those less mobile, grey beards who were seen throwing their sticks in the air so that they could join in with greater gusto.

The young committee went round the local bars, clubs and shops and cadged from them one and all. I don't think they got a refusal from anyone. Certainly all the donations were put to good use. The trophies, medals and prizes were lovely to look at and lovelier still to win. The committee recruited a gang of very hardworking, willing workers and between them they did a marvellous job.

The festival kicked off on Friday evening with a children's Fancy Dress Parade which made its way round the district led by three bands, The Charlie

Hughes from Leeson St, The Clonard Martyrs from Clonard and the local band - The Fern Reid. The Glamorous "Miss New Lodge" (nine year old Patricia McDonald) and the sparkling Gary Glitter (nine year old Patrick Griffen) were the well deserved winners of the fancy dress parade.

The Disco which ran from 8.00 to 10.00 p.m. was directed by Phillip Curley the well known D.J. (who gave his time and equipment free) who made sure all the kids young and old enjoyed themselves.

The Teenyboppers were entertained for the next couple of hours until 11.30, by Belfast's answer to The Bay City Rollers *The Shang* - a lang pop group who came from Ballymacarrett. The stewards had to hold back the crowd on several occasions who in their efforts to get autographs, nearly mobbed the group and stopped the action.

The more mature crowd were then entertained by Drummer Kieran, Bass Guitarist Jo, Rhythm Guitarist Charlie and Lead Singer Billy of the well known *Penny Lane*, who kept the music going in their inimitical style until 2.00 a.m. in the morning.

When everyone thought the evening was near over *The Tara Folk Group* took over, along with the Celebrity Guest Artist Tommy Tucker Kelly of recording fame. They kept the feet a tapping and the



Presenting the prizes at the New Lodge Festival.

Ladies' football teams lining up.



knees a knocking until the dawn. I made it home just in time to get up for another day.

On Saturday afternoon there was an invasion of the area by an army of *Diddymen* whose attack with a barrage of water bombs was victoriously repelled by a pasting with flour bombs from *The New Lodge Wombles*. Needless to say the children lapped this up and were very willing to join in the fun and it took a positive effort from the stewards to get the sack and egg and spoon race heats started. It was decided that a new branch of *Pioneers Total Abstinence Association* would not be needed when it was seen that the competitors in the drinking competition were only imbibing lemonade.

Old and young were delighted by the exhibition of Irish Dancing which was put on by *Mulligans Dancing School* in Sheridan Square. Dancers in their beautifully decorated costumes were a delight to the eyes. The main event of the day then took place, - the Ladies All in Wrestling-oopt sorry, Football Tournament. Four teams were competing in the five a side competition. *The Circle Bouncers, The Skinny Shiners, The Artillery Roughs and The Pinkey Porkers*. What fun was had by all, unfortunately we ran out of referees. Two were taken to the Mater, one to Purdyburn and one never came out of a clash of opposing forwards, he is thought to have

disintegrated. The Saturday evening entertainments were again voluntarily supplied by the same groups as Friday night's with the edition of The Rio Trio Pop Group, guest artist John McCann the well known Cabaret singer, this Pop Group who are used to entertaining all ages went down a bomb.

Talking of bombs the next morning it looked as if one had gone off in Sheridan Square but the ever active organising committee had it all clean as a new pin in two shakes. I must say the people of Sheridan Flats are simply wonderful, the tolerance and hospitality they showed to the groups and visitors like myself during the festival is an example to all. You would not think that the people of the New Lodge Road have endured six years of horrible war, their spirit is unflagging. A committee man I was talking to said if it had not been for their co-operation and goodwill they would not have been able to get the Festival off the ground and he would like to say a big "thank you" to them.

I, too, would like to add my word of thanks, not only to the organisers but to all the friendly people of The New Lodge Road, who allowed me to join in their festivities and have a "long weekend" like I never had before (and I can't wait until next year's). Go raibh mile maith againh go leir.

## Fitzgerald's links with British military intelligence

MR. Garret Fitzgerald, Minister for External Affairs, has written for the Institute for the Study of Conflict, an agency of British Military Intelligence, according to the National Council of Irish Americans. The Institute was recently tied to the CIA operated "Forum World Features".

The Washington Post recently disclosed that the Forum was set up in London in 1967 by the CIA and staffed by operatives of the British government, including Brian Crozier and Ian Hamilton, directors of the Institute for the Study of Conflict. Both Crozier and Hamilton are agents of the British government. Each has written many articles describing the Irish Nationalist Movement as a communist plot controlled by Irish "terrorists". Many of their articles have been published in American newspapers and on the Continent of Europe as well.

### Garret owes explanation

A spokesman for the National Council of Irish Americans stated: "We do not know how Garret Fitzgerald will explain his actions on behalf of British Military Intelligence and the CIA. Certainly, this is a matter of vital interest to the Irish people. One of his articles appeared in a book entitled, "The Ulster Debate". This book has been widely distributed in the United States by the British Foreign Office and

the British Embassy in Washington. It has also been circulated on the continent. "The question arises as to whether Mr. Garret Fitzgerald's visits to America in the last year or two were financed by British Military Intelligence and the CIA. On his visits, Mr. Fitzgerald asked Irish Americans to discontinue donations to relief organisations in Northern Ireland. His actions certainly did not serve the interest of the 80,000 people who have been driven from their homes in the north and the thousands who are presently unemployed. We feel that Mr. Fitzgerald has been less than frank in not disclosing his ties to the Institute for the Study of Conflict and British Military Intelligence.

"We believe that the Dublin government should conduct a complete investigation into every aspect of this matter. CIA operations in Chile, Brazil, Europe and other areas have been well documented. CIA operations, sometimes

carried out under the cover of British Military Intelligence, in Ireland, are less well known. In any event, Garret Fitzgerald owes an explanation to the Irish People".

## Sinn Fein expansion to West Limerick

DUE to the increase in membership in Sinn Fein in the West Limerick it was decided to establish a Comhairle Cheantair to cater for the area.

At a meeting in Patrickswell which was well attended Miss Mary Lawler S.F. organiser for Munster addressing the delegates urged them to continue to highlight to plight of the political prisoners in English and Irish jails and impressed upon them the importance of the "Kill the Bill" campaign.

Siobhan Bn. Ui Mhaolcharthaigh, S.F. regional representative, who attended, presided at the election of C.C. officers. The following officers were elected: Chairman, Oaddy Walsh; Runai, Seamus Airdin, Cisteoir, Denis Nolan; P.R.O., John Ryan.

# FIVE ABUSED BY RUC AFTER ARREST - REV. D. FAUL

FATHER DENIS FAUL, Dungannon, has made formal complaints in respect of five young men from the Dungannon area arrested on Monday, September 8, and held in Castlereagh RUC, Belfast, for 72 hours.

The main points of complaint are:

"These arrests and 72-hour detentions from the "triangle of death" have been confined to Catholics in recent weeks, despite the murder of Denis Mullan, Moy, an obviously 'local' job.

"The relatives of the five youths, their M.P., and their priests made about 70 phone calls to Castlereagh, to be treated often with boorish and yawning indifference; no information was given, no visit was laid on for anyone.

"The five young men were punched in the stomach and slapped in the face during many of the interrogations during the three days. They were made to stand in stress positions for long periods. They were deprived of sleep on Tuesday night.

### "Ordered to strip naked"

"A youth of 18 was ordered to strip naked in the presence of an RUC man and an RUC woman; they looked at him for two minutes and then told him to put his clothes on again. Accurate descriptions of both these perverts have been forwarded and the time of the incident (on Tuesday).

"On Wednesday a youth of 23, was made to strip naked by a senior RUC officer and left in that condition for two hours while being interrogated.

"They made him stand out from the wall with his back to it and his hands by his side. A third young man (19) was asked by an RUC man: 'Did you strip for the police yet?'

"The lives of some of the young men were threatened; they were told information would be given to Protestant extremist assassination groups about them; the RUC indicated they were in

collusion with these groups.

"One youth who intended to go to the Polytech in Jordanstown was told: 'You will not last a day in that UVF country'. He had decided not to pursue his education there. Another youth was told by an RUC man that he would leave word in the right place like Moygashel and the UVF would leave a bomb for his family. Another was told: 'What will your life be worth when you get out of here?' One was told he would be dropped off in the Shankill where his Pioneer pin would have him assassinated. Another was told in Dungannon RUC station that he would be dropped off in Moygashel or in the Shankill with a placard around his neck saying he was a Provo.

### Called 'murdering bastard'

"A woman from the RUC called one youth 'a murdering bastard' and hit him in the face while sitting in a chair. The RUC trod on their toes, lifted them by hair and sidelocks, would not allow them to drink, threatened to burn them with cigarettes. One youth was forced to look at photos of the remains of two young men, Pat Quinn and Dan McAnallen, who were blown up in the Pomeroy area.

Father Faul said he thought these serious allegations to be true. He did not expect any result from his complaints. These abuses would continue, he said, and the public could expect more humiliating and degrading treatment of Catholic youth "to induce them to make false confessions under duress".

# St. Johnston Sinn Féin Meeting

A PUBLIC MEETING to explain Sinn Féin policy and discuss local problems was held in St. Johnston, Co. Donegal, on Sunday 14th September by the local Sinn Féin Cumann.

Present at meeting, which was held in the old Sinn Féin Hall were Mr. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Sinn Féin, Joe O'Neill, Bundoran U.D.C., E. Fullerton, Bunrana, S.F. organiser for the area and John O'Donnell, vice-chairman of the local Sinn Féin Cumann.

Eddie Fullerton who chaired the meeting began by identifying the direct line of Sinn Féin from 1905 to the Easter Rising of 1916; and to 1918 when 80 per cent of the people declared for an Irish Republic of how Britain tried to crush this declaration, of how Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil deviated from the line of Sinn Féin right up to the present day when Sinn Féin once again presents its policy to the people. He said that nearly 900 years of imperial domination and enforced emigration was nearly over; that Sinn Féin had clear cut policies from local to National level. Mr. Fullerton went on to say that Sinn Féin would now take the opportunity to highlight the inadequacies of the local sanitary services, water supply, sewage disposal and refuse collection.

## SINN FEIN HALL

Mr. John O'Donnell explained that the hall in which the meeting was being held had been built by Sinn Féin and was now back in Sinn Féin hands.

Mr. O'Donnell also mentioned the plight of a local family who had been evicted from a vacant house in the area.

## Ó BRÁDAIGH ADDRESS

Mr. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh received a loud ovation when he arose to address the meeting. Speaking in Irish and English he said that he was glad to be present at the meeting and delighted to see the local hall back in the hands of Sinn Féin. Mr. Ó Brádaigh continued by quoting: "The eyes of fools, are on the ends of the earth."

Continuing he said that Sinn Féin was no fools and were prepared to do something about our own problems and because of this people all round the world had respect for our people and our Movement. He said that Donegal had always played its part on the road to freedom and was playing its part now. Pat Ward had courageously led the prisoners in Port Laisie even to the point of sacrificing his own life; that there were other courageous Donegal men in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Port Laisie, and in prisons in England and Scotland and that we must show ourselves worthy of them.

Outsiders had come and ruled us and dominated us and tried to make us hewers of wood and drawers of water but Irish people had resisted in every generation until the foreigner could no longer hold us so they withdrew to the part of Ireland that they could hold out by dividing Catholic from Protestant by creating marginal differences and proceeded to dominate the South by controlling the money, the latest device being the E.E.C. But the old and new rule in this country was challenged, he said first through the Civil Rights movement which eventually

developed into guerilla war, then to the truce between Britain and the Irish Republican Army.

This honourable Truce held no place for sectarian killings. Sinn Féin rejects the Northern Ireland Convention, British control and the idea of a Six-County and 26-County Ireland, and puts forward the idea of an all Ireland connection, he said that the Sinn Féin boycott had been successful because the Convention has finished but there was a new danger that Mr. Craig, the man who would not condemn sectarian killings might get the S.D.L.P. collaborators to co-operate in putting down the risen people and when that was done Craig would neglect the S.D.L.P. and go back to the one party rule that is Stormont. He said that Britain is withdrawing and we should mark well those who did not want this Six-County Loyalists, S.D.L.P. and the 26-County Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael and Labour parties who had no branches in the North. These people were afraid of a new united Ireland where there would be an increase of around 50 per cent in voting population. Their answer was to get the R.U.C. the Gardai, army, etc. to break the resistance in order to keep their own positions safe.

It is not enough to smash the present establishment, we must put forward policies for a new Ireland and Sinn Féin offers for Decentralisation in a Federal System, giving power back to people to make decisions at local level. Marking a Ballot paper every five years and then forgetting about it was not what Sinn Féin wanted. Sinn Féin want the wealth of Ireland for the

# HOW TO TACKLE UNEMPLOYMENT

IN a statement this week, the spokesman for the Wolfe Tone Cumann Sinn Féin, Mr. Robert McGrogan, said it was about time the Dublin Government took positive action on unemployment in Bray. With the news of more redundancy pending in Solus and Industrial Yarns, and with the due closure of Bray Printing Works, Bray must be top of the league for unemployment in the country.

He went on to say that the Government should take a controlling interest in these firms, or take them over completely, thereby maintaining employment in these firms. Surely it would be better to spend thousands of pounds keeping jobs going than to pay it out in unemployment, pay-related, and redundancy benefits. Bray he went on to say cannot wait for the Industrial Development Authority to attract foreign industrialists to the town. They would do far better to provide us with a weaving mill to use the yarn from

Industrial Yarns to provide more employment in the town.

As for the printing works, which I believe has been in Bray since 1924, I am sure the Government could put it to use. In putting these proposals I would demand that the Trade Unions do more to safeguard their members against unemployment by backing these proposals, or by offering different ones to the Government, or else help to form a co-operative in the area, which one of the objects of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is to "encourage and assist".

These are immediate and short-term proposals coupled with the suggestion that AnCo should take over one of the empty factories, which our cumann made some while back, to train workers for the future. The maintaining of and providing for employment should be the first priority of all organisations in the town.

people of Ireland. The land is ours, the mines, gas, and oil are ours and should be processed at home for our benefit", Mr. O'Brádaigh said.

Continuing he said: "The fisheries are ours, a gift from God to our people and should be administered locally by the people for the good of the people. Sinn Féin want building, finance, insurance, and essential industries brought under public control.

Sinn Féin wants people to work co-operatively and share ownership and decision making in industry and other spheres. For the people to stand on their own two feet and for all the people to develop and to develop our country and way of life.

Mr. O'Brádaigh said the cause is the same cause that Wolfe Tone, Connolly, Pearse and Mellows served and that people should come forward and serve the cause that the I.R.A. had brought the struggle to this stage and Sinn Féin was there to explain and give leadership to the Irish people right down to the local level. Sinn Féin has already started to do this by getting 26 councillors elected, by selling "An Phoblacht" by supporting the Prisoners' Dependents Fund, etc. "the struggle is only half in the North, the other half is in the South", he added.

Councillor Joe O'Neill said that people must be educated to the idea that Social Services and

Benefits were theirs as a right and they should not be tied to voting for a particular person or party for fear of losing these benefits. The Irish people must change this slave mentality, and stand up for what they are entitled to. He asked people to come forward and join Sinn Féin.

The Chairman, Mr. Eddie Fullerton, finished off the address to the audience by asking them to work together on local issues, forming co-ops and insisting that the wealth of this country stay in the country.

The meeting then went into a question and answer session on local water supply, the collection of refuse, and the housing situation.

# LOS PATRIOTAS

We offer our condolences to the freedom-loving peoples of the Iberian peninsula, following the executions by Franco's firing squads of patriotic freedom fighters.

Gori Euzkadi Estatuta: Saoirse don phobal Bascach. ¡Abajo con la dictadura en toda la peninsula. ¡Viva F.R.A.P.! ¡Viva la libertad! ¡Muerá el imperialismo! An Phoblacht abai!

# Cut Backs at Home, Expansion Abroad

"DID YOU know that the Government appears to be giving serious consideration to the closing down of the trans-Atlantic air services? Have you heard that as Minister for Finance, Richie Ryan, has been responsible for the building of office blocks in the Hague which are leased to the Dutch Government? Were you aware that Peter Barry as Minister for Transport and Power has been pressed on to aid Spanish tourism and employment by developing resort complexes, and used your money to reduce British unemployment by building what have been described as, "... two of Britain's finest golf courses"?"

Did you know that he took on a British professional golfer for these courses when there is so much talent awaiting opportunity at home and even the manager has been recruited in Scotland?

We doubt if you had the slightest idea that such things were going on and they represent only a small fraction of the activities of our State companies.

The golf clubs we mention are at the 400-acre Foxhills estate in Surrey which is being developed by Aer Linte on behalf of Peter Barry's Department of Transport and Power. The scheme for Spanish tourism involves an Irish State holiday complex in Tenerife which would indicate that all our local capital needs for tourism have been met or can be serviced."

The above is an extract from a report by Tony Butler in a recent issue of the *Evening Herald*, which indicates the growing unrest of a large segment of the public with the disastrous effects of gross mismanagement of the 26 County economy. The validity of what Sinn Féin has been saying for years about the need to structure the economy so as to

## By Our Economics Correspondent

bring the greatest degree of benefit to the Irish people, and not just to produce meaningless figures for international comparison - was underlined in Mr. Butler's article when he went on to write:

Coras Trachtála's report - packed with misleading figures regarding the real value of our exports - seems willing to wound but fearing to strike. It warns that we are in danger of losing exports because our shipping links with the world are inadequate in many ways. It states that "... our lifelines are in the hands of others".

The *Herald* report went on: "It seems to us that Coras Trachtála would like to damn Irish Shipping but lacked the guts to do so. We will damn them for our exporters. Why should Irish Shipping cost the taxpayer large sums in order to send its ships tramping the Pacific and in effect giving aid to our competitors? This is not the first time we've pointed to this situation and for over fifteen years we've raised the matter time and time again.

"But let us not blame Irish Shipping - or Aer Lingus - for contradictions of this kind. The fault lies with a succession of uninspired, unthinking bureaucrats who failed to give our political leadership the factual and analytical back-up which would have led to action. So far as we can identify the culprits they were probably in the Departments of Finance and Transport and Power although it is difficult to say. Ultimate responsibility rests all the time with the particular Government in power but it is about time Peter Barry started to direct Irish Shipping towards a

policy that will serve our people and aid the economy.

"Omission is also a feature of the Coras Trachtála report which continues to evade the vital issue of calculating the real value of our exports. The £1,124 million we are supposed to have earned from exports in 1974 may have been of less value to the economy than £800 million in other years.

"To underline this, it is worth pointing out that no matter how much we appear to sell abroad our economic position is still vulnerable and developing slowly. Tom Garvey, the General Manager of CIT, knows our view and yet he has never offered to reply.

"Well, there you are, concluded Mr. Butler, "a small and inadequate look at some of the things that are being done in the name of the electorate amongst the State companies. These bodies have, in most cases, very fine staffs but due to the absence of clear thinking and proper planning they get insufficient opportunity to show what they can do."

The Republican economic doctrine, as expressed in Sinn Féin's "Eire Nua" programme, is dedicated to eradicating unemployment and underemployment through a planned expansion of industry, agriculture, and fisheries, based primarily on the co-operative capacity of all the people of Ireland, and financed by the development and exploitation of our rich natural resources.

It needs to be said again, and again, that ours is a rich and bountiful land in a world of want and deprivation. There is room enough in Ireland for all traditions that put the welfare of her people and her sovereignty first. We have one to fall out for our natural inheritance, and put an end to the reign of bureaucrats and empire-builders, north and south, who are waxing fat on the agony of us all.

NOTEBOOK

# DONEGAN HANDS OVER TO I.R.A.

NOT ONCE, but twice, in the last few weeks, Mr. Donegan, Minister for Defence in the Dublin Government, has made clear that, in no circumstances, will his army cross the Border to defend the Northern minority. I hope that all those people in the Six Counties who regard the Tricolour as their flag, and who stand for the Soldier's Song, realise the implications of this.

In particular, I hope that all their politicians, bishops, priests, journalists and community council officials, realise the implications and face up to them. Mr. Donegan's position is that the defence of the Irish people in the Six Counties is a matter for themselves and, therefore, in effect, for the local units of the IRA. The Irish Army will not form joint patrols with the English Army in the pursuit of the IRA. It will not cross the border to attack the IRA. It will merely stand along the Border trying to prevent supplies and reinforcements reaching the IRA and trying to capture any Northern IRA men who cross the Border. Otherwise it will not interfere.

The consequences of this are clear. The Irish in the Six Counties must decide one way or another for *pacifism* or for *resistance*. They must decide that they are going to let their enemies — who have been much encouraged by Donegan's statements — shoot them and burn them out. Or they must decide that they are going to resist their enemies as effectively as they can. There is no middle way.

Any priest or politician who says or suggests that the IRA can do only what it is "we would be better off without them", is taking the pacifist line. Has he a mandate for so doing? It is up to the people whom he presumes to speak for to tell him whether he has or not.

If they don't believe in pacifism — in lying down and taking what's coming to them — then that priest or politician must be told to shut up — to stop undermining the people's will to resist.

It is no way out to say "But the IRA can't defend us". The IRA can do only what it is strong enough to do, and equipped enough to do, and both its strength and the quality and quantity of its equipment depend, in the first instance, on the people of the Tricolour in the Six Counties.

If the IRA can't defend your district adequately, then see to it that it can. Six hundred thousand people are capable of providing a very formidable defence force if they apply their minds and resources to it.

But there is another important consequence of Mr. Donegan's statements. It is now clearly a waste of time for the Irish in the Six Counties to appeal to the Dublin Government for support. If you want help and support, then appeal to the people and soldiers of the 26 Counties.

Actually, since Lynch's time this has been the only way in which you could realistically hope to get real help. But apart from some Republicans, such as Maire Drumm, Sean Keenan and Aidan Corrigan, your spokesmen have not done this.

Either they have told us all, in a high and mighty way, that we mustn't interfere and that what happened north of the Border was not our business. Or they have trotted down to the Dublin Government, talked to them behind closed doors, and trotted home again — ignoring us.

Don't get into any neurotic self-pitying huff about "the people in the South not caring about us". The Government in the South doesn't care about you; but before you level such charges at the people, remember that most of your spokesmen have never asked us for help.

They have acted as if they were men without a nation; and the nation has, very understandably, felt it was not wanted.

In short, if you need us, call on us. Send not only your Republicans, send John Hume, Ivan Cooper, Paddy Devlin, Denis Faul and Austin Currie to tell the people of Wexford, Cork, Tralee, Mullingar, Limerick, Dublin and Dundalk that you want men, guns, transport, medical supplies and so on.

You name it, and believe me, you'll get it. But if you don't do that, then please don't have the nerve to say that "the people of the 26-Counties" betrayed you. We are very confused: only you can clear our minds for us.

Indeed, if you want the English to leave Ulster — if you really want this — then ask us to support you in that demand and to make our government support you. So far hardly any of your spokesmen have asked us to do this, so we are not sure whether you really want it. Many loud voices tell us that you don't.

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That's only one of the things that it's hard for us to know for sure here in the Bog of Allen — or in any other part of Dublin for that matter. As I have said before, I can't really make out whether Sinn Fein in Armagh or Derry, or the Ulster Executive of Sinn Fein, want a self-governing Nine-County Ulster in a four-province federal Ireland.

We never hear any Northern Sinn Fein spokesmen speaking clearly, or at any length, about what sort of Ylster he or she wants in the future. We hear John Taylor, Glenn Barr and others talking at length about an independent Ulster, and giving their reasons for wanting it. We see that the magazine *Fortnight* is now taking the same line.

But this is the only public talk in the North about the shape which things might take if the English withdrew. Why do Northern Republicans not talk about their own view of the future? It is all very confusing for those of us in Dublin who might like to support them.

The only explanation I can think of is that Northern Republicans have some other idea for the future besides the federal scheme of Eire Nua, but are refraining from talking about it because that would seem like stepping out of line. Perhaps, in their hearts, they agree with Glenn Barr, John Taylor and Tom Hadden that an independent Six-County Ulster, with fair deals for all, is the goal to work for.

If this is what they believe, they should say so. We could then see what general Republican support there is for this idea and start thinking about the kind of independent Six-County constitution which would best suit Irish national interests.

It is no use pretending to ourselves that talk about the future of Ulster is unimportant at this time. The Brits can only begin to withdraw, and even to think seriously about withdrawing, when they see some signs of real movement towards a regime which would replace them.

by

FREEMAN

Tom Smith Inquest

A full report of the inquest on Tom Smith will be published in our next issue.

# Whatever is happening to poor Gerry's Book

THE capitalist press frequently tries to give the impression that we Republicans are a hard-hearted lot; strangers to compassion; unlikely to be emotionally upset at the misfortunes of others.

Not true, Republicans — Provisional Republicans in particular — are among the most sensitive of souls. For example there wasn't a dry eye in Kevin Street when word came through about Gerry Fitt's latest bit of bother. A number of Ard Chomhairle members were to be seen weeping unashamedly into their Long Kesh handkerchiefs.

Poor Gerry has been writing a book. That will come as a shock to many readers and no doubt some vicious cynics will say that he didn't know Gerry could write at all. Maybe he can't, but he has had the invaluable help of one Aidan Hennigan, a small and very fat journalist who works, so to speak, for the Irish Press in London.

The book is provisionally — pardon the pun — entitled "Nomad" and it tells how the working classes of the North had groaned for centuries under the yoke of repression and had quite given up all hope of liberation when, around the late fifties, our hero arrived on the scene, riding up the New Lodge Road on a white horse scattering fistfuls of Connolly quotations in all directions. His appearance had a magical effect on the people. The blind walked, the cripples saw, the deaf spoke and the dumb heard. Most amazing of all, the dead voted.

Ten thousand gin and tonics later our hero is a member of a corporation and a couple of parliaments and the people, now well on their way to full freedom, are abjectly grateful to him for the wonderful works he has performed.

As all readers will no doubt have realised, this stirring tale would have captured the imagination of the whole world, and swept past the works of Cruise O'Brien, Kim II Sun and Rupert Bear to the top of the best-selling lists.

It's got everything! A suspenseful rags-to-riches saga, choco-full of intrigue and mystery, searing passion and lyrical beauty, a tribute, to man's indomitable spirit, a powerful social document etc. etc. blah-blah-blah. It could easily have become the Forever Amber of North Belfast.

Alas it was not to be. You see, when Gerry and Aidan first settled down with two large ones and a tape recorder in a private room in the Eaton Square Irish Club, the old Stormont Parliament (remember?) was still in existence and the late Brian Faulkner ranked high in Gerry's list of bad eggs. So Gerry let Foxy have it good and proper. "Twisted" he called him, "Untrustworthy" — "devious" — even "BIGOTED!" Indeed Foxy's ears must have been burning, the way Gerry expressed his deep proletarian distaste.

But then, at Sunningdale, Foxy offered to cut Gerry in on the loot provided — and here was the rub — that Gerry stopped saying nasty things about Foxy's policies. After borrowing a microscope to examine his conscience Gerry agreed. Which was all very well for Gerry and Foxybugs but posed something of a problem for the obese Aidan. Clearly all the cracks and sharp digs at Foxy's expense would have to come out of the book. For weeks Aidan sat in his garret and worked his little heart out into the wee small hours.

After further sessions with Gerry and the tape recorder a new text was completed early this year. In this version the

chief villain was none other than William Craig, whom Gerry subjected to a vigorous verbal battering — even drawing a parallel between some of William's speeches and activities and those of the late A. Hitler.

And then of course the unexpected happened again. William underwent the most dramatic conversion in history since Ghengis Khan applied for membership of the Quakers. Gerry suddenly realised that, far from being fascist, Bill was as nice a man as it had ever been his pleasure to negotiate a carve-up with.

So bully for Gerry and Bill but spare a thought for the hapless Aidan as the chill thought struck him that it was back to the drawing board once more. If the Irish Press's reports from London are less literate than usual (at the moment the reason is that Aidan had had to lay in another tank of midnight oil and now burns it resolutely.

We send him our deep and heart-felt sympathy. It breaks us up to think of him and the rotten luck he has had. We are convulsed with grief that Gerry still isn't able to rake in the royalties. "Spacially since we know well how much Gerry loves royalties... We are sick with disappointment that this great work of literature is still not available to the waiting world. We are indeed, so we are.

And, since we want to be helpful, we would like to suggest to Aidan that he takes the opportunity to cut out all unfriendly references to John McKeague, Andy Tyrrie, Gusto Spence, the IFF, the PAF and indeed all other loyalist para-military/fascist/anti-Catholic/gangs, groups, organisations, parties and individuals. He could be saving himself a lot of work later on.

—Le "Tear the Beef".



At Sunningdale, Foxy offered Lt. Col. Gerry in on the loot provided... so clearly all the cracks and sharp digs at Foxy's expense would, had to come out of Gerry's book...

# Republican Post Bag

## LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES SUPPLYING THE MUSCLE

THE current leadership struggle within the UUUC has brought into sharp focus the power of the Loyalist paramilitaries within that organisation. Support from the various Loyalist paramilitary bodies has been sought and secured by both contestants for the top job. That the Loyalist paramilitaries during the past decade have been an integral part of the Loyalist political parties is a fact accepted by most people but demonstrated more clearly now than ever before. Indeed Loyalist politicians could be shown to be deeply involved in the activities of the Loyalist Paramilitaries from the shooting of Peter Ward by the UVF in 1966, to the take-over of Armagh in 1968, the Burntollet ambush and the burning out of their homes of 10,000 Catholics in 1969 right up to the bombing of Dublin and the murder of the members of the Miami Showband two months ago.

In the light of irrefutable evidence that the Loyalist Paramilitaries are indeed the muscle of the Loyalist political parties, why does people like Oliver Napier invite leaders of the UUUC to join him, Gerry Fitt and Brian Faulkner in a delegation to see Mr. Rees about stamping out paramilitaries? Did they seriously believe that an Organisation like the UUUC would call for the destruction of an integral part of the British Army, Faulkner and Fitt merely calling for the stamping out of Republican paramilitaries who were brought into existence by pogroms executed by the Loyalist paramilitaries, under the direction of Loyalist political leaders? It would appear that this latter was indeed the position of Mr. Napier since he called on TV for the closure of the incident centres, to quote Mr. Napier, "if it resulted in a return to violence from the Provost". In other words in order to appease the Loyalists Mr. Napier wants the Truce broken.

These three politicians who called for sterner measures by the British Army know that in practice this means only one thing - leaning on the Nationalist population. The British Army had its opportunity to take on the Loyalist paramilitaries at the U.C. Strike. It failed then because it was trained and geared to do one thing in Ireland - go after the IRA. The flow of confidential documents and information from the Army, and UDR to the Loyalist Paramilitaries, highlighted recently by Loyalist politicians themselves as well as by an in-depth study of the subject by Kevin Myers in an article in Hibernia last June proves that Loyalist paramilitaries have not too much to fear from these forces. Mr. Fitt was foolish to allow Faulkner and Napier to use him to call for what inevitably must turn out to be more harassment of the Catholic population, as the murder of the young man Leo Norney in Turf Lodge on Sunday night has proven.

Finally it seems strange that Mr. Napier who protests to be so opposed to paramilitaries is seen racing into Stormont daily to meet leaders of the UUUC an integral part of which is composed of paramilitary groups, groups which largely determine the policy of that body. Or is Mr. Napier just opposed to the Catholic population, as the murder of the young man Leo Norney in Turf Lodge on Sunday night has proven.

-Aidan Corrigan,

Orpheus Drive, Dun Geanainn.

### LEINSTER HOUSE - EUROPE'S POLITICAL CRIPPLE

RUAIRI BRUGHA has received a poignant reminder as to how trustworthy the Brits, and their so-called security are straight from behind the concentration camp bars of Long Kesh.

It was indeed sad to hear a man of such noble and heroic surname refer to the British Army of Occupation, that very same army against which his father Cathal Brugha fought with unflinching bravery, as a "security force" in our country, Ireland. It would seem that certain gentlemen who now hold the

reins in Dublin have to be periodically reminded that they have a country so blinded are they by convention and the trappings of power which go willy-nilly with an *amputee state*.

Not is it of any avail to state that perhaps Mr. Brugha was but doing his master's bidding. The hour for collective anonymity is long past. The time has inexorably come when every Free State politician will have to look into his own soul and heart and ask if he or she would be truly prepared to place their own safety and that of their families and relatives in the hands of the same British army. Not likely! Cant and hypocrisy can never hide the fact that the Brits "security force" can when it suits spread a protective umbrella over Loyalist paramilitaries and most certainly employ them too when it comes to implementing the foul Kiteian tactic - torture and assassination.

As things stand the political cripple of Europe must surely be Leinster House. Unable or unwilling to focus the attention of the world on what is tantamount to monitored civil

war, the Free State cabinet continues to spear forth the Pontius Pilate line - "not our business", while certain cabinet globe-trotters play a childish "monopoly" in Europe with empty cheques and at times pretend they are about to solve the economic crises of the wide world to a gullible local media.

Have these men blinded themselves to the role of Quisling and Levaif? Can they not see their image frozen in future history, mirrored in a veritable political rogues' gallery of pusillanimous men?

Why cast opprobrium on those who sold out to the Nazis in Norway and France when only last week Cruise O'Brien called for extra Tommies in South Armagh - the British war-lords duly obliged by blowing sky high the roads and bridges of rural Ireland.

Yet in the final analysis the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs would do well to learn and always bear in mind that not by plato alone do the men of Crossmaglen

and their comrades live.  
-D. O Sullabhain,  
Guaree, Co. Loch Garman.

### WAKE UP PADDY

STUTTERING Paddy Devlin of the dying SDLP party happens just now to be mouthing on the English Radio 4 programme: He is appealing to the English government to send over to Ulster an "Upright Englishman" (I wonder where such a fellow could be found?) to come over to the Six Counties and take control of all of us said he and "Knock our heads together".

Numbakull Paddy doesn't seem to be aware that England has been playing that role on Irishmen for Centuries - Is he "Rip-Van-Winkle since he doesn't know that? ... Keep on stuttering ... stuttering Paddy - if the Cromwell fellow does eventually come over, may he start with your thick skull first - I'd love to be there to hear that empty vessel sound!

Would your whole concern not be the fear of you having to join the dot queue - not so long ago, I heard you lament on radio that such a thing might happen - so fancy that? Did you not hoard sufficient money under your floor boards in the event of such a crisis - While you still have a finger in the English pie - why not try to hold on to power - get the rates and rents increased on the Irish people there - nudge Currie to bang another 25p on all outstanding rents, and go in again as "Grippers" into Irish farms and seize some more heads of cattle - that should put you in some favour still with the Brits and "The Brethren" ... Wake up Paddy ... Every doggie has its day; your days of collaboration have caught you in a web!

-Una Tol,

Dun Dealgan.

citizen is entitled to work and a decent standard of living - not the dot queue a legacy from "Mother England". After over 50 years of so-called Irish Governments we have the emigrants ship exporting the cream of the country to boost the economy of other countries. If the worker cannot demand a decent living he is classed an extremist.

There are one hundred thousand unemployed, others on short time but our Ministers, T.D.'s and Senators all have high salaries, the best to eat and usually two houses and two cars so why worry about starving children.

But how long do those people think the economy of the country will stand this lavishing of the people's money - the workers who are expected to live on the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

I notice also what this B.B.C.1 will cost so we are buying a pig in a bag as happened when we were bulldozed into the E.E.C., an utopia we were told. As for the "Green pound" we don't need Brussels help or any outside help if the resources of our country were exploited.

Our countryside is denuded of people, the land is going waste except for retired foreigners who own thousands of acres of the best of our land, usually for shooting while our young people live in basements and attics in Camden Town and elsewhere. Is this what James Connelly, Pearse and scores of others fought and in doing so met an early death?

-Sean Shaw,

Corcaigh.

### Happy Birthday

To Maura Drumm in Armagh prison - from Mx and Da, Seamus in Long Kesh, Sean, Margaret Catherine, Sheila and Baby Roisin.

### Picture Framing

Handy frames etc. made to measure. Tel: Dublin 988938.

### REDUNDANCY

I NOTICE that more and more factories and other places of employment have closed down with more to close in the near future leaving more unemployment "redundant" they call it now, it sounds better.

But will fancy words feed the young children (I almost said kids) of the unemployed fathers, pay rent and rates, clothes them, pay gas and E.S.B. bills. Every

## An Cumann Cabhrach

A Prisoners' Dependants Fund Committee has been formed in Donegal.

Anyone who wishes to donate should forward subscriptions to:

Hugh Duffly,  
Bridge, Kincasslagh, Co. Donegal.

## RAFFLE RESULTS

Following are the results of the draw held by the Lavey Sinn Fein Cumann recently:  
1st prize: (Long Kesh harp), A. Hannaway, 12, Oranmore St. Belfast 13.  
2nd prize: (lady's handbag), Margaret O'Neill, 18, Drunkannen Rd., Ahaghill, Co. Antrim.  
3rd prize: (gent's wallet), John McTaggart, Rasharkin, Co. Antrim.  
4th prize: (picture), Pearse McKenna, 15, Glenshane Rd., Fallagloon, Maghera, Co. Derry.

The Cumann wish to thank all who supported the raffle.

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the Leadership of Republican Movement.

Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Fáilte ar leith roimh Ghaeilge.

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

## LEAS

Ar leas na hÉireann  
Ar leas na Gaeilge  
Ar leas na Poblachta  
Ar do leas fáin

£2 ..... 12 eagrán  
£1 ..... Se eagrán

Tuilleadh eolas ó  
Dhonnall O Lubhlaí,  
250 Cuarbhóthar  
Theas, Baile Átha  
Cliath, 8.

Arna foilsiú ag Glúiseacht  
na Poblachta.

## BUIOCHAS

An Cumann Cabhrach wishes to thank the people of Westport, Co. Mayo for their generous support to the collection taken up by the local Sinn Fein Cumann for the Republican prisoners' dependents.

## Raffle Results

The winners in the Donegal Comhairle Cheantair Private Members Draw were:

1st Prize: (£80 and a Long Kesh harp), Anne Harvey, Navenny Road, Ballybofey, Co. Donegal.  
2nd Prize: (£20 and a Long Kesh harp), Dan Boyle, Bunaman, Annagry, Co. Donegal.  
3rd Prize: (£10 and a Long Kesh harp), Anthony O'Malley Daly, "Inisfall", Ballyshannon.

### SYMPATHY

The Listowel Sinn Fein Cumann wish to extend deepest sympathy to the family and friends of the late Katie Hayes (nee McGrath) Bedford, Listowel, Co. Kerry, R.I.P.

## Francis Jordan Memorial Committee

A committee has been formed to erect a memorial to the late Staff Captain Francis Jordan.

All correspondence and donations should be forwarded to:

Paddy Duffly,  
C/o The Demesne,  
Dundalk.

## Grand Charity Benefit

WEDNESDAY, 8th OCTOBER, 1975

in  
THE DONAGHMEDE INN, DUBLIN

Commencing at 8 p.m. RAFFLE

Featuring

JOHN AHERNE & THE LIBERTIES

Teach: 40p.

# Bomb Blitz Throughout North



The Charlemont Arms Hotel in Armagh wrecked by a bomb left in the entrance.



The devastated block of shops in Upper North Street, Belfast after the bombing.



The car showroom in Great Victoria Street, Belfast, where new and used cars were destroyed by a bomb.



The extensively damaged Waterside railway station after the bomb blast on Monday afternoon.



The Chairman of the Police Federation, Mr. Leslie Male (right) and the secretary, Mr. Joe Martucci (second from right) wearing bullet proof jackets on a tour to view the damage; They were accompanied by members of the R.U.C. and protected by a large contingent drawn from the Royal Highland Fusiliers.

## Port Laoise riot — a non-starter

THE Port Laoise riot which was given considerable coverage in the press on Wednesday last was a mere storm in a teacup and the statement issued by the Dublin Government was a tissue of lies, the prisoners have stated.

The trouble began when one of the warders conducting the search over-reacted in a cell and a prisoner objected. An over-enthusiastic Garda blew his whistle to alert the Garda riot squad who were not in fact, called in. "No one was injured", as stated by the Government spokesman.