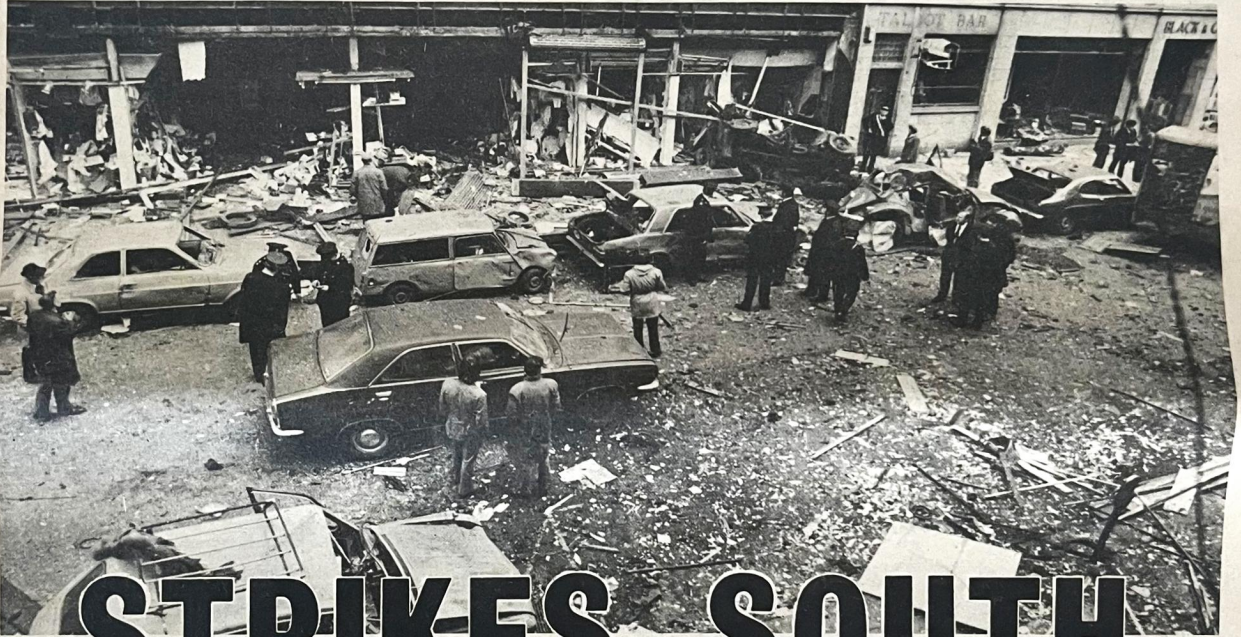


An Phoblacht

Iml. 5, Uimh. 21, 6p. Bealtaine 24, 1974



LOYALIST TERROR



STRIKES SOUTH

LOYALIST terror exploded with unprecedented viciousness in the South last week in the twin massacres of Dublin and Monaghan, when 28 ordinary working people were killed and 136 injured. As the nation sought to recover its senses after the bloodbath, people began to demand how such a ruthless and complex military operation could be carried out so easily by strangers in a hostile city — and on a day which saw the Special Branch at full stretch (patrols were everywhere and there were three Special Branch men outside the G.P.O. at the time the bombs went off).

But the most callous and deliberate massacre since Bloody Sunday was not a sporadic outburst of anger. It was, in fact, a well prepared plan, the groundwork of which had been laid some weeks before, awaiting only the signal to set the wheels in motion. The apocalyptic horror was synchronised to coincide with the escalation of the Loyalist sabotage in the North.

The strike, which paralysed the North, shows the concerted strength of the hardline Loyalists, U.D.A., U.V.F., Red Hand Commandos, etc., ("liberal" elements in the U.V.F. have been liquidated in recent weeks) together with the remains of Billy

Léнар dTuairisceoir

Hull's L.A.W., in their determination to push past the opportunism of Loyalist politicians to a direct confrontation with Britain in a final desperate bid for Protestant supremacy.

The massacres in the South were perpetrated to deal a body blow to the ideal of a united Ireland, by striking deliberately at the ordinary man in the street.

It is significant that the bombers did not choose any of the institutions of state or capital as their target: their aim, instead, was the slaughter of as great a number of people as possible. The plan was complex: not one but four cars were involved in the actual bombings, other cars being needed for escape; and a number of conditions were essential to its success.

Firstly was an expert knowledge of explosives, gained in similar outrages in Belfast and the Sackville Place explosion. Secondly, absolute familiarity with Dublin traffic habits and regulations: no chances could be taken with new rules introduced during the C.I.E. dispute.

Hence the "Dublin Connection", a support group living in the city and which planned and rehearsed the operation beforehand, and manufactured the bombs.

It is believed that members of the group travelled to Belfast by train the night before the operation, collected the hijacked cars, drove directly southwards to an inconspicuous base in north Dublin city — an industrial estate, according to one report — loaded the bombs into the cars, and set off at short intervals to their targets, which could only be generally designated on account of the unpredictable traffic situation.

Blind-eye policy

After setting the timing mechanisms the agents quickly returned to ground and their routine existence in the city. Knowing the city, there was little danger of them running into another bomb blast. As with the Sackville Place bombings, there was no necessity to retreat across the Border.

But the greatest risk the bombers took was falling foul of "free" State "security forces" — a bus-load and four lorry loads of armed "free" state military travelled at speed down O'Connell Street at about the same time as the bombers reached Dublin and, as mentioned, armed Branch men patrolled the city after recent warnings had reached Dublin Castle.

But the assassins gambled — successfully — on the notorious "blind-eye" policy of the 26-counties "security forces". The criminally absent-minded manner in which subversives, such as Wyman, Crinnion, the Littlejohns and other known agents, were allowed to carry out their activities and get off the hook when caught, reassured them that the full force of the state's intelligence apparatus was geared to those engaged in fighting or supporting the fight against the British military machine in the North.

So it proved. As Cosgrave went on television to justify his policy of negligence in a desperate attempt to disguise the source of the Loyalist bombs, police and military officers who had accepted the "blind-eye" policy with serious misgivings, quarrelled angrily over intelligence files which gave minute details of the private lives of Easter Lily sellers but were strangely uninformative about British and Loyalist agents known to be working in the state.

And those officers who disagreed with the subverting of the national aim of re-unification by the newly fashionable cult of "counter-insurgency" are arguing that the back door has been left open to British and Loyalist subversives and that, unless a totally new policy of independence from war-criminals, such as Faulkner, Heath and Wilson, is adopted, they will be helpless to prevent further outrages.

Final gamble

For the Loyalists are staking everything on this last fling. To students of the freedom struggle in Algeria the pattern is familiar and inevitable. The *colons* reject all solutions short of totalitarian domination. The rise of important demagogues who promise but cannot fulfill marks time as the real hard-core organise behind the scenes.

The opportunist politicians are given their chance before being brushed aside by the reactionary militants who attempt to combat the liberation struggle with ever increasing sectarian outrages, finally resorting to a crippling, suicidal, total blackout of essential service industries, leading to the final showdown with the armed forces of the "mother country".

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 5. Bealtaine 24, 1974. Uimhir 21.
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.Á.C., Éire. Guthán: 747611

Legal discrimination

THE statement by Mr. Justice O'Keefe, in the Special Criminal Court last week that, because of duties in other courts, he and his colleagues could not find three members of the Court to sit together to hear the case, is an admission that Republican political prisoners, and others arraigned before this Court are second-class citizens, entitled to second-class justice.

It is an extraordinary admission and we hope that the Irish Civil Rights Association will document it for wide circulation throughout the world. The statement would appear to be in conflict with the Declaration of Human Rights and thus a matter for the Strasbourg Court.

Certainly, bail was offered and not availed of by the defendants. But we can be reasonably certain that, had bail been sought, it would have been opposed strongly by the legal representatives of the Dublin regime and would have been extremely unlikely to have been granted. But, in internment further – and that, in reality, is what was involved – these Republican prisoners, the Dublin regime was merely continuing its policy, promised by the previous regime to the Westminster overlords, to harass Republicans.

The *de facto* authorities, north and south, and in Britain, are well aware of the policy of the Republican Movement not to recognise the court in which they are arraigned on political offences, in any form. This includes the seeking of bail. The various organisations which comprise the Republican Movement, over the years, have debated the *pro* and *con* of the tactic of recognition or non-recognition of courts in political cases, and votes have been taken. The tactic becomes a principle when backed by a democratic vote.

Thus, the various regimes, puppet and otherwise, are only too well aware that they can introduce a system of internment without trial by so arranging matters that cases have to be postponed.

We are not suggesting that Mr. Justice O'Keefe deliberately arranged matters so as to bring about a state of internment without trial in the case of, say, one of the defendants, a worker for this paper, Mr. Gerry O'Hare. But, in its failure to provide against such a contingency as Mr. Justice O'Keefe described last week, deliberately, or through lack of consideration for the civil rights of defendants, or just plain bungling, the Dublin regime, in any unbiased court, would be found guilty of a crime against fundamental human rights.

We are not suggesting, either, that any category of prisoner would be given precedence in the fundamental right of a speedy trial. We do suggest that there is something fundamentally wrong in the theory that

certain classes of defendants should get precedence before political detainees. All accused persons should have equality before the law, if that law is to claim impartiality.

Last week's decision proved that law in the 26 counties is partial. Mr. Justice O'Keefe is unlikely to have taken his decision without instruction, in custom or otherwise, from the Department that pays his salary and maintains him in his job. Thus, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the culprit is that well known legal expert, Minister Cooney.

But, in all fairness to Cooney, this ploy is not in the tradition of the Irish courts, north or south. The tradition is alien. It comes from the servant of the "mother of parliaments", Westminster, where, indeed, it has earned considerable debate and criticism over the years.

The British have been using this ploy shamelessly, for a long time, against squatters, anarchists, rebel trade unionists, Socialists, Communists and other "dangerous" persons. It is a British device to "punish" minorities. Often, the victims, refused bail even when they seek it, are freed by court order later. There is seldom any recompense.

"Cockroach" Cooney and his fellow conspirators are unlikely to be disturbed by our accusations. There is, however, a respectable body of opinion which has not been convinced by the Republican Movement on general policies, but which claims to respect the rule of law as a basic of western democracy.

Persons subscribing to such a body might care to explain this blatant case of discrimination and ask themselves, seriously, how the victims of such discrimination realistically could be expected to do otherwise than oppose a system, under which such discrimination is possible, with every means in their power.

Nor is this discrimination an isolated case. There are very many people who collect money for charity or causes of one form or another, and who do not possess official permits, but who are free from police persecution, unlike workers for An Cumann Cabhrach, which, as well known to all honest people, collects for the relief of dependants of imprisoned, political activists.

Most political parties, north and south, so long as

they support the status quo, are free from intimidation or worse by the police forces. Not so Republicans.

Sinn Féin recently was "unbanned" by the British authorities in the Six Counties, yet harassment continues, even to the extent of internment without trial of persons who, obviously because of age, could not possibly engage in military activities against the occupying power.

Moreover, in the cases of such persons resident in the Six Counties, the intelligence services of the occupying power have documentary evidence to the effect that the victims have been political activists only, with no evidence whatsoever of military activities. There is no area in the Six Counties where Sinn Féin politicians can work openly, without threat, for their political programme.

The situation is not so very different in the 26 Counties. From every county we have reports of intimidation and worse against the political workers. Further, this intimidation has increased since Sinn Féin decided to contest the local elections, even against the odds of the radio and TV ban, and the whispering campaign which has resulted in minimum coverage in the press.

What price, in such circumstances, the freedom of political action that is supposed to be a corner-stone of Western bourgeois "democracy"?

How often do we hear leaders of public opinion, north and south, appeal to the Republican Movement to expend its energies on the political plane and abandon physical force?

Our answer is, as it has been over the years, that this is not made possible for us. But we are not so naive as to believe that the bourgeois state has been designed to allow for a fair interplay of political ideas and that, within such a state, it is possible to bring about fundamental, revolutionary changes, involving the destruction of the bourgeois state, by political action alone. Unfortunately, many honest people believe that this is possible, despite the lessons of history, the latest of which has been the fate of the Allende regime in Chile.

No sane man goes to war unless there is no alternative. Morality and commonsense everywhere dictate that, if political means are possible, war is an absurdity and worse.

Leaders of public opinion in the 26 Counties might care to consider just where the present policy of legal discrimination and harassment of Republicans is leading. Do they really want to see the war in the north-east extended throughout the entire island? Is there any alternative if, under the spurring of the *colons* in the north-east, and Westminster, the pressure is allowed to continue?

Séala an Réamonachais curtha ag Childers sa mBeilg

NIOR thuigeas i gceart céard é bhí le déanamh ag Childers sa mBeilg agus a chuir úd ullmhaithe dó. Na Ceiligh a thug an t-aonm úd ar an tír agus a bhíuil an méid sin ráite fúthu ag Iú Céasar?

Nó na Protinsaiagh i Leuven a rinne an méid sin ar son na teanga, ar son na litreacha, ar son na troda in éadan na nGall, ar chuite bhealach?

Ach anois tá fhios agam. Bláthfhleasc a leagan ar tuagh an tSaighdiúra Ainneanta agus mórleath de chinéil éicéid a thabhairt do na daoine bochta ón tír seo a fuair bás agus iad ag troid ar son Sasana idir 1914 agus 1916.

Nuair a leag Childers an bháthfhleasc úd ar an tuagh, is amhlaidh a chuir sé séala an Réamonachais ar stát Bhaile Atha Cliath, ar son na ndaoine a bhíuil díseacht a thabhairt acu do Theagh Laighnean.

Faoi dhéireadh thiar tá an rud soiléir, nochthuime gan náire, nach bhíuil i stát Bhaile Atha Cliath ach stát Réamonach nó, más fear leat é, stát Caitliceach Rómhánach, stát Dhómháil Uí Chonáil.

Tá súil agam go dtabharfaidh staireolaí éicéid faoi seo. Má bhí curtha a dhíth go raibh polasai Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta i gceart ó 1921, tá sé cruthaithe Childers. Céard é a dhéarfadh a athair bocht?

Cnoc an Arbhair

NI raibh mórán le rá ag na nuachtáin, ní airíom RTE, faoin Aifreann Gaeilge, nach raibh ina Aifreann Gaeilge, i gCnoc an Arbhair, Baile Atha Cliath, agus regime Baile Atha Cliath ag tabhairt ómis, nó ainm a bheith a thabhairt, do na laochra a fuair bás ar son na hÉireann.

I nGaeilge a bhí gach cuirteadh a fuair gach éinne a bhí i láthair. I nGaeilge a thóigh an Aifreann. I nGaeilge a léigh Mac Cosgair an ceacht. I nGaeilge a léigh sagart an sóiscéal. Ach ina dhiaidh sin b' amhlaidh a d'iompuigh an sagart ar an mBearla.

Shíuil roinnt daoine amach, agus an ceart acu. Scríobh daoine litreacha, mar agóid. Níor fhóilsigh ach an t-aon pháipéir amháin ar tuairisc faoi. mar an "Irish Independent", agus i nGaeilge.

Cén fáth an chinsireacht? Cén fáth an gníomh ciotach seo, masla do na laochra, masla do gach Gaeilgoir bhí i láthair, masla don teanga Ghaeilge i gceintinn?

Ar rinne Ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge son ghearaí faoi? Ar rinne son pháirtí polaitiúil son ghearaí faoi? Ni feascadh don gur rinne.

Inniu arís

OS ag scríobh faoi Aifreann Gaeilge atáim mór mhiste tagairt a dhéanamh faoin bhfeachtas tá ar súil ag "Inniu" chun litéiréal thabhairt don chléir ghailda na

hAifrin Ghaeilge a laghdú in ardfhairsce Bhaile Atha Cliath.

Is fíor nach bhíuil son chiall le hAifrin Ghaeilge a léamh, ná Aifreann i dteanga ar bith, roimh a 10 a chlog, toisc a laghad daoine a dhéanann freastal ar Aifreann chomh moch sin.

Is fíor gur cóir an hAifrin Ghaeilge bheith ar fáil ag am ní ba réasúin. Ach ní fíor gur cóir méid na nAifreann Gaeilge a laghdú, leigheas "Inniu" ar an bhfadhb.

Nach mór an náire é nach bhíuil Aifreann Gaeilge ar fáil san ardfhairsce i ndiaidh meánse? Céard chuideadh nach bhíuil Aifreann Gaeilge ar fáil sa tréimhse, ceann amháin, ar a laghad, dóibh siúd bhí ag obair san oíche roimhe?

Agus ní leor, ach oiread, an t-aon cheann amháin. Tá dualgas ar an gcléir a dhéanadh a dhéanamh chun an tAifreann Gaeilge a neartú ("De Ecclesia" agus "Bunreacht an Liotúirge", dualgas a chuir an Spiorad Naomh ar an gcléir).

Ach a mhalaírt atá a dhéanamh ag cléir ghailda na hÉireann. Agus, mar thoradh air sin, tá an chléir cheanna ag díbrí nairt Gaeilgoirí amach ón Eaglais (ní airíomh Poblachtóirí).

Combat

AR na daoine is fear a scríobhann altanna i nGaeilge tá Breandán Ó Héidir, a bheadh méid agus mise in thost.

Tá greann aige i gcónaí. Tá

Déibé

cumas iriseoireachta ann. Tá ionracas. Agus is é atá in ann cúlú breá spéisiúil a scríobh i dtogha na Gaeilge, bail ó Dhia air. Bhí píosa aige le déanaí, foirí rud a d'fhóilsigh "Combat", iris de chuid Ulagh agus léirítheas a gcló aici ar "Hidden Ulster" leis an staraí, Pádraig Ó Snodaigh.

Ba é a dúirt fear "Combat" go mba chóir go mbeadh deis ag gach Protastúnach Gaeilge a fhoghlaim agus gur mó a cheart don Ghaeilge ná ceart an Chaitliceigh Rómhánach.

Bheinn buíoch de chara éicéid ach céip de "Combat" a fháil. An raibh comhfhreas acu faoi? Easontú?

Ar ndóig, is fíor an méid seo, gur mó a rinne na Protastúnáin anois seo caite, agus san aois roimhe, ar son na Gaeilge, ná mar a rinne na scoláirí Caitliceacha.

Fíu an tEaspag Jones, "Scoutmaster General in the Cromwellian Army", murach ciseán ní bheadh an Biobla Gaeilge agann inniu.

Agus Charlotte Brooke, duine de mhuintir Brookborough, féach gur chuir sí tús le foilsiú na Gaeilge, go ndéana Dia tróicare ar a hanam uasal.

Seachain Alexis

TA Alexis Fitzgerald chun

seasmhach sa toghchán áitíuil i mBaile Atha Cliath (réigiún a seacht). Fear mór is ea é san FLM. Fear mór is ea é ar údars Fhine Gael, ó 1970, go noilgiúil.

Ach tá sé go hard sa pháirtí le fada, ó phóis sé inion le John A. Costello, fear a bhí chomh hionraic agus a lig a thógáil úd a bheith. Ar a laghad, ní chuirfeadh sé le Poblachtach thois go dtí na Se Chontae in éadan a thola.

Sna caogaí, bhí páipéar ag Fine Gael, an "National Observer" (dha bhéirig san téideal úd). Alexis a chuir tús le feachtas nimhneach in éadan na Gaeilge ann. Ach, an uair sin, bhí an méid sin eagla air go dtarlódh rud éicéid dó as a chuid brocamais nach raibh sé de mhianach ann a ainm a chur leis na halltanna.

Ach is cuma faoi sin. Sheas an Diolúnach leis. Sheas an páirtí leis. Agus is feascadh dúinn, anois, an tordadh.

Ba mbolscaireacht a chuireann sé amach, chun suíochán a bhuaicinnt, ní deir Alexis ach seo faoin gceangal tá aige leis an FLM ó bhunú an bhualtrachais chéanna.

Ní deir sé, ach oiread, go bhfuil bairt aige le Allied Irish Banks, le Tara Mining, le Celtic Sea Oil, le Marathon, agus le dreamanna eile a bhíuil sé de chúispóir agus gadaíocht a dhéanamh ar mhaoin phobal na hÉireann.

Blueshirts

MAR churthú ar an meas tá ag an

bpáirtí air, tá sé ina sheanadóir (ar ndóig, thair air ó am go chéile suíochán) i dTigh Laighnean a gnothú).

Níor mhiste strachfhéachaint a dhéanamh ar an gceangal, tá ag Fine Gael le cumhachtaí móra. Tá Arthur O'Hagan & Co., lucht dlí, i mBaile Atha Cliath (céilí ar aoncheim, James agus Richard Ryan; is é James athair Richie). Fúthu siúd tá an tairgead a bhailiúin Ardfhairsce Bhaile Atha Cliath (Caitliceigh Rómhánach).

Is iad na comhlachtaí dlí is mó sna 26 Chontae Arthur Cox; Arthur O'Hagan; agus McCann, Fitzgerald, Roche & Dudley; agus lámh acu i gcaigh gnó mór sa tír, go mór mór iad siúd tá ag déanamh gadaíochta ar mhaoin na hÉireann.

Ón am a bunaíodh an Saorstáit, fuair Arthur Cox & Co. gach cuntas a bhain ariamh le comhlachtaí stáit.

Céard iad na daoine móra Blueshirts a fuair greim ar an Sweep and ceannas on stáit acu chun aird a chardadh?

D'eills ach an Duganach, Joe McGrath agus Capt. Freeman Jackson. Trí ghail an phosta, tá clann Connolly agus clann McGilligan ceangailte le maoin an Sweep.

Is airgead an Sweep a tháinig Tony O'Reilly isteach, an fear a bhíuil greim docht aige ar na nuachtáin is tábhaicht in oirthear na hÉireann (Indo san aireamh).

Ar lean, ar chlé

NIGHT BRITS KILLED THREE TERRORISTS...

ON the night of May 1 in Crossmaglen an attack was directed by Ogligh na hEireann against the R.U.C. barracks in the village where British troops are based. After the short attack British troops fired indiscriminately into houses and fields, killing three cows but, fortunately, no human beings.

The residents of Crossmaglen compiled a dossier on the affair and have sent copies to Gaultier Rees, Cardinal Conway, Liam Cosgrave and the Council for Civil Liberties. We reproduce herewith some of that dossier and the residents' demands, including the fundamental one, demanding that British troops quit the district.

Following the gun and rocket attack on the R.U.C. station, according to the dossier, the British "apparently decided to adopt its "terror tactics" on the residents.

The soldiers opened up their guns into the different nearby housing estates in what appeared to be a deliberate action designed to kill civilians.

"Gunfire was directed into the Crescent Housing Estate from approximately 7.50 p.m. to 8.40 p.m., resulting in extensive damage to several houses. In one dwelling, owned by Mr. T. Regan, 30 bullets were found to have penetrated internal walls, both upstairs and downstairs. Bullets were embedded in beds and furniture and the tenants believe a deliberate attempt was made to murder them by the troops.

"Another house, owned by Mrs. Kierans, was similarly attacked by the troops. When the tenant complained later to the army the official attitude - and reply - was that, in the event of any more shooting at members of the security forces, the troops would use heavy artillery to demolish the buildings.

"An inspection of damage to these particular houses has shown that approximately 400 roof tiles were damaged, 42 window panes were broken and 300 bullet holes were made in the external walls from bullets.

"Residents in the estate now feel that the British army will use any opportunity to murder some of them and, as a result of army threats, tenants of two houses opposite the police station are being forced to leave their homes - they are the Regan and Clark families".

Second incursion

"Eye-witness statements also reveal how the troops brought out a Saracen-car and moved into the Rathview Park area, spraying private houses with machine-gun fire later in the evening.

"At 8.35, the troops fired at a car which entered the estate and they pulled a man from the vehicle, who was on his way to visit a sick relative, and ordered him to lie on his face in a garden. He was told if he lifted his head he would be shot.

"The soldiers who were guarding the man fired several bursts at houses and a helicopter which flew over the village also fired at houses, with bullets penetrating roofs and windows.

"Residents heard several soldiers shouting obscenities and urging each other to shoot "some of these Irish.....s".

"Troops who entered the dwellinghouse of Mr. Michael Treanor in Rathview Park fired up through the ceiling in a bid to kill any persons upstairs. The last burst of machine-gun fire was in Rathview Park at 8.53 p.m."

Indiscriminate shooting

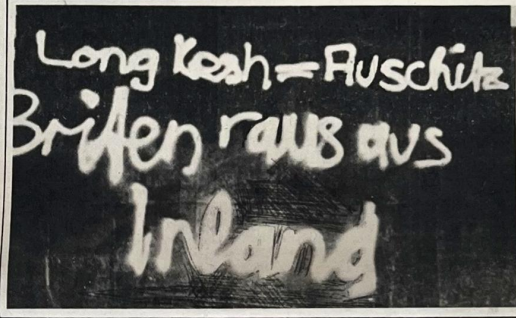
"In this area, 200 roof slates were bullet-riddled, 73 window-panes were broken, and hundreds of bullets were embedded in walls and doors, clearly indicating how the troops sprayed the area indiscriminately.

"The indiscriminate British army gunfire was supported by troops in a sentry box who also fired blindly into the estates.

"In statements", the dossier continues, "families have expressed a general fear that the troops are determined to kill civilians, judging from their gun rampage on Wednesday night, May 1.

Ar lean, Ich a 66

COWS



SWISS SAY: GET OUT

As a clear picture of the liberation struggle emerges, despite the censorship of the Irish & British establishments, freedom-loving people throughout the world are expressing their solidarity with the guerrilla campaign of Ogligh na hEireann.

These photographs show slogans painted recently on the outside of Britain's prestigious embassy in Berne, Switzerland, and had a shock effect in an area where the media traditionally are pro-British. "BRITAIN RUAS IRLAND" means "Britain, get out of Ireland".



Rights protest at Burns arrest

THE Irish Civil Rights Association has written to the Dublin Justice Minister, Mr. Cooney protesting against the arrest last week of British army deserter, Gerald Burns.

Finnish aid

Irlantiryhma (Ireland Group) was formed in Finland on March 10, according to a supplied statement, and has three aims: They are: Solidarity with the Irish people in their struggle against British imperialism; to educate the Finnish people to an awareness of the Irish problem; and to support the dependants of those in prison and on the run. The statement adds that thousands of leaflets already have been distributed, the latest being on "Torture in English prisons".

CS gas NOT safe, admits U.S.A.

IN A dramatic reversal, the United States government now concedes that CS gas is not safe for use against civilians. This startling admission came in a letter from the U.S. War Department to Congressman Henry Smith of New York.

pressure on President Nixon to halt U.S. production of the gas which is now being used by the British army in Belfast and in other areas of the North.

Americans issued this statement: "We regret that the U.S. War Department did not initially admit that CR gas was not safe for use against civilians.

Congressman Smith had co-operated with the National Council of Irish Americans in Buffalo, New York, in an investigation into the manufacture and use of CR gas as it relates to the situation in the Six Counties.

Later in 1973, the Heath administration authorised the military to use CR gas against civilians.

"The department's sudden reversal of its position in the face of pressure from our group is significant. We are very grateful to Congressman Smith for his help.

In the past six months, the National Council of Irish Americans had asked several members of Congress to bring

The U.S. War Department sent letters to many members of Congress, contending that CR gas had been thoroughly tested and was safe for use.

"We hope that Prime Minister Wilson will now cancel use of CR gas in Northern Ireland. We intend to seek termination of its production in the United States. The American people want no part of this type of operation.

FUTURE TORTURE CASE HEARINGS
Hearings in the Irish Civil Rights Association are being held in the North-South divide at St. Davids, Norway, in June. The European Commission of Human Rights said today. Some British witnesses were heard by the Commission at the isolated Sola military air base in Stavanger under tight security this month.

The Government now has completely reversed itself and has admitted to Congressman Henry Smith that the gas has never been fully tested and was not safe for use.

"Many Irishmen have considered it a form of genocide on the part of British officials. The gas has not been authorised for use against civilians in English cities and its use is permissible only in Northern Ireland.

The effect of its use against the elderly and children is completely unknown as it has never been tested in this area. The War Department letter states in part: "At no point has the Surgeon General taken the position that CR gas is safe".

"We plan to call this matter to the attention of Britain's N.A.T.O. partners as the use of CR gas is a clear violation of the Geneva Convention and the N.A.T.O. Treaty".

Geneva Convention
A national officer of the National Council of Irish

Craig Moore, an official of the group, said Congressional pressure was crucial in bringing about the government's admission. American medical experts were also consulted by the Irish group to determine whether the gas constituted a health hazard.

"A Chara: The Irish Civil Rights Association wishes to protest in the strongest possible terms against the arrest of Gerald Michael Burns, who deserted from the British army and sought asylum in Dublin yesterday" (May 13).

"Mr. Burns became a conscientious objector to the form of duty he was required to perform in Belfast and felt that the only course open to him was to desert and seek asylum in a friendly country.

"As he is the son of an Irish mother, the Irish Civil Rights Association feels that he is entitled to the protection of the government of the Republic of Ireland, and we request that he be permitted to reside here without further interference", the letter ends.

Cumann na mBan

The death took place recently of Miss Julia Maria Morrissey, the 1916 Cumann na mBan battalion leader. A loyal follower of General P.H. Pearse, she placed her forces under the command of Comdt. Liam Mellows on the outbreak of the 1916 Rising. Shortly after the murder of Mellows and O'Connor, in 1922, she contracted bad health and remained confined to hospital until her death. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a hanam.

In DIlchuimhne
In proud memory of
Volunteer Tony Ahern

Cork Command, Ogligh na hEireann, who died for Ireland at Roslea, Co. Fermanagh, on May 10, 1973, aged 17 years, late of 27 St. Joseph's Park, Cork.

SOCIALISM: The word has been so much abused that it now stands for the Swedish system of private-enterprise capitalism, the Russian system of state capitalism, and the Kingdom of God on earth. If someone tells you he is a "socialist", and uses no qualifying or explanatory adjective, look at him twice. He is a deceiver or a fool.

Essential socialism: At the core of all the deception, piousness and verbiage, which now surround the word "socialism", there is a serious meaning. Socialism, properly speaking, means a *view of men today*, which sees them dispossessed of the life and power which are properly theirs as persons, and a *revolutionary practice*, which seeks to right this wrong by restoring them to mastery of their own life and to possession of their own persons.

Liam Mellows was articulating this essential socialism when he said, in the Treaty debate: "We (Republicans) would rather have this country poor and indigent, we would rather have the people of Ireland eking out a poor existence on the soil, as long as they possessed their souls, their minds and their honour. This fight has been for something more than the feshpots of empires".

In other words, socialism is not imperialism - or anything like imperialism.

Proletarianisation: Socialism tackles proletarianisation, that is, the dispossession resulting from imperialism. Proletarians are dispossessed people. The Irish are a *radically* proletarianised people, dispossessed to their very core.

Men and animals: These are not equivalents; and their needs are not the same.

Bernadette Devlin

Bernadette Devlin (now McAliskey) always has called herself a socialist. I will never forget that night when I saw her on television, addressing some factory-girls in Omagh (she was electioneering). She told them: "Forget about being Catholics or Protestants. Think about important things like money, housing, jobs..."

Perhaps the list was longer but what remained riveted in my mind was this. Firstly, she was telling them to forget, to put out of their minds, what gave them and others like them their identity in the world and thus made life somewhat meaningful for them - the fact that they were "Catholics" or "Protestants" in

A thought on subject of socialism and money

the North of Ireland in the latter part of the 20th century.

What you are, she implied, is worthless: "Think about important things..." Secondly, when her mind grasped for examples of "important things", the first that occurred to her was "money". By implication, it was the most important thing; and the rest were things which money made, or which made money.

Apart from some stunningly explicit advertising slogans, it was the nearest little piece of capitalist propaganda I have ever heard. To dissolve all group identities and social bonds which give meaning to life and buttress individual existences; to create anonymous, ahistorical masses which can be moved this way or that as the economy and the state power require; and to win acceptance from those meaning-hungry masses for one principle of meaning and one only, namely, *money and what money can buy:* that is the programme and purpose of the ruling elites from America to Dublin, and from Dublin to the Soviet Union.

Nobodies themselves, lovers of nothing who find meaning in nothing (but money), they want all men

like themselves, except in the power to control and the capacity to possess.

Paulo Freire, with his eyes on Latin America, says of them: "In their unrestrained eagerness to possess, the oppressors develop the conviction that it is possible for them to transform everything into objects of their purchasing power; hence their strictly materialistic concept of existence. "Money is the measure of all things and profit the primary goal. For the oppressors, what is worthwhile is to have more - always more - even at the cost of the oppressed having less or having nothing. For them, to be is to have and to be of the 'having' class."

Bernadette Devlin said to those factory-girls: "Forget yourselves; forget being anything; for what you are is not important and an obstacle to progress. Become capitalists, join the *having* class."

The new poor

The New poor are the Powerless. Many people have money and get annual rises. Few are able to think a personal thought, to speak a personal language, to do a personal act, to create an object which bears their own imprint, to control the course of their lives, according to their desires, or to

stop the life they have valued being destroyed in spite of them.

The political programme which is designed to end this poverty - insofar as politics can - is a socialist political programme. Its goal is the reconquest of humanity, the re-establishment of Man. If its chosen field is Ireland, its goal is that goal - in Ireland. In other words, the liberation and restoration of Irish man.

Marxism and history: Marxism irrupted into history, causing great revolutionary movements, the overthrow of governments, the displacement of propertied classes and their replacement by others, and a major change in consciousness.

The thing which caused all of this was a vision of human history, of the present disorder of the world, and of the potential of the proletariat. In essence, that vision was produced by a bourgeois scholar and writer, Karl Marx, sitting day after day for years on end in the British Museum.

If Marx had not lived, or if living, he had not been a thinker, all that happened as a result of his thinking

would not have happened. So much for economic determinism as a theory of life and history!

Marx and the bourgeoisie

Marx was a bourgeois of bourgeois ancestry (so were Engels and Lenin). After wandering for some years, Marx settled in London and worked out his definitive interpretations of the world in a bourgeois household, in that metropolis of bourgeois power, when that power was at its height.

No one has celebrated the achievements of the bourgeoisie more ardently than Marx in the Communist Manifesto (read it and see). The Marxist who hates the bourgeoisie is a bad Marxist.

Marx foresaw the coming death of his class and longed for that death. Was this a transferred bourgeois death-wish? Marx looked towards that "other world" of the slums of which he knew so little and saw there, in his mind's eye, a power that would save and justify the world which he and his kind had made, the present bourgeois world.

He believed, as had his Jewish ancestors, in a coming Messiah. His Messiah was a brute, many-armed force - the proletariat - which would take over the dying bourgeois world at the height of its power and, by transforming it, save it from death and give it a sort of immortality.

That is one way of seeing Marx, the private man, beneath the web of his theories. And it is an interesting way in view of what actually did happen in Soviet Russia. Under Stalin, it became the most bourgeois country of them all, with its mental and cultural clock stopped round about 1890.

FREEMAN



The platform party at one session of the recent Troops Out Movement Conference in London. Left to right are: Fred Halliday, an expert on Britain's secret war in Oman; Councillor Paddy O'Connor, Labour's Deputy Chief Whip on G.L.C.; Eamonn McCann and Alan Sinclair. Among the capacity audience were 14 trades council delegates, 29 trade union branch observers and delegates from 47 student unions.

British trade unionists see Irish conflict in new light

By Declan O Muineachain

To Irish people aware of the angry criticism of America's war in Vietnam by large segments of British public opinion in the 60s - liberal intellectuals, students and mainstream of the Labour movement - their inability (or unwillingness) to face the situation in the Six Counties has been something of a mystery.

Perhaps it's much easier to generalise about other people's wars, especially when the media have not the same vital interest as in the home situation, and can thus afford to show more of the truth.

Irish groups in Britain concerned with national liberation, despite sporadic mass-meetings and marches protesting on burning issues of the moment, have never managed to ignite a mass-movement within the Irish immigrant community as a whole, capable of exerting decisive pressure on Britain to withdraw her troops.

How, then, can the Troops Out Movement hope to succeed in its ambitious objective?

Well, for a start it is a British organisation, speaking directly to fellow-citizens with a simple message, incapable of being misconstrued.

British troops to be withdrawn from Ireland;

Self-determination for the Irish people.

Opportune time

The movement comes at an opportune time. A Britain which has become progressively disen-

chanted with an incomprehensible and unwinnable war is more receptive to such a message, particularly as the issue recently has been removed from the realm of treason-felony to the agenda of public debate by the statements of Roy Mason.

However, the mood of the conference was very different from the war-weariness of the wives of serving soldiers of the Devon and Dorsets, whose children died last weekend to bring their daddies home.

For the British Labour Movement at large at last is awakening to what has long been a truism to

Republicans: that the lessons being learnt in "corner-insurgency" on the streets of Derry and Belfast today are likely to be put into practice in Glasgow and Wolverhampton tomorrow.

Indeed, it has already begun; increasing army-police "co-operation" in what were previously purely civil concerns and the recent involvement of Special Branch agents provocateurs in legitimate trades union activities have made a hard-hitting re-appraisal of the "security forces" an urgent priority.

Two years ago this meeting would have been attended only by representatives of the many left-wing and Irish Republican groups; but it is a sign of the times that those listening most avidly to Jonathan Rosenhead expounding on the technology of British army repression in Ireland were representatives of district trades councils.



Ar lean, ar chul

UNDER MY EYE

THIS column has had persons and personages under its eye for nearly 12 months. This week, however, we are going to change somewhat and bring within our ambit and vision the two institutions which are the real road blocks on the road to Irish independence.

I refer to the two parliamentary institutions, that of Leinster House, Dublin, which has stolen the name Dail Eireann, and that of Stormont, Belfast, recently set up under the Sunningdale Agreement to replace the puppet Orange parliament created by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and maintained for more than 50 years through a policy of murder, repression, occupation and chicanery.

These two institutions were, of course, features of the Treaty of Surrender and they were created for one purpose, to become substitutes for the living, pulsing Dail Eireann, the government and parliament of the Irish Republic which, as my readers know, was the creation of an overwhelming majority of votes recorded in favour of independence at the general election of 1918, the first general election to follow World War I, and, incidentally, the first election in which Irish women or English women had the right to vote.

That Dail Eireann was overthrown by force of arms by the Free State traitors of 1922; and the parliament and state which subsequently used the functions was the offspring of the Treaty of Surrender. But more of that later.

To show my readers the role which British parliamentary institutions have played in the suppression of Irish nationalism and national aspirations, it might be well to go back in time and to review the situation which existed in Ireland during the period when the Republican Movement came to its first flowering under the banner and slogan of Tone and the United Irishmen.

I would ask my readers to remember that, when Tone and Neilson, Orr, McCracken, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Sheares Brothers first raised the standard of Republicanism, there was what was called "a native Irish parliament" sitting in College Green, Dublin.

Limited freedom

This parliament often has been referred to as the "Patriot Parliament", simply because the Opposition leaders in the College Green House of Commons — Henry Grattan and Henry Flood — demanded some independence for the so-called Irish commons. The demand was that "Nobody has the right to make laws for the kingdom of Ireland except the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland".

Mark the words, well, "the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland"; the king was the British King. The lords were the gentlemen of Anglo-Norman descent who had stolen the land of the native Irish; and the Commons were wealthy merchants who were also important exporters in the industry and who exploited Irish workers for the benefit of their own class.

It should be noted also that, to keep "the mere Irish" from having any say in this so-called native legislative assembly, no Roman Catholic can become a member under any circumstances whatsoever. All members of the Irish House of Commons had to take an Oath of Allegiance to the King of England as King of Ireland, and had to swear to uphold the Church of England as established by law.

At that time, the Church of England, or, as its Irish branch later was called, the Church of Ireland, was the church of the propertied classes. Those outside its fold, the Presbyterians and the Catholics, were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is also important to remember that there were just as stringent penal laws against the Presbyterians as there were against Roman Catholics.

When the United Irishmen began to preach the doctrine of brotherhood between Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and also began to demand parliamentary reform, so that the people as a whole could have a say in parliamentary institutions, it was the same "Patriot Parliament" which passed the "Insurrection Act", the "Indemnity Act" and other acts of repression against the emergence of a people's movement which seemed to threaten the place and power of their overlords.

It was this same parliament that forced the United Irishmen underground and drove them along the road where it became plain that only military action and complete separation from England could achieve the freedom and brotherhood they desired.

Republicans persecuted

It was this self-same "Patriot Parliament" that unleashed the Yeomen in a ferocious campaign against the "Republican rebels" and conducted a most propagandist war of lies and deceit to break the people's movement and drive the United Irishmen to become an underground secret movement.

When the 1798 Rebellion did take place the parliament in College Green was, to say the least of it, most vigorous in its campaign to crush forever all signs and acts of hostility to the overlordship of the British Crown.

The torture houses of Newgate, Kilmainham and Arbour Hill were operated under the auspices of the "Patriot Parliament"; and, when Tone lay dying of wounds in his cell at Newgate, the members of the Irish House of Commons were delighted that "the arch-criminal has been caught at last".

With the United Irish movement crushed, the government in England decided that one parliament might be better than two, and that it would be a good idea to merge the Irish and British parliaments under the one Crown, giving the Irish members a rather small representation in the British House of Commons. Strange to relate, most members of the Irish Commons were only too willing to be bribed into giving up their assembly.

They sold themselves like slaves in the market place and the year 1800 saw the creation of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland", when one institution, Westminster, ruled England,

Puppet regime and British master

Ireland, Scotland and Wales, as one political unit. This is what we refer to when we talk of the "Act of Union".

Robert Emmet tried to break the Union when he led a revolt in 1803; but that gallant patriot ended on the scaffold in Thomas Street, Dublin, and Ireland had to wait another 45 years before the Young Irelanders again raised the Republican standard. Meantime, many Irishmen, including many Catholics, after the Emancipation Act of 1829, became members of the British Parliament.

A group of them, led by Daniel O'Connell, the so-called Liberator, began to demand, as a political settlement for Ireland, "Repeal of the Union" and a return to the "Patriot Parliament" of 1782. These demands were the first whimper of what was afterwards popularly called "Home Rule", an Irish parliamentary institution under the domination of the British Crown.

The separatist principle

The Young Irelanders rejected this, as did the Fenians after them, and as did every Irish Republican and separatist from that day until our own, but James Fintan Lalor put it most strongly and in very cogent language when he cried out, in the pages of John Mitchell's newspaper, "The United Irishman" (later suppressed): "Not the constitution that Tone died to abolish, but the constitution that Tone died to obtain. Not to hark back to '82 but to live up to '98. Ireland her own and all therein, from the sod to the sky. Thy land of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and to hold from God alone who gave, without rent or fee to any power under heaven save the people".

Is it any wonder that Pearce selected Lalor as one of the four great evangelists of Irish nationality? In these words I have quoted, Lalor reiterated the classic and ever-fresh Republican and separatist gospel. He put them in such a way that they are applicable in our day as they were in his. They will never have to be re-stated.

I do not intend to go over the history of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the British Commons. That already has been done in a series of articles on the Home Rule movement which appeared recently here; but I will point out that, when Dail Eireann was established by the Irish people in 1919, it was a totally different institution from the College Green Assembly.

It did not consist of opposing groups. It was staffed by a team of deputation coming from all facets of Irish life. Under the banner of Sinn Fein they had agreed to operate a national programme of rehabilitation and nation-building, one which would "cherish all the children of the nation equally", as promised in the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Republic on Easter Monday, 1916.

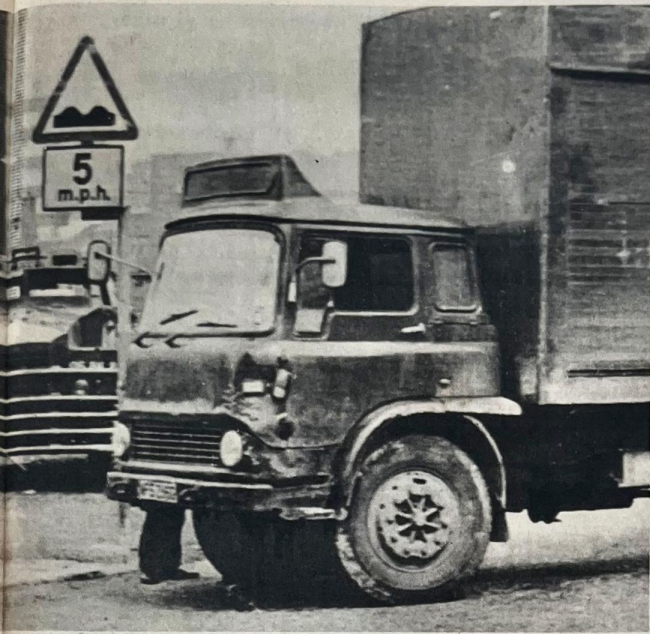
My main purpose is to show that any parliamentary institution, operating in Ireland, and which has been created through an Act of Parliament has, in every case, operated in the imperial interest.

Dail Eireann, parliament and government of the Republic, maintained and directed a war of independence against the British forces of occupation; but the institutions which came after it — Leinster House and Stormont — always have acted to uphold British law and to maintain the stranglehold of British imperialism on Ireland.

Britain's policeman

From the day it was founded, the "Free" State parliament has maintained an armed force which has guarded the British-made Border and has attempted to thwart the national will for independence. The "Free" State parliament, under its stolen name, Dail Eireann, has been the greatest road-block on the way to complete Irish freedom. No matter what party was in power in that parliament, the role of the institution never has changed.

Ar lean., ar chfil



Military arrive to remove a hijacked lorry blocking a street in Belfast, when hijacked vehicles were used by loyalists to seal roads as part of the general strike in protest against the Sunningdale Agreement.

MINING IN HANDS OF THE PEOPLE

SINN FEIN last week introduced a Dublin press conference to the organisation's mining and energy policy and copies of the booklet, detailing the policy, were made available to the media.

A statement said the document had been in preparation since December last. It represented a further development of Sinn Fein policy on questions of national importance.

EIRE NUA — the Sinn Fein Social and Economic Programme, was announced in January, 1971. It laid down the basic framework of social and economic policy and detailed policies on several different subjects, finance, agriculture, industry, housing, education, Irish language, etc. This has sold 16,000 copies to date.

EIRE NUA — The governmental programme, which set out Republican views for a federal structure of government for the four provinces and a draft charter of rights, was published in June, 1972. Some 270,000 copies have been distributed.

"THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE NEW IRELAND" was published in May, 1973. This sets out Sinn Fein policy on the environment, pollution, consumer protection and advertising. It has sold 4,000 copies to date.

We hope to publish extracts from the latest Sinn Fein publication in a future issue.

Honour for a hero

THERE was a big turn out for the unveiling of the Memorial to Kevin Kilpatrick O/C "A", Coy., East Tyrone Battalion, Ogligh na hEireann, at Clonoe, Co. Tyrone, on Sunday May 12.

The unveiling was performed by Mr. Joe O'Neill, 1916 veteran. The blessing was performed by Father Griffin, assisted by Father Coyle. Barney O'Neill, chairman of O'Neill-Kilpatrick Cumann, Clonoe, recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

On the platform were the surviving veterans of Old East Tyrone Brigade, I.R.A., Tommy O'Neill, James McCann, Pat Corr and Peter McGrath. Mrs. May Devlin, East Tyrone representative on Ard-Chomhairle, presided.

The Tricolour used was the same flag that was hoisted in Coalsland in 1916 and which also was used on the coffin of John O'Neill, shot at Mills Bridge, Coalsland, on August 21, 1921, and also interned at Clonoe.

The oration was delivered by Niall Fagan, joint-secretary, Sinn Fein.

He thanked the Assembly for allowing him to speak in Welsh and pointed out that he was prohibited from using his own language in the British Parliament.

"This is because Westminster has not yet been able to develop the technology needed to provide simultaneous interpretations", he stated.

Mr. Jones was speaking in a debate on energy policy.



Council of Europe applauds Welsh

THE Labour Member of Parliament, Gwynoro Jones, of Carmarthen, Wales, recently surprised the 17-state Council of Europe in Strasbourg by speaking in Welsh.

The Council's parliamentary assembly was filled with the clicking of earphone switches as astonished M.P.s tried to get a simultaneous interpretation. But some of them later applauded the Jones effort. The interpreters

confessed that they had understood nothing and could not provide a translation.

Mr. Jones later told colleagues he had spoken in Welsh to "emphasize that there is more than one nation in Britain." He added: "There are, in fact, three nations represented in Britain's delegation to the Council's assembly — England, Wales and Scotland".

Troops-out movement gathers impetus

A CAMPAIGN began throughout Britain last week to have British troops withdrawn from Ireland. It was begun in the London Commons by Mr. James Wellbeloved, M.P., who has been advocating this course for months, inside and outside parliament.

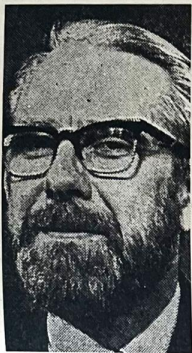
He is supported by Lord Wigg, an adviser on security to the previous Wilson administration.

Lord Wigg, calling for withdrawal, said last week that all considerations except the hard facts about Ireland had been swept aside.

Many M.P.s are sympathetic to Mr. Wellbeloved's campaign.

Many Labour M.P.s, especially from the North of England, have been pressurised by working-class families who have sons in the army in the North, to impress on the Government the particular dangers which they face, and the need to get a workable solution.

Mr. Wellbeloved says that withdrawal is in the interests of both the British and Irish people, for it was folly to propose that Britain could find a solution.



Mr. James Wellbeloved, M.P., hopes for 1,000,000 signatures to a petition to the Westminster Government to pull its troops out of Ireland.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH

Dun Dealgán: At a recent meeting of the Dundalk branch of An Cumann Cabhrach a resolution of sympathy with Miss F. Kearney on the death of her father was passed and a minute's silence was observed.

Injured soldiers

Asked if he was not afraid that a bloodbath might follow from a disengagement, he said that looking at history there had been a repeated bloodbath over many decades, and he could not bring himself to believe that the death and injury of hundreds of soldiers fell very short of a bloodbath.

Britain, said Mr. Wellbeloved, should not involve itself in the "terrible happenings in the North".

Lord Wigg said that when the British troops were sent into the North in 1969, that was essentially a short term measure, and no one asked the fundamental question: "How do we get them out again?"

He said he was motivated to speak out on the Irish question following a private debate in the House of Lords, the standard of which struck him as unimpressive, unproductive and evasive of the central issue concerning the British army in Ireland.

"I try and look facts clearly in the face", he said, "if you look at the Northern Ireland situation, the immediate present and the immediate past, you would reach the same conclusions as with the British military presence in Palestine".

No law

Military law was no law, and in Northern Ireland there was a complete breakdown of civil law.

"You cannot ask soldiers to become policemen, because they're not. They are men with guns, and there will be a whole generation in Northern Ireland who feel that power rests with the men who have the guns.

"The situation cannot, and will not, continue indefinitely. And my own countrymen will have to realise that".

Confronted with the bloodbath argument, Lord Wigg said that, unless conditions were deliberately created before leaving for widespread communal antagonisms, communities would, if left to themselves, strive to avoid violence amounting to a bloodbath.

DOSSIER FROM CROSSMAGLEN

Ar lean, o lech 3.

"Other instances of the indiscriminate British army shooting are borne out by the fact that the troops shot and killed three cows in a field on the outskirts of the town which belonged to Mr. Paul Rooney, Dundalk Road, Crossmaglen.

"Another eye-witness statement taken reveals that the soldiers were observed shooting at a young man who was trying to peacefully sheltering in a garage. Soldiers were heard shouting orders to 'shoot him'".

Residents' Demand

Crossmaglen residents have demanded a full inquiry into the military behaviour in the area. Witnesses have promised to give eye-witness statements at such an inquiry.

The fears of residents is demonstrated by the spontaneous demands for the production of the dossier in a bid to have pressure generated for such an inquiry before "a further gun rampage results in a series of civilian murders perpetrated by the army under the guise of a so-called security operation", according to the dossier.

It continues: "The situation involving the British army in

Crossmaglen at present is such that there is a clear disregard for discipline and this is indicated when troops assert that civilians can report their behaviour to their officers if they so wish. Already, no disciplinary action has been taken on incidents involving theft and insulting behaviour by the army in the area".

Residents, united in their protest, staged a public demonstration outside the police station on Sunday May 5.

A statement was read, on behalf of the community, deploring the terror gun rampage.

The community demanded:

- An inquiry into the indiscriminate shooting by the troops on May 1;
- A public assurance that there would be no more indiscriminate shooting into housing estates or at civilians;
- A stop to the arrest and continuing harassment of villagers;
- An end to the use by the military of the surrounds of private houses.

The community asserted that peace would prevail in the area if the British army were withdrawn.

The dossier, on behalf of the residents, was signed by Patrick J. McEntegart, chairman, Residents' Committee, and by Patrick Lyons, secretary.



A recent demonstration in Lurgan, demanding the withdrawal of the British from Ireland. Despite widespread intimidation by "security forces", Lurgan Republicans are determined to press forward to Eire Nua.

'The pig got up and slowly walked away'

THERE is an old song about the pig and the drunk, to the effect that one always knows a person from the company he chooses - "and the pig got up and slowly walked away". It happened in Leinster House, when the sow was glad to get out of that particular area, being conscientious about the company she prefers ...

The "pig in the parliament" incident was the opening shot in the election campaign of Cavan farmer, Tony Fox. Tired of Dublin Agriculture Minister Clinton's double talk and angry with the Common Market sell-out - pig breeders were exhorted to increase production only to find inadequate markets and dropping prices - Tony Fox, Tony Rehill, Bartley Galligan and Joe Ennis decided on direct action.

They loaded Joe's sow into a trailer, drove to Dublin, straight past the astonished Garda guarding the entrance gates to Leinster House, until they came to the main door of the house.

The sow was unloaded and immediately caused havoc, running around amongst parliamentarians, schoolchildren and pressmen, sporting the slogans "EEC, get off my back" and "I'm in the red!".

Everyone, it seems, got his money's worth, and Fox and comrades were released by the Garda after the recovery of the pig, and the restoration of peace and decorum to the lawns of Leinster House.

One of four

Tony fox is one of the four candidates selected by Sinn Féin to contest the Co. Council elections in Co. Cavan.

The others are Bernard McHugh, Charles Boylan and Matt Maguire.

Three other candidates also are being fielded. They are Benny Little, candidate for the Cavan Urban Council; Michael McGeearty, candidate for the Belurburgh Town Council; and Thomas O'Reilly, candidate for the Cootehill Town Council.

Sinn Féin candidates are being put forward for county, urban and borough elections to promote the Republican policy of "regionalisation" as a solution to the national question and also because Sinn Féin, like many other bodies, believes that the present system of government, at local level and at the centre, is undemocratic.

Sinn Féin opposes this undemocratic system and aims to establish self-governing communities at district, regional and provincial levels.

District council

This Council would be the basic unit of statutory government, with real power to make and implement decisions appropriate to its area, thus giving councillors real governing power instead of being mere rubber stamps.

The district councils would replace existing "local government" and the undemocratic managerial act would be scrapped.

The district councils would be grouped under regional administration in the Cork, Dublin and Belfast conurbations; in North Munster, South Munster, North Connacht, South Connacht, etc., and in special Gaeltacht regions.

The regional administrations would be grouped under four regional parliaments, with a central Dáil Eireann in Athlone.

Power to people

Sinn Féin's regionalisation policy aims at more local government, decentralising decision-making, giving power to the people. It is a step towards establishing the Republican Movement's objective of a new society in Ireland - Eire Nua!

Already, candidates have been selected in many counties. There is no scarcity of new and young faces among them, although a number of veteran Republicans, and outgoing councillors also will be in the field, with good prospects of success.

A notable feature of selections to date is the absence of any

Nuaíocht na gCumann

John Joe McGirl stands for election

JOHN Joe McGirl, the former Republican T.D. and member of the Sinn Féin Ardchoimhairle, recently interned in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp, has been selected to contest the local elections in the Ballinahone area.

Hundreds of people attended a protest meeting there recently organised by the Leitrim Civil Rights Association, against his internment.

Prior to the meeting a parade was held through the town and those taking part carried banners which read: "We demand the release of John Joe McGirl".

Guest speakers at the protest meeting were Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, Ruairi O Brádaigh and the leas-uachtarán, Mrs. Máire Drumm.

They thanked all those organisations that had sent telegrams to the Northern Gauleiter, Merlyn Rees, demanding the release of Mr. McGirl, and they said that if enough pressure were applied through various public representatives, public bodies and voluntary organisations, his release would be secured.

An Ulas, O Brádaigh spoke on Mr. McGirl's behalf again at a social in Claremorris last week in aid of the Republicans Prisoners' Dependents' fund.

A unanimous vote of solidarity with Mr. McGirl and all Republican prisoners was passed.

Council protests

A resolution protesting in "the strongest possible manner" at the action of the British army in arresting their former colleague, John Joe McGirl, was passed at the April meeting of Leitrim Co. Council.

The resolution, tabled by Mr. Joe Mooney, also called on the Minister for the North to have him released forthwith. Mr. Mooney asked that copies of the resolution be sent to Mr. Merlyn Rees, Mr. Brian Faulkner and Mr. Gerry Fitt.

Galway Co. Council decided at its last meeting to send a telegram to Merlyn Rees, demanding the release of Mr. McGirl so that he could contest the local elections in the Sinn Féin interest.

Mr. Frank Glynn (S.F.) moved the motion, seconded by Mr. Paddy Ryan (F.F.), Mr. Tom King (F.F.), chairman agreeing, said that he was surprised at Mr. Rees's reaction in London considering that he had said he was removing the ban on Sinn Féin.

He praised the work of the Sinn Féin members, Messrs. Glynn and Ruane, on Galway Co. Council.

Share of blame

Telegrams were sent to Mr. Rees by the Seán Súm Cumann, Roscommon, and another by the Roscommon branch of the Irish Civil Rights Association.

The Civil Rights group also sent a protest telegram to Mr. Paddy Cooney, the "Free" State Minister for Justice, as "we feel that he must bear his share of the blame for innocent people being arrested and imprisoned without charge or trial in the order Six-counties", a spokesman for the branch said.



Tony Fox female candidates.

Outgoing candidate

Frank Glynn, the Sinn Féin outgoing representative on the Galway Co. Council, again seeks election in the north Galway area.

Frank was educated at the Franciscan Monastery, Kilkerrin, St. Jarlath's College, Tuam and University College, Galway.

He has large business concerns in Milltown and Tuam and deals mainly with the farmers in the area. He is chairman of the Galway Coimhairleachtair and has been a member of Sinn Féin Ardchoimhairle. He has travelled extensively in the U.S. and the Continent and has studied local government in Denmark. He is 38 years of age, is married and has a large family.



Frank Glynn

SINN FEIN

Local elections: More than 100 candidates will be standing and funds are needed urgently to fight a winning battle.

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Youth naked in solitary confinement

WE wish to draw the attention of the entire Irish people to the terrible plight of a 16-year-old Derry boy whom the British are holding prisoner in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

The boy is forced to undergo the most distressing suffering because of his desire to uphold the last vestige of human decency which the British are determined to deny him.

Picture for yourself a mere boy lying in a grim, dark prison, confined stark naked in a cell 24 hours each day, yes, stark naked, because the British are denying him his clothing because he has refused to wear convict's uniform despite the fact that the boy is obviously a political hostage.

On Monday, April 22, they dragged him into their court on a political charge, and when, like any true Irish boy, he refused to recognise this mockery of a court of Justice, he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

Certainly, there is no end to British crimes against the Irish people. Here in the Six Counties the British operate a campaign of terror, death and oppression and claim that they do so in the name of the Irish people also, it is the awful thing about it, is that it is true.

With the Cosgrave-O'Brien partnership of Fine Gael-Labour and, equally, their predecessor, Lynch's Fianna Fáil, supporting this foreign power which daily tortures the people here, it is difficult to deny that it is being done in the name of the Irish people.

Can you, the Irish people, really be prepared to answer before the judgment of Almighty God for your share in the responsibility for the daily crimes against Irish men, women and children at the hands of the British, who allege to be acting in your name and with your undenied consent?

a chara

If so, please add the suffering of this young boy to your consciences or, in the name of God, raise your voices and do something to help your fellow countrymen.
— P.R.O. Pádraig Pearse Cumann, Doire Cholmáil.

BRITS HIT HARD

IN the course of an interesting article, "The Wounded and the Maimed", Aine Daly stated: "In September, 1972, a month after Operation Motorman, the invasion of Free Derry, British morale was at an all time high in the present conflict. The guerrillas they were fighting were ill-equipped and, no matter how brave or determined, could offer but sporadic and mainly token resistance against heavily armoured vehicles and sandbagged army posts".

This view is completely at variance with the known facts as are available from British army admissions about casualties, statements on I.R.A. operations from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, newspaper reports of incidents and the summary of events, as outlined in "Freedom Struggle". It is highly doubtful if British army morale was at an all time high in September, 1972, as it was evident that "Motorman" had failed and intensive operations were being carried out all over the occupied area, including the former no-go areas.

Far more than sporadic and token attacks or resistance was carried out against British armoured vehicles. Many land mine attacks were carried out during August, September and October of 1972, particularly in Armagh, Tyrone and Fermanagh; quite a number of armoured cars were destroyed by land mines and photographs of the wrecked vehicles were published in all the newspapers.

Another successful tactic introduced in August, 1972, was the "one-shot sniper" — several English newspapers subsequently commented on the "new sneak tactics" as they called them!

As we all know, when the Brits are hit hard they squeal like pigs and their regular troops began to squeal in the late summer and autumn of 1972, when they suffered more casualties, in both killed and wounded, than in any other four-month period in the campaign. (The Brits admitted that 58 of their regular troops were killed from the end of the Truce until mid-November, 1972).

Also, in this article the figure of 1,000 British injured up to December, 1972 was mentioned; this should have said 1,000 seriously injured. The total British injured by the end of 1972 was well over 2,000, many of whom were not admitted by the

GARDEN

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British. Careful research is a must for such important articles.
— P.O. Donnháil, Donnhach Phádraig, Co. na Mí.

EASTER COMMEMORATIONS

HERE in Wexford, reports appearing in local papers suggested that the National Liberation Front supplied colour parties and speakers for some of the Easter Commemorations that were held in the county.

These reports are entirely untrue as Orlagh na hEireann supplied all colour parties and none of those who gave orations were attached to the N.L.F. Also the N.L.F. did not lay a wreath on any Republican grave.
— P.R.O. Easter Committee, Wexford.

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.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

I WISH to correct an erroneous report which appeared in the last edition of "An Phoblacht". In a report on the Local Elections you stated that I was not a candidate. The facts are, I was elected at a meeting in New Ross on April 30, along with a number of other candidates from the county, and agreed to go forward.
— Seánus Mac Ealla, Fisher's Row, Wexford.

VOCATION

WITH regard to Cormac Mac Airt's attack on Bishop Phibbin (in March 8 issue), I would like to say that he made a very clear point. Some clergy are so conservative and opposed to change that they refuse to face reality. They interpret their mission as strictly religious, concerned exclusively with the welfare of souls. This is callous indifference to the misery in which so many people exist.

Thus their work becomes irrelevant to a people struggling for basic justice and the necessities of life. I believe that a priest who actively involves himself with the people, fighting the injustices and the people responsible for them is being true to his vocation.

One good example is the Kerryman, Rev. Joe O'Donoghue, who worked in Chile before Allende died. He saw the poverty of the people at first hand. For a while, he worked as a labourer on a building scheme there. It was enabled him to get to know the



Perhaps the bewildered expressions of these three Charollais cattle can be explained by the fact that prime Irish steak is being disposed of to the British armed forces for 20p per lb. while Irish housewives are forced to pay 80p upwards for the same commodity.

prominence on the political scene, they should be dismissed with the contempt they deserve.
— J.P. Murphy, Acton, London.

TREACHERY

AS a veteran of the 1930s, I am writing to you to state how disgusted all Irishmen and women are by the action of Quising Cosgrave in "recognising" the six occupied counties of our country as "part of the United Kingdom". Let the scoundrel put a referendum to the people and he will get a true answer.

Every true Irishman should stand up and protest in every conceivable way against this latest treachery.
Let us press forward in an all out effort to attain the goal striven for by our Fenian dead. Let not the sacrifices of the men of 1916-1922 and 1939-1956 and that of today's Freedom Fighters be in vain.

When the quings and traitors are buried in oblivion, the Tricolour will fly over a free united Republic.
— Emmón Murphy, Weston-Super-Mare, Somerset, Sasana.

INTERNMENT

TWO men from my parish of Armagh, Tomas Gribben and Cathal McNally, have been in Long Kesh since August, 1971. They were imprisoned without trial and have now served the equivalent of a five years jail sentence for no crime.

No evidence has been produced against them publicly. They were compelled to submit to the face of Whitehall's Tribunals which are contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights.

It is difficult to see how their status is different from that of slaves. They are being deprived of the youthful years of their prime on the secret evidence of political police.

Where are the promises of the Socialists who are now in Government, promises of Bills of Human Rights?

We have listened to their protests against playing rugby and cricket in South Africa and detention without trial in Chile

workers and their problems better. The wages were so meagre that he could barely survive. Married men received the same wage. He decided to join a strike action committee for better conditions.
— P.R.O. Donnháil, Donnhach Phádraig, Co. na Mí.

Meanwhile, President Allende, who backed the workers, was under attack by many vested interests, such as the wealthy, the middle class, the multi-national companies and army generals, who wanted to keep things as they were in Chile. Allende was murdered last September, and the capitalists seized power. With the unrest and discontent in Chile, at present, I believe we can look with hope to the future, when the workers will unite, and emerge victorious.

A more recent example of courage displayed by a clergyman was in Spain, when Bishop Antonio Amoveros dared to demand civil rights for the Basques. It is gratifying to see the Spanish - Hierarchy standing behind him. It will be interesting to see the outcome of this Spanish-Vatican dispute.

In conclusion, I must say that many priest have spoken out, in the North, against the injustice and oppression that they witness daily; but, sadly, too many have remained silent. Let's hope that they will find, in the future, the initiative and courage to speak.
— Máiread Murphy,

PROTEST

I WISH to protest on behalf of the Goss and Gaughran Cumann against the continued harassment of members of the Republican Movement by some members of the Gardaí.

During the past few weeks young members of the Movement who were selling "An Phoblacht" were questioned by Gardaí. We do not know the purpose of this questioning nor do we understand it. But surely as June 18, which is the date set for the Local Government elections draws near, this harassment must stop to allow us to carry on with our election campaign.

The Cumann would like to congratulate Na Fianna Eireann for carrying out a very successful hunger strike in support of Republican prisoners.
— Prionnsias De Brún, P.R.O., Goss and Gaughran Sinn Féin Cumann, Dún Dealgan.

BOAL UNDER FIRE

IT IS surely a matter for concern that of late there has been such a rash of right-wing opinion in the Republican press — even more so that it should be given such prominence and be so enthusiastically endorsed by editorial comment.

The virtual defication of Boal as a result of his vague, non-committal statements is ludicrous. The heralding of the U.V.F. as a Socialist movement is humorous unless that organisation gives concrete and continuous proof that it has abandoned the elitist, partisan policies that have typified its past.

If these individuals, who have little in their past to justify the title of either Socialist or Republican, now genuinely align themselves with Socialist policies, they are to be welcomed as equals, not hailed as Messiahs who have always espoused the true gospel.

If these individuals are only indulging in verbal gymnastics to ensure their continuing

Dún do bheál

CAINT a líonann na príosúin, a chuireann daoine i mbaol, a scriosann éifeacht na n-óglach.

Silence saves lives. Don't discuss what should be left unsaid in the interests of security. Remember there's a war on. B'fid thost.

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na Poblachta.

VISIT A PRISONER

FOR people in Baile Átha Cliath, who wish to visit prisoners in Portlaoise Prison, a bus leaves the office of this newspaper every Saturday morning at 11.30 arriving back in the capital at about 6 p.m.

Travel is free to all relatives of the prisoners to whom a visit brings a joy difficult to describe. It is essential to maintain their morale, by visits, by gifts, by letters, papers, books, musical instruments, records and similar material.

● Don't let the political hostages down. Big! fíaitiúil daonna.

POLICE STATE ACTION TO SMASH S.F.

LAST week Sinn Féin issued a statement to the press on police harassment of the organisation's local government election campaign. During the week this harassment has been intensified.

At its weekly meeting on May 13, Sinn Féin Coisde Seasta condemned the use of the police force for political discrimination and in obstructing election efforts by arresting members selling and distributing literature or collect ion election funds.

Debe

O lech, a 2

Ag na dugan agus McGraths tá Waterford Glass, Dublin Glass Bottle Co., cuid mhaith de Guinness, agus Jefferson-Smurfit (ex-Hely-Thoms).

Na daoine is mó tá ag ceannacht talún, ag síol le brabús mór mar gheall ar ghanntas na tithíochta, tá muintir Fhine Gael - Belton, Dockrell agus eile.

Uair éicint, agus an spás ar fáil dom, cuirfidh mé síos ar an gcaoi a bhí na "ruling families" seo ceangailte leis na teachtaí is mísiamaí Tigh Laighne agus sna comhlachtaí is suarai gno.

Bhí fíúis gaibh, dála an scéil, gur Blueshirt a bhí i Billy O'Brien Fitzgérald, a n- bochbrietheamh tá chomh díograiseach sin ar thóir na bFóblachtánach faoi láithair?

Ach ná déanaigí dearmad faoi Alexis. Déantar deimhín de go mbeidh a fhios ag na vótóirí cén sort ainmí atá ina.

Réiteach Spínola

IS geall le patrún na liobrálach i mBaile Atha Cliath an ginearáil at ina uachtarán ar an bPóirtíngeil, fear a fuair beannacht na cléire ina thír féin, an Spínola seo.

An fessach daoibh an réiteach a bhí aige ar réabhlóid na ndúchasach in éadan impireacht na Póirtíngeil?

Ina leabhar, a chuir tús leis an coup d'état sa tír sin, b'annálach a mhóil sé go dtabharfaidh gach saighdiúr "geal" na Póirtíngeile páiste don oiread sin ban dúchasach agus a d'fhéadadh sé, in éadan a dtíola, dá bmeadh géibéanig.

Mar thoradh air sin, d'hásfadh pobal nua sna háiteanna sin a mbeadh dlúthcheangal aige leis an bPóirtíngeil agus dílseacht di, dar leis.

Agus sin an cineál duine a dtug Cláríathas na Póirtíngeil a bheannacht a Dia idir sin agus an anachain!

Is iomaí scéal greannmhar tá cumtha ag oibritheoiri na Póirtíngeile faoin bhfead ud, rud a thuigfear gan stró agus éadair is tríd le "Spin" a chur san áireamh; bod, bior, gath, crann, gélas - táid sin, agus tulleadh, i hÍocht na hÉireann agus i gceant na Gaeltachta.

Bodach is ea Spínola agus nó b'íod an dallannhúgh air éinne gur daonlathaité.

UNDER MY EYE

Ar lean. Ón Iár.

Today, again, it is giving its full support to the British campaign of terror against Ireland's undaunted freedom fighters. In the debate on the Treaty, Liam Mellows warned that any institution set up under the Treaty always must act as a British policeman in Ireland. It must cooperate with the enemy because that was the purpose for which the enemy created it; and it can never be used as a means towards restoring the Republic.

I thought it necessary to point out these historical facts to the readers of this paper, and to would realise how necessary it is to build and construct new organs of government which can operate when the military struggle is successful.

It must never be said that: "We won the war and lost the peace". The fight now going on in occupied Ireland is not a fight to force any section of the Irish people to live under any of our present day parliamentary institutions. As I said before, we must create new organs of Government in which Irishmen of all creeds can take part and of which they be proud.

"Today, Patsy Sweeney, an ex-Ardchomhairle member and director of elections for the Drogheda area, according to a Sinn Féin statement, "was arrested and, with another local electioneer, Tommy O'Rourke, was lodged in the Bridewell, Dublin.

"Police raided the home of John Campbell, also of Drogheda, and, in his absence, seized Sinn Féin political education tape lectures and the accompanying film slides and the slide projection, which were being used in instruction of members in the election campaign."

CLOMEL: Jim Fitzgerald and Denis Coogan, both candidates in the area, were arrested and sent to Limerick Prison for collecting funds.

WATERFORD: There is general harassment and interference in house-to-house collection and canvass.

LEITRIM: The home of John Keaney at Keshkeirigan was raided on May 4 and the tape and slides and lecture notes were seized. Mr. Keaney is a member of an Ardchomhairle and education officer for south Leitrim.

DUBLIN: Today, Charlie McGlade, a member of an Ardchomhairle, was arrested and held in the Bridewell.

DUNDALK: On May 6, Councillor Pat Duffy was taken from his home and detained for five hours. No charge was proffered and he was released.

BALLAGHERREENE: Man and girl arrested coming from Sinn Féin meeting and held for hours, finally being released.

RATHFARNHAM, Dublin: Members intimidated by S.B. going to and leaving meetings. Posters seized on three occasions.

Troops - out

Ar lean. Ón Iár.

The sinister trend of development in the British army was corroborated by Fred Halliday in his survey of Britain's "little wars" since 1935.

Charting the steps, from straightforward colonial repression in Palestine, Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus, to the counter-revolutionary ventures in Oman and North Yemen, Halliday showed how the British adopted their military organisation to combat nationalist, communist rural and urban guerrillas, how they systematically exterminated Mau Mau opponents, bombed crops and irrigation in Oman and tried to isolate the freedom fighters from the people in Malaya by segregation of villages.

In Aden, they learnt the importance of the media and, to prevent reporting of atrocities, kept the press out.

When stories of official brutality eventually began to leak out the whitewash commission trick was adopted to contain hostile world opinion.

The war in Oman, in the Gulf States, where the British intervened to support a mediaeval sultan in suppressing a popular revolution (incidentally coinciding with British oil interests), gave full scope to the "Dirty Tricks Department" and saw the arrival of the Special Air Services on the scene.

This war saw the merging of hitherto relatively separate political, military and intelligence interests in the delicate and dangerous task of stage-managing the affairs of someone else's country - for, formally, Britain remains no more than an ally of Oman.

With the failure of brute repression to preserve the status quo a British-inspired coup destroyed the Sultan in favour of his Sandhurst-trained son, Qabus, who was to initiate minimal reforms.

Meanwhile, British "military advisers" commanded the army in repeated attempts to smash the revolutionaries.

The most important gain the British army made, as it lost its colonies, was ideological cohesiveness - first of the various ranks within the army, next an identification of the media with the army and, consequently, the total support of the home population in whose name they acted.

Eamonn McCann, Gerry Lawless and John Maloufin contributed views at the London conference, on the political and military situation in the North, stressing that the British army was an army of occupation, daily using torture in pursuance of its aims, that Sunningdale was an establishment exercise in stage-managing a solution regardless of the major forces operating in the communities, and that an independent, united Ireland was the only context on which a viable solution could take place.

But most of the questions in the session which followed were addressed to a Belfast woman, Mrs. Bridie Dodds, who spoke simply but eloquently on what it meant to be a housewife in Andersonstown.

Quietly underscoring the indomitable spirit of the North, without attempting to make party points, Mrs. Dodds conveyed to many of those present for the first time that the liberation struggle was for something more than a set of slogans.



A recent picture, at a Republican Commemoration, of Seamus G. O Ceallaigh, and his wife, Madge.

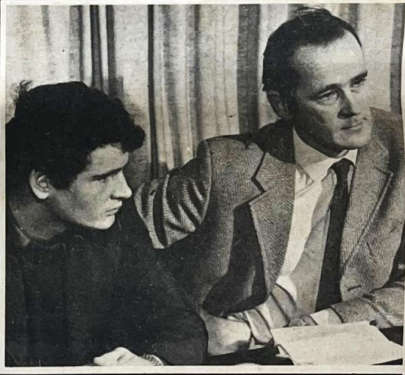
The Éire Nua plan of regional government needs a lot of more careful study by all sections of the Republican Movement. A beginning can be made, now, before it is too late. British parliamentary institutions in Ireland, or institutions built upon the British model, do not suit this country and operate against its wellbeing.

If the revolution is to be completed, all such governmental structures must be abolished and replaced by native ones, built and fashioned by the people themselves. That is the message of this column this week; and, let me add: "When we win the war, as we will, let us make sure that we also win the peace" and give to our country a sane, just, social system, based upon equality and justice, where the children of the nation will really be cherished equally, and where the law of the capitalist jungle will cease to operate for all time."

CORMAC MAC AIRT



Will this young Scot, pictured above with Charlie McGlade, Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle, be allowed to remain in Ireland? He is Gerald Burns and he is seeking political asylum. He wasn't even listened to in the Dublin Department of Foreign Affairs last week but, with Charlie, whisked off to prison from which he and Charlie were released later, without charge.



Left, he is pictured with Sinn Féin leasuachtarán Dáithí Ó Conaill at the news-conference where his plea - and the reasons (British army brutality) were explained to newsmen. Charlie McGlade states: "I have accompanied a young British soldier who has voluntarily deserted from the British army of occupation in the Six Counties and called on the Department of External Affairs with a view to securing political asylum for him. "Both of us were arrested without any explanation beyond being informed that we were being detained under a section of the Offences against the State Act.

Seamus G. O Ceallaigh

WE regret to record the death of a very valuable contributor to this paper, Seamus G. O Ceallaigh, whose articles in the "Under my Eye" column were eagerly looked forward to each week. He used the pen-name Cormac Mac Airt and this week we publish his final column.

Amongst the large funeral gatherings was Joe Clarke, the 1916 fighter, and Charlie McGlade, of Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle, who gave the grave-side oration.

He commented on the date of Seamus G.'s death - May 11 - the date in 1946 when his friend, Seán McCaughey died on hunger and thirst strike in FortLeas Prison.

Seamus's father was a J.P. in Fermagh with a thriving business when the 1916 Rebellion broke out. His resignation in protest against the executions and the subsequent collapse of the business, forced the family to move to Dublin and hard times.

In Dublin Seamus, a spastic, was treated by Dr. Sigmund, who helped him form his nationalist outlook. He joined the Republican Movement and worked diligently for the cause of Irish freedom until internment in the Curragh in the early 1940s.

Founded papers
On release he continued the task as a member of Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle. He founded the monthly paper, "Resurgence", and later was largely responsible for setting up "The United Irishman".

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