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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FERMANAGH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE COMMITTEE

"IRELAND UNFREE SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE"

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NO
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NO
RATES

No. 176

Saturday, 15th March (De Sathairn, 15 Marta), 1975

Power to the People

IT was another week of controversy over the future of policing of Republican/Nationalist areas of the North. In these areas the Royal Ulster Constabulary are unacceptable to the populace and were seen to be so this week. Loyalist paramilitary leaders were in London lobbying Members of Parliament and trying to impress the British Government with their version of the policing row. Some claimed that they had photographs of patrolling Land Rovers with "IRA police" written over them. Their claims were, of course, untrue.

The Social and Democratic Labour Party are currently engaged in mincing words over their refusal to accept the RUC—unless a deal is worked on power-sharing. They do not accept the force as personal armed bodyguards. But the grand booty for their acceptance of the Royal Ulster Constabulary would be the revival of last year's abortive Executive venture.

The South's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Garrett Fitzgerald, was on the 'phone from Brussels, registering his "disapproval" of any attempt to undermine the authority of the RUC. He took a plane soon after to London and expressed to Mr. Merlyn Rees the Irish Government's need for reassurance that the Provisionals' incident centres and the scaling down of British military activity in the North were not giving too much power to the Provisionals in their own areas.

DEVOLUTION OF POWER

Assurances and re-assurances will go on being demanded and sought by the professional politicians, prepared and nurtured on economic power and prestige. This is standard style in the event and the progress of all revolutions. It helps to clarify the position momentarily as politicians begin to recognise the seriousness of their own situation. They can no further mock the people with new political deals because the people no longer have faith in them. They recognise the end of bureaucracy and the return of power to the people. In the North, the politician sees the writing is on the wall for him—existence for the people has been bitter and they will stop at nothing. One begins to wonder do the isolated, blind and depressed politicians of the South realise at last that our aim is the end of bureaucracy in Ireland, and the devolution of power to the people, North and South, is our goal.

SELF-GOVERNMENT SOLUTION

Republicans have always maintained that drastic political and structural change is necessary in Ireland. Events both North and South of the Border have highlighted this necessity. Both the British and Southern Ireland Governments may think that the old abolished Stormont can be replaced by another Six-County-type regime. But Republi-

cans believe that a political solution to the present state of our country can only be found in a system that would of its very nature encourage self-governing communities, with a guaranteed degree of local autonomy—a structure of government that would be federal in character and in a 32-County context.

Thus the decision-making process would be broken up and brought down to the people, Unionist and Republicans alike. The fact that under such a system, as proposed by the Provisionals, an Ulster Parliament would give Unionists a working majority in the most populous (1½ million) province of Ireland should not be overlooked. But we think that if such proposed structures return power to the people everywhere, so that they have real and effective control over their own lives at all levels, such can only be a healthy situation. The Republican Movement believes that the "quality of life" struggle which faces Ireland as it does the world is relevant here. It seeks to tackle the problem in a radical, fundamental way, based on an analytical examination of the root causes, the main one of which is bureaucracy. It opts for policies which fit in with the traditional aspirations of the Irish people and the aspirations of anti-imperialistic people everywhere.

"An Phoblacht", the weekly voice of the Provisional Republican Movement, makes the following relevant comment:

"Provisional Sinn Féin has the advantage of having a rough blueprint for such institutions, capable of adaptation, if necessary. Other political groups may have other ideas: they are welcome to put them forward as soon as possible. Then the matter must be left for the people to choose, by means of referenda and election. If the British decide to make war on these freely elected, democratic institutions, as they waged war on Dail Éireann (Southern House of Parliament), they will do so at their own peril and a reopening of hostilities will be the most likely reaction.

The various political groupings in the nationally minded areas—and outside of them—will be tested in the weeks ahead as to their allegiance to community democracy or to that of Stormont-Westminster-Leinster House.

"Rees and the British Government will be tested on the question: do they want peace, founded on justice, with the sovereign people in charge, producing their own institutions and manning them, or do they want to continue forcing on the people their own imperialistic and monopoly capitalist institutions and, in effect, war?

"Obviously, in a truce situation which, at any time, may become a war situation once again, there are risks in what we have pictured very roughly. Such a peace-keeping force would be

open to infiltration by spies and racketeers. But what is the alternative if we are to evolve to a peacetime situation? Nobody wants the Royal Ulster Constabulary back. We believe the people can be trusted to found and operate such an institution. The professional politicians, obviously, do not trust the people and want to keep power from them, in their own selfish interests.

"We should welcome rather than complain if people in other districts eject the RUC and set up their own peace-keeping forces and other institutions and see in such moves, at long last, the gleam of wisdom and the realisation of our brothers and sisters elsewhere as to where their true interests lie. The logic of such moves must bring them forward. Community government, returning power to the people everywhere, can only be healthy. Within time we can hope even for co-operation among the peace-keeping forces among the different communities just as we have liaison among the communities at present in connection with housing and co-operatives. This must make for mutual trust and a firmer basis for peace. And for the squeezing out of imperialism and monopoly capitalism in all its shapes and forms."

INSTITUTIONALISED VIOLENCE

IN the July-August, 1974, edition of "Far East" there was a very interesting article on institutional violence written by a missionary serving in the Third World, Fr. Frank Regan.

Although his article was based on the more backward countries where he works it does have a parallel to the situation here. He outlines the reasons for violence in the community as police brutality and torture, falsification of information, maltreatment of workers, and so on. All this can be summed up in one word—INJUSTICE.

At last the sufferers of these injustices all over the world are awakening and are beginning to look for freedom. The struggle for freedom is a long process, with its advances and set-backs, but it cannot stop until the ultimate goal of freedom is achieved. Today in Ireland we have people on the streets calling for peace, but the most important word is missing—JUSTICE.

Fr. Regan outlined the true Christian attitude when he wrote: "We as Christians have a duty to promote the liberation of all people. We are struck by the violence which emanates from these countries and well we might be. Do we want peace? Do we want freedom? Then let there be justice —JUSTICE, then peace in the world."

THE SMOOTH FACE OF THE ENEMY

[This article contains the personal views of the writer and not to be taken as Republican policy. We publish it as a contribution to the debate taking place about the forthcoming Convention election — Editor].

Sir,

With reference to the above article in the R.N. dated Saturday 1st February, may I comment.

Whilst I agree with your comments regarding the hoped-for division in the Republican Movement, by the British I would not agree with your solution, i.e., 'for Sinn Féin NOT to take part in Convention elections' as the only answer.

The so-called N.I. Convention is being set up as a propaganda exercise by Britain to make it appear 'that British control here is democratic'.

This British propaganda exercise contains dangers for Britain which the Republican movement could successfully exploit.

It is no doubt hoped by Britain,

1. That through elections to a convention some form of democrat-

ic vote can be claimed to have taken place.

2. That through discussions between the U.U.C. and the SDLP some form of N.I. Government can be established.

3. That through these farcical elections farcical talks — farcical N.I. Government.

a. Weaken the support in Ireland for the I.R.A.

b. Give the British Government and Army the excuse for greater repressive laws in Ireland which the British public will support.

Now the danger is, that the British Government by using convention elections may well achieve this if Sinn Féin plus the Republican Army do not expose their conventional election for the confidence trick it is.

It must be agreed that the Irish people in the north currently face two enemies.

a. British politicians and British gunmen.

b. Unionists plus their military and paramilitary groups.

Now the Irish people of the North have supported and continue to support the militant wing of the

Republican Movement but rightly also see the need to oppose the political enemy.

In the past Sinn Féin has offered the Northern nationalists — a spoilt vote — a boycott policy — with disastrous results I do not try to disguise because of lack of support for these Sinn Féin tactics, but simply the — what the people generally considered — equal alternative i.e. voting for the SDLP. Now even with the disgraceful record of the SDLP, cia.

1. dropping their condominium solution.

2. Accepting internment — attacking the rent and rate strikers.

3. Forming an alliance with Brian Faulkner.

4. Dropping the so called 'Irish dimension'.

5. Outrageous and blatant lying attacks on the Republican Army, there is a great danger that once again, the Northern Nationalist will vote this crew into power on the erroneous assumption that any voice (the SDLP) is better than none. It must be evident that the SDLP have now dropped all pretence of being either Nationalist or Socialist, and in convention elections will appeal for the straight Catholic vote, which they may well get.

I would argue if the Sinn Féin allows the SDLP a free run at elections, by offering no better than a 'spoilt vote' or boycott campaign, it will seriously affect the Republican struggle cia.

a. It will seriously hinder Sinn Féin in the North joining our elected comrades in the South and becoming a serious political 32 county party.

b. It will isolate the Republican Movement in the North as being purely military and hence weaken it.

c. It will allow the SDLP a further period to use the British media to erode support for the Republican Movement both at home and abroad.

d. It will allow both the British and the SDLP to portray the struggle in the North as sectarian.

I believe if the Republican Movement were to contest convention elections under the following conditions:

1. The Republican Movement does not accept Britain's right to hold elections in Ireland but will use the present convention elections to promote the Republican movement's struggle for the freedom of the Irish people.

2. That candidates selected to contest elections will be answerable to the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Féin plus the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army, only.

3. Successful Republican candidates will not engage in N.I. politics for immediate social or economic gains, but their whole energy will be used to oppose British control of Ireland.

Under the above conditions the unity of the Republican movement would remain intact and at the same time

give the people an opportunity to elect people whom they could trust. There is no doubt at the present crucial time that the people of the North demands that the Republican Movement puts a lie to the British and SDLP propaganda that the struggle in the North is simply a religious one. The people demand Republican representation; let Sinn Féin have the courage to give them it.

J. HAUGHIAN,
Vice Chairman, Ulster Executive.



VIOLENCE

I am glad I do not live in Belfast.

*Wild,
Terror goes round the street,
And beats go round the window.
It rumbles hard,
It beats hard.*

*I am sure there's a little girl there
Struggling for her life.
Just the same age as I,
Just the same age as I.*

*I shout when I hear an ambulance,
But she thinks it proper,
Because she's used to it.*

*The Army —
It's like a car to her,
And blood like water.
Poor little girl from Belfast.*

By an 8 year-old, from Co. Tyrone.

British Army desertions on the increase

The number of soldiers who buy themselves out of British army or just desert is on the increase, the Ministry of Defence are forced to admit.

Their latest official figures show that the numbers allowed to pay to get out rose to 5,273 in 1973. It was 3,953 the previous year. Total army strength is 170,000.

Demoralisation

One clear cause for the demoralization among regular soldiers is the high casualty rate inflicted on their ranks in the north of Ireland. But at its heart is the certain prospect that joining the army today means that you will be launched into repressive operations against trade unionists and workers.

The heightened hostility in the working class to the police and army is reflected in the massive advertising campaigns for recruits which cost £2.9m in 1972-1973, and which has been boosted since. The number of army recruits fell dramatically from 13,988 in the first six months of 1972, to 8,616 in the same period of 1973.

What is especially clear is that the strength of the working class in fighting back against the economic policies of both Labour and Tory governments over the last three years has strengthened the opposition to being pushed into military service in the high unemployment areas, which accounts for half of army recruitment.

The Ministry's figures also show that 1,351 soldiers went absent without leave (AWOL) in 1973 and the number of soldiers convicted of desertion rose sharply between 1972 and 1973 from 76 to 137.

787 deserted to Sweden

According to a recent TV programme the number of deserters who have fled to Sweden since 1969 when the army was brought onto the streets in Ulster was 787.

Internal discipline is also pretty shaky. Court martials are on the increase for offences like refusing to obey a lawful command, insubordination and drugs offences. In the first six months of last year the army chiefs held 853 such trials.

Meanwhile the high price of "peace-keeping" in Ireland will do nothing to endear Britain's role in Ireland to the British public.

The cost of keeping the British army in the North during 1974-75 will be about £33m. And in the period up to mid-1978 the Government expects to pay out £122 m. in criminal injury and damage compensation arising out of the violence there. The figure is more than three times the original estimate.

These facts are disclosed in the British Government's White Paper on public expenditure over the next five years which was published recently.

The original provision for claims compensation during the period was £37m. but it has been increased "following a reassessment of the incidence of damage in the past and the present level of settlements".

HISTORY BEING CREATED IN NORTH:

Republican Movement and its future

For fifty years and more Irishmen have been powerless in face of history. Decisions were made for us. Our future was shaped for us. We were mere passive spectators at the progress of our history. Consciousness of our powerlessness has fired our will to power. But our will power is not the desire to dominate others, to reduce others to a colonial state. Our will to power is our determination to liberate ourselves from every power, British, orange or green, which would seek to deprive us of the right to create our own history. This is the power and the freedom which we seek. The history of Ireland has been a history of Imperialism in Ireland, a history of domination. We did not create that history, we endured it.



Irish history is today being created in the Six Counties of the North. The deprived minority, and soon we hope, the majority, heretofore exploited by imperialism, are on the march. We are no longer passive, no longer prepared to accept and endure whatever history England decides to create for us. Irishmen and Irishwomen today are creating their own history because they are asserting their claim on the future.

REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT SET ON FUTURE:

The motivation of the Irish Republican Movement runs deeper than mere geographical boundaries. Their real motivation is the consciousness that as long as English influence and control dominates in Ireland, whether that influence be political or military or economic,

Irishmen whether they be Unionist or Republicans, are denied the right to shape their own future and their own history. How different the views of the disestablished politicians of the North who still claim to represent the people and the imitative politicians of the South. These bought souls, in politics for what they can get out of it, have sought constantly to denigrate Republicans. They are the John Hume and the Austin Currie, the Gerry Fitts and the Paddy Devlins, who with their Southern counterparts, detest the Republican policy, fearing most the unthought mass of Irish people who recognise and admire the sincerity of Irish Republicans. They now recognise with the people that the army of the people cannot be beaten by imperialist violence or

any military force. They see by the practical policy of the Republican Movement that, far from practical policy of the Republican Movement that, far from concentrating on the past, its heart is set on the future. This policy, outlined in the document entitled "Eire Nua" aims at restoring power to the Irish people at every level of the community. It aims at a real and meaningful decentralisation of power and political decision making from the lowest level of community and the building up of alternative structuring of government to replace the present partitionist, neo-colonialist arrangements. Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Republican Movement is the first group to advocate these policies of political leadership of the people at local level which also include the idea of a nine-county Ulster as the best solution for the Northern problem.

TWO VIEWS ON POLITICAL ACTION

I said last week that Pádraig O Séocháin's letter raised the question of the "working class" and who they are. We saw that they form a minority of the Irish people and thus a questionable social base for political action aimed at achieving an Irish socialist democracy. But Mr. O Séocháin's letter raised another important question too.

He says that "An Phoblacht" and, by implication, Sinn Féin should be highlighting such problems as "evictions, bad housing and unemployment" and "should show what Sinn Féin are doing to improve people's standards of living".

What this amounts to saying is that the political action of Sinn Féin in the 26 Counties should take two main forms. Firstly, it should be agitating about those same instances of economic and physical distress which opposition groups in general, some T.D.'s of the Government parties, and socially-minded priests, complain about. Secondly, it should be taking steps, and advocating measures, to make people better off financially and physically.

Apparently, the purpose of this activity would be to get the bureaucracy or Leinster House to set right what was wrong, and to win some increase in support for Sinn Féin.

Now, there are, within Sinn Féin, two schools of thought about the form which its political activity should take. The great majority share Mr. O Séocháin's view and most Sinn Féin political activity reflects this view. An old couple are to be evicted from their house, or five young couples have got badly built houses, and some Cumann organises a campaign to get the matter righted.

Workers are declared redundant at a factory, prices for some sort of farm produce slump, a public playing-field is to be used to build a shopping-centre, and some Cumann or Comhairle Ceanntair issues protest statements, writes letters to the papers and calls public meetings.

In some rare cases, a Sinn Féin group take positive action by opening a citizens' advice bureau, by encouraging the formation of a co-operative or by actually setting up a small co-operative enterprise. (The only instances of the latter that I know of have occurred in Andersonstown, Belfast).

A minority of Republicans, whose view I share, believe that this is not the right kind of political activity for Sinn Féin. They criticise it on several grounds and advocate political activity of another kind. They would call the sort of politics which I have described as "reformist", and the kind which they advocate "revolutionary". Their arguments run along the following lines.

Sinn Féin is a small political group whose only hope of winning and increasing support lies in changing the existing patterns of party support or, more precisely, the *established voting habits* of the electorate. This is not an easy thing to do and it is certainly not done by taking up the same kind of issues, and saying the same kind of things, as countless other groups within and without the dominant party system.

Nor again, are the established voting habits changed by doing positive things — such as encouraging co-operatives or opening advice centres which many others, of various political complexions, also do.

Secondly, Sinn Féin is a revolutionary movement. It stands for the removal of the present political and economic system and its replacement by another, democratic system. Consequently, it is untrue to itself if its political activity has the effect, in practice, of removing injustices caused by the present regime and thereby making it more acceptable to the people.

Public protests about economic and physical distress or injustice are part and parcel of the present system. It allows for them, it tolerates them willingly. Indeed, it uses them to display how free and tolerant it is. Moreover, in many cases of the kind I mentioned above, it removes the particular distress or corrects the particular injustice — it has the money to do so — thereby displaying how flexible, righteous and compassionate it is. So the net effect is a continual strengthening and reinforcement of the essential status quo.

Listen sharply to radio and television, read the big newspapers with a sharp eye, and you will notice that one of their central themes is to display *concern* about instances of economic and physical distress, *compassion* for the sufferers, and even *indignation* that things like this should occur. Listen, with this in mind, to the "Gay Byrne Hour" or "Here And Now" on morning radio, or look at those solemn Sunday evening discussions on television or at "Outlook" any night, or read the "deeply concerned" and "critical" editorials in the papers.

Through all of these voices — even a Valerie McGovern saying between the jingle of two records "Now, you will take care this week-end, won't you, and drive carefully?" — our ruling class, the established system of power, are displaying to the people how sensitive they are to injustice and suffering, how zealous for righteousness and for everyone's happiness and health.

All of this is part and parcel of the regime. To listen to our politicians and leading businessmen, and to the media people, one would imagine that all they want to do is to "help" people — their favourite patronising word — in any way they can. Only ask and you shall receive.

Whether it is a matter of changing the established voting habits, or of being true to itself as a revolutionary party, Sinn Féin must pursue (say the minority) a form of political activity which looks and sounds *different*, and which is directed towards righting, not the superficial, material distresses; but the *radical political wrongness* of Irish society.

So what it boils down to is this: that the only way to success for Sinn Féin is (1) to put the proclamation of the New Ireland programme at the centre of its political activity, (2) to use every issue to direct the minds and hopes of the people towards that alternative Ireland, and away from the present system, and (3) to give priority to those issues which best enable this to be done.

The first and basic way of proclaiming the New Ireland programme, and of making it central to our political activity, is to reorganise Sinn Féin in the *shape of the New Ireland*, as a federation of four provincial Sinn Féins, with regional and district councils corresponding to natural communities of the nation. The revolutionary political struggle would then consist of winning the support of the people, at every level, for this new form of political society — already existing embryonically in their midst and offering itself to them as an instrument of self-government and liberation.

BUREAUCRACY FORGETS THE INTERNEES

THERE was acute embarrassment at Stormont Castle on 4th March following two administrative blunders by the Northern Ireland Office regarding internees in Long Kesh concentration camp.

Fr. Denis Faul, the well-known anti-internment campaigner, received a letter stating that the Northern Secretary, Mr. Rees, could not justify the release of Derry internee Mr. James Kyle. Mr. Kyle was in fact released after five months' detention on 15th January last. Later that day a spokesman at Stormont Castle admitted the mistake, saying it was a genuine error made by an official. Fr. Faul claims that this incident showed "the absolute chaos which surrounded the internment of Catholic citizens in Long Kesh". The authorities do not even know who they have in Long Kesh and they obviously do not care, he said.

The second administrative mix-up came to light the same evening. The wife of another internee, James Auld of Belfast, was told in a letter from Stormont Castle, dated 27th February, that arrangements were being made for her husband to be seen by a psychiatrist, Dr. Plunkett of Armagh. Mrs. Auld confirmed that Dr. Plunkett had, in fact, seen her husband on 18th February. Mr. Auld, one of the original "hooded men", is now in the camp hospital, having suffered his ninth black-out since December on Sunday last.

This week a further letter arrived to Fr. Faul. It referred to the earlier correspondence and went on: "The Secretary of State does not feel justified in directing Mr. Kyle's discharge. The points in your letter have been sympathetically considered and Mr. Rees has taken into account a report from the prison authorities. He understands that Fr. Mulvey, Mr. Kyle's parish priest, has visited him recently."

Mr. Kyle was one of 25 detainees released on the personal orders of Mr. Rees on 15th January.

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Bishop on 'Dollars that add to Grief'

MOST Rev. Dr. Edward Daly, Bishop of Derry, does an injustice to the Irish-Americans when he describes them as dewy-eyed romantics remembering an Ireland of "colleens in green dresses spinning wool and walking down leafy boreens (country roads) on warm sunny evenings". He adds that "such does not exist any more".

It never did exist, Dr. Daly, and no one knows that better than the Irish-Americans, whose memories could be of nothing but the sordid misery to which their people had been reduced and the degradation from which they fled in order to survive—a situation which Dr. Daly lightly lays "at the door of England's muddled political attitudes to Ireland". Some "muddling" that achieved for them power and wealth at the expense of the suffering and tragedy of many nations other than Ireland.

"The romantic view of Ireland originated in Hollywood," he states—wrong, Dr. Daly. The green-clad, wool-spinning summery colleens originated in the minds of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy—those of a literary bent—who wrote poems and books and plays of these creatures of their imagination, that helped to ease what conscience they may have had and diverted attention from the real misery in the hovels at their gates. And the only time the Irish-Americans are treated to this "romantic view" nowadays is when the impoverished, collective mind of Bord Fáilte dips into its Anglo-Irish cultural heritage to put on a show for tourists.

DREAMS OF FREEDOM

When the Fenians (political exiles) met in the dark corners and back streets of New York and Boston it was not to dream of leafy lanes in Ireland but to plot and plan how they could lift the weight of a rapacious Empire off the backs of their people. If they dreamt dreams it was of freedom and rights and independence, dreams given substance by their experience of America.

When the poor Irish emigrants collected their dollars and dimes it was to help their poorer members at home, to stave off hunger and want and maybe to pay their passage to America so that a few more might survive. And later help was sent by these same people, not to buy more wool or spinning wheels, but to continue to support those at home still in want—in want of money, in want of employment, in want of their national freedom.

When the present-day Irish-Americans send back help it is not because they have a memory-view of green-clad colleens in leafy boreens, but a factual view of weary women trekking back and forth day after day, year after year, to visit their husbands, fathers and sons in jails and concentration camps, or "crawling on their hands and knees up and down the steps of Stormont looking for a ray of hope", as one priest recently described them.

BLOODY SUNDAY

"Stop sending these people money—it only helps to inflame further suffering and prolongs injustice . . ." Dr. Daly obviously favours a type of national euthanasia. "It had taken the British a long time to understand that force didn't work—we must stop blaming them"—but of course, and how stupid and unromantic of us that we did not realise that a combined British military and security force of 30,000 are in the 6-Counties on prolonged holidays, unable to tear themselves away from the ever-leafy, ever-summer lanes and the unfailing attractions of the ever-green colleens.

"The British force on Bloody Sunday did not break the spirit of the people of Derry," continues Dr. Daly. Was it meant to? "They had already learnt that force does not work in Ireland"—they were merely out for a day's shooting, a fact borne out three weeks later when the Queen of Great

Britain and Northern Ireland pinned a medal of honour on the particular commander of her forces who led the massacre.

"Many of the Irish in America have a complete misunderstanding of what is happening in Ireland today. Many of them have never been in Ireland and few have been to the 6-Counties . . ." And how many of us have been to India, to Bangladesh, to Ethiopia, Africa, South America? Where you haven't been and those you haven't seen, you should not, must not help.

"PAYING DEARLY FOR 1916 RISING"

Nor have the Irish in America a misunderstanding of the past such as Dr. Daly shows when he says: "The Irish people were paying dearly for the defeat of constitutional politics by the 1916 Rising and the emergence of the Ulster Volunteer Force"—the Ulster Volunteer Force was well emerged and established before the 1916 Rising and it was neither the 1916 Rising nor the Irish people that defeated constitutional politics, but the Irish hierarchy who stubbornly refused to give their recognition to the massive majority result by democratic vote in the All-Ireland election of 1919 calling for the setting up of a 32-County Republic. A constitutional move which his episcopal colleague (the other Rev. Dr. Daly, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois) quoted only a month ago as justifying the 1916 Rising.

But Dr. Daly does produce for Ireland a new "picture post-card image—a true image of a progressive European nation". Could it be that Dr. Daly was not really doing an injustice to the Irish-American people in accusing them of "holding and projecting a Hollywood picture postcard image of an Ireland of shillelaghs and begorras" in that he was not addressing them, but speaking over their heads and beyond—to American financiers and industrialists, inviting them to come and invest their money "in a progressive European nation".

His statements could, in that context, be seen at one with recent utterances from the Dublin Cabinet when seeking American financial aid at Government level. In a pamphlet the Minister for Finance in the Southern Government, Mr. Ritchie Ryan, wrote that there are no troubles in Southern Ireland as it is a distinct state from Northern Ireland and troubles in the North have nothing to do with it.

Perhaps this is what Dr. Daly had in mind when he advised the Irish-Americans "to face the present and take a stand on the future" . . . and must they, with Dr. Daly, dance on the past and on the hungry dead.

USA REVOKE VISAS

MR. Seamus Loughran, Northern organiser of Provisional Sinn Féin, has been barred from re-entering the United States by the US State Department in Washington. This was confirmed by the US Consul in Belfast, Mr. Norman A. Singer, who said that Mr. Loughran had been made ineligible to hold a US visa under Section 121(A) (28) (F) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The US action comes four weeks after the Northern Sinn Féin organiser returned from a visit to New York as guest of honour at the third annual dinner of Northern Aid, a fund-raising organisation for prisoners' dependants. Mr. Loughran was convinced that the action followed pressure from the Dublin and London Governments.

In Dublin this week Mr. Sean Keenan, veteran Derry Republican, received a similar letter barring him from entering the States.

These are two more Republicans to join the "undesirables" like Ruairi O Bradaigh, Joe Cahill and Maire Drumm.

The country of liberty and justice?

OFF TO LONDON IN A SWEAT

THE "Free State" Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, is perhaps the busiest and most anxious man in Ireland today. The reason is that his Ministerial portfolio entails the Six County problem (the Six Counties now being classified by the partitionist Southern Government as a "foreign" area).

On Wednesday, 6th March Dr. Fitzgerald was once again in London, begging the British Government to keep its army in Ireland, and not to reach any solution with the Republican Movement. Dr. Fitzgerald's Government, like the Unionists and Social and Democratic Labour Party in the Six County area, are terrified that the British Government will come to a solution with the Republicans. Any such solution would open the way to the building of the New Ireland with the power in the hands of the people. Dr. Fitzgerald and his fellow bureaucrats rightly feel that their own privileged position would then be jeopardised as the whole system of patronisation and corruption comes tumbling down.

MORE TROOPS

Dr. Fitzgerald expressed fears that credibility could be given to the Provisional IRA by the new incident centres, both those run by civil servants and by Sinn Féin, when he had talks in London with members of the British Government and with leading members of the Opposition.

He begged the British Government to confine the activities of the incident centres to monitoring the ceasefire. He also cautioned the British to beware of the Republicans in negotiations and asked them to "deal with the IRA" as his own Government does—"firmly". He also assured the British Government that the IRA are now in a state of "weakness" and called for a greater British presence with increased searches in Catholic areas.

Dr. Fitzgerald lied that "the establishment of the incident centres was claimed by the IRA as part of a scheme which would enable them to police minority areas".

POLITICAL GAME

On the issue of internment, Dr. Fitzgerald told the British Government that "perhaps" it might be a good idea to release a few internees, because he said this would weaken the IRA's propaganda position. "The present ceasefire", he said, "is not easy to interpret. I believe that it has been contributed to by the weakness of the IRA and by the growing erosion of its limited support in Belfast. I welcome the ceasefire, but I would have been happier if the emphasis afterwards had been placed on the release of internees as this would have eroded the Provisional support further, instead of involving contact between them and Government officials".

BARGAINING COUNTER

Dr. Fitzgerald thus admits that the liberty of men and women interned without trial is only important as a bargaining counter to bolster up British power and his own position. The same, of course, goes for the unfortunate people interned by his own Special Political Courts in the South. The Republican movement demands the release of all political prisoners for the one simple reason that they should never have been interned in the first place.

Dr. Fitzgerald says he would be "happy" if a few people were released by a clement British Government only because this would promote British policy and that of Britain's uncle Toms. The Republican movement is concerned with the happiness of people based on the inherent human right of freedom. It is not concerned with whether the scheming Dr. Fitzgerald feels himself "happy" or otherwise.