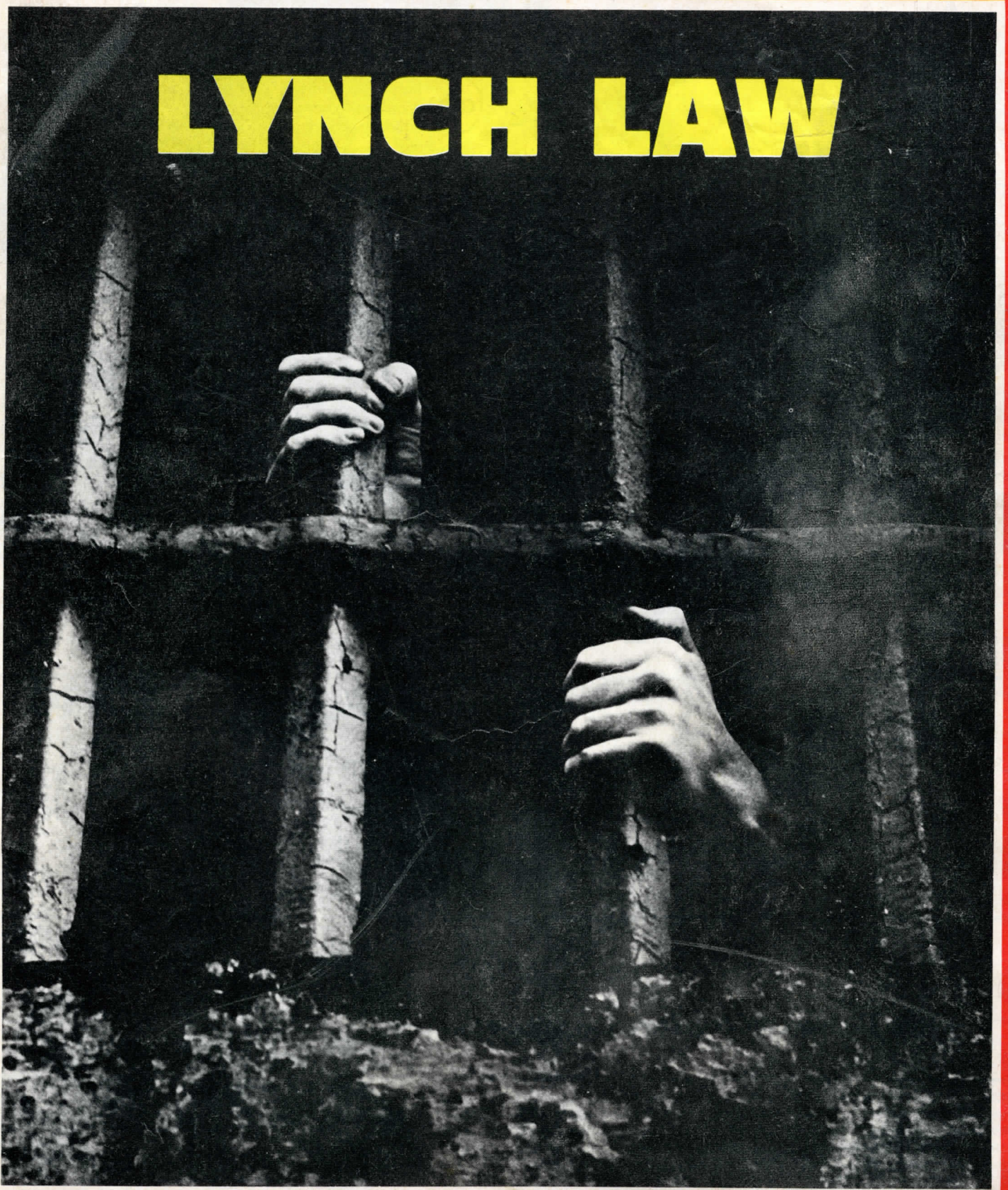


This Week

December 17, 1970 Price 2/6 (including 3½d. tax)

LYNCH LAW





True. The brandy of Napoleon costs no more than others.

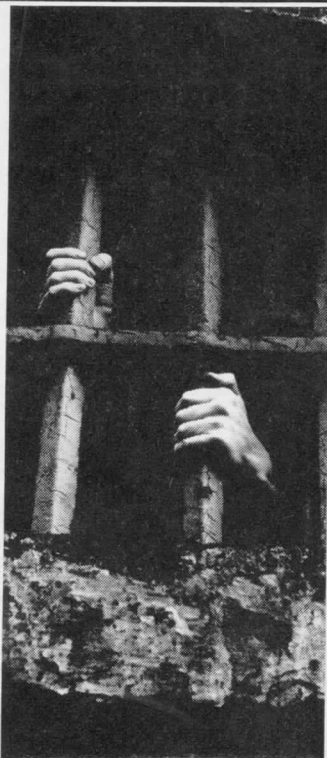
COURVOISIER



This Week

Vol. 2. No. 9. December 17, 1970

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Cover picture / Tom McElroy

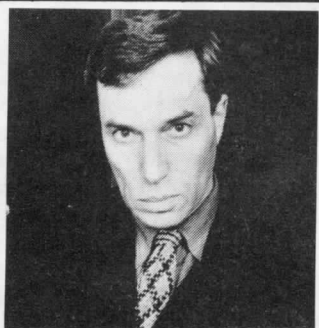
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Fighting words . . . Bernadette Devlin has a heated argument with a Haughey supporter outside Leinster House on Wednesday.

Picture/Tom McElroy

Now, who backs Jack?

NO DETAILS and no revelations—only a Fianna Fail self-justification statement from the Taoiseach to a Dail that expected no more than that last Wednesday, mainly because every deputy there knew the customary drill. Ceann Comhairle Cormac Breslin effectively gonged the various supplementary questions from the Opposition benches.

So to date nobody but Jack Lynch and his close associates in the higher ranks of the police know, or think they know, who was to be kidnapped and who was to be shot.

Yet the whole tone of the statement suggested to the Dail that there is a vague attempt at withdrawal. "Let it be perfectly clear at the outset that the Government have interned nobody."

Because of the alleged vagaries of our law in the courts of which informers must make their own statements rather than give them for the police to make by proxy the law cannot be operated. The people who told the police about the big plot would be in danger of being shot themselves.

The kidnapers or assassins, if such there be, have been well and truly alerted by the Government's warning. If there are suspects they must now be on the run. So that the Taoiseach's plan must defeat itself. That is what one may read into the affair.

A deterrent

Whether the threat of internment can be a deterrent for men determined to carry out such a dangerous activity one is left to

contemplate. Mr. Lynch has, in effect, said that the internment threat is such a deterrent.

The atmosphere outside and inside the Dail was unreal.

There Eamonn MacCann, Bernie Devlin, Mick O'Riordan and Jim Fitzgerald had a quiet meeting enough, with some hundreds of students cheering them on and making announcements that the universities were about to go on strike because all the people were under threat of internment.

Inside the Opposition appeared to yearn for enlightenment on the plot without with, for this once, more of a desire for detail than to make party capital out of the business.

Cosgrave, Corish, O'Higgins and Ryan all clamoured for interpretations, in vain.

Oppression by silence

THERE IS A serious possibility that in the history of Irish premiers Mr. Jack Lynch will be recorded as the plot-finder. The discovery of plots is a well-recognised tactic among governments that discard democratic controls. Examples in Russia, Germany, South America and many states with totalitarian governments are too numerous to mention. In our own struggle for independence the "German Plot" of 1918-19 gave Britain an excuse to jail virtually all nationalist leaders of the time.

To counter the mysterious plot of the moment Mr. Lynch has flouted the Constitution, the Courts, the Dail. His "legislation" recalls the sick memories that stab the mind with visions of barbed wire and nauseate the senses with the stink of cordite.

The sessions of the Dail since Fianna Fail was returned to office in June of 1969 can be likened to wearying drag-hunts along the trails of red herrings. Hours have been wasted on unrewarding debates on the Northern troubles, on the veracity of "Seven Days" to justify the ego of an ex-minister, on the abortive arms trial, on anything that avoids the day-to-day struggle of the people against the increasing cost of living. It

was easier to display some ham-acting on gun play than on the un compelling drama of bread and butter.

This week a new ploy was being attempted. The Government sought to avoid any debate on an issue that concerns everybody in the State, their personal freedom, their right to the ordinary liberties.

A stage has been reached in which it is not the Oireachtas who must rule, but the high-ranking police force. To offset the risk to informers the whole democratic institution must be silenced. There must be no debate. Even the integrity of the law cannot be trusted. 'Nobody has been interned yet', says Mr. Lynch, not realising or seemingly not realising, that democracy itself is already behind bars.

This is the most frightening aspect of the affair, that Mr. Lynch and his government appear to be oblivious themselves to the gravity of their decisions; that by their reaction to a nebulous situation they are creating a monstrous horror. They do not seem to be aware that all decent liberal minded citizens are being forced into anger and revolt. Major Chichester-Clark and Mr. Jack Lynch have become blood-brothers. The emphasis could be on blood. ●

The Labour men suffered suspension for their persistence.

It was Lynch himself who made the first slip. "We were conscious that the statement would provide an opportunity for some militant groups to raise their voices in support of civil rights and against the Government for allegedly suppressing those rights. But what is conveniently forgotten by such groups is that they themselves are the cause of the Government's having to contemplate taking action of this nature."

Was the internment action, then, aimed at such groups? The Taoiseach encircled them all with his censuring. **The groups were the cause of the action being contemplated.**

When did the Taoiseach know of the plot? O'Higgins put the question. And the answer was that high-ranking police had made the Government aware of it "some days before the announcement."

It would not have been fair to give details to the Dail — those who had supplied the information would suffer.

The question in many minds was, of course, if the announced resignation of Justice Secretary Peter Berry on that very day was relevant.

As Deputy Kevin Boland had said before he defected, "if Berry said you did a thing you did it and that was that."

Explanations

Lynch confined himself to explaining to the deputies when internment was permissible generally, when witnesses were in danger and could not be brought to give evidence to the courts because of that danger, and when there was a plot that endangered the entire nation.

The specific reason and plot responsible for the recent threat of

internment was not touched on despite all protests from the opposite benches.

The public are still left to guess whether the dissidents in the extreme-Fianna Fail-Republican ranks would have supported Lynch to their political death on the matter, or whether, to quote a remark made by the close associates of the former ministers "they have chickened out."

Has the alleged kidnap-assassination plot being nipped in the bud? By the mere threat of internment? This is hard to believe and because of this the existence of such a plot is hard to believe.

Mr. Lynch did not satisfy the Dail's appetite for real information. The Dail will quit for Christmas and there is a new hurdle for the athletic Taoiseach to cross. Will he convince the Ard-Fheis of Fianna Fail in February? There Charles Haughey will be waiting in the wings.

The conspiracy syndrome

LAST FRIDAY General Franco celebrated his birthday by ushering in a three month state of emergency on the Basque province where local nationalists now stand trial. A standard response from a dictator.

Last Friday James Cross was released by his F.L.Q. captors and Canada's Pierre Trudeau's tough repressive War Emergency act seemed to have paid off. At the price of a curtailment of everyone's civil liberties and one dead man — Pierre Laporte.

Last Friday hours after his personal and political triumphs at the by-elections, and impressed by Trudeau's tough and uncompro-

missing stand against the urban guerrilla, Jack Lynch issued his own bewildering declaration of repressive intent.

Lynch, his Cabinet and their Garda informants saw the national conspiracy of assassination and bank robbery either through a crystal ball, a stolen blueprint or a confession from what the Special Branch might call an "informed and usually reliable source."

Close to hysteria

Judging by the vagueness and phrasing of the Government statement the great conspiracy seemed to emanate from the crystal ball medium. The statement carried no apparent justification and if one read between the lines revealed something close to hysteria. Somebody was either inventing or confusing revolutionary fantasy with revolutionary fact. The Govern-

ment seemed to be experiencing the conspiracy syndrome, a paranoid condition one generally associates with the trendy left. The last known manifestation of this in Ireland was by one Jimmy Breslin who fled the country after a visit from some plain clothes men last August to his Killiney home.

In contrast to times past when the Government brought in repressive legislation — such as the Offences against the State Act — the Taoiseach's present move is one which is not based on any pressure from public or political opinion North or South.

Lethal campaign

This contrasts sharply with the decision in July 1957 by the then Taoiseach Eamon De Valera. His justification for opening up the internment camps was the aggressive and lethal IRA campaign in

Internment in the '40's

IF, AND WHEN, the Government introduces internment, how many are likely to find themselves behind barbed wire? Will it be the two dozen or so members of Saor Eire, or will it be more embracing?

If the Government has in mind only a small group, why is it necessary to recondition the old Curragh Internment Camp which has accommodation for some 500 prisoners, when there are always sufficient vacant cells in the Military Detention Barracks in the Curragh itself, and in Arbour Hill for a smaller envisaged number?

In the 'forties there was a steady population of approximately 350 internees for the five years that the camp existed. All in all, some 2,000 spent some time there. Later, some one time internees became well-known, viz. Mairtin O Cadhain and Brendan Behan, but others who were 'guests' there included Professor Roger McHugh, Sean O Tuama, now prominent in "An Realt", the Irish-speaking branch of the Legion of Mary, Jim McGuinness of R.T.E. and Senator Rory Brugha of the Fianna Fail Party. Even in retrospect none of the latter could be called 'terrorists'. The repetition of such a wide pattern of internment could mean the imprisonment of many present-day mild opponents of various policies of the Government.

When I was interned in early 1940, I was first brought to the Military Detention Barracks in the Curragh Camp. Known like all other military prisons as "The Glasshouse" it contained 50 cells. The growing number of internees occupied the ground floor, and the soldiers undergoing punishment detention were

on the second and top floor. Both groups never saw each other, as one section was locked up when the other was out.

For the first group of internees, the routine was prison-like. They rose at 6.30 a.m., washed themselves in their cell, and then were let out to empty their sanitary pots in the communal toilet. Returned to their cells, they made their beds according to a regular army pattern, and scrubbed their floors. At 8 a.m. breakfast was delivered to their doors by a detailed pair of other internees. At 9 a.m. there was the daily inspection by the Governor, Comdt. Mattie Cummins of each cell, and the query, "Any Complaints?" to which we always replied "No Complaints". Any other answer had to be accompanied with the word "Sir", which we were reluctant to add at any time.

Getting organised

At 9.30 we were allowed out for exercise in the yard and for association in a shed which was there. Back in the cells again at 12 noon; dinner, and again out from 2 p.m. until 4.30 p.m. Tea at 6 p.m. and then the rest of the night "was your own" until 6.30 a.m. next morning again.

With the arrival of more and more internees, a degree of organisation was established, and protests succeeded in getting the time limit for the final lock in extended to one hour before dusk.

In June, 1940 a big round up took place and the total now interned rose to over 300. The major portion of those were in Cork Jail and in Mountjoy. In July, 1940, an internment camp was opened in the Curragh to which all the internees were brought. The numbers arrested increased, and it was necessary to build even a bigger camp right beside the original one.

Inside 'Tintown'

In the bigger camp which began to be

known as "Tintown"—not because the huts were built of tin, but because it was on the site of the old Civil War internment camp which had galvanised—iron huts—life began to settle down. Each internee was supplied with a 'Martin Henry' suit, a pair of military boots, two pairs of socks, two pairs of underpants (which were neither short nor long) and a bar of black soap to be used both for personal toilet and laundering.

Drab atmosphere

Internees could wear their own clothes if they wished, and although the general wearing of the 'Martin Henrys' made for a drab and institutionalised atmosphere, very few internees replenished their clothes from outside. Those who did were regarded as snobs and treated as such. Thus, one of the effects of internment was to act as a great leveller of all regardless of previous social backgrounds.

The camp lived a life of its own. No money was allowed in. If one received some from outside, it was credited to the "Bank" that was operated by the Army Quartermaster, who issued aluminium coin tokens with which one could purchase bread, chocolate, razor-blades, copy books etc., from a kiosk-like shop with a slide window which was in operation at certain hours near the main gate. The 'shopkeeper' was a military policeman.

Internal services

Having its own currency was a contributory factor that led to an illusion-type existence. The outside world began to recede more, and the important things that mattered most seemed to be happening in that area surrounded by deep trenches, barbed wire and elevated sentry posts. The internees ran all the internal services themselves, such as staffing the cookhouse, the mail distribution service, the cleaning of the camp

the North in the preceding six months. The particular justification was the "Forkhill ambush" by the IRA resulting in the death of one RUC man and the wounding of another. De Valera responded to the pressure of public opinion North and South and introduced internment, and the repressive aspects of the Offences against the State Act.

'Sinister influence'

Four years later when the Taoiseach Sean Lemass introduced the Military Tribunals to deal with the IRA, he did so in response to the pressure of public opinion centering on the Jonesboro ambush. Here again the IRA shot an RUC
(please turn to page 8)

Uniformed IRA form a colour party during the ceremonies to mark the return of Peter Barnes and James McCormack.



and the allocation of the fuel rations from a central store.

The internees elected a Camp Council which was both the administrative and political government. The Council in turn elected a Camp O/C (whose internal authority was in many respects superior to the army governor), an Adjutant who was responsible for the secretarial work, and a Quartermaster who looked after the supplies. Life, after a year or so, began to become so divorced from outside, that on the occasions of the secret elections for the Camp Council, the canvassing for and by candidates was often as intensive, and sometimes of the same level, as that for the Urban Councils of many an Irish town.

Dysentery outbreak

The huts in which we lived were made to accommodate 20, but there were often more than 30 in each. One's bed was three plain boards of 6 feet in length which rested on two trestles, 6 inches high, an army mattress, a pillow 6 inches square and two army blankets. Inside the door of each hut two compartments housed 6 gallon buckets. These were the dry toilets which were used at night and from which always emanated a stench. This was worse when there occurred the outbreaks of "SCRIBO", a form of extreme dysentery which used to effect everyone from time to time. There was the suspicion that the food was in some way or other 'doped' by the army authorities. This created an anger that was to explode at Christmas, 1940 when, in protest against this and other conditions, the internees rioted, burned down huts, and attacked the military policemen. In the subsequent fighting, one internee, Barney Casey of Longford was shot dead by a military policeman and two others were wounded. For a period of weeks all of the prisoners were subjected to beatings, batonings and nightly harrassment by the "red-caps" whose

Christmas leave and festivities they had spoiled.

After the burning of the huts, and the discovery of a complex series of underground tunnels that led from hut to hut and in the general direction of escape routes, the authorities left the lights on each night in the huts. This carried the danger of severe eye-strain which was overcome by the internees bandaging their eyes at night with a cloth.

It was the time of the 'war-emergency' and perhaps one could not expect first class hotel treatment. In the event of the Lynch Government interning people now, one can anticipate better conditions. Perhaps. Conditions may be better, but one can predict the same political process will go on inside as it did in the 'Forties'.

There beside intensive educational activity in which there were courses, run by the internees themselves, on a whole host of subjects; mathematics, economics and languages that included not only the Irish native one, but German, French and Russian — there was an equally vigorous political life. In the 1940's, German was the favourite foreign language class, thus reflecting the then ideological relationship with the Germans in World War II. What will be the favourite language this time? Russian could be it, because of the ideological change in the Republican movement.

In opening the Curragh Internment Camp again, the Fianna Fail Government could well be sowing dragon's teeth for itself. During the war years there was not only wide political debates on political issues, there was even the production of two political journals, "Barbed Wire" issued by the orthodox Camp Council and "An Splanc" (the Gaelic title of Lenin's paper "Iskra") by the Curragh Communist Group whose personnel on release formed the nucleus of the Irish Workers' Party. Even the

germ of the idea of the formation of Clan na Poblachta was born in the Curragh, as testified by the number of ex-internees who comprised so many of its ten T.D.'s and its leadership in 1948.

All sorts of political tastes were catered for by the inclusion on the political-educational curriculum of classes on bomb-construction and military tactics (in theory of course).

What sort of political academy will the Curragh Internment Camp be in the changed conditions of the '70's? In the last few years there have been a pronounced and articulate swing to the left both in the Republican and Labour movements. Could the new Camp be the fusion point of all the radical forces who oppose the Government, and who do not hesitate to express their opposition in the most militant form. This could include trade unionists like the cement workers or the Irish Telephonists and E.S.B. workers who went to jail before; the Housing Action demonstrators; even current Labour Party members who could grow more frustrated with the 'parliamentary game'.

The Curragh in 1940 was the 'Alma Mater' of such personalities as the late deputy Sean Dunne, and Jim Tully of Clann na Poblachta, Cathal Goulding, the present Chief-of-Staff of the I.R.A.; Michael O'Riordan, Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland; Mattie O'Neill, prominent figure in the Irish Transport & General Workers' Union.

What should worry the Government is not what new crop of personalities the next internment will produce, but rather what new unified political force will emerge. A political force that will be provided by the Government, ironically enough, with the time to cogitate on itself and draw up the plans and strategy for the overthrow of that which the Government seeks to protect by interning dissentients. ●

Seafra O Sé

(continued from page 7)

constable and wounded three others. Lemass saw the incident in Lynch like terms as "Some sinister influence which directs these outbreaks of violence and their timing, so as to do maximum damage to the nation's interest."

No confidence

His response was to a situation which had happened. The Lynch response is to anticipate a situation that might happen, prevent it happening by the threat of internment, and if that does not work then rely on simple internment.

The response is a simple act of no confidence in the adequacy of the courts to deal with the size of the threat—though their general leniency in dealing with illegal physical force elements has been one of the most remarkable features of the administration of justice here over the past 12 months.

Does Jack Lynch now suddenly see himself as a Hussein like figure surrounded and threatened by the commando hordes of Al Fatah and the PFLP.?

If he does, then certainly he has not behaved as if he took any threat from any illegal organisa-



A view of the Curragh Camp in the forties.

tion very seriously up to now.

On the return of the bodies of Barnes and McCormack, the public to its amazement saw the re-

appearance of a private army flaunting its power in public. More recently at the funeral of Saor Eire's Liam Kelly, guns were fired outside the GPO. There seemed to be a tacit tolerance of the physical

My time in Tintown



by Pearse Kelly

THE THUD of the closing cell doors in the Bridewell and Mountjoy Prison left no doubt in my mind that I was firmly cut off from the outside world. Later at the Curragh No. 1 Internment Camp I was thrown into a tiny new world circumscribed by rows of barbed wire and armed soldiers in elevated sentry boxes.

Under the Internment Order that said my detention was necessary "in the interests of public safety", I gained admittance to the Forgotten Men of Tintown, and for an indefinite period my home was to be a long wooden hut that I shared with 30 other men.

Shocking sight

My first sight of them was something of a shock. It was a cold wintry day when I was turned over to the military police at the Curragh, and the internees were all inside their huts. When I found my hut it was filled with the noise of voices arguing, debating or just talking.

It was a scene of littered disorder. Down each side was a row of untidy beds close together. The beds were simply old mattresses resting on three boards supported by two low trestles like the one I had been given. Lines of ragged clothing and underwear hung from the rafters and sundry belongings were strewn everywhere. Some men were brooding on their beds or reading, others were huddled up in their blankets for warmth, and still more were clustered around the two small turf stoves in the middle of the hut.

Cross questioned

I dropped my bed at the end of the row near the door and joined the men

at the stove. After a bit I introduced myself, and then I was cross-questioned with an intensity that bespoke a fierce thirst for news, for these men had been a year here before me, and this was 1941 with a world war on.

Getting to know my fellow-internees was not easy, and I found it a bit odd to accept these ragged unkempt individuals as having once been ordinary respectable human beings. Internment I began to realise, was a great leveller and no respecter of persons, for here the man of letter in no way differed from the man of the soil or the artisan—and they were all to be found among the internees.

Camp council

Internment camps are run much the same as Prisoner-of-war camps, and the authorities allow the internees a certain limited amount of internal organisation on military lines. The internees elect a spokesman known as O.C. Internees, and each hut elects a Hut O.C.—there were twelve to fifteen of these.

In my time in Tintown I was O.C. Internees for most of the four years I was there, so that I had little time to dwell on my own misfortunes. With the help of the Camp Council I was responsible for Camp discipline and the general welfare of the internees. We had to maintain a constant vigilance with the

manifestations of these organisations.

In fact, a blatant policy of underkill tactics towards Republican elements has been adhered to right through this troubled year by the authorities. The record is worth examining in some detail. From the pattern of past months the reaction of Jack Lynch last Friday represents a sudden volte face to overkill. Why the new departure?

Partly it seems because of the consolation Lynch as Taoiseach gets from his moral victory in the Arms Trial; partly from the realisation that the position of his opponents within the party was now never weaker and his leadership now unquestioned and partly also, it is speculated that a tidying up of illegal organisations is the prelude to some more serious discussions between Lynch, Chichester-Clark and Heath on the much vaunted subject of Federalisation. •

The politics of 'Underkill'

THE POLITICS of Underkill began last January with an incredible statement from the Donegal State Solicitor Liam McMenamin, "pro-

military police and the Governor of the Camp to ensure that morale would remain high, and confrontations were frequent on many issues which we usually won. The only defeats were in several attempts to escape, but no one seemed to mind these hazards too much.

Unselfish

As time went on I could not but be deeply impressed by the intense earnestness of purpose, and complete unselfishness that marked the characters of most internees. Newcomers arrived filled with the emotional idealism of the revolutionary, but the hardships and tribulations of internment directed their minds in time to the practicable ideas of the social and political reformer.

Tintown was tough and hard as it was meant to be, and it seared the soul of many a youth who came in a teenager and left a man in outlook and experience—for these I had most sympathy. You don't like thinking of those that it broke mentally and even physically, but we had few such casualties.

'Signing out'

It is not given to everyone to be a hero in gaol. Once in a while an internee might be released in what seemed suspicious circumstances, and occasionally we found that he had "signed out"—a deri-

secuting" seven Bogsiders brought before Buncrana Court on arms charges when they were arrested in an isolated cottage.

Mr. McMenamin, it could be said, set the tone for the Court proceedings involving men at arms throughout the year when he said: "Let them go in peace and leave their firearms behind them."

The seven Bogsiders, who had pleaded guilty to unlawful possession of firearms, were given the benefit of the Probation Act.

The underkill line was held right through many subsequent hearings, in fact right up to the time of the shock announcement last week-end.

Coolock raid

Last month eight young County Antrim men, on appearance, before Justice Donal O'Hagan at Howth Court, were fined £20 or one month in default on arms charges arising from a police raid on a Coolock haybarn early in the month.

One of the defendants, a Kevin Murphy, when they were asked if they wished to provide a defence, called the others to attention and said: "I take full responsibility for the weapons. They were not to be used against persons or property in the Republic. We refuse to recognise this Court."

sive reference to giving an undertaking to behave himself in future. Various inducements were tried to get internees to defect in this way but with little success.

The human side

Away from all the politics and strife of Camp life there was a very human side to the existence of the internees. It couldn't in any context be regarded as a normal life for grown men, and ways had to be devised to occupy their time from day to day. To do this we set up a number of committees with specific tasks and responsibilities. Among these probably the most important and most popular were the Sports and Amusements Committees which provided full year-round programmes, but I think the most valuable was the Education Committee which organised a remarkable variety of classes that helped many an internee to improve his learning.

Craftsmanship

There were many examples of patient craftsmanship by internees who made Celtic Crosses, round towers and churches from used matches and glue, artistic leatherwork, and Claddagh rings and Tara brooches from coins and spoons.

The one depressing feature of internment was that it seemed interminable.

Rifles, a pistol, and ammunition were found in and around the haybarn where the men were apprehended by the Gardai.

Dundalk case

And, at Dundalk Court, also last month, in another typical recent case, charges of possession of arms brought against fourteen out of fifteen men arrested at an isolated house in Mullacrew, County Louth, on November 8th, were dismissed by Justice Dermot Dunleavy. The other accused was sent for trial.

Most of the men were from the North. Evidence was given that a Mercedes car driven by the accused man returned for trial, one Samuel Dowling from Newry, drove down the lane leading to the isolated farmhouse where the most of the others were gathered just as the Gardai were moving in. In the boot of the Mercedes the Gardai found three sub-machine guns, three revolvers, a .303 rifle, and a quantity of assorted ammunition.

Short of proof

Justice Dunleavy, in discharging the fourteen men on request for a direction from their solicitor, said the evidence fell short of the proof necessary for conviction.

Dowling was returned for trial

With a jail sentence you knew by the calendar when it would end, but with internment it just kept going on and on, unless you took the easy way out. Around 2,000 men of all persuasions passed through the Curragh No. 1 Internment Camp between 1940 and when it closed in mid-1945.

Personality conflict

Apart from some inevitable personality conflicts one of the remarkable things about Tintown was the almost complete absence of rabelaisian language or any other abuses that might be expected among an enforced closed society of men. Maybe this was due to the diversity of ways and interests we organised to occupy our time, and not a little to the ability of our excellent cookhouse staff to make the most of the army rations supplied to us—we ran our own cookhouse.

Memorable days

But they were memorable days we spent in Tintown in the Forties—I almost said I wouldn't have missed them, but this would not be true—and I shall not want to forget them. They generated a spirit of comradeship in the face of adversity that went a long way to help many an internee do his time, and we had the wit to do it "a day at a time." •



on a charge alleging that he had in his possession a bomb containing 3½ pounds of gelignite.

Then, in the singular Padraic Dwyer case, the underkill attitude was even more pronounced. Dwyer was sentenced to two years imprisonment by Mr. Justice O'Keefe in Dublin on charges of having shot at four Gardai in October 1968 with intent to prevent the lawful apprehension of himself and others, and of having been in possession of firearms with intent to endanger life. At the time of his release from Mountjoy, following petition to the Minister for Justice by his wife, he had served just eight months.

Mr. Justice O'Keefe, who had twice postponed sentencing Dwyer, and had commented in Court: "I find it impossible at the moment to see what sentence to impose. It is a sentence which will cause me a lot of trouble and worry," later, in response to a letter from Mrs. Dwyer, said: "... I suggest that you might petition the Minister for Justice on behalf of your husband, and if I am consulted, as is likely, I shall express a view favourable to an early release of your husband by the Minister — Yours sincerely, Andreas O'Keefe."

Good reasons

"Hibernia" summed up this underkill situation very aptly: "Presumably Mr. Justice O'Keefe had good reason for being 'sympathetic' towards Padraic Dwyer. Presumably also there were reasons why the sentencing of Padraic Dwyer 'caused him a lot of trouble and worry.' And presumably also, there were good reasons for clemency being granted in this case. Unfortunately none of these reasons were made known to the public, or more importantly, to the very Gardai who had been commended for their exceptional bravery. Rather has the impression

The highest court

EIGHTEEN STATES including Ireland are members of the Council of Europe which has a Commission to alleged violations of the human rights that the states have ratified.

If there are prima facie cases of such violations the Council has a Court of Human Rights to try them.

The Council is composed of the foreign ministers of the member states with representatives of their parliaments. The Commission is made up from names submitted by the parliamentary members and elected by the Committee of Ministers.

The Commission has power to investigate any breaches of the rights protected by the convention.

Article Three of the statute of the Council of Europe provides that every member must accept the principles of the rule of law allowing all persons within its combined jurisdiction the enjoyment of all fundamental freedoms.

The Commission can hear the cases of groups or individuals on a wide range of matters including the length of pre-trial detention, the right to a fair trial, alleged 'inhuman treatment', the rights of minorities, freedom of conscience, religion, freedom of opinion and it expression.

The European Court of Human Rights is composed of judges, the number of these being equal to the number of member states (18 at present).

Inter-state cases

Among the cases heard by the Commission, apart from 3,000 individual applications, there have been four inter-state cases.

Austria accused Italy of violations in the South Tyrol; Greece accused Britain of violations in pre-independence Cyprus (two cases); and Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden accused Greece's military regime of wholesale violations of the conventions.

To become exonerated from carrying out the convention to which she has put name Ireland's appeal for derogation has been submitted.

The Irish representatives to the Council of Europe—that is, the assembly of parliamentarians in the European parliament—are Frank Aiken, David Andrews, John Brennan and Lorcan Allen (Fianna Fail); Richie Ryan, Mark Clinton and Patrick Belton (Fine Gael); and Frank Cluskey (Labour).

The representatives (at least the Fine Gael and Labour men) were not informed of the contents of the letter the Government has presented through their permanent representative at the Council, Miss Mary Tinney, an 'oversight' which Mr. Richie Ryan is to challenge in the Dail.

What will happen about it at the Council. The Council of Ministers will 'note' it and refer it to the Commission for investigation. If Ireland carries out the parts of the Offences Against the State Act which are contrary to her bond to the Council she could be expelled from membership.

The Government is obviously aware that though the Irish Constitution says that "the sole right and exclusive power of making laws for the State is hereby vested in the Oireachtas" and "no other legislative authority has power to make laws for the State", they are normally bound to uphold also the principle that under the European Convention internment is illegal.

Court ruling

The Supreme Court did hold when giving a decision on the case of Gerald Lawless in 1957, that because the Oireachtas had not determined that the Convention (for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms) adopted by the Council of Europe, was to be part of domestic law, they (the Supreme Court) could not give effect to the Convention.

Obviously the Government wish to be rid of their moral obligation to Europe and have sought for "derogation".

Article 15 of the Convention allows member states to derogate from their obligations "in time of war or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation".

So that the plot which the Government claims to have unearthed must be very serious indeed, one which threatens the very life of the nation. The Council of Europe must investigate their evidence and be convinced that it is so serious as to be in the same category as war.

An indication of the slowness characterising the hearing of complaints by the European Human Rights Commission can be gathered from the case of Bernadette Devlin, M.P.

Bernadette's application to investigate her refused appeal and a restriction on witnesses during her trial for "riotous behaviour" is still on the books. An investigation on the position of Kenyan Asians claiming the right to enter Britain has been heard and it is expected that her case will follow now. She spent four months in jail.

Exactly two years ago, twelve citizens of the Six Counties and by the Civil Rights Association complained about restrictions on their rights. They can be aided by the Commission if the decision goes in their favour, but they have not yet arranged for legal representation. ●

been left with them that taking pot shots at Gardai is far less grievous a crime than, say, passing a dud cheque . . ."

As far back as last January this magazine, dealing with the Bun-

crana incident, expressed a view that there were then at least grounds for some suspicion that a standardised soft line was being taken in relation to Republicans in Court. (turn to page 42)



The Central Mental Hospital . . . Martin Dolphin is confined for unspecified 'treatment.'

CURRENT AFFAIRS

'The accused being absent . . .'

FOR TWO MORE months, Martin Dolphin is to be confined in the Central Mental Hospital, Dundrum, for unspecified "treatment." And the smokescreen surrounding his case has, if anything, deepened.

Last week in the Dublin District Court — without Dolphin himself being presented to the Court — Justice O hUadaigh agreed to an application by a State prosecutor for a further adjournment of the Dolphin case.

Mr. Martin Haran, Assistant State Solicitor, instead of presenting Dolphin to the Court, offered it a line-up of impressively-titled medical personages who were willing to give "opinions" on Martin Dolphin.

The Justice did not see fit to question this departure from usual

Court procedure, nor did he pass comment on the fact that Dolphin — who has already been detained in Dundrum for nine weeks — was not brought before the Court. Apparent contradictions in the medical "opinions" were not queried.

Incommunicado

Since Dolphin was removed on October 16 to the Central Mental Hospital from Mountjoy Jail, where he was serving a week for contempt of court, no court has seen him. He is held as a custody patient in Dundrum, incommunicado to everyone other than the doctors there and their collaborators, and his parents. His father is Inspector of Mental Hospitals, a high-ranking post in the Department of Health.

If it were not for the unresolved charges against Dolphin — of assaulting a garda and security officers at Belfield on September 29 — the courts would have no interest in Dolphin's fate. Having been "certified" in Mountjoy and removed to Dundrum, he could in theory be kept there for life — if the doctors did not consider him "recovered" at some stage.

However, as there are still charges on the books against him, the Court has to inquire publicly, from time to time, about his whereabouts and when he is going to answer them.

Last week's carefully staged performance in Court when Dolphin should have appeared, but did not, was both comic and tragic — with very alarming undertones.

First of all, before the Court began its afternoon session, we had a mini-clinical conference of the doctors in a corner of the courtroom. They looked very serious and concerned, and one wondered whether their concern was for Dolphin or to ensure the consistency of their "opinions" in the witness box.

Then there was some frantic whispering between Court officials — apparently on whether Dolphin himself should be brought in or not. It seemed that he was actually, at that time, in the Bridewell cells and that a Garda was on his way over to bring him to the Court.

Signals passed

Signals were hurriedly passed and it appeared that the escort and his charge were intercepted — perhaps at the very bottom of the steps leading to the Court from the underground passage linking it to the cell block. (If I am wrong in my impressions on this, no doubt the Garda authorities at the Bridewell can set the record straight.)

So the case came on without the prisoner. Mr. Haran jumped to his feet as soon as Dolphin's name was called, asked for a further adjournment, and said: "I have four medical men here today to say he's still unfit to plead."

In fact he had three medical men and one woman, and they were not unanimous in their opinion that Dolphin was unfit to plead. Professor Thomas Lynch, Professor of Psychiatry at the Royal College of Surgeons, speaking very fast and in a low voice, said he had seen Dolphin on three occasions.

His description of Dolphin's condition was that he was a "very disturbed, immature personality" — no more specific than that. Professor Lynch then admitted by implication that he wasn't completely satisfied with his assessment — if he had had "co-operation" and had been able to carry out "psychological tests" he could have given a more positive opinion, he said.

Far from happy

Then Professor John McKenna, of the St. John of God group of hospitals and consultant psychologist to the Central Mental Hospital took the stand, and he was obviously far from happy about the whole thing.

He made it quite clear that Dolphin had not been under his care

and that he was called in for his opinion. He saw Dolphin twice and "talked to him for a considerable time" (apparently it is quite possible to have normal, intelligent conversation with this "very disturbed, immature" young man).

"When we got round to doing tests he refused to co-operate," said Professor McKenna (this refusal would be consistent with Dolphin's political beliefs).

A little testy

The Justice was getting a little testy at all this inconclusive evidence and asked directly: "Is he fit to plead? That's all I want to know."

Professor McKenna answered equally directly: "I was unable to form an opinion of his mental status."

The Justice did not seem to see anything strange about this, nor find it odd that this medical man should be among those called by Mr. Haran to prove that Dolphin was unfit to plead. At least, the Justice did not say so.

Dr. Evelyn O'Brien, the elderly Governor and Resident Physician of the Central Mental Hospital, came next and there were no doubts in her mind. Martin Dolphin had been "under her care" since October 16, she admitted, and declared: "Martin Dolphin in my opinion is a psychopath. He is aggressive and to a certain extent inadequate."

She referred somewhat vaguely to information she had been given by his parents, and gave the further opinion that Dolphin was "undergoing a very severe personality change" (If that were true it would hardly be surprising, as anyone confined unwillingly in the Dundrum asylum would be quite likely to be severely affected by such confinement).

"Because of all this I believe him unfit to plead," she concluded.

Very brief

Then came Dr. Donal J. O'Sullivan, of the Central Mental Hospital, whose medical opinion on Dolphin was very brief and so indistinct that none of the reporters present managed to catch the last word of the key sentence. The sentence was: "I think he's unfit to plead due to mental — ('affliction,' or 'aberration,' it could have been)."

He thought it would take about two months for Dolphin to become fit to plead, and with this the

strange farce ended and Dolphin's fate was sealed till after Christmas.

The remand was until February 4 at 2 p.m. and as Justice O'Udaigh wrote the details down Mr. Haran anxiously kept trying to prompt him: . . . "The accused being absent due to . . .", "Section 27 . . .", until the Justice had to cut him off abruptly with: "I've made my Order and that's that."

Young man

A young man attempted to make a statement from the back of the court at this stage, saying that he had known Dolphin since university and that in his opinion Dolphin was quite sane, but the Justice stopped him angrily and he was escorted from the Court.

Afterwards the young man, who said he was a representative of "Irish Revolutionary Youth," alleged that Dolphin was known, in university and outside it, to be a very sane, very intelligent person. He said that Dolphin's comrades would probably apply for a "Habeas Corpus" order on him.

The professional reputation of at least three specialists now hangs on Martin Dolphin being proved scientifically to be "very disturbed," "immature," a "psychopath", and "mentally afflicted (or aberrated)." All three are associated in some way with the Central Mental Hospital. It can be assumed that no effort will be spared to scientifically investigate Dolphin's mind and find out any demonstrable flaws therein.

Quite well

Meanwhile, information reaching me unofficially from the Central Mental Hospital (not all medical people are satisfied with the profession's handling of this case) suggests that Dolphin is quite well.

He is confined in a ward with about ten other prisoner/patients, including convicted murderers. He is not on hunger strike, gets no drugs or other treatment, and he spends most of the day reading. He talks freely to ward orderlies and "working" staff, but has little time for the medical staff. He believes the doctors to be tools of the political system and believes that they are conspiring with factions of the legal system to keep him there.

From what I saw and heard in the District Court last week, his beliefs seem at least worthy of investigation. ●

Dick Grogan

Social

An honest searching

THE CASUAL observer might consider that there was something vaguely smug about a conference on unmarried parents attended almost exclusively by nuns, priests and bright young social workers sporting wedding rings.

And that was a risk that the recent big national conference on this subject in Kilkenny could not avoid. But it says much for the honesty and open-mindedness of the participants that quite a few of them were willing to consider seriously the suggestion that it might have been self-defeating to hold such a conference in public at all.

For the problems of the unmarried mother in society stem in large part from society's own hard and fast classification of her as an unmarried mother. And any publicity which tended to emphasise this distinction, however unconsciously, in the public mind, might well be adverse to the very cause it tried to serve.

So consciously

It became clear at Kilkenny just how many of the problems under discussion would cease to exist if everybody simply ceased to distinguish so consciously between the pregnancy of a married and an unmarried woman.

We already have maternity and welfare services which are, nominally anyhow, equally available without discrimination to all. But, as Dr. Declan Meagher, of the National Maternity Hospital pointed out in some telling statistics, they are by no means equally availed of by all.

The problem is that imaginary social discrimination is just as big a deterrent as real discrimination. And that some of the "imaginary" discrimination may be quite real, in fact — manifesting itself in attitudes rather than actions.

Whatever the reason for unmarried mothers' reluctance to avail of the maternity services available, the results are concrete and alarming. The most striking feature of Dr. Meagher's figures was the revelation that almost 50 per cent of all unmarried mothers treated at his hospital received absolutely no ante-natal care until the last four weeks of their pregnancy.



Dr. Declan Meagher . . . some telling statistics.

Seventeen per cent of them first received medical attention only when their labour had already begun. And less than one in ten was examined before the fifth month of pregnancy.

The incidence of dangerous complications is significantly increased in unmarried mothers because of their lack of medical checks during pregnancy. Toxæmia is an especially perilous condition which frequently develops and which can cause permanent damage to the unborn child.

The unmarried mother needs financial, moral and physical support during her pregnancy but it seems sadly probably that, even if all these were available in full measure, she would hesitate to avail of them unless society's attitudes (both admitted and unspoken) to her situation changes radically.

Society's view

Paradoxically, her predicament will hardly cease until society learns not to regard it or speak of it emotively as a "predicament." For she is fleeing from her view of society's view of her.

There was a trenchant scepticism among the young social workers at Kilkenny about the "charity" type of approach to the matter. When the Minister for Health, Mr. Childers, referred rather complacently to us having "a private enterprise State with a great deal of socialism added," a young woman near me commented in disgust: "Where is he talking about?"

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HWIJB

Pretty manifestly, the women who work in this area are well aware of the limitations of a policy of just providing better and more extensive services for the unmarried mother. Overall attitudes must change, too, and that cannot be brought about by ploughing more money in or even by preaching about Christian charity.

Must cease

Again paradoxically but surely truly, we must cease to have the attitude of mind that regards unmarried parenthood as a problem, before it can actually cease to be a problem.

It seems, however, that slowly the unmarried mothers themselves are inadvertently working to change things. More of them are keeping their babies, in defiance of conventional and other pressures. Of the 400 such mothers who gave birth in the National Maternity Hospital (and they may not be at all representative) 120 kept their children.

We are still a long way from the situation in Denmark, however, where unmarried parenthood must no longer be regarded as a stigma of any significance, since some 93 per cent of unmarried mothers there keep their babies.

The Kilkenny conference at times appeared cosy, but never succumbed to complacency. There was an honest searching for enlightenment on what those interested in helping could best do.

The trouble is that however energetic and devoted their efforts, they can still achieve far less than could a real change of heart among the population at large, or the continued courage and indomitability of the unmarried mothers themselves. ●

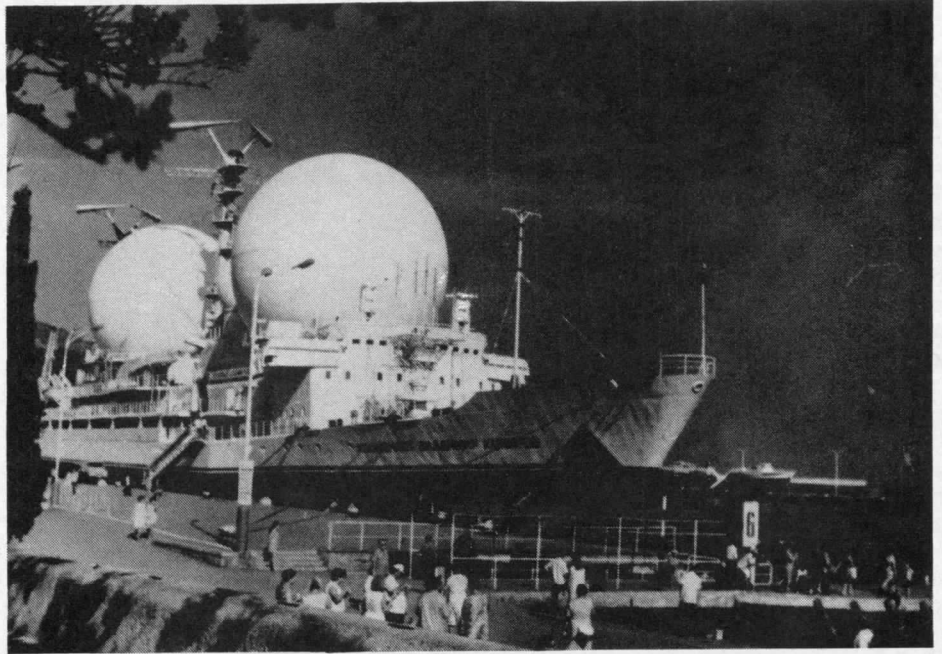
Dick Grogan

Arms

Soviets lead the race

ANYTHING WE CAN do they can do better is the theme adopted by John S. Foster, United States director of Defence Research, in an interview about the state of military preparedness of his own country and of the Soviet Union.

Dr. Foster has told "U.S. News and World Report" that he fears that America is falling behind Russia in practically all aspects of defence. The Soviet, he says, has a



The Soviet space research ship "Kosmanaut Vladimir Komarev" is the world's largest research vessel.

continuing momentum in development and deployment which America lacks. It would be an expensive and almost impossible task to regain leadership from the Soviets "even by 1985."

Foster introduces neither ideological nor political overtones into his dialogue but deals strictly with the arms race which he simply regards as a fact. With its logic or its reasons he is not here concerned.

The Soviet can send first-class planes and missiles and ships even to their client states, Foster says, and they have even better equipment for their home forces.

Their ability to do this was a matter of effort. Bluntly, he says, their effort is greater than that of the States.

Vital aspects

However, he believes that U.S. has still a two to three year lead "generally across the board" in research and technology, but the Soviets are ahead of the Americans in many vital aspects and are going ahead much faster.

The U.S. is cutting back; the USSR is continuing to increase its efforts. The Defense Research director says to expect "big surprises from the other side."

"We can't predict the timing of a jump forward because that depends on the amount of effort and the priority they choose to give it."

The Soviets were spending about three billion dollars each year in defence-related technology and the United States is not only los-

ing the lead but "losing the ability to predict the Soviet gains."

By 1974, Foster says, if the present trend is allowed to continue, "we will be technologically No. 2."

In nuclear missiles, especially in "throw-weight," the total usable payload of a missile, the Soviets have a capacity of about twice the U.S.! "They also surpass us in megatonnage, which is a rough measure of total destructive power, but not in the total number of warheads. The "Throw-weight" advantage can be converted into more warheads. The Soviets have today 1,300 land-based missile launchers, against the Americans' 1,054. America has 656 submarine-based launchers against the Soviets 2-to-300. But taking in the bases under construction the Soviet total was greater than America's.

American bombers would have to penetrate a Soviet air-defence system which is "modern, dense and sophisticated." The American air-defence system was "thin, obsolete and shrinking."

Kind of parity

Overall he would put the two countries at a kind of parity today but in the absence of a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (Salt), the balance will continue to swing in favour of the USSR.

The Soviets, he says believe in defence in depth. They have 10,000 surface to air missiles already deployed. Their missiles have anti-ballistic missile capabilities.

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"Of the major weapons which can actually count we find more often than not that the Soviets are ahead in numbers. On quality we believe that we may be ahead as of now. But I am worried that the momentum in technology in the Soviet Union far exceeds ours."

When asked how he would try to defeat the Soviet anti-ballistic system he said that the simple way was to exhaust it by sending in more warheads than the system could interrupt.

Weaknesses

Asked if it would not be better for the Pentagon (the military headquarters in Washington) to move the missiles out to sea, Dr. Foster said it would not as "from time to time we find potential weaknesses in most of our weapons which would make them vulnerable to an enemy if he became aware of them. For instance the Polaris submarines were supposed to be the least vulnerable of the U.S. missile forces but "we can't be sure that we know everything about what the Soviets are doing to counter their invulnerability." The United States were now reviewing several design alternatives in missile subs.

The Russians, Dr. Foster said may force America to send more or the 'free world' would be in danger. The Soviets may "produce surprises that would be unpleasant for us, hopefully not disastrous—sputniks rather than Pearl Harbours."

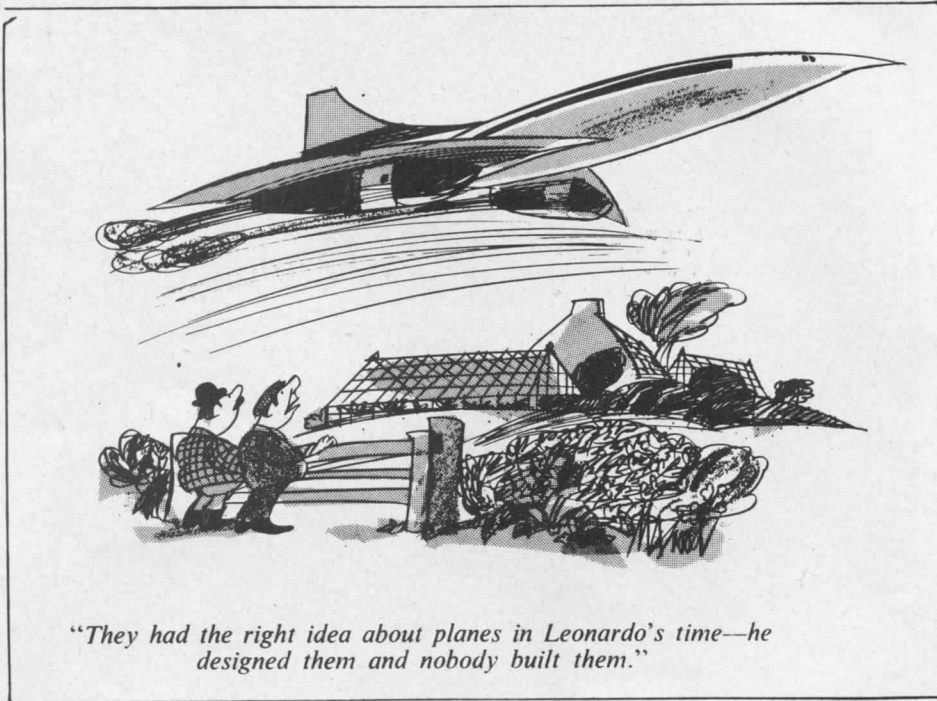
A note says that Dr. Foster was chief adviser on weapons development under President Johnson as well as President Nixon. He is "highly regarded for pioneering work in helping to design and develop the United States nuclear arsenal." ●

Medicine

Vitamin C 'cold' war

SOMETHING OF AN electric storm has been set up among biological scientists and medical researchers on this side of the Atlantic by Nobel prizewinner, Linus Pauling's reported new book on "Vitamin C and the Common Cold."

According to the news reports, Pauling has come down very strongly indeed on the side of the theory that ascorbic acid, or Vita-

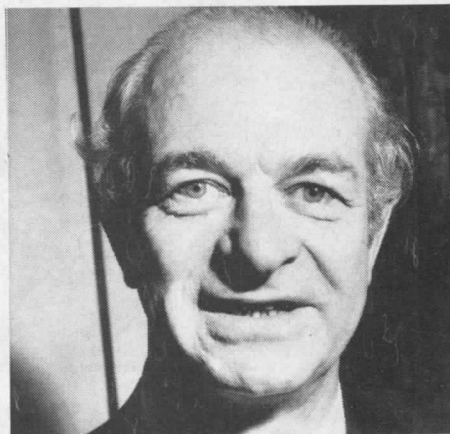


"They had the right idea about planes in Leonardo's time—he designed them and nobody built them."

Punch



Professor Cedric Wilson . . . forwarded information to Pauling.



Linus Pauling . . . has he got any facts to back up his theory?

min C, is effective against colds.

On the strength of these reports, the makers of high-dose Vitamin C tablets have increased their advertising and borrowed Pauling's theory. But scientists are awaiting on tenterhooks to see the complete

book and find out whether Pauling has, in fact, got any original, previously unpublished scientific facts to back up his theory.

From the sketchy accounts of his book so far available, it is by no means clear what, if any, scientific research results Pauling bases his claim on. He does say, apparently, that he himself had been taking 3,000 milligrammes of Vitamin C a day for five years and "hadn't had a cold since," but that fact alone, however satisfying to him personally, has no significant value as a scientific proof of the general thesis.

Intense interest

There is intense interest in his new claim among one particular group of Irish scientists. The Department of Pharmacology, TCD, under Professor Cedric Wilson, has been carrying out research into the medical and metabolic effects of Vitamin C.

One of the few groups which have done any scientific work on this subject, the TCD researchers have investigated the effects of the vitamin on, for example, the central nervous system, the alimentary system, on rheumatism and on infections generally.

They will be publishing some of their results — said to be "interesting, and apparently very significant" — over the next few months.

One of their findings already published (in a short paper in the August issue of the Irish Journal of Medical Science) was that the



Holly and ivyness

The children are tucked happily away in bed, and you're breathlessly cursing the man who invented balloons. That's the moment you realise there's more than goodness in Guinness. Away from the tinsel the holly and the crackers, sit back and relax with a good cheering Guinness. For Guinness says so much so well. Like happy Christmas, season's greeting. There's so much Guinness can do. And so well.

There's more than goodness in Guinness

diets of elderly people in Dublin are low on Vitamin C.

Pauling wrote to the TCD researchers asking them for details of their work, and Professor Wilson forwarded to him a large amount of information which the Trinity research team had already amassed. They had been working with dosages of around the same magnitude (3,000 mg. per day) mentioned in the reports about Pauling's book.

In asserting so firmly (if the reports are true) that Vitamin C is the cure for the common cold, it seems that Linus Pauling — twice a Nobel Prize winner — has anticipated to some extent the publication of the results of painstaking research by several other scientists.

Good part

In the normal course of events, if he is basing his statement on some original research of his own, those other scientists will take his theory in good part.

If, however, his book is a semi-popular rather than a scientific work, and if his theory is obviously derived from the work of other scientists which he has been allowed to preview, then it is more than possible that it will give rise to some rancour and a major scientific row could ensue.

Meanwhile, Vitamin C sales are bound to benefit. At present, tablets of the strength apparently mentioned by Pauling are made by only one Irish manufacturer and, in the experience of one long-standing user, their quality control has been far more consistently perfect.

Properly sealed

The crystalline tablets are deliquescent, or moisture-absorbing, and if the tubes are not properly sealed or are stored for too long on shelves, the product visibly deteriorates.

There are foreign brands available, at a significantly higher price. But, as Pauling points out in this eagerly awaited book, the vitamin is a natural substance that can be manufactured at a low price and cannot be patented.

If its efficacy against the common cold, Man's most frequent health nuisance, is confirmed by documented scientific results, then there will be many more pharmaceutical and chemical companies queueing up to get into a new goldmine product — ascorbic acid. ●

R.G.

The Cabinet versus Montrose



by Michael O'Leary, T.D.

QUESTIONS IN THE Dail over the past few weeks recall that cause celebre of January — the 7 Days Tribunal Inquiry.

In reply to a routine question from Brendan Corish which expressed concern at the extent of moneylending exposed in the 7 Days programme of the week before, Mr. O Morain, who was then Minister for Justice, launched a bitter attack on the programme makers instead of the subject matter of the question, illegal moneylending. The ministerial inference, that something was seriously amiss in Montrose, was taken up with alacrity by an assortment of the most notorious red-sets in the Fianna Fail back benches. The air was thick with references to Trotskyites, Maoists and all the most damaging epithets from the Fianna Fail Left-wing demonology.

All the circumstances and the ministerial statements leading up to the subsequent announce-

ment of the 7 Days Inquiry indicate that the Cabinet was out to nail the 7 Days team and by inference any other public affairs programmes of Telefis Eir-eann. Lest we forget, the Taoiseach was a leading player in the attempt to clamp down on public affairs programmes. No word of criticism passed his lips on the Goebbels-like hysteria of the "man from Mayo," his Minister for Justice.

Tend to forget

This has been a year of so many trials that we tend to forget this important confrontation between Government and this communications medium. The end of the Arms Trial left us with £100,000 unaccounted for and the FBI are now chasing the Red Cross receipts! On a cash assessment alone, the 7 Days Inquiry cost something in excess of £200,000. Incidentally, there is an extraordinary coyness in official quarters about the total cost to the State.

Where voted public money goes is important but the design revealed in the events leading up to the establishment of the Tribunal is even more important because the members of the present Cabinet who were its authors are still with us. Above all the Taoiseach, without whose blessing the Inquiry could not have taken place, is now, after the deluge, the Vicar on Earth of Fianna Fail.

More 'positive'

That design intended 1970 to mark the nemesis of public affairs discussion on Telefis Eir-eann and its replacement by better rehearsed more "positive" programmes possibly with the Government Information Bureau giving a helping hand. The Government Information Bureau would of course need extra staff for this assignment but this would not be an insuperable problem as their invasion of Australia, U.S. and Europe proved last August.

The Cabinet's leading idealogue on communications, Erskine Childers, used the occasion of his Estimate in 1969 to fly a very revealing kite. An Tanaiste said he was against disaster news and declared himself firmly on the side of the politics of

joy. Earthquakes, Demonstrations, Poverty, were getting too much publicity on our national television medium, according to An Tanaiste. Alas for the Tanaiste's happy news prescription. He was to see many of his fellow Jongleurs end up in the dock only weeks after the trap was sprung for the programme makers.

Ample authority

The relationship between public authorities and TV is a fascinating area of investigation. It is especially so where the TV station operates alone and where its revenue is derived from legislation passed in parliament. The Act under which the station operates gives the Government ample authority. All the members of the Authority are nominated by the Government. Section 31 (1) of the Act states: "The Minister may direct the Authority in writing to refrain from broadcasting any particular matter or matter of any particular class, and the Authority shall comply with the direction."

There is also a clause in the same Section which gives the Minister power to direct the Authority, in writing again, it may be added, to allocate broadcasting time for any ministerial announcement.

Never invoked

The extraordinary thing is that Clause 1 of Section 31 of the Act has never been invoked. Optimum use of Edison's invention has been the method most favoured by Fianna Fail Ministers in transmitting their edicts nor have the instructions been confined to the person of the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs. But the ministerial writ has never been committed to paper. Instead the approach is similar to those third degree methods where punishment is confined to sensitive areas of the victim's body leaving no trace for the subsequent investigation. The victim suffers but no bruise marks betray the torture. More practically, no questions can be asked in the Dail by opposition members when in fact no section of the Act has been complied with.

Since its inception, Telefis

Eireann has known only Fianna Fail government which draws its major strength from areas which know no other station. Munster, the West and midlands see only Telefis Eireann. To the patriarchal politicians ruling their electoral kraals, the advent of Telefis Eireann was a calamitous event.

Secure universe

They might well have echoed sentiments of the Irish Independent writer mentioned in Jack Dowling's and Lelia Doolan's book: "We tremble when we visualise the effect of television on our daily life." These ruling politicians lived in a secure universe. The local news media had long since been neutered and they had learned to live with the National Dailies which in any case upset no existing Party alignments. Into these charmed constituency circles came Telefis Eireann, with its young programme makers, believing in a brave new world, producing programmes that questioned all the accepted social landmarks. The reaction of the traditional politicians was understandable. They weren't alone. Now and again a clergyman would join in their protests, certainly whenever procreation was muttered or a bare midriff undulated across the screen.

Many programmes received adverse comment from this quarter, including some of those programmes still hale on Tam ratings—on the public affairs side, 7 Days and on the general entertainment side, the Late Late Show. Frequently, our Sunday papers have carried headline protests after a Late Late Show. Indeed surprisingly, of the Late Late which could have opted for a soft shuffle and skittles approach in light entertainment, it can be said without exaggeration that it has been a major influence, with its mass viewing audience, in opening their minds up to social issues.

Never in doubt

The dislike felt by the ruling politicians towards the medium has never been in doubt. John Whale, in his book on television and politics, says that the connection between what people

see on television and how they decide to vote is at best obscure but he does agree that television is the prime provider of the information which helps people decide. The present Government is inflexibly against adult television. One can take one's choice of the Lemass formula or that of Erskine Childers or the import of the events of earlier this year to support this view.

Tension always

The organisation of the present station makes it an easy matter to interfere. There will always be tension in a station poised by law uneasily between commercial considerations and the wider aims of national culture, between the creative television workers and the administrative grades. The management side of the station, of its nature, must always give greater consideration to the commercial imperatives. On the old divide et impire principle, the Government will always have ample scope for interfering even without the promptings of the up-country constituency representatives.

It is conceivable that even with a radical administration in Leinster House relations could be tense. It could be said, however, that any administration with the least pretention to reforms must see that home programmes based on truth, awkward though they might be in particular instances, are necessary aids to the development of a greater consciousness of community and therefore indispensable in the nation's quest for worthwhile social achievement.

Forced march

The logic of the present administration's attitude is spelled out in the station's present expensive forced march after colour transmission. That logic demands less home produced programmes and more of the imported harmless variety. Their misadventures elsewhere may have prevented them from carrying out their clear-cut intent of January but there are still three years to go, before we enter the octave of the 20th Dail, for a second attempt. Unless the spectators invade the pitch! ●

Church in the World

Trial told of tortures

BRAZIL: The trial of the seven Dominicans who have been in prison in Sao Paulo since last year has now begun, and is expected to be long, as seventy-eight witnesses for the prosecution have to be heard. In theory, the hearings are public, but in fact the courtroom is extremely small and only the relatives of the defendants and their religious superiors are allowed to enter. At some sessions only one representative of the press has been able to attend: the French journalist Charles Antoine. The silence of the Brazilian papers has been remarkable, presumably because some of the evidence casts doubt on the official version of how Carlos Marighela, the leader of the Alliance for National Liberation (ALN) was killed in a gun battle with police in Sao Paulo on 4 November last year.

A whole chapter of government evidence is devoted to the "Criminal Activity of the Dominicans in the ALN". The police set out to make a double case against them: that they have broken the laws both of the State and of the Church: of the State because, it is alleged, they belonged to the "logistic sector" of the ALN, which was responsible for personal transport, surveys of terrain for guerrilla operations, and the organisation of escape routes (in addition, there are the charges against Brother Fernando and Brother Ivo explained above); of the Church because by supporting Communism, it is alleged, they acted counter to the teaching of Pope Leo XIII, Pope Pius X, and Pope Pius XII.

Thus the Second Military Tribunal of the Sao Paulo Region is hearing what is in effect a case against the Church of the **aggiornamento**. In the persons of the Dominicans the progressive Church is on trial. This is quite clear in the military prosecutor's indictments, according to which "the Dominicans defend their action in Marighela's group by citing the Encyclicals **Mater et Magistra**, **Pacem in Terris**, and **Populorum Progressio**, as well as certain official documents issued by the Brazilian and Latin American bishops.



Pope Paul conducts the ordination of Monsignor Louis Vangeke of Port Moresby, New Guinea, as Bishop at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, before leaving Australia for Indonesia last week. The newly-ordained priest is the first Paruan to become a bishop.

At their trial the Dominicans themselves put forward a defence that has a common theme. They all reject the confessions they signed during investigation by the police, because they were extracted under torture — of the seven friars, all but one were tortured. They deny ever having belonged to the ALN. They assert that the implication of Brother Fernando and Brother Ivo in the death of Marighela was a police frame-up.

Some admit that they sheltered or gave help to certain fugitives. They felt themselves compelled to do so, they say, in the name of the Gospel and of human rights, because those concerned would be tortured as a matter of course if they were caught. They make appeal to the right of sanctuary recognised in the world's great religious texts and by law in some countries.

They also, to the irritation of the judge, recall the UN Declaration on the Rights of Man and give details of the brutality they suffered. In Rio, Brother Fernando and Brother Ivo were tortured by the police chief and some of his officers dressed in liturgical vestments, and Brother Tito, who tried to commit suicide, has written how "Captain Albernas told me to open my mouth to 'receive the sacred Host.' He put a wire into it and gave me an electric shock that left my mouth so swollen that I could not speak normally."

A yet further Machiavellian twist to the story is lent by the fact that the police commissioner Sergio Fleury, who is thought to be the principal torturer of political prisoners at Sao Paulo, is also understood to be the leader of the notorious "death squadron" which is responsible for hundreds of victims marked down for its particular brand of summary justice. Hearings in a case against the Sao Paulo death squadron began on 21 October. The most important witnesses are two priests, one of whom, in November 1968, took photographs of a "death squadron" group committing an assassination: Fleury can be recognised among the members of the group.

Fleury claims to be the chief architect in the ambush that resulted in Marighela's death, and on 21 October he alleged that because of this he was the victim of a "defamatory campaign" on the part of those who wished to exact revenge for the dead guerrilla leader; among whom, he said, were the Dominicans.

35 priests arrested

HUNGARY: During recent weeks more than 35 priests have been arrested in Hungary during police investigations, the Austrian news agency, Kathpress, reports. They have been accused of "illegal religious activities."

The nature of the charges has become clear by the way in which students have also been interrogated by the police for having kept up contacts with the priests and having shown interest in religious questions.

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Wildenstein and the General

FOOTNOTES to (art) history. The £2,310,000 Velazquez portrait and its export licence won't be the first such row for Wildenstein's. There is the little matter of the de Latour painting, "Bon Aventure," which was sold by George Wildenstein to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, to the annoyance of the art fraternity in Paris.

The family, which came from Alsace when Nathan opted for French nationality in 1870, was living in Paris, though the dealers had branches in London and New York. George Wildenstein sought to repair the loss of the painting by offering Monet's "Dejeuner sur l'Herbe" to a Paris gallery.

The affair was forgotten until 1963, when George was put forward for membership of the Academy of French Arts. It was Charles de Gaulle who said "Non" and kept him out. The general was still angry at the sale of the de Latour. George Wildenstein died, disappointed not long afterwards. His son, Daniel, upset at his father's treatment took himself, much family fortune, and collection to New York.

How about a Gombudsman?

MR. P. J. LALOR, Minister for Industry and Commerce, is well behind the Swedes in their campaign to control advertising and marketing measures in all commodity sales.

While Mr. Lalor has announced that a Bill is being prepared to ban misleading information in advertising and packaging the Swedes have appointed already an ombudsman to head a new £1m.-a-year ministry to protect shoppers. The ombudsman will have eleven assistants. He is a 40-year-old lawyer named Sven Heurgren.

One aspect of selling Sven has already warned against is the sending of circulars to people whose names have been gleaned from official registers, and that includes the telephone books.

The ombudsman will allow shopkeepers to complain if a wholesaler or manufacturer sets fixed retail prices to goods; the price, they say, is



a matter for the seller; all the wholesaler is allowed to do is to advertise a "reasonable price."

From next year on, if Mr. Lalor has his way, Irish advertisers must not mislead or exaggerate. Also he will have an investigation into trading stamps and gift schemes. The Swedes have taken care of all this long ago.

A disc for the dons

WHAT IS A Harvard professor of Economics doing on a long playing record? John Kenneth Galbraith — now taking a sabbatical year at Cambridge (England) — can best answer that.

His first disc at 33½ revolutions a minute is titled "The Anatomy of Tension in the Industrial Society." It was originally designed as Galbraith's form of speech therapy for high pressure business types attending an Associated Business Programmes earlier this year.

One thing the author of the "Affluent Society" has not sorted out with his recording company is payment. Traditionally in the music business the royalties go to the pub-

American art dealer Alec Wildenstein (left) with Louis Goldberg, who bought the Velazquez portrait behind them for a record £2,310,000.

lisher, producer, artist, lyricist and composer.

Now if there is to be anything left for the professor after surtax takes its toll, then quite a lot of fictional middlemen will have to go.



Professor Galbraith.

Rolling up the royal sleeves

THE FINANCIAL distress of the British royal family, who,

it appears are down to their last yacht, has been affecting Lord Snowdon as well. Princess Margaret's husband, the erstwhile Tony Armstrong-Jones, was a photographer, and indeed a good one. He intends to go back to his trade to help pay the grocer's bills.

CAMPAIGN, the British magazine which deals with the communications media, says Snowdon, who works for the David Puttnam photographic agency, intends to increase his work for advertising. It says that "the obvious difficulty for him in handling advertising is that, if his authorship becomes known, he may be seen to be endorsing particular products."

So Tony will send in his pictures "off the record," but even working anonymously he "must show some kind of conservative good taste in his choice of subject."

Before his marriage Tony's pictures boosted margarine and Acrilan (a nylon material) and a series of ads for a woman's magazine.

His new work may involve directing a series for Puttnam's cassette TV company, and he may hold an exhibition of his own photographs.

These could include some of the royal family.



Andrey Sinayavsky (bearded) on trial . . . seven years' hard labour because some of his works criticised the Soviet regime.

TOPICS

The regime and a writer

CONSIDER THESE events: In 1958 when a group of Russian writers were orchestrated by the State to perform the emasculated ritual of denouncing their colleague Boris Pasternak, author of *Dr. Zhivago*, one man refused to. Instead he stated that he knew only good of Pasternak and left the room. Nine years later, that same man, Andrey Sinayavsky, stood on trial on charges arising from a section of the Russian criminal code. In fact he stood accused of "agitation or propaganda carried out with the purpose of weakening or subverting the Soviet Regime." His actual crime as against his official one? The circulation of manuscripts and short stories, some of which had reached the West, which criticised his government. He was sentenced to seven years hard labour.

At first glance such events appear to provide so dramatic a po-

larity between courage and cowardice, so violent an instance of spiritual power ranged against official brutality, that the only possible response might seem to be liberal horror, democratic head-shaking. But such reactions are emotional. And the situation in the Soviet Union now, concerning the civil and imaginative freedoms of its writers, intellectuals and scientists, is surfeited with emotion. Especially now, when its most dissident, eloquent writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn has received the Nobel prize, the entire debate about such a writer and his relationship with the regime he lives under, requires not condemnation so much as cold enquiry. Where did it all start? Certainly the demand that the writer precisely reflect the aims of the revolutionary, Marxist regime in Russia, the paranoid conviction that creative criticism constituted political trea-

son, was never explicitly stated by the architects of the Russian Revolution.

For example, if one returns to the beginning of the twentieth century, it could seem that no two Russians might have less in common than Lenin, single-minded, obsessed by revolution, and Leo Tolstoy, an artist articulating in novels such as "*War and Peace*" a fraction of social awareness, but equally an entrenched fascination for the Russian, Tsarist aristocracy, for the smug and glowing world of fashionable Petersburg and Moscow. Yet Lenin in a pamphlet published in 1908, praises Tolstoy, while recognising his distance from his own ideology. Indeed in arguing as he does in the following passage, that Tolstoy, while unaware of the Revolution, must yet have reflected it, so powerful was the mirror of his craft, Lenin articulates a genuine

tolerance for individualist expression.

"To identify a great artist, such as Tolstoy, with the Revolution which he has obviously failed to understand, and from which he obviously stands aloof, may at first sight seem strange and artificial. A mirror which does not reflect things correctly could hardly be called a mirror. Our revolution however, is an extremely complicated thing. Among the mass of those who are directly making and participating in it are many social elements which have also obviously not understood what is taking place and which also stand aloof from the real historical tasks with which the course of events has confronted them. And if we have before us a really great artist he must have reflected in his work at least some of the essential aspects of the Revolution."

Lenin followers

In this comment, Lenin seems to advise that there is at least room in a climate alert with revolution for the artist whose preoccupations, while not revolutionary, may yet be sufficiently humane, as were Tolstoy's, to be relevant. But if there has been a change in Russia's relationship with her writers, that change has seemed more on the side of those who followed Lenin, rather than those who succeeded to the luminous inheritance of Tolstoy. For the Russian writers of the thirties, forties and fifties — Pasternak, Esenin, Blok, Vosnosensky, and the subject of this article, Solshenitsyn—have with some differences of talent and stamina, inherited the skill of words the love of Russia, the incisive perceptions of Tolstoy. The onus therefore is on the followers of Lenin. Would Stalin, Krushchev, Kosygin argue, as Lenin did, that the writer should be allowed to hold his mirror steady, for in it, however unaware he was, he would reflect facets of the Revolution?

It hardly seems so. Various writers have suffered under the regimes which purported to follow Lenin's in Russia. Where then did the tolerance end, and the rigours of conformity begin to be imposed by the Marxist ethic on Russian writers?

Key question

This of course, is the key question. Some, such as Boris Pasternak, would argue that that brilliance of thought and invention which was peculiarly evident in the writers such as Tolstoy, was



Pasternak . . . may not be the best authority on the relation between the Revolution and its writers.

progressively maimed during the years of the First World War, from 1914-18, when the Revolution took place, when a country exhausted by war and rumour, saw the Bolsheviks come to power. In his poignant, celebrated novel "Dr. Zhivago" he traces to this moment, the gradual demands for intellectual conformity which ultimately imperiled Russian creativity.

"It was then that falsehood came into our Russian land. The great misfortune, the root of all evil to come, was the loss of faith in the value of personal opinions. People imagined that it was all out of date to follow their own moral sense, that they must all sing the same tune in chorus, and live by other people's notions, the notions which were being crammed down everybody's throat. And there arose the power of the glittering phrase first Tsarist and then Revolutionary."

Same dilemma

Boris Pasternak, however, for all his eloquence, and despite the fact that twelve years ago he inhabited the same dilemma as Alexander Solshenitsyn now does — dishonoured in his own country, honoured abroad by the Nobel award—may not be the best authority on the relation between Marxist Revolution and its writers. For the hero of Dr. Zhivago, like Pasternak himself, is too blinded by nostalgia for the old Russian of country warmth, sealskin coats and vintage cellars, to be able to sympathise with any aspect of the Russian Revolution

of 1917. Perhaps this is why the Western world in 1958, when revolution was an alien reality, so warmed to him. Undoubtedly in the panegyrics which were heaped on Dr. Zhivago there was much that was genuinely appreciative and protective of the man and his gift. But there was also, without doubt, a self-interested European and American constituent of that praise which obliquely said: here all the time, as we suspected, running like a river of Western thought under the Marxist Arctic, is an artist distasteful of, endangered by, that revolution.

Two idioms

But to take Pasternak as an instance of the Russian writer, or as a guide to Alexander Solshenitsyn's achievement, would be a mistake. For the two minds, the two idioms are divided by a Revolution. And however one aligns oneself with regards to the worth or absurdity of that revolution, one cannot deny its power, its meaning in the lives of those who witnessed it.

The Russian Revolution of February 1917, with its electric spectacle of crowds swelling the square of Petrograd, shouting to braided Cossacks to join their cause, followed in October by Lenin's arrival at the Finland station, with his potent cry "All Power to the Soviets," was enough to ignite an imagination more sluggish than a writer's. In fact it had an instant, emotional impact on young poets and intellectuals of the time. To select just one example, Mayakovsky, one of the very best of Russian poets, wrote a poem on the Revolution so assured and beautiful that it qualified him to be considered as the Laureate of that historical explosion.

This poem, called "The Atlantic Ocean," was composed on shipboard when Mayakovsky was in the North Atlantic: In the intricate swell, crest and lapse of the water he glimpsed, as he thought, an exact symbol of the elemental historical forces which had caused the Russian Revolution. The poem ends with a salute to the violent overthrow of tyranny, which for him was the meaning of the Revolution, and which he associated with the sea in its final line, in which he called the Atlantic "elder brother of my revolution."

Spiritual excitement

Observing the authentic, spiritual excitement of such poetry as

Mayakovsky's one cannot simply say that it was the violence of the Revolution which strangled writers in Russia. On the contrary, considering the nature of Russian writing, even in the nineteenth century, one could argue that violence—emotional, intellectual, physical—was almost the Muse of Russian writing. There is violence in Tolstoy's work; more still in Dostoyevsky's.

Delve deeper

No, one must delve deeper than the idea of violence to discover why men like Alexander Solshenitsyn, who this week receives the Nobel prize, are so threatened by their own government, and—more crucial still—pose such a threat in return. For in a cruel way, the indignity and fear under which writers exist in Russia now, is itself an oblique testament to the power of the creative act. Conor Cruise O'Brien in an article published in 1966 called "Writers under Communism" has skillfully articulated the tangled relationship between the writer and the regime in Russia, and its contrast to the Western approach, in these terms:

"The relation of the Soviet writer to his power structure is a compressed one. This implies that, as has been adequately stressed, he feels the constant and inescapable pressure of the power structure. But it also implies, as has been less noted, that the power structure feels pressure from the writer. That it is not insensitive to that pressure, a long series of exhortations, denunciations and even pleas is there to prove. The writers words have weight, they set up friction, generate heat. Not merely the substance of his words but his variations of tone and emphasis are anxiously weighed, subtly affect the shifting balance of forces. The Western writer, on the other hand, lives in such diffuse conditions that he may be only vaguely conscious of the very existence of a power structure, while the power structure for its part shows relatively little sensitivity to the actions and opinions of writers."

Meagre facts

No single figure in contemporary Russian writing so dramatizes Conor Cruise O'Brien's suggestion that the writer and the regime equally haunt each other. So much as Alexander Solshenitsyn. For all that has been written of him, and of his three distinguished novels "Cancer Ward,"



Stalin . . . a figure of power so base that the individual must survive to disprove his brutality.

"One Day" and "The First Circle" it has rarely been more difficult to pluck out the mystery of an intelligence, of a soul, than in his case. The facts of his background are meagre: He was born in 1918, not of the peasant background which he inhabits so powerfully in "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch," but of a middle class family—the "petit bourgeois" background so disliked by the Marxists. When he was a boy his father died, and he was reared and educated by his mother in the Southern town of Rostov. At the age of twenty-one he completed his education in the Philological Faculty of Moscow University.

Angled cheeks

But it is not to that Russia that Solshenitsyn belongs. His photographs reveal the angled cheeks and eyes of a Slav. And throughout his writing there is a surer grasp than in anything written by Pasternak, of the Russia of small farms, fierce survival and stoic conviction—a Russia so injured to suffering that Revolution was scarcely more of an imposition than Tsarist ferocity—a Russia of individuals too deeply, albeit inarticulately, woven into their land and its traditions to allow any political system to sunder them from that understanding.

This is not to say that Solshenitsyn's writing is apolitical, for it is both political and autobiographical. He was not touched, as Mayakovsky was, by the ardour of revolution; nor as Pasternak was,

by the nostalgia for a simpler past. In his separation from them both, and the graphic power of his writing, he seems to belong to something more permanent in the Russian tradition. Yet for all his stoicism, he could not hide from history—that much is evident in his writing. The Russia he matured in was twisted by the paranoiac fantasies of Stalin, gutted by the Second World War. These bleak realities are constant in his work.

Each of the three novels is powerful, but perhaps the cleanest of line, the most assured, is "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch." He completed this in 1959; it was published in 1961. The traditional shape of the narrative, its strict unities—the entire action takes place in a day—place him securely in the tradition of such writers as Turgenev and Chekov. The book and its action are seen through the eyes of a peasant. Shukov, who is trapped in a Stalinist concentration camp. While Solshenitsyn does not share the background of his own character, he is nevertheless qualified to his cost, to describe the span of Ivan Denisovitch's day in the camp. For Solshenitsyn was himself arraigned in February 1945 in East Prussia, on a charge which has never been precisely clarified, but is supposed to have concerned some anti-Stalinist remarks which he made. In any case he spent eight years, probably in the Russian concentration camp of Karaganda, and there he learned in the most bitter fashion how man survives captivity and injustice.

There is a terrible temptation, which certainly snared critics of Pasternak, and will undoubtedly do so in the case of Solshenitsyn, to twist their achievement into nothing more than indictments of their regime, to interpret every character and situation as a protest against their way of life, and a justification of ours. Nevertheless it is almost impossible not to see in the simplicity and passion of "One Day," in its understated outrage, an allegory for the whole struggle of the writer in the Communist regime. The central image of the novel is, after all, a prison and the day which it offers to Shukov as a prisoner is a pitifully limited one in terms of action or achievement. Yet the very subsistence he must survive on, the famine comforts he achieves in his single day, and which so delight him, are in themselves eloquent praises of how ingeniously humanity can outwit a constricted idiom, and confined spiritual quarters. The force of this is brought home in the final page of the novel when Shukov assesses his day.

Fully content

"Shukov went to sleep fully content. He'd many strokes of luck that day. They hadn't put him in the cells; they hadn't sent his squad to the settlement; he'd swiped a bowl of kasha at dinner; the squad leader had fixed the rates well; he'd built a wall and enjoyed doing it; he'd smuggled that bit of hacksaw blade through; he'd bought that tobacco. And he hadn't fallen ill. He'd got over it. A day without a dark cloud. Almost a happy day."

In a way, the stoicism of Shukov, the pitiful boundaries within which he exercises his humanity, recall the outcry of Hamlet in madness: "Oh God, I could be bounded by a nutshell and count myself the king of infinite space, were it not that I have bad dreams." Solshenitsyn, although he sketches with lucid force the survival of which his hero is capable, also indicates that bad dreams can haunt him. For Shukov's desire for and intuition of freedom is inevitably diminished by his captivity:

"Shukov gazed at the ceiling in silence. Now he didn't know whether he wanted freedom or not. At first he'd longed for it. Every night he's counted the days in his stretch—how many had passed, how many were coming. And then it became clear that men like him wouldn't ever be allowed to return



Solzhenitsyn . . . "No regime has ever loved great writers, only minor ones."

home, that they'd be exiled. And whether his life would be any better there than here, who could tell?"

As has been said already, it is hard not to regard this bleak statement of compromised survival as an inclusive image of the predicament of the writer in Russia: a man whose ability to execute his imaginative designs within a small space is intrinsically a triumph of survival, but who must always wonder whether his imagination itself was not shrunk to inhabit its prison.

Opportunist

Certainly the conditions under which "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch" was accepted and circulated in the Soviet Union would hardly be of reassurance to its author or any other. For it was only approved for publication because it fitted into Khrushchev's scheme for De-Stalinisation. However opportunist this was of Khrushchev, it was shrewd. For Stalin is like the graven image of Solshenitsyn's work, a figure of power so base, that the individual must survive to disprove his brutality.

Official approval of Solshenitsyn did not last. His two subsequent novels, "Cancer Ward" and "The First Circle" are unobtainable in Russia, although they can no doubt be read through the brave and furtive procedure of "samizdat" whereby manuscripts of prohibited authors are copied and circulated from hand to hand in Russia now. On November 4th 1969 he was expelled from his local branch, at Ryafian, of the powerful Writers' Union. He is a man now without health, without liberty, yet honoured and precious to that search for liberty which he eloquently outlines in his work.

It is almost impossible to say exactly in what way Marxism has repressed the writers of Russia, or else penalised them cruelly for searching for self-expression. It is not profitable to plunge into all the platitudes about power and imagination. But in one brilliant phrase from the "First Circle" Solshenitsyn seems to summarise the problem: "For a country to have a great writer is like having another government. That's why no regime has ever loved great writers, only minor ones." ●

Eavan Boland

Topic 2

A book for the I.R.A.

PEOPLE WHO WRITE history should write from an "objective" point of view. It is also desirable that they should have some connection, or at least sympathy with, their subject. The person who is reared in a hostile environment to the subject they are writing about, and still feels that hostility, should at least be aware of it, declare it, and take it into account. Otherwise he should throw his cap at it or write the history of the group or movement he has some sympathy with, or that he feels has some significance.

A dyed-in-the-cotton Blue-shirt cannot deal objectively with a history of the IRA, no more than an IRA man could deal with the history of the Blue-shirts without anything but the patronising pseudo-objectivity of, say, Trevor-Roper's "Last Days of Hitler" or Mr. Tim Pat Coogan's "history" of the IRA.

When an American comes over here to write "objectively" about the IRA I suspect him almost as much as I would a Blue-shirt. I ask myself what can be the motive—financial or otherwise—that induces someone with no Irish background to come from the U.S. to Ireland for the purpose of writing a history of the IRA? Where is the financial backing?

Obviously expensive

It is obviously expensive, even crippling, to carry out the necessary research principally in the face of the suspicion and hostility engendered; the lack of documentation, the understandable reticence of those deeply involved in the movement, the slanted disclosures released by those with something to hide.

Who has these resources, the deviousness, and the persistence of such an organisation? The CIA certainly. Is the suspicion just paranoia? I wonder! And yet Dr. Bowden Bell, working as a loner, has in fact succeeded in unravelling the tangled skein of slander, hearsay and alleged fact to, pro-

duce for the first time, a recognisable history of a movement which has informed and will continue to inform, the fate of a nation.

Though not a historian I have read enough Irish history to know that this book is the most important book of reference—if not the definitive work—on the history of the IRA and of Ireland since the 1923 period. Certainly any future historian must draw heavily on the judgment and chapter notes of this book—at least for the period from 1932 to 1970. Chroniclers may well envy the feat of compilation, correlation and condensation from sources that one normally attributed to a computer-backed research team.

This is not only a book about the IRA, but without doubt one for the IRA—a book that must, by its intrinsic merits, take its place with the training manuals and the social programmes of the republican movement.

Speaking from my subjective position as a member of the re-



by Cathal Goulding

(Chief of Staff, I.R.A.)

publican movement, this book is invaluable as an accurate chronological and coherent account of the role of the IRA since 1923. Above all it is a sobering document, as it unravels the cyclical and convoluted nature of the IRA's involvement in the Irish community from the war years to the present day.

The subject matter of the initial chapters covering the 1916-1921

period are well enough known to the politically-conscious Irish public but it is when he moves from this period into the uncharted years that he captures, in blow for blow detail, the preparation, the execution and the aftermath of the two main IRA campaigns — 1939-45 and 1956-62.

When he treats of such recent events as the republican involvement with the Civil Rights Movement; he serves not only people of my generation but the revolutionary potential of young people of the present. This book will provide them with an essential text analogous to Che Guevara's "Bolivian Diaries." It would have been an invaluable guide to us in the past.

Scientific survey

I have said it is a book for the IRA. The Republican of to-day can study Dr. Bell's analysis of De Valera's relations with the republican movement during the critical period of the post civil-war struggle and the following years. It is the first attempt really, to cover this ground in a scientific historical survey. The description of how Dev, slowly and with purpose, outmanoeuvred and finally completely outflanked the IRA, is of consuming interest, with an important lesson for the contemporary movement. How he used the carefully built-up pattern of patronage—jobs for the boys, positions in the 'Broy Harriers,' IRA pensions, etc, etc. Attacking certain symbols such as the Governor Generalship, using the land annuities agitation started by Peadar O'Donnell and dropping it when it was of no further use to him, and his use of the economic war to gain political leadership are starkly delineated.

Dr. Bell shows how Dev conciliated and used the IRA to beat the Blue-shirts until he was in a position to deal with the IRA himself. The sad story of how the IRA contributed to its own defeat by its inability to differentiate the symbols: i.e. the Bass Raids' and similar 'stunts' on the one hand—and the real substance of imperialism on the other. Revolutionary movements, in the absence of 'Clarity of Vision' fall in an empty rhetoric of action. The fact is that the IRA of the period refused to grapple with the realities of the situation

—did not produce their own political programme but depended on Fianna Fail for their politics.

He indicates also how the left of the IRA although conscious of Dev's subtle "conciliation" attempts were too precipitate in their decision to play brinkmanship with an Army Council they had brought to within one vote of their programme, the Congress Programme.

Greatest tragedy

The establishment of the Republican Congress*, with the consequent rift in the IRA, was perhaps the greatest tragedy of the '30's or in the history of the movement. The tragedy appears all the greater to us now, because we have the benefit of hindsight, so well recorded by Dr. Bell and by George Gilmore in his pamphlet, "Republican Congress."

But what neither of them seem to realise was that it is not enough to know the right "ideology," or what programme a revolutionary movement must have to assure that it advances towards the proper revolutionary objective. More important still is the question: how that programme is presented to the movement so that it will be acceptable to them and how, in turn, the movement eventually gains for it the support of the people.

Those who advocated the acceptance of the Congress programme were lacking a sense of history. They failed to see that the IRA, with its roots going back to '98, was an essential factor to the implementation of the Congress idea.

Instinctive struggle

For the fact is that those of the Irish people who were disposed to struggle against imperialism looked on the IRA as the continuation of the Ribbonmen, Whiteboys, Young Irelanders, Fenians; the continuation of the Irish people's unsophisticated and instinctive struggle against exploitation and coercion, which they rightly associated with British imperialism.

Nor did they seem to realise that the IRA, newly emerging from its successful campaign against the Blue-shirts was rapidly moving to the left, in spite of some of its right wing leadership.

It was becoming more susceptible to revolutionary ideas and was an essential factor in the implementation of the Congress programme.

The main reason for the rejection of the Congress programme was the block-vote of the Army Executive, Army Council and the GHQ staff. Dr. Bell contends that many delegates did not understand and were unprepared — in spite of the canvassing — for the new policies. In my view their correct attitude should have been to wait for the next convention where, as the result of rank and file support, there would have surely have been a reduction in reactionary membership of these executive bodies. This fact alone would have assured the passing of the Congress programme.

After the Congress split the National Freedom Movement was left entirely in the hands of a leadership with no other aim than to start a physical force campaign that would drive Fianna Fail or De Valera back to the republican road and eventually force them beyond the stage of Document No. 2.

Intervention

In other words, the IRA—as a result of the Congress split — was left under the control of a leadership prepared to leave politics to Dev and Fianna Fail; to a party in the process of deserting the republic and the ideals of its founders, from Tone to Pearse and Connolly. The continued intervention of the rank and file republicans in strikes, land disputes, etc. i.e. the Sanderson Estate dispute, their support of Frank Edwards against Dr. Kinane, their involvement in the transport strike on the side of the strikers in March of 35 is proof enough that even after the Congress split the membership left in the IRA could under no circumstances be termed reactionary

*In 1934 a group of I.R.A. leaders, including several of the Army Council, met at a congress in Athlone to form a more socialist organisation. They named it Republican Congress.

The leaders included Frank Ryan, Michael Price, George Gilmore and Peadar O'Donnell. They set up their own weekly newspaper, "Republican Congress".

Later that year at a meeting in Rathmines Town Hall, Michael Price challenged Congress to adopt the complete James Connolly programme (towards a Workers' Republic) and failing in this, broke away to attempt to re-form the Citizen Army, using the trade unions.

Both the Congress movement and Michael Price's new citizen army faded out when many members of both organisations went to fight in the Spanish Civil War, against the Franco forces.

and the attitude of the Belfast membership in the riots over the relief payments of '32 where they joined with the Ulster Volunteers to fight the establishment—before the Congress.

The Northern situation is well dealt with by Dr. Bell and reading his account of the pogroms of '34 and '35 with their toll of death, injury, arson and bombing shows the recent outbreaks of August '69 (savage as they seem) to be nothing unusual in the history of the Six Counties. The Campbell College raid; the Crown Entry arrests and the disastrous effect organisationally on the I.R.A. as a result of these arrests; the apprehension of Twomey in the south; the shootings of Admiral Somerville in Cork and Eagan in Dunganarvan—all these are fully documented.

'35 election

He deals with the rise and fall of Cumann Poblachta na h-Eireann including the humiliating defeat of Stephen Hayes in Wexford and George Plunket in Galway in the '35 election, in spite of the support of stalwarts like Mary McSwiney. The emergence of the Irish Christian Front and its link up with other elements on the Fascist side; the involvement of the remnants of Congress and some elements of the left in the IRA in the forming of the James Connolly Battalion of the International Brigade (in which almost 500 enlisted and of which 42 were killed in action, 114 wounded and twelve captured, including Frank Ryan) are part of his story.

The Russell-Barry-McBride rivalry for control of the leadership of the IRA, the courtmartial of Russell, the execution of traitors in Belfast, Russell's eventual recovery of the leadership and the acceptance of his Bomb Campaign policy, are well told.

Real custodian

As can be gleaned from Dr. Bell's narrative, the return of the IRA to active military activities re-established it once again in the eyes of the republican elements in Ireland as the real custodian of the 'Fenian Tradition.' And the measures taken by the Fianna Fail government to suppress the republican movement are the best proof

of this. Even more than the handing over of the de jure powers of government of the Republic by the remaining survivors of the second Dail were subordinate in actual significance.

The subsequent executions of men like McGrath and Plant, men who had seen active service in '16 and the Tan war, the jailings and internments, may have "contained" to some extent the I.R.A. for the duration of the war. But the calm courage of Barnes and McCormack during their trial and their subsequent execution was also no small factor in re-establishing the credibility of the I.R.A. as the sole uncorrupted inheritor of the republican ideal.

Imprisonment

The willingness of its members to endure years of imprisonment — most were incarcerated for five years or more — all these factors were something that even the unfavourable publicity of the 'Hayes Affair' and the subsequent deterioration and disorganisation of the movement could not destroy.

This was a major turning point. The Irish people who had written off the I.R.A. during the late '30's as a spent force, once more accepted them as part of the Irish political scene. After the coming to office of the first inter-party government in '47, when the last of the prisoners, some serving 20 years or life, were released, its reorganisation was a foregone conclusion to most republicans, in spite of the frustration and bitterness resulting from splits "inside" and confusions "outside."

The events leading up to the reorganisation of the I.R.A., the formation of Clann na Poblachta which was launched by McBride with the help of some members of the Republican Prisoners Release Association and the opposition of the different elements of the movement, who although they had not yet got over the jail splits were opposed to the formation of Clann na Poblachta, the accounts of the different meetings and conventions, the appointment of Tony Magan as Chief of Staff after the '48 convention and the founding of the 'United Irishman,' are all accurately reported and of formative importance.

Well sketched

Magan's leadership is very well sketched and he is rightly shown as the most important factor in the reorganising of the I.R.A. and in preparing it for the campaign of 1956-62. In Dr. Bell's account of the events leading up to this campaign, the Derry raid in June of '51 was the real turning point. It is true, as he points out, that there was indeed a long way to go.

The chapters dealing with the arms raids both in the Six Counties and in England and the build-up to the '56 campaign are the best accounts ever written of that period. And those mainly involved — Garland, Boyce, Mitchell, Brady, Skuse, Joe Doyle, Charlie Murphy, etc. receive just mention. This is the most exciting part of the book. The episode of Garland, who was the inside man in the Armagh raid, saying while sitting blancoing his equipment with another soldier that the raiders arriving in their truck were probably a unit of territorials, is a classic.

Bell's account of the Westminster election and the success of Tomas Mitchell and Philip Clarke, the eclipse of the Nationalists in that election and his comment in the chapter notes show not only his capabilities as a historian but also his grasp of the political developments resulting from the raids and the subsequent attempt to extend the movement's military activities to a political victory.

A facade

But for the Movement of that time the political victories were incidental to and subordinate to military prowess. Sinn Fein was a facade for organising open support whether in Cumann Cabhrach, street meetings and demonstrations, or local or national elections; an extension of the military arm and ancillary to it, not an area where policy might be formulated or ideas discussed. The concurrence of military and electoral victory emerge clearly in Dr. Bell's history as does the inevitability of military and electoral defeat.

But for thousands of those involved in the 1957-'62 campaign and for the hundreds of thousands who followed the fortunes of the I.R.A. in the harsh Ulster weather there is presented a blow for blow

account of all the major raids and events — Derrylin, Roslea and Brookeborough. The daring daylight raid at Brookeborough, the deaths of O'Hanlon and South, and the effect on public opinion are all accurately recorded. The 1957 election, caused by the Clann na Poblachta No Confidence motion which brought down the Coalition Government, saw the return of four Sinn Fein candidates in an election fought by them solely on the national issue. The successful candidates were Rory Brady (Longford - Westmeath), Fergal O'Hanlon's brother (Monaghan), John Joe McGirl, (Sligo-Leitrim) and John Joe Rice (South Kerry). Ominously too, the election saw the return of De Valera and Fianna Fail.

Lesson No. 2

With the return of De Valera to power in 1957 came lesson No. 2. No. 1 arose from the running battles with the Special Branch during the early forties. Armed action against State personnel in the South had been forbidden by the Army. The additional lesson that no political leader of the South — and certainly not De Valera — would stand by and tolerate an I.R.A. Campaign directed against Britain from Irish soil within his jurisdiction came with the opening of the Curragh internment camp. Preparations for the 1957-1958 operations were nearly crippled. Only the escape from arrest of Sean Cronin and Charlie Murphy kept the operational lines open. All of the Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle (with the exception of Mrs. Buckley) and most of the G.H.Q. staff were on their way to the Curragh. The Border Campaign had seen its noon despite the fact that it was only officially terminated in 1962. By then two I.R.A. Campaigns based to a great extent on the supposition that the 26 Co. Government would remain neutral as long as no hostile activity occurred within the State had foundered on this naivete.

Declining campaign

But historian Bell faithfully traces the declining campaign right up to the unanimous decision of the Army Council to call it a day. He comments: "That was the end of sixteen years of work,

planning sacrifice, death and hope. Eight I.R.A. volunteers had been killed, two Republican civilians, and two Saor Uladh men. Six R.U.C. had been killed and thirty-two of the British security forces injured. Hundreds of men had spent up to four years interned in prison without trial."

Then follows a chapter that mirrors the chapter telling of the slow revival after the 1939 campaign — with one important difference. The period 1962 to 1969 is rightly given a chapter of its own as it records background to the present position of the Republican Movement.

Feuds, dissensions

Apart from the discussion of the feuds and dissensions that arose from the Curragh internment the author examines at length the result of the 1962-'65 period when the whole Movement engaged in a most searching analysis of how best to defeat British Imperialism. "Even before the 1962 Convention," as he points out "many in the Movement had begun, some for the first time, to define the mystical Republic in everyday terms, to analyse the possible strategy and tactics for a real, multifaceted revolutionary movement . . ."

The gradual involvement of the Movement in social agitations of all sorts as it undertook economic resistance to British Imperialism under the new direction and impetus that emerged from the soul searching up to 1965 is well described. Equally so is the effects of this new departure on a Movement long-conditioned to think in purely military terms and to neglect the political to the eventual destruction and defeat of all their planning and sacrifice. The decision to take direct military action in support of vital social causes — such as in the E.I. dispute and the threat to the shellfish fishermen of Connamara — held off a developing crisis.

New departure

But even the success of the Civil Rights Movement, undoubtedly a victory by association for the new departure failed to convert the traditionalists. Indeed, the effect of the Civil Rights success on the Movement in the North was

one of the main contributing factors to the walk-out by dissatisfied delegates at the last Sinn Fein Ard Fheis. In this respect, one of the more incisive remarks made by Dr. Bell is worth quoting. "It would be fair to say that the Civil Rights Movement had far more influence on the I.R.A. than the reverse."

The description of the forces on each side leading up to and after the Ard Fheis walk-out is worth reading, presented as it is, in the light of the history of the Movement over the previous thirty years. One of the author's few lapses occur in this chapter when he states that the Movement has got rid of parliamentary abstention.

Ancient amber

Nor does Dr. Bell think that the Movement's present difficulties will overcome it. "Perhaps the ideas of Tone are now encased in ancient amber, visible but dead; or, perhaps, the Army is on the edge of a new viable departure to unite the whole people of Ireland through militant social action in a Republic of those of little property."

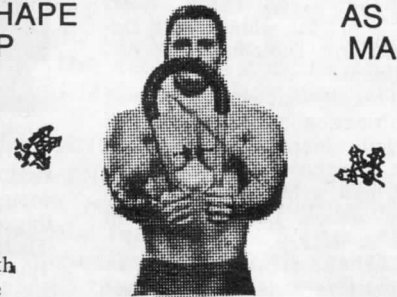
The 'new departure' spoken of was not a haphazard decision; rather was it the result of years of analysis and further years of experimentation. Civil Rights was its greatest flowering to date but already the road looks that little bit firmer as Republicans peer ahead into the Celtic twilight so beloved by Bowyer Bell. My first reading of this book adds to that confidence. And I shall read it again.

I began by expressing doubt about the possibility of "Objective" history I declared my own subjective bias. I put my own knowledge of the persons and events as I see and remember them into the same category of history. My evidence for what it is worth, is this is the most worth while book that I have ever read on this subject. It dwarfs its pretentious predecessors. ●

The Secret Army; J. Bowyer Bell; Anthony Blond, Ltd; £5. (Dr. Bell, author of "Besieged"; "Seven Cities Under Siege"; "The Long War: Israel and the Arabs since 1946", etc., is Research Associate at the Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University. He was formerly professor at New York Institute of Technology.)

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People

Instant publishing

PETER SNOW is an Irishman who has managed to accomplish the almost incredible feat of looking like, and sounding like an Englishman. You have seen him, urbane and often, on ITV's "News At Ten," for which he is Defence and Diplomatic Correspondent.

This is somewhat incidental information to an almost equally incredible feat Snow has just accomplished: he and a friend wrote a book on hijack queen Lelia Khaled in twelve days.

"Lelia's Hijack War," an impressive exercise in instant journalism and equally instant publishing, is a full length work dealing with the recent Jordanian War and the background to the series of aircraft hijacks which catapulted the grenade-carrying Lelia into international headlines.

It emerged after a dozen 18-hour working days of incessant writing by Peter and ITV producer David Phillips.

"We just broke for a quick beer or so at lunchtimes," recalled the Irish half of the writing partnership. "My wife hardly saw me for the twelve days."

He was born in Dublin 32 years ago and went to school at Park House in Donnybrook until the age of seven during the period when his father, an Army brigadier, lived in Dublin. His process of Anglicisation commenced at prep school in Sussex and was polished off at Oxford.

Peter Snow, the most English looking Irishman of all, now lives at Hampstead with his wife Alison and two Gaelic sounding children—Shane and Shuna.

Latest from O'Riada

It's a short step from there to the work of a man who is Irish, and whose sounds are very Irish indeed — Sean O'Riada.

To this day the sound track of the film "Mise Eire" (an O'Riada'd arrangement of course), is still one of the most regularly requested pieces of music on RTE's sponsored hours.

It's unlikely that "Hercules Dux Ferrariae," his Nomos No. 1 for strings, published last week, will attain the same mass



popularity, but there is certainly a brisk demand for the twenty-five specially bound copies of the publication, selling at collector's price of £25. There will be a sufficiently appreciative musical demand also to tax the 475 "ordinary" copies.

However, in order to cater for everybody, from the collector downwards, Claddagh Records released an O'Riada record featuring the work, at the same time as the publication.

Perhaps it will be the "request piece" which will eventually dislodge "Miss Eire" from its radio popularity.

(From the Sublime to the Ridiculous: Patrick Corbett (20), a science student at UCG set up a new marathon singing record in the City of the Tribes on the day before the O'Riada work was released. He qualified for his place in the Guinness Book of Records by droning on for more than 25 hours, non-stop. One shudders to think what the "singing" must have sounded like coming towards the end!)

You can't teach an old dog

From students to schoolteachers, Schoolteacher John O'Connor to be precise. A man who did a grave disservice to the INTO, the VTA, and ASTI last week.

John, the well-known greyhound man, travelled from his native Cork to a greyhound auction at Monmore Green near Wolverhampton to buy his 87th hound, double Puppy Derby winner Irish Airport.

He succeeded. And in the process paid 4,000 gns., a record price in England for a greyhound sold at auction.

He was reported afterwards as saying: "I have most certainly got my money's worth. And I have managed to save myself some money as I was prepared to go up to £6,500."

A bright 1971 was forecast for Joe Walsh Tours with new venues, including Ibiza, Costa del Sol and various parts of the U.S., Canada and Yugoslavia, when Mr. Walsh (centre) announced next year's programme at a reception in Dublin.

The -T.O., the -T.A., and the -T.I. will be united in irritation (in itself something of a record). How can wage claims be properly presented when the Department can point to schoolteachers with thousands of pounds in their Gaberdine pockets paying record prices for hounds—and still having thousands left.

However if the teachers' organisations look at it another way they can always tell the Department that a s.o.b. called Irish Airport changed hands for the sort of money with which you can buy the services of three or four young schoolteachers for an entire year!

A salesman . . . permanently

Gerry Alexander, top T.V. 'salesman' for that certainly permanently building society, went to Belfast last week to



Gerry Alexander.

kill a salesman in that city of considerable killing.

His target was Willie Loman, best known character of Arthur Miller, in "Death Of A Salesman," the most ambitious production in terms of complex technique at least, undertaken by the youthful Lyric Theatre.

"Gerry Alexander," reported 'Guardian' critic Ian Hill, "rarely faltered in his sustained detailed portrayal of this man misled by the myths of the concrete business jungle."

He was also, with Denis Smyth, the joint producer.

Opportunity does, it seems, come knocking after successful appearances on the TV show 'Opportunity Knocks.'

Witness Anna McGoldrick.

Another Irish girl, 13-years old violinist Claire Crehan, of Dublin's well known musical family, also ex-O.K. may be the next major recipient of success. There is now a distinct possibility she will have a star part in the show Jack Benny will take on the British circuit early next year.

Excellent quote on the subject attributed to Claire's mother Eileen in a recent T.V. Times: "I don't play anything. But, with ten children, you could put me down as a producer."

From the mouths of babes . . .

Speaking of startling changes, Clairvoyance or a Coalitionist-inspired slip of the pen must have been behind the 'Daily Telegraph' report last Tuesday which got certain Irish political affiliations mixed up.

The report was about the new Movement For Peace in Ireland. It mentioned that the 13-man steering committee included Mr. Garrett Fitzgerald . . . "a university lecturer and spokesman on economic affairs for the Republic's Labour party . . ." (!?).

Government and inflation



by Bill Ambrose

INFLATION IS A three headed monster hungrily fed by excessive income increases, uncontrolled credit lending and rising public expenditure. Because rising wages are the root cause of our current dilemma, attention has tended to focus on the incomes aspect but the flames have also been fanned by inadequate monetary and fiscal policies.

Attempts have been made to clamp down on hire purchase, tighten up on the capital inflow generated by the non-associated banks and to curb credit expansion but owing to the six month bank dispute it will not be possible to measure their true effectiveness until the end of the current financial year.

In the absence of a quantifiable credit policy, the onus on the Government to moderate its public expenditure becomes all the greater. It is only within the past two months that there has been any public recognition of this responsibility and so far as the current year is concerned, the acceptance has come too late.

In the April budget, the Government estimated that 1970-71 current expenditure would rise by 15.4% to £474.9 million and that capital spending would increase by 12.2% to £194.5 million, plus an additional outlay of £29 million on miscellaneous items and re-financing of previous borrowings. Both increases compare favourably with the corresponding rises of 19.1% and 23% respectively recorded in the previous year but both were still inflationary in character.

In chapter two of the budget saga last October it was admitted that current spending was actually running £23 million

above schedule but by securing economies of over £7 million the Government hoped to limit current outlay to a total of £491 million—an actual increase of 19½%.

Capital spending we were ambiguously told was “also being subjected to a critical review and while reductions at short notice are not easily achievable, we hope to bring the capital programme below the total of £194.5 million contemplated in the budget.”

Economically, a cutback in current expenditure is justifiable. Politically, it is more palatable to ease off on capital outlay.

A further significant and disturbing element of Government spending in recent years has been the growing dependence on borrowing as a source of funds. In 1965 borrowings of £68 million formed 23% of total revenue. By 1970 they totalled 30% of income. Hand in hand with this has been the proportionally higher sums that the banks have had to contribute and the increasing official willingness to look to Europe for funds.

As the current budgetary accounts have balanced out over the past few years, the borrowed money has gone towards the capital programme and to that extent is acceptable.

Out of the £119.8 million that the Government had to raise in the present year, £75 million was to be found through loans from the banks and from foreign sources. In reply to a question I recently put to the Department of Finance, I elicited the useful information that because of the bank dispute, they did not know how much money had actually been borrowed and would be borrowed in the present fiscal year.

Banks' contribution

But it is realistic to assume that the contribution of the banks will not be less than the 1969-70 total of £50 million. There has also been recourse to the foreign market this year and recently it was announced that discussions were under way with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Redevelopment — happily, better known as the World Bank—for a possible £70 million loan spread over a five year period.

The World Bank was set up in 1944 by the Bretton Woods

Agreement. It is a specialised agency of the U.N., offering loans for fifteen to twenty-five year periods. About one-third of its funds come from Europe and members of it must also be members of the International Monetary Fund.

Borrowing extra money at home can be inflationary but in effect it is also a transfer payment from one sector of the economy to the other. Going overseas for the loan is a straight injection of extra cash into the economy and to that extent is doubly inflationary.

Attractive issue

The ESB is one of the several public bodies with a voracious appetite for capital. This week it turned to the market for the second time in a year, boosting its repayable capital by around £8 million to over £140 million.

The issues are reasonably attractive, particularly the 6% 1976 stock which for good measure will throw in a 20% bonus on redemption to give an effective yield of around 11% to the standard tax payer. The advantages, however are not significantly different from the 25% bonus scheme now being offered by the Post Office which only ties capital up for three years.

The ESB also has twice raided the West German market for extra funds, taking advantage of the low interest rates to raise £14 million. It too has received money from the World Bank and still can avail of more.

While it is unfortunate that cheaper interest rates and other factors have encouraged foreign borrowing, it is probable that total borrowing and capital expenditure this year will not be greatly out of line with the original estimates.

It is current expenditure that will throw up the real inflationary pressures. If the Government is really sincere in its determination to check the price spiral, it will almost certainly have to aim for a surplus on the current account in the next budget, the actual degree being determined by prevailing circumstances. With the banks again open for scrutiny, it would permit a balanced approach to the problem which would raise hopes for a satisfactory solution that avoids the dangers of a full recession and high unemployment. ●

Our rising export trade

EXPORTS ARE the lifeblood of the Irish economy. More than anything else they are responsible for the higher standards of living which we have enjoyed during the Sixties when they soared from £135 million at the end of 1959 to £403m. last year. If they continue to increase in real terms—not just in money value — there is no reason why living standards should not continue to rise also. If they decline, or remain static, then it is inevitable that our living standards will fall.

It is from exports that we as a nation can earn the foreign exchange which enables us to go shopping abroad for the goods which we need to build up our economy. We need machinery and capital equipment for industry. We need aircraft, locomotives, trucks and cars. And we need the many consumer goods which help make life more pleasant for all of us.

First Programme

The past decade or so has seen the emergence of Ireland as an important exporting nation. Industrial development launched with the publication of the First Programme for Economic Expansion in 1958, created a source of exportable manufactured goods which grew steadily alongside our agricultural exports. Traditionally Irish exports meant live cattle, agricultural produce, food and drink, and indeed this was the pattern up to the mid Fifties when manufactured goods accounted for only £17 million of our export total.

A decade later however the picture had completely changed and by 1967 Ireland was exporting a diverse range of industrial products ranging from fashions to textiles, chemicals, precision instruments, engineering goods and even "heavy" capital equipment, which in that year netted us a total of £116m. Last year that figure was up to £169 million.

211% increase

Exports in 1969 were the highest on record in value and volume. Compared with 1959 they showed an increase of 211% and, for the first time, manufactured goods (excluding food and drink) were the largest category. While the total money figure was impressive and exceeded Coras Trachtala's target of £400



million by almost £4m., the actual rate of increase was slower than in 1968 or 1967. Of far greater significance, however, was the fact that in real terms our overall export growth rate in 1969 was only 5% after taking into account a rise in export prices of 6%.

This amounted to only about half the growth rate set by the Third Programme for Economic and Social Development and compares with similar increases of 16.5% in Belgium, 14.5% in the Netherlands, 17% in France and Italy, 13% in Germany and 10.6% in the U.K. True, our

Participation in international trade fairs has proved to be among the most successful means of promoting Irish exports and is actively encouraged by CTT, which gives grants to participating firms.

One of the most popular exhibition centres among Irish exporting firms is Cologne, where an annual programme of Trade Fairs covers a wide spectrum of industry. The Irish representative of the Cologne Fairs is Mr. Charles O. Neale of Dalkey.

money increases were also short of what was achieved percentagewise among our future EEC partners, but the position would have been very much better had not our 6% increase in export prices been the highest of the countries listed above.

The reason for this relatively poor performance last year can, of course, be directly related to inflation. In its "Report on Incomes and Prices Policy" published last April, the NIEC says that "in 1969 prices and money incomes have risen faster in Ireland than in any other

From two pairs of boots

TWO SAMPLE pairs of ladies' boots despatched to a United States buyer in 1958 have mushroomed into a £200,000 per annum export business for O'D Shoes of Basin Street, Dublin, which has won an Exporters' Award this year. This family firm has its origins back in 1938 when its present chairman, Laurence Donohoe, moved from shoe repairing into manufacture.

Nine years later he founded a limited company and began selling on the home market. That was until 1958 and those two samples. Today O'D Shoes

employs more than 100 people and makes specialised lines of ladies' fur-lined bootees, all of which are exported. Canada, where the company sells to a single giant wholesaling firm, takes half of its output and would take as much more if they were available. A further 35% of production goes to the United States and 15% to the UK.

According to director Vincent Donohoe, the company had lean years before its export drive clicked, and was helped considerably by CTT and the Industrial Credit Com-

pany. Inflation is a problem today, but O'Ds plan to combat it by producing a better quality product at a higher price.

There is a strong family influence on the board. In addition to chairman Laurence, who is also chairman of the Irish Shoe Manufacturers' Association for six years, there is Vincent and Helen, while Eugene Donohoe is Planning and Production Manager. Another close relation who also figures among the directors is Labour Party leader Brendan Corish.

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Northgate owns two producing mines in Ireland with a combined gross metal revenue approximating \$30 million or more per annum, and a 22.4% interest in Western Mines Limited, a Canadian copper - zinc - silver producer. Western Mines Limited has declared an initial dividend, consisting of a half-yearly dividend of 10c. per share, together with an extra dividend of 5c. per share, payable on December 15, 1970.

The following are other among the principal affiliated companies of Northgate Exploration Limited with some of the more important assets highlighted :

WESTFIELD MINERALS LIMITED—Active in exploration in Canada. Owns 3,750,000 shares of Whim Creek Consolidated N.L. and an option to purchase an additional 2,750,000 shares exercisable on or before December 31, 1971. Westfield has a 16.6% interest in Vestgron Mines Limited (majority interest held by Cominco) holding a concession in Greenland on which drilling has indicated a deposit of lead-zinc mineralization. Northgate has recently increased its ownership in Westfield to 45.7%.

WHIM CREEK CONSOLIDATED N.L. — Company is actively exploring extensive holdings in Australia. Certain mineral concessions including the former Mons Cupri workings are subject of an agreement with Australia Inland Exploration (sub'y of Texas Gulf Sulphur) in which Whim Creek has carried interest of 31 $\frac{2}{3}$ %. Northgate owns 2,250,000 shares of Whim Creek and has an option to purchase an additional 2,250,000 shares on or before December 31, 1971 at 75 cents per share. Northgate's beneficial interest in Whim Creek is 33.3% of the latter's presently issued 11,000,000 shares.

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Executive Office : 162 Clontarf Road, Dublin 3.

Head Office : Suite 2601, Royal Trust Tower, Toronto-Dominion Centre, Toronto 111, Canada.



OECD country." Since 1963 wage costs per unit of output in manufacturing industry have risen by 11% compared with 4.5% in the UK, 3% in the U.S.A. 4% in Germany and 2% in Japan.

This, of course, has been reflected in our export prices as indeed has loss of man hours through industrial disputes. We are getting in more money — but growth in the volume of goods which we sell abroad is not being achieved fast enough to give us a real improvement in living standards.

Bright side

There is a bright side to the picture too however. First of all it must be remembered that for a country of our size and as a relative newcomer to industrialisation we have done extremely well in the face of world-wide competition. Assuming that we can keep inflationary tendencies in check (and this is perhaps a

An energetic marketing board

IN CORAS Trachtala, Ireland has one of the most energetic and professional export marketing boards in the world — a fact which has been acknowledged ruefully by almost all our competitors, and studied with interest by many of them.

Established in 1952 as a State-sponsored limited company its original purpose was to assist in overcoming the difficulties arising from the prevailing shortage of foreign exchange and for a time its activities were confined to the dollar area only. It did such a good job that after the dollar problem eased its services were retained and its scope broadened to include all mar-



Colm Barnes . . . chairman, Coras Trachtala.

kets except Britain. In 1958 the UK market came under its umbrella also.

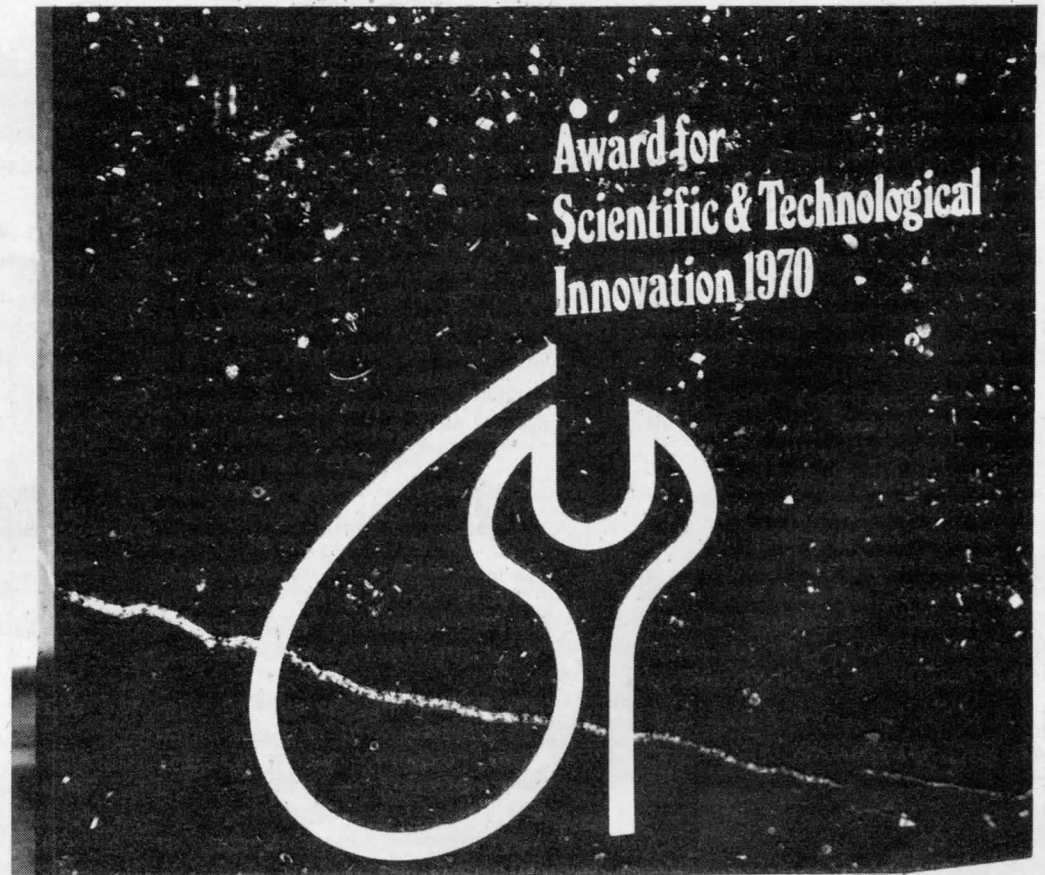
In the following year Coras Trachtala was reconstituted as a statutory body by the Export Promotion Act of 1959. It is administered by a six-man board appointed by the Minister for Industry and Commerce and is financed by a grant in aid (£1.4m last year) from his department. The present chairman of CTT is Colm Barnes and the members are T. E. Dunphy, Michael J. Killeen (general manager until this year), Denis Murphy, B. M. O'Doherty, T. E. Tynan and W. H. Walsh. It employs 163 people. ●

Irish product will have the edge because . . .

AN IRISH export product will have the edge over its foreign competitors in future because of a technological breakthrough by its manufacturer's research staff during the year. The product is a cyanoacrylate adhesive made at Ballyfermot, Dublin, by the Intercontinental Chemical Company, one of the five winners of the new awards for Scientific and Technological Innovation.

The award has been introduced this year to give recognition to firms who are developing their products through research and development projects. The adhesive manufactured by Intercontinental was of an unstable nature and had a shelf life of only a few months, thus limiting the range of markets to which it could be exported. Under the new manufacturing process, a highly volatile and corrosive gas which was previously used is no longer necessary and the adhesive now has a shelf life of at least a year.

Intercontinental is a subsidiary of the Loctite Corporation of Hartford, Connecticut, and exports its adhesives to several countries, including Japan. It sponsors two scholarships for post graduate



research at UCD and Trinity.

Other winners of the technological innovation award include Irish Ropes, which has developed a technique for manufacturing its "Tintawn"

floor coverings from extruded polymers instead of from imported fibre; Harringtons and Goodlass Wall for its work on pigment dispersion at its Cork paint factory; Bord na Mona

for four projects which improved the efficiency of harvesting and peat-saving operations; and Bowater's Irish Board Mills for development work on its wallboards.



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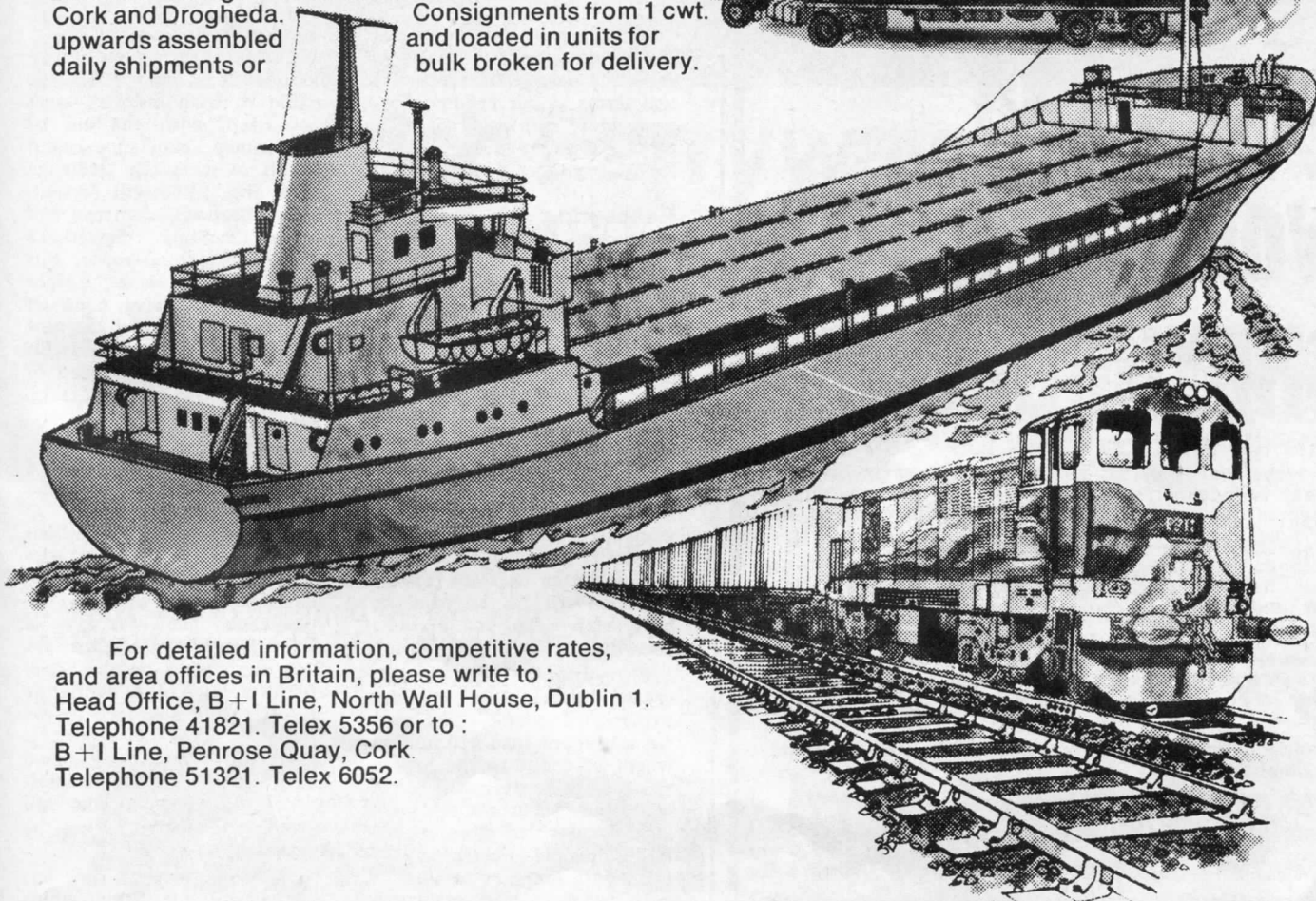
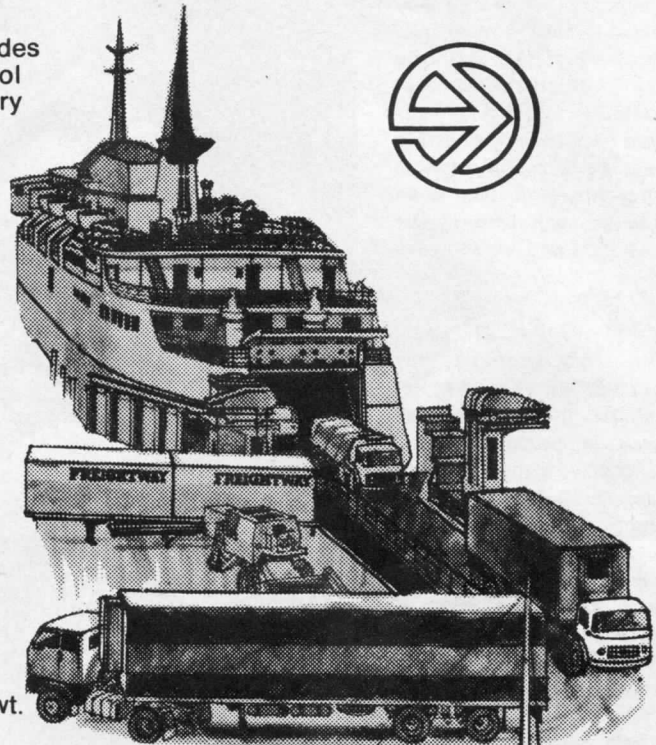
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Brave and successful in a tough market

THE IRISH Exporters' Awards are not merely "For Valour" but if they were, then Mayco—the Ballina plastics manufacturers—would certainly be an automatic choice, for Mayco is engaged in one of the most fiercely competitive of world markets — plastic and vinyl toys—where it must take on the Japanese and the Chinese in markets all over the world.

Mayco has won an award this year because, in addition to being brave, it has been highly successful with export sales of £375,000 which have shown a steady volume increase despite rising labour costs and inflation at home.

Much of the success of this enterprising Western industry is due to the initiative of managing director Frank Kerins, a 40-year-old Sligoman who returned from exile in England to set up the business in 1964. He began the manufacture of vinyl footballs and "squeeze toys", and within a year had established a foot-



A selection of Mayco export products at a recent International Trades Fair.

hold on the British market.

Today, the UK accounts for 50% of production, and every working day four containers of toys leave the Ballina factory for its subsidiary company in Chester, while regular orders

are also despatched to export customers in Canada, South America, the US, Australia, West Indies, South Africa, and the EEC and EFTA countries.

Kerins has no fears about Irish entry into the EEC, seeing

it rather as an opportunity to sell his goods to a huge market. He says the spirit and enthusiasm of his 200 employees has made an important contribution to the success of Mayco.

£1,010,738 Worth of GREYHOUNDS?

It may surprise you, but yet, 6,570 greyhounds bred in Ireland were exported abroad during 1969, recognition indeed of quality and performance by foreign buyers in the know!

Distribution of these greyhounds was to Britain, the USA, Spain, Italy, France, Sweden, Australia, Pakistan, Germany, and the Argentine.

The Irish Greyhound Board—Bord na gCon—welcomes the increased volume of private sales transactions. It operates a non-profit sales agency to facilitate prospective clients in new markets outside Britain.

An advisory service is also provided. Full information from the Chief Officer:

**IRISH GREYHOUND BOARD,
(BORD NA gCON), 104 HENRY STREET, LIMERICK.
PHONE 46788.**

brave assumption) our exports should continue to grow in real terms as our products become more and more sophisticated and as the "value added" becomes greater.

Reassuring

It is also reassuring to note that our markets, which for years were tied to Britain's economic apron strings, have become increasingly diverse and Irish goods are now finding their way to every corner of the globe. This factor is likely to be vital within the next few years with the expected Irish entry into the EEC. We will then face pretty fierce competition in Britain from the Europeans, and while proximity and strong economic ties will give us some advantage, it will be essential to have strong export markets elsewhere as well.

Entry into the EEC will also create opportunities for our exports, of course. Last year we sold more than £40 million worth of goods to the Six — much of them over stiff tariff walls and free access to an enlarged market of close on 300 million people is certain to see this figure soar.

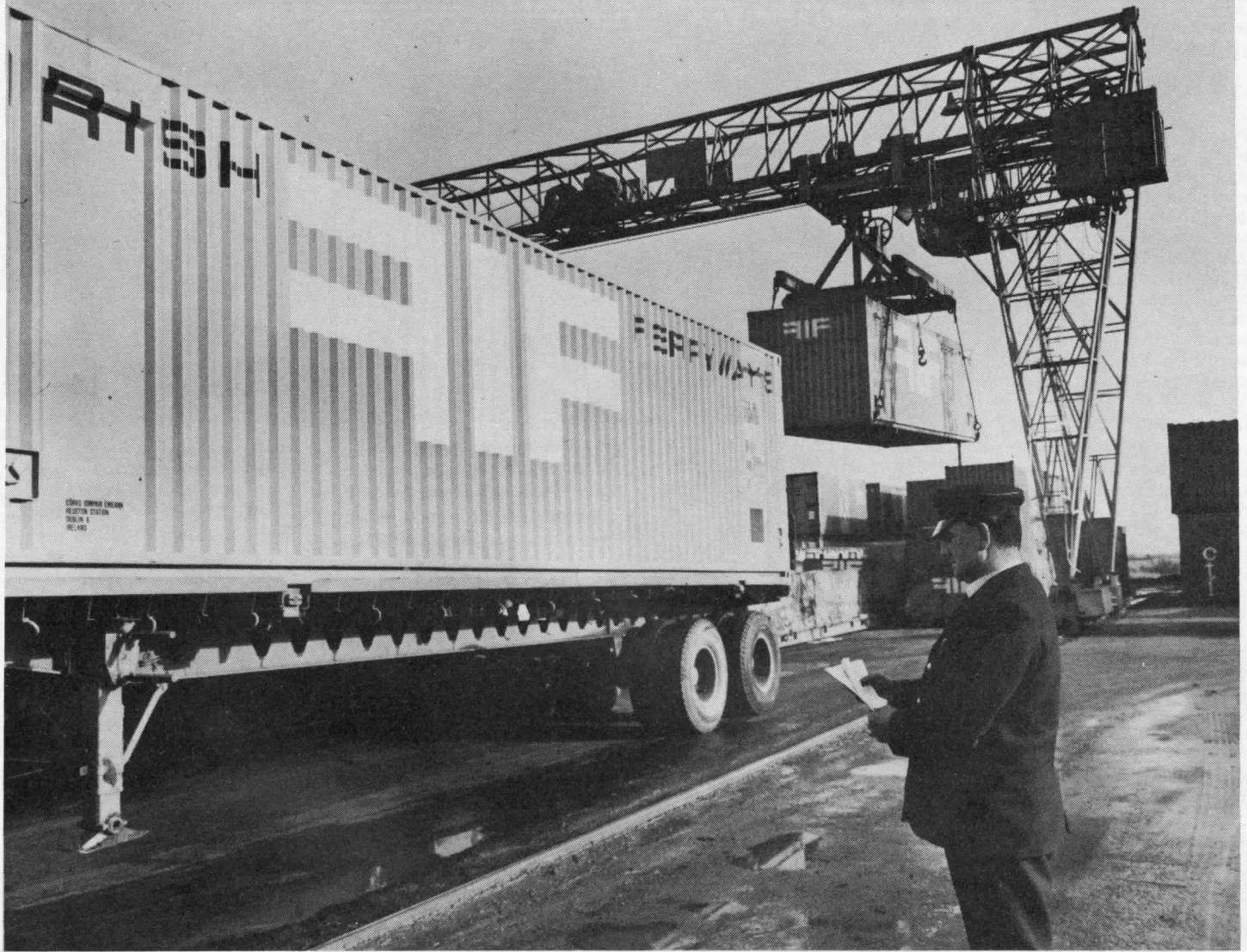
In order to reap maximum

benefit from this situation — and indeed in order to survive within it, Irish industry must gear itself, with the aid of government assistance and stimuli to meet the challenge which free trade will present. Colm Barnes, chairman of Coras Trachtala referred to this in his annual report this year when he said: "More than once we have gone on record as stating that the new decade calls not just for adaptation or reorientation of Irish industry to exporting.

First law

For many firms, including numerous exporters it demands a radical change of business attitudes and methods which may have served adequately in the past, but now are rapidly approaching obsolescence. The first law of export dynamics in the Seventies insists on the adoption of a much more deliberate and scientific approach to the whole business of exporting, particularly marketing and planning. The more progressive firms recognise this and have taken, or are taking the necessary steps.

There is not much time left particularly for firms which



Irish Ferryways... ...unit load pioneers in Ireland

Irish Ferryways is the largest and most experienced container company in Ireland. They started it all here. For nearly seven years, Irish Ferryways have been exploring the advantages of unit-load: speed, easier documentation and other formalities, less pilferage and breakage and thus lower insurance rates. Irish Ferryways is formed by CIE and Containerway and Roadferry Ltd., the British-based, biggest unit-load operator

in Europe. Irish Ferryways can handle container freight from Ireland (Dublin, Drogheda, or New Ross) to Britain, and onwards to all European countries. Irish Ferryway's new terminal at Tolka Quay, Dublin, has advanced equipment for handling all container types — General, Refrigerated, Flat, and Bulk Liquid. To find out how unit-load can help you export quickly and economically contact:



FIF Irish Ferryways

Tolka Quay, Dublin. Tel. 47948; also The Quay,
New Ross, Co. Wexford. Tel. New Ross 21445.

though possessing export capacity have yet to realise it."

As even the casual observer will realise inflation has not been halted in the current year. The effects of many twelfth round settlements have yet to be reflected in increased export prices. But almost every day there is some evidence of manufacturers feeling the pinch. The call for a curb on inflation has echoed from the sober offices of the Central Bank and the ESRI the Exporters Association and the boardrooms of a score of companies on Annual Meeting Day.

Vital fact

True — the export figures returned by the Central Statistics Office show an increase of about £36m, over last year for the first eight months of 1970 — but that is only half the story. The vital fact which the figures do not reveal is whether we are actually selling more or less goods for that increased amount of money. If our prices continue to rise as they did last year at double and treble that of our competitors, then it is only a matter of time before we are squeezed out of our hard-won export markets.

Ideally our prices should increase at a rate slightly be-



low that of the UK and the Europeans. At least they should keep pace. The hard fact however is that our inflation is racing ahead and unless it is caught we will lose the export race. ●

At the Cologne Trade Fair . . . C. O. Neale, Irish representative; Mr. E. L. Kennedy, Irish Ambassador; and Dr. R. Krugmann, managing director, Cologne Trade Fairs.

nally since 1957. Within this general framework, of course, some countries particularly Britain have done better than others.

Last year we ran an £8m. trade deficit with the seven top East European nations and while this is about £2m. better than the position three years ago, it nevertheless makes sorry reading. The basic reason for this imbalance is that our importers are free to buy (with very few exceptions) on the best available market while export into East European markets has been very difficult in the absence of bilateral agreements.

only now that we are waking up to the fact, and getting around to making the Communists sign equitable trade agreements. And we are very far behind in the race.

The big business nations of Europe have been at it for more than a decade. Trade between East and West Europe has been running at around £1,500 million each way an-

Trade with Eastern Europe

IRELAND'S APPROACH to trade with the East European countries for instance, has probably cost us millions of pounds in exports —and it is



Mayco Limited
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Europe's largest manufacturers of Vinyl toys. Also included in our current range are Plastic toys over a wide variety, including Sit & Ride Toys, Plastic Playballs and footballs. **Exports world-wide.**

Mayco products carry the International Seal of Approval, Gold Award for Exports from the International Export Association, and now Irish Export Award for Export Achievement during 1970!

The best means of correcting the imbalance as far as Ireland is concerned would, therefore, appear to be through international trade agreements which would carry some measure of diplomatic recognition. This course was advocated as far back as 1968 by Taoiseach Jack Lynch during the visit of Rumanian foreign minister Mr. Manescu. But apart from recently signed agreements with Bulgaria and Poland little progress has since been made.

Trade Fairs

In recent years, CTT has been gingerly probing East European markets with some measure of success. They have organised stands at Trade Fairs in Leipzig and other centres and earlier this year held a Technical Symposium for a week in Prague. Seven manufacturers participated and visiting scientists and technologists showed keen interest in the more sophisticated products.

In the foreseeable future then, it is likely that our trading imbalance with the East European bloc will continue. We can narrow the gap however by studying the East European market closely, by offering the right type of goods, by estab-

Mugs open a market

A BRIGHT marketing idea of launching a range of ceramic mugs in the colours and crests of 24 top English soccer teams has opened up a potential market of more than a million football fans for award winners Carrigaline Pottery Company.

This County Cork firm manufactures tableware and tiles for the US, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand and has succeeded in doubling its export figures each year since 1967. The company was founded in 1928 in an old mill with three workers.

It grew rapidly during the 30s and started manufacturing tiles in 1936. A modernisation programme was commenced in 1958 and expansion continued right up to March of this year, when fire destroyed more than half of the factory premises. Reconstruction work began on the following day and the plant was back in



A consignment of Carrigaline pottery arriving at Boston is given a "Cead Mile Failte" by Miss Carmel O'Leary (centre), Irish Vice-Consul.

partial production within two months.

Work is still progressing and

Carrigaline hopes to have a completely new plant ready by February next.

lishing our reputation as a serious producer, by participation in trade fairs and by see-

ing in East Europe a market with enormous potential which can bring rich rewards to those

who are prepared to approach it with patience and tenacity. ●
Frank Corr

VISIT COLOGNE 1971

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- Exhibition of SPORTS FACILITIES and Swimming pool Installations. International Convention.
- West German Art Fair.
- Flower Garden Show



COLOGNE INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

INFORMATION :

Official Representative in Ireland,
Charles O. Neale,
"Luxor", Saval Park Road, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
Phone : 806868.



"I take the programme seriously only insofar as I am selling a product and I therefore go into every tiny detail."

LEISURE

The pop beautician

TO MAKE RTE's "Like Now" palatable to a more extensive audience than avid teeny boppers involves a fair degree of technical wizardry. Pop music has a limited appeal in any country, but in Ireland especially, where the standards are so low, a liberal covering of cosmetics is almost essential to broaden its appeal.

The irony is that "Like Now" is primarily visual, that the cosmetics have become the central attraction, and the music which is meant to be the base of the programme tends to be subordinated to some lavish technical feats. Which generally is no loss.

Bil Keating the director of "Like Now" has received a Jacob's award on the strength of what he has done to the show, which is certainly the most adventurous in RTE. It is a fair comment on his achievements that despite having to work on a programme that in the right circumstances could have an insatiable capacity for banality, he has won the most prestigious award available.

Keating is quite honest about his role as beautician. "I take the programme seriously only insofar

as I am selling a product, and I therefore go into every tiny detail, both from my end of it and what I feel the public wants. As a person I'm not brainwashed by it in any way, and I don't like it for pleasure. I'd sooner get the hell out of it and get out of the country. I'm certainly no pop addict.

Low standard

"I have to put a fairly sophisticated imagery around a subject I don't think all that highly of. In addition we have a low standard of pop groups in this country and I've got to cover up masses of inefficiencies with gimmicks. If I have an British group over, I usually have to do less, just stand there, put a camera on them, and they give me the action. But that's elevating pop to a higher level than it need be elevated."

"Like Now" works on a budget of £600 per week. It has managed to get some fairly glossy English groups over, but not with promises of luscious financial return. All they receive is expenses, plus a bit of ready cash, and presumably the benefit of working with Keating.

Apparently television coverage in Ireland can be of some benefit to foreign groups, which is why they keep coming. Most of them are impressed by Keating's ability and indeed one well-known group asked for the "Like Now" team to produce a show for them at their expense.

The production of the show is not an unimpressive feat. The rather sheepish audience which is herded into the studio usually numbers twenty or thirty which with dexterous camera work and anxious studio hands keeping them penned into a tight group, looks on television like a large gathering in a club.

Up in the control room, well removed from the docile submission of the studio audience, sits Bil Keating, Nuala Naughton, the production assistant (p.a.) and Tina O'Donnell and Deirdre Murphy, vision mixers. Four cameras are normally used, one for graphics and three on the studio floor.

The script of "Like Now" is a forbidding looking document, and the constant camera changes which the p.a. is responsible for orchestrating during the take

could have the makings of classic visual debacle if she were not of

Within thirty seconds she may have fifteen camera changes to call.

By the time of shooting, most of Keating's work has been done. He's written the script, choreographed the cameras, arranged whatever variations on the gimmickry theme are going to be played and rehearsed the whole team. All he can do during shooting is to preside over the whole effort, coaxing fluidity into the changes of scenes with symphonic gestures at the six unseeing television monitors before him.

Visual effect

Down on the floor, the dancers obediently cluster under the cameras, giving the visual effect of a rather packed nightclub. The group plays or the singer sings, but unless it is a very good performance, the emphasis is visual. Cameramen heave their portly cameras around, and little go-go girls—whom Keating describes as "a moving flesh background; you're not meant to see them individually"—line the raised gallery and frantically try to upstage each other as the camera tracks across them.

Danny Hughes, the compere, is neatly tucked into an enclosed section at the side of the studio and insulated from the hurly-burly on the floor. Between numbers, when Hughes is speaking or during the advertising break, the audience stand around listlessly, as if they had no existence off camera. Only the eye of the camera seems to spark any life into them; during continuity music they droop like forlorn puppets until they obediently jerk into life and when it moves past, they go limp again.

While I was watching the show, a camera broke down while shooting; the cameraman looked round in disbelief and disengaged the camera from its admirers. The floor crew scuttled around, the camera was heaved away, and the other cameras worked all the harder to make up the loss. The whole breakdown was handled like an automatic gear change, and viewers never noticed the hitch.

Floor show

The floor show is almost unrecognisable as the source of the final visual product. Superimpositions, split-screens, inlay, back-



"Like Now", or its future equivalent, is the only thing that keeps Keating in Dublin.

projection on the Eidophor, zooms, and rotating split screen with, of course the odd close up on some petite go-go girl's provocative little pelvic thrust, create a new set of images. If the music is good, or lends itself less readily to technical flamboyance, then the production is more sober. Even a relatively good Irish group, such as the Freshmen, can be treated to a display of production techniques that will be remembered as much as the music it was meant to be accompanying.

"Boys only"

Each show so far has contained enough ingenuity to maintain the impetus of success. Keating himself asked for the twelve show series, since he doubted his inventive resources could endure a full season. The show is not being taken off because of the budget cuts, although the daily press seems to think otherwise. He is moving on to a good old fashioned piece of family stodge "Boys only"; "It will be straightforward," says Keating, "no gimmicks whatsoever, for the mums and dads, with fireswallers and jugglers and that sort of thing." There are plans for a new pop programme next year on the same lines as

"Like Now" enjoying a new name with Keating still in charge.

And Keating is suitably cynical about the whole thing. "I'm essentially a drama director who got into this because this was the show that happened. I'm interested in progress in my career, and in every other way, and here's where it is for me in this station at this time. If RTE had something else to offer, I'd rather do revues in the music line or straight plays. But I certainly would not want to work in drama at the moment."

You can hardly blame him for that. With people of the calibre of Louis Lentin being drafted into breathing life into the cumbersome inanity of "Southside," the scope for drama is limited. "Like Now," or its future equivalent, is the only thing that keeps Keating in Dublin, a town for which he has a profuse dislike. He is tired of the semi-professionalism that infects much of Irish life, and given the opportunity he would leave.

He admits the cynicism that keeps him here. "If a television director is primarily creative, then I'm a business man first and a creator second." It seems a waste. ●

Kevin Myers.

Internment:

The law and the politics



by Senator John Kelly

IN COMMENTING on the Taoiseach's announcement about the possible re-introduction of internment without trial, it is important to begin at the right point; and that, in this case, is the recognition that this Government, or any Government, has an absolute duty to protect the people under its care.

"Law and order" is a phrase of doubtful utility nowadays, because it has been used in other jurisdictions to justify forms of control that we would not wish to see here; but what law and order basically means is that ordinary people who respect the law are protected from bullying by those who do not. Unless this protection, and the civic peace which results from it, are assured, nobody is safe in his person, his property, his job or his human relations.

In this country, and in others with similar systems, the Government is normally able to discharge its duty to maintain civic peace by means of its ordinary, unarmed police force plus the constitutionally established courts; and the courts, in turn, operate according to rules which, summed up generally, amount to what a layman thinks of as "fair trial". The rules of fair trial are, in fact, so constructed as to give the accused person certain advantages, the object being to ensure—even at the cost of letting some guilty persons escape—that no one who is innocent is convicted.

In abnormal circumstances, however, this civilised system is inadequate; and in the relatively recent history of this country it has broken down, or has looked like breaking down, for two or three reasons. In the years before and during the Second World War, for instance, trial by jury had to be abandoned (and replaced by trial by special court) because of the intimidation or even murder of jurymen. Even where a trial is held without a jury—as happens even in normal times in the case of minor offences tried in the District Court—there is the problem of witnesses being intimidated or silenced.

Again, where offences are associated with a well-organised and violent conspiracy, the problem of collecting satisfactory evidence may become insuper-

able; and while in normal times it is taken for granted that you cannot impose constraint on somebody on suspicion alone, in times of danger you may be risking the whole safety of society by adhering to this rule.

Stated briefly, a democratic and relatively liberal State such as we have here can normally protect its people without difficulty and still respect the ordinary rules of fair trial, no imprisonment without conviction of an offence, and so on.

But circumstances may arise in which, if the State keeps to these rules, it will be fighting a serious danger with one hand tied behind its back. It will be like a boxer who keeps his gloves on when his opponent has produced a blackjack or a knife. This, indeed, is explicitly recognised by the European Human Rights Convention, which excuses a signatory State if it has had to abandon the ordinary rules in order to deal with "war or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation", though such State may depart from its Convention obligations only to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation.

The Irish Government has now apparently given notice that it may have to take advantage of this clause, since it considers that an emergency of this kind exists. Not knowing what kind of evidence is in its hands, I cannot offer an opinion on whether it would or would not be justified in interning people without trial, and I cannot predict what the Human Rights Commission or Court at Strasbourg may eventually say about it.

Lawless case

It should be remembered, however, that in the Lawless case back in 1961, in which the plaintiff had been interned without trial during the I.R.A. campaign against the North, the Court of Human Rights held that "the facts found" in relation to the situation here in 1957—when Lawless was interned—"did not disclose a breach by the Irish Government of its obligations" under the European Human Rights Convention.

No more need be said at present about the broad legal or constitutional questions involved. However, the political background to the Government's announcement invites both comment and condemnation; and the starting-point here is exactly the same. If the Government is now facing an "emergency threatening the life of the nation", it is because, over the past few years, it has failed in its duty to protect the people against the growth of this emergency situation.

It seems almost old-fashioned to say so, but most people dislike the sight of uniformed men, not under State discipline, parading in our streets and discharging fire-arms. They dislike the tolerance—and the publicity—freely accorded to organisations which either are already unlawful (having been declared so under s.19 of the Offences Against The State Act, 1939) or ought to be declared so.

I do not complain about the publicity in itself, because—as 'The Irish Times'

said last Saturday: "If the Government continued to allow uniformed and armed organisations to parade openly in the State, they were seen to be, if not approving, at least condoning such conduct; the remedy was not repression of free reporting but action by the Government to show that there was only one army and one law here".

Just as the gradual and now rapid inflation remained unchecked until it seemed necessary to meet it with unprecedented economic measures, similarly the internment camp, if it reopens, will be doing so because of the Government's failure and neglect of its duty to enforce the law earlier, in the ordinary way and by the ordinary courts. The parallel goes even further; both the economic and the political crises have been approached with an eye less to duty than to expediency.

On the economic front, a solemnly proclaimed emergency vanished overnight at the approach of a general election; recent measures, announced as "not negotiable", were abandoned within a week when they looked like alienating trade union votes.

On the political front, Fianna Fail remembers the effect of Clann na Poblachta in 1948, when the defection of that wing brought about an election defeat. It cannot afford to be too tough on the "patriots"; logically enough, since the conception of the minority using force to coerce the less pure-souled majority is Fianna Fail's own foundation-stone.

But it is tough on the rest of us; tough on those who can be Irish without being fanatical, who can be republican without believing in the gun, and who can be both Irish and republican without believing in any part of that ambiguous tradition which Mr. Lyich's party represents.

(Senator Kelly's article was written before the Taoiseach's Dail reply on Wednesday afternoon.)

The politics of underkill

(continued from page 10)

It will be interesting to see if the hardening of the line will be reflected in the case against Sean Doyle (31) of Sillogue Road, Ballymun, who was granted free legal aid in the Central Criminal Court last week.

Doyle faces charges similar to those which faced Dwyer, arising out of the same alleged incidents, in Ballyfermot and Drimnagh.

The velvet handling of these appearing in Courts on such charges in the Republic throughout the year was further underlined by contrast with the Northern Courts.

These had their sentencing

"teeth" sharpened by the anti-riot legislation.

Petrol bomb

Recent examples: Derek James McCoubrey (27) sentenced to seven years for throwing a petrol bomb at an off-licence premises during rioting in Tennent Street, Belfast last June.

John Kelly (22), a labourer, sentenced to five years for possessing sixteen rounds of ammunition during sixteen rounds of rioting, July 4th.

Henry Palmer (33), also a labourer, five years for possessing a petrol bomb in Ainsworth Avenue, Belfast, during rioting, June 27th.

Why the volte face now?

On the strength of the Government announcement about the Public Order Act it has been prompted by information coming to light through the Gardai of plots to kidnap "one or more prominent people" in the State, to possibly assassinate, to murder, to commit armed bank robberies.

Yet last April, according to a "This Week" report from a reliable source, the Special Branch stumbled across the suggestion that such plans were being formulated.

Acting on a tip the Special Branch and uniformed Gardai surrounded yet another isolated farmhouse in the Wicklow mountains near Blessington. There was ample evidence, including a machinegun base, that a number of men had been engaged in some form of military training exercises at the house. There was also, according to the source, a document which "seemed to indicate a plot of some kind against Taoiseach Jack Lynch. Whether this threat involved assassination or kidnapping is not yet clear."

The Taoiseach's security guard, it is true, was immediately strengthened, but the velvet handling of these elements from which the "plot" was most likely to have sprung, continued.

The extreme republican splinter, Saor Eire, have been focussed upon as being the most obvious targets for the internment threat. Yet, apart from a somewhat bombastic statement on Monday accepting that its activities had given the Government an argument for interning its members, there is nothing concrete to support this stage.

It seems equally true that pressure from the British Government because of an unearthed threat to kidnap the British Ambassador here (and hold him as a hostage

in the event of Frank Keane being extradited on the Garda Fallon case), is equally remote. This suggestion has been made widely.

But the first report to emanate from an unofficial spokesman at the Embassy on Saturday morning suggested that the Embassy staff were shocked by the move, felt "heads were being lost somewhere," stressed that no threat to the Ambassador's security was known to them, and held the overall belief that "a sledgehammer was being used to crack a nut."

Nevertheless the most valid argument supporting the veracity of the Government's claim of the existence of a plot is the fact that, after so much embarrassingly obvious kid glove treatment in the Courts and elsewhere, the threat of internment has now been made at all.

Another small pointer to an awareness of a threat to the security of Cabinet members was the noted tautness of Dr. Hillery's 24-hour guardians when he was in hospital recently. All the guards, all the time, were on tenterhooks. So, to some extent, was Dr. Hillery himself.

Only a threat

Another possibility is that the Taoiseach is now satisfied there is not now even the vestiges of a connection between his Cabinet and the armed Republicans; that the velvet handling was necessary because of his earlier justified uncertainty in this area, and that he is now drastically underlining the new situation with a threat which need never become more than that. ●

Sinn Fein reaction

THE INITIAL REACTION of republicans in both the official and unofficial camps to the news that the government might reintroduce internment was one of surprise and consternation. Neither side believed the government was really interested in the Saor Eire splinter group and thought it was aimed directly at themselves.

The Kevin Street, green Sinn Fein believed that the crunch will not come until the Dail recession for Christmas. Ruairi O'Bradaigh points out that internment has always been introduced when the Dail was not sitting to avoid re-cremations. After Christmas they expect a general round up of Sinn

Fein members around the country. So far this section of Sinn Fein has not clearly worked out how they will react in the event of their being interned.

But O'Bradaigh states that, unlike other times, his Sinn Fein will not co-operate with the authorities in the Curragh. They will refuse to work in the camp and refuse to obey orders. This in turn would inevitably lead to disciplinary measures against internees which obviously would, as it did in the past, cause protracted hunger or thirst strikes.

If the Government do intern members of O'Bradaigh's Sinn Fein it will be faced with a series of politically embarrassing incidents. Armed resistance by the green IRA has not been ruled out either. So if the Government moves against them the result of internment could be even more politically embarrassing. There could be an increase in disorder, instead of a diminution, following the introduction of Part Two of the Offences against the State Act, 1940.

A challenge

O'Bradaigh's wing of Sinn Fein is extremely worried that the Government's announcement will encourage Saor Eire to translate the rather whimsical dreams of a revolutionary clique into practice. Saor Eire have in effect been dared by the Government to actually kidnap or assassinate somebody or suffer loss of face in public. If Saor Eire are goaded into attempting anything foolish then it fears that the government will have a justification for cracking down on all wings of the republican movement.

The Gardiner Row, Sinn Fein (Thomas MacGiolla) is on the other hand now trying to take much of the credit for the Government's announcement. It claims that its anger at republicanism stems from the success of their anti-EEC campaign and their nationalisation of the fisheries agitation. In the event of internment they will seek a united front with diverse left wing groups including People's Democracy, the university SRCs, the new breakaway Socialist Labour party and even possibly with the other republican groups. The left wing Sinn Fein believes that protests over a seemingly uncalled for measure could reach up to 10,000. On the other hand they have no policy on how to act if they are interned.

(Continued overleaf)

The Government will find it harder to crack Saor Eire than many believe. Saor Eire is believed to possess a secret network of members operating on a more clandestine level than other member of the movement. Such two level clandestinity was developed by Communist parties in the 1930's. European Communists feared repression and accordingly in preparation for government moves they ordered some members to ignore party meetings and concentrate on their jobs. Only when more open members were taken in would these members receive orders to mobilise. Saor Eire may be organised along such lines.

The two Sinn Feins will be more easily roped in. Their IRA members have taken part in various agitations together before the two organisations split and they could easily have been observed by members of the branch. Both have however a network of sympathisers in Great Britain which could

elude detection if some of them returned home.

One thing is certain that this move by the government will not fuse or unite the republican movement. MacGiolla's walk off on Feach was more out of embarrassment than anything else. By being allowed on he appeared to be more of an establishment figure than O'Bradaigh and more in cahoots with the Free State television. Both Sinn Feins discount absolutely the possibility of a re-unification of the republican movement.

Distrusts Mac Giolla

Ruairi O'Bradaigh angrily claims that any paper agreement would be broken immediately by MacGiolla just as he went back on his word prior to the split. The Gardiner Row Sinn Fein similarly believes that O'Bradaigh's Sinn Fein is set in its ways and will not be reconciled. This breach may become even more bitter if intern-

ment is brought in. In the 1940's and 1950's the inmates of the Curragh fell out with each other constantly in the claustrophobic environment of the camp. There were personal and political disputes. Communists were removed from the camp at the request of more conservative religious members. Now that there is a formal split in the movement between nationalist co-operativists and left wing socialists, both sides of which will adopt different tactics, the tensions may increase dramatically to a new level of bitterness.

What each republican group has in common is a conviction that the government is primarily interested in them.

Each group share a bitter hatred of Fianna Fail and a paranoid distrust of the machinations of the Department of Justice. If the government does proceed against them then every group will react in an unpredictable, uncontrollable manner. ●

Special Powers North and South

POLITICS NORTH and South of the border are now linked in a way which must delight the heart of All Irelanders. Mr. Lynch's internment bombshell is as politically important in the North as the South, and the outcome is equally uncertain.

The legal position on either side is remarkably similar. Bluntly the executive can intern whom it pleases anywhere in Ireland. The situation in the South under the Offences against the State Act is that only formal proclamation is necessary to introduce it. As we have seen that can be made at any time without reference to the Dail. Arrest and internment may then follow at the whim of the Government.

In the North there is an even more permanent state of emergency. The notorious Special Powers Act dates formally from 1922, but that was simply a re-enactment of earlier British Legislation. It gives incredibly wide power to the civil authority, which is normally the Minister of Home Affairs but may be delegated to the police or military, to make regulations to preserve peace and maintain order. The bite is in these regulations rather than in the act itself. The current reprint, updated to 1969, covers some fourteen pages of the repressive powers, from arrest and internment, to the seizure of money private and bank accounts; to the banning of meetings and organizations.

The scope of the power was well illustrated in the recent republican club's case in which the British House of Lords

actually upheld a regulation banning any organisation "describing itself as a Republican club or any like organisation howsoever described". The failure of this appeal against what can only be described as Craig's last fling also showed just how impotent the British courts were, whether by design or sympathy to do anything about the Act. There must be hundreds of Republican clubs which fall within the term of the regulation and the authorities could not possibly do much about them.

The last time the internment power was widely used in the North was during the 1956-1962 campaign. Some few supposed IRA agitators were rounded up in August 1969 to back the Government allegations of a Republican plot, but James Callaghan, had all but three of them promptly released. Even those were offences of possessing seditious literature soon charged with the more "normal" and the like. Eventually they got off with fines, since the offensive documents were in such widespread circulation that anything else would have been ludicrous. Even then it was clear to most people that the use of the internment power could cause more trouble than it solved since then it has been safely in cold storage, though fairly close to the door just in case.

The other parts of the Special Powers Act have proved more useful. The Army operates its arms searches, including those of Southern ships and boats under one set of regulations, though it does not like too much publicity on the point. Wherever possible it uses common Law powers, as in the so called curfew in the Lower Falls earlier this year. At least it acts and then justifies its actions after the event as best it can. The current ban

on processions and the sporadic closures of pubs are Special Powers operations too.

Both Cameron and Hunt recommended the phasing out of the act, and though progress has been slow there is a clear policy of incorporating the less objectionable parts of the act into other permanent "measures"—for instance the Anti Sit-in powers in the recent public order act—to clear the ground for its eventual repeal.

Westminster would dearly love to be rid of it. Derogation from the European convention does not suit it either. Fortunately it has not yet been asked to justify its deposition that from 1957 to the present there has been a continuous dangerous state of emergency in the North. A little more pressure from the commission as in the Greek case might make things move a little more quickly.

The immediate prospect has not been improved by Lynch's antics in the South. He must know that there has been great hard line pressure on the Chichester-Clark Government to "do something" on the law and order side, and internment is the obvious next step. So far the Government has needed liberal and radical advice to the effect that interning the "ringleaders" would be the sure way of bringing the rest of the "flock" back on to the streets. But now there is the excuse "if they need it in the South we must need it here". If things stay relatively quiet the pressure may be resisted but Lynch has posed just as big a problem for Chichester-Clark as he has for himself. ●

by TOM HADDON,
Lecturer in law at
Queens University, Belfast

Crime and punishment

Sean Murphy, former P.R.O. of the Limerick G.A.A. Board, was hauled before the Board recently to show cause why he should not be thrown out of the G.A.A. for all time.

His crime was a simple one. He had attended a schoolboys soccer banquet in Limerick and during the course of the evening, had expressed a hope that one day everyone in Ireland would be united in sport.

Limerick's G.A.A. fell in on top of him after that. He was blown out as the Board's P.R.O. and summoned to appear before the Board to defend his membership of the G.A.A. Happily, a little sense prevailed. Mr. Murphy, I am delighted to say is still a member of the G.A.A.

Contrast Mr. Murphy's case with that of a very prominent G.A.A. official around about the same time.

This distinguished man, for whom I have respect and admiration, took himself off to the Kilkenny College Old Boys' dinner, at the invitation of Bill Tector, the former Irish rugby full-back. And our distinguished man was duly photographed with another distinguished old boy of the college—none other than Bob Fitzgerald, secretary of the Irish Rugby Football Union.

Full marks to Sean O'Siochain, secretary of the G.A.A., for attending the dinner. Like Mr. Murphy in Limerick, he too expressed a hope for sporting and cultural ecumenism.

Unlike Mr. Murphy, however, Mr. O'Siochain escaped censure. No one howled for his blood; no one screamed for his head on a plate. His membership of the G.A.A. remains lily-white.

That's the story. Maybe you might give it a little thought. There must be a moral somewhere?

No place for a dandy

My expensive Italian suede shoes—a present from my beloved wife, one of the hallmarks of my sartorial life—are now scuffed, muddy, slush and dirt of what the Cork G.A.A. grandiosely claim to be their Press section at



the Athletic Grounds.

My expensive camel coat—bought with hard cash in the hope of long life and wear—is now marred by a streak of tar which has brought tears to the eyes of the best cleaning firms in Dublin. It came from the Press section of the G.A.A. grounds at Tullamore.

The seat of my best pair of flannels—even with a discount, they too were expensive—are torn from a nail in the Press section of the Limerick G.A.A. grounds.

My face—and seeing that it is the one that must carry me through life and therefore I can claim too that it is an expensive part of my make-up—is now weatherbeaten from the winds and rain that have bombarded me in the Press section of the new G.A.A. stand at Thurles.

In all these circumstances, my heartfelt thanks to the Kildare G.A.A.

They staged their first National League game for years at Naas recently—and look how they treated the Press.

They erected a special enclosure—all done in plastic—with tables, chairs, no winds, no rains, no nails, no mud, no tar.

And hot tea and sandwiches at half-time.

Luxury! It was beautiful.

“Bob sliders” demonstrate their art on the Corvillia ski slopes of St. Moritz. The plastic padded shorts, with a reinforced seat allow the wearer to slide down a slope in a sitting position. Just the sport for frustrated skiers and bob sleighers who usually end up end down.

Mr. Corish's big game

I danced with Mrs. Corish at the Wexford Sportstars Banquet . . . and let me hasten, I had a long chat with Brendan Corish himself.

We left the Labour party alone, ignored the present political situation—and talked about Gaelic football.

And of one match in particular when Brendan had the fortune—or maybe the misfortune—to referee a very famous football game at Wexford Park back in 1942.

The teams involved were the all-Blacks (!) and Cathal Brugha and with just minutes to go Brendan awarded a 21-yards free to Cathal Brugha. At the time the scores were level.

The all-Blacks side immediately lined the goalmouth—and then decided on even greater precautions,

At least six of them climbed on to the crossbar and locked themselves, arm in arm, across the bar in a bid to save a score.

This mighty effort, however, came to nothing. Cathal Brugha scored the point and won the game.

Happy Days!

This particular Wexford's Sportstars Banquet—well powered by the distillery men from Bow Lane—was a wonderful affair one of the best ever staged.

But I came away from it with just one nagging regret and question.

Now if I asked you to name Wexford's greatest hurler of all time, what name would you give me.

You wouldn't even have to think, would you? Nick Rackard, of course.

So tell me . . . when, oh when, are they ever going to name him the Sportstar of the past.

Must have been nervous

Too good not to be repeated. That was my immediate reaction recently when I had the chore of doing a little research on the “Anglo-Celt” newspaper files at the National Library. And I almost missed it.

Just a small advertisement. It drew attention to a Gaelic football match to be played at Ballyjamesduff on the following day and that the prize would be a . . . MACHINE GUN.

The date was May 13, 1922.

Cycling past a milestone

Last weekend was a particular milestone for a club who have ruled the road of fame for over a decade. The occasion was the 21st celebration dinner of the kings of Irish cycling, Bray Wheelers.

Their members have won almost every honour and shattered every record in the Irish cycling annals. They supplied the first non-Continental to chalk up a win in the 10-day Route de France classic, followed up with an easy win in the French multi-stage Essor Breton race.

They have more Irish championships (road), both individual and team than any other club, defending their crown for the last three years in succession.



Pictured above is Joe Loughman who has been chairman of the club for the last 21 years. At the dinner he was overcome when the members presented him with a silver salver to thank him for all his services down the years.



A wonderful esprit de corps enabled them to elect to ride as a club team against the best German, English, All Stars (which included the New Zealand and American road champions) and home regional teams in this year's "Tour of Ireland" and give them their finest victory.

They'll take on anything

Laune Rangers, led by the immortal J. P. O'Sullivan, were the first Kerry team to play in an all-Ireland final. Throughout the years, Laune Rangers have remained as one of the pillars of Kerry G.A.A.

And what's this I hear. They are planning a trip to Spain next summer and their chairman says that they won't decline any invitation to play soccer.

What next?

A doggy millionaire

Millionaire John Kerry O'Donnell, that intrepid man of New York G.A.A., who uses the trans-Atlantic airlines as the rest of us use C.I.E. buses, is back in Ireland again this week—on his umpteenth visit this year.

To the best of my knowledge, however, I must tell you that John did not arrive with a panacea to settle the growing rift between New York's G.A.A. and our own Central Council.

This four-legged fan was apprehended after his enthusiasm ran away with him . . . and right onto the pitch, during the Arsenal-Derby County First Division match at Highbury.

He came, in fact, to see a dog. To be exact a greyhound which answers — of course greyhounds do such things—to the name of "Camping Out".

O'Donnell has always been a keen doggy man and recently he acquired "Camping Out" which made a winning debut at the Tralee track some weeks ago.

Naturally, being the Kerryman that he so proudly is, he wanted to call the dog "Green and Gold" but, alas, some other ardent Kerryman had beaten him to the registrar.

"Camping Out" ran in the coursing meeting at Lixnaw on Wednesday and perhaps, by an odd coincidence, will come up against "O'Connell" in the Derby Trial Stakes. No need to tell you why "O'Connell" has been named as he has.

O'Donnell and O'Connell! A fine Kerry pairing. Their meeting should be a fiery affair.

Wrong place at the wrong time

The poor old Oireachtas Hurling final, once one of the great tournament finals in this land of ours, has been banished to Thurles on Sunday next—and my condolences to

Cork and Tipperary who have to play in the game.

This is no time of the year for hurling—and the sooner the wise men of the G.A.A. wake up to that fact, the better.

I was at Kilkenny a few weeks ago to watch Kilkenny and Limerick in the National League in the mud and rain of a bleak November Sunday.

It was deplorable hurling. And the best summing up of the game came from an old man sitting quite near me.

"Kilkenny won"—he said—"because they were that little quicker to the second and third pokes at the ball."

Fair comment.

Athletics — don't count on it

Just for cussedness and probably because I had nothing better to do at the time, I counted all the lines devoted to various sport in one page of a popular English newspaper recently.

Soccer was an easy winner. It ran to an imposing 135 lines. Cricket came next with 55 and several other sports ranged from 20 to 35.

An item on athletics merited three lines, in small type, tucked away as a filler at the bottom of the page.

It stated simply that Christos Papanicolaou of Greece had become the first man in athletic history to pole vault over 18'.

Makes one wonder, doesn't it?

Weekend Fixtures

SOCCER

Sunday: League of Ireland—Shelbourne v. Cork Hibernians, Tolka Park; Cork Celtic v. Drumcondra, Turners Cross; Bohemians v. Athlone, Dalymount Park; Dundalk v. Finn Harps, Oriel Park; Sligo v. Drogheda, Showgrounds; Waterford v. Limerick, Kilcohan Park; Shamrock Rovers v. St. Patrick's Athletic, Milltown.

RUGBY

Saturday: Interprovincial—Munster v. Connacht, Thomond Park. Leinster Senior Club—Old Belvedere v. N.I.F.C., Anglesea Rd.; U.C.D. v. Dungannon, Belfield; Trinity v. Cambridge University, College Park; Bective v. Old Wesley, Donnybrook; Wanderers v. Blackrock, Lansdowne Road; Clontarf v. Monkstown, Castle Ave. Ulster Senior League—B.R.A. v. Bangor, Hyde Park; C.I.Y.M.S. v. Ballymena, Belmont; Civil Service v. Malone, Stormont. Ulster Friendlies—Collegians v. Lansdowne, Malone Rd.; Derry v. Armagh, Branch Rd.; Instonians v. Old Boys, Shane Park; Queens v. Portadown, Upper Malone. Munster Senior Club—Highfield

v. Young Munster, Model Farm Road.

Sunday: Munster Senior Club—Old Crescent v. Dolphin, Rathbane; Constitution v. Sunday's Well, Temple Hill; U.C.C. v. Shannon, Mardyke; Young Munster v. Garryowen, Greenfields.

Leinster Senior Club—Terenure v. Athlone, Lakelands Park; U.C.D. Past v. U.C.D. Present, Belfield; Clontarf v. St. Mary's, Castle Ave.

Monday: Blackrock College v. Cambridge University, Stradbrook.

COURSING

Saturday: Rathdowney; Crohane—Killenaule.

Wednesday: Finnoe.

G.A.A.

Sunday: Oireachtals Hurling Final—Tipperary v. Cork, Thurles.

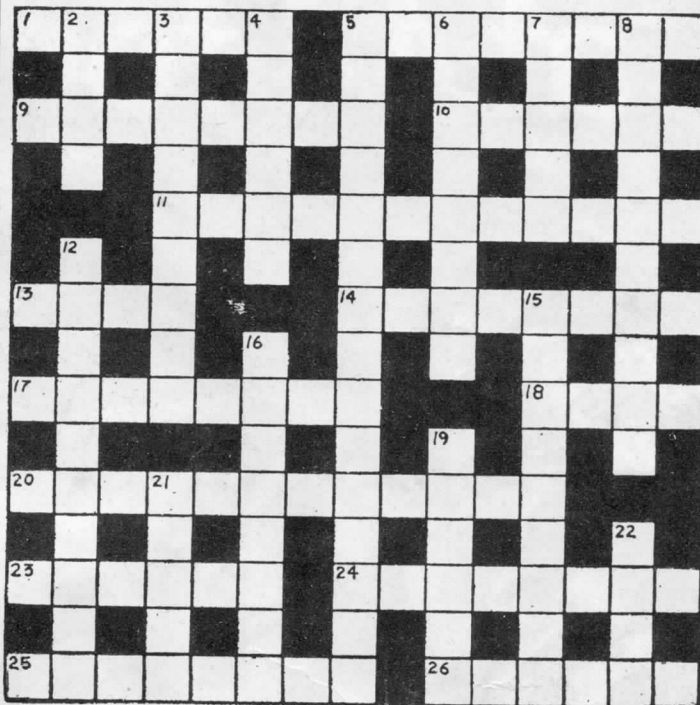
BOXING

Sunday: Norway v. Ireland, Bergen.

BADMINTON

Friday/Saturday: Irish Close Championships, Belfast.

THIS WEEK CROSSWORD



DATA

Books

IRISH BEST SELLERS

- Fiction:**
1. Arthur Hailey, In High Places (Pan).
 2. Derick Marlowe, Memoirs of a Venus Lackey (Panther).
 3. Lee Dunne, Does Your Mother? (Arrow).

Non-Fiction:

1. Memoirs of Berlioz, Auto-Biography (Panther).
 2. Antonia Frazer, Mary Queen of Scots (Panther).
 3. Nancy Mitford, Madame de Pompadour (Spear).
- (Courtesy of The Paperback Centre, Suffolk St., Dublin.)

BRITISH BEST SELLERS

1. Caravan to Vaccarés (3), Alistair Maclean (Collins, 30s.).
2. Guinness Book of Records (4) (Guinness Superlatives, 20s.).
3. Charity Girl (1), Georgette Hever (The Bodley Head, 30s.).
4. Selected Poems (6), Mary Wilson (Hutchinson, 12s.).
5. Passenger to Frankfurt, Agatha Christie (Collins, 25s.).
6. The Treasure Upstairs (5), Margaret Powell (Peter Davies, 30s.).

Runner-up: Pendulum Years, by Bernard Levin (Cape, 55s.).

(Bracketed figures show previous week's positions.)

(From Smith's Trade News. Based on a countrywide survey of the retail outlets of W. H. Smith.)

Television

IRISH TAM RATINGS

- (Week Ending November 15)
1. The Late, Late Show 84
 2. Four in One 75
 3. The Six Wives of Henry VIII 74
 4. The Riordans 73
 5. Hawaii 5-0 71
 5. Newpark/Southside ... 71
 5. Report 71
 8. Mission Impossible ... 70
 9. Here's Lucy 69
 9. Johnny McEvoy at the Cliff Castle 69
 9. 7-Days 69

(Main Evening News average Tam 75)
(Courtesy of Irish Tam)

Finance

SHARE TIPS

Observer: Sterling Guarantee Trust.

People: J. Coral.

Sunday Express: Geo. Sandeman, Whitbread, Grand Metropolitan Hotels, Guthrie Corporation, J. Lucas.

Sunday Mirror: Distillers, Beecham, British American Tobacco.

Sunday Telegraph: British Benzol, Boulton and Paul, John Michael (Savile Row), Hawtin Industries.

Sunday Times: London Brick.

ACROSS

1. Row without an upset? This is 26 (6).
5. One of the 11 all because of true affiliation (8).
9. Run in again and take it easy at the back (2-6).
10. Unskilled poet? (6).
11. Corkscrew and key? (7, 5).
13. Registered material (4).
14. Meteorological fundamentals (8).
17. Act in the same production as partner (4, 4).
18. Quarry concealing that scamp, Reynard (4).
20. Another of the 11—Dior tunic not to be repaired (12).
23. Former Archbishop, of course (6).

24. Turn towards places of industry for records (8).
25. Fine writers pen catalogues (8).
26. Objective he goes in to safeguard (3, 3).

DOWN

2. 1 classical goddess? What a notion (4).
3. Bader, possibly, fit to fly (3-6).
4. 11 point to a Fife town (6).
5. Duchess lost a tie badly—clearly not in form (7, 3, 5).
6. Tributes quietly withdrawn from epilogues (8).
7. Meeting-place in Coventry station (5).
8. Let in again, having confessed guilt more than once? (2-8).
12. Crashed while camping, outlining a vicious scheme (4, 6).
15. Dear, dear (9).
16. Crooks in the band (8).
19. Made the bed in Berkshire (6).
21. Hold off from a dance around Peterhead (5).
22. Spare list (4).

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION

THE SPIAN CRAVEN
ARROPP E E E O
GYRATORY BENNET
O I B E E P V E E A
RONDOTWSEATER
E G I T R E I I I
PLAYS THE GAME
T A E P S L N S
REMOREFULY
I E N N E S B
PERSONNEL SIEVE
P I U Y I M P A
EXCISE AGRESTIC
R A E H R E O
S I N G L E A T H E R T O N

SOLUTION NEXT WEEK

guaranteed quality at 4/4 for twenty

A superb tipped cigarette with
a mild, smooth, satisfying flavour.

