WORDS

Politics

GREATER FIRE INTENSITY

THAN HIROSHIMA

Kadar Asmal, TCD lecturer in international law, spoke on 'The U.S. and the U.N.' at a joint Fabian-UNSA meeting on 27th October. It would have been relatively easy, as Mr. Asmal pointed out to arouse passions and sympathies with emotional generalisations concerning the war in Vietnam. However most of us are by now fairly familiar with the facts of this ugly war; we do know that napalmburns, sticks to the human body and kills; we do know that pineapple bombs are designed solely to destroy human beings, and not property; we do know that a single strike of 20-30 airplanes has a greater fire intensity than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima; in short, we do know that crimes are being committed against humanity every minute of every day. What many of us do not know are the full legalistic aspects of the situation, and Mr. Asmal could scarcely have been more lucid and informative on these points. He presented the facts clearly and with his usual eloquence; the indisputable facts pointingto the illegality of the American presence in Vietnam.

THE WSE OF FORCE

To begin with, Mr. Asmal examined the U.N. Charter of which the U.S. was a signatory when it was drawn up in 1945. The relevant Article here was the one stating that members refrain from the use of force against any other state, with the important provision that there is the traditional right to self-defence in the case of an armed attack actualy taking place against one of the members. But just as, for example, Christianity can be twisted to support such creeds as Apartheid, so can attempts be made to twist or bend the law to accommodate such blatantly illegal operations as the Vietnam war.

CONTRAVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Asmal successfully and succinctly refuted any such attempts by pointing out that in the first place South Vietnam is not a member of the U.N. nor indeed is it even a legal state, since according to the



1954 Geneva Convention, Vietnam is a single nation divided by a temporary and solely military demarcation line along the 17th Parallel. Further more, even if South Vietnam could be thought of as a legal state, infiltration from the North does not constitute an 'armed attack' within the context of the Charter. However, Am erican attacks on North Vietnam directly contravene International Law and any attempts at justification in the name of 'forst-alling Communist aggression', or 'containing the Chinese' are clearly ludicrous in the face of McNamara's admission in July 1966 that "The Chinese are NOT involved".

WIOLATION OF THE U.N. CHARTER

Our attention was also drawn to the Supremacy Clause, which states that all principles laid down in the Charter have precedence over any contradictory agreements made by any other organisation to which a member state may belong; such a clause becomes important when the United States cites it's obligations to South Vietnam under the South East Asia Treaty Organisation agreements. Therefore even if, as it is often alleged, that there had been an invitation by South Vietnam to American intervention the principles of the U.N. Charter can not be annulled, and even if private Presidential pledges had been ratified by the Senate (which they have not), American intervention in Vietnam clearly constitutes a violation of the U.N. Charter.

EX-PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S

ADMISSION

Mr. Asmal drew a parallel between Ho Chi Minh (see the U.S. and the U.N., page 8)



THE INTERNATIONALISTS

DISCUSS

THE PHENOMENA OF TIME CONSCIOUSNESS

Mr. Hardial S. Bains introduced the "Phenomena of Time Consciousness", alarge extract of which has been reproduced here.

The committment of Socratic life is that the individual acts on what he knows today He goes into the future with the full conviction of his knowledge. He only goes into the future if he acts on this conviction Time is expressed in terms of development, and is thus a non-entity. The individual goes forward in time when he develops: this development cannot be expressed in terms of clock time, but it is the only concept that is meaningful to us.

In Hinduism, time is a cycle of regenerations, which men cannot combat, but only live The theory of Karma states that there is no going back, no going forward. Man secures his existence in time by correcting himself,

Budha conceived time as being the consciousness of objects. If a man wants a timeless unobjectified existence, he must remove time consciousness and interest in material existence in the world.

Budhism and Hinduism gave India its two traditional modes of life. In Hinduism, life was divided into definite periods - childhood and education, followed by marriage, and procreation, and then in middle age withdrawl into the jungle to contemplate: on emerging, the man becomes a statesman. In Budhism, life depended on the removal of preoccupations that prevented a man from developing into a conscious man.

In Europe, time has been defined in terms of relapse of memory, and then existence in terms of time. I exist because I existed before in some previous moment of time, and I am aware of my existence through my perception of that previous moment and aware of the passage of time through comparison of this moment with other points in my existence. All points will appear to me with a different intensity of memory, due to their different place in time. Through the perception of time I am convinced of my existence while I am aware of my existence through a perpetual re-examination of that conviction. The mechanism through which these phenomena come to me gives me time consciousness. So time proves its own existence.

EXTERNAL TIME CONSCIOUSNESS.

This perception of the passage of time through awareness of objects (receding memory) is external time consciousness. It is consciousness that comes from outside the individual who experiences the consciousness. External time consciousness e vident in our idea of historical development and tradition. We behave in a traditional way because we say that traditional behaviour must, per se, be good behaviour - how else could it have survived so long? Our historical development presents survival of traditions. Since these are, by definition, good, the more we behave in a traditional way, the more nearly we shall attain a "perfect state". This is obviously a circular argument, and any system so defined will be incapable of development. lives depend on development, and so as soon as we consider oursleves as developing beings, we see this form of consciousness as being inadequate. It is again, indulgence in a perfectly defined existence which, by definition, is nothing else but non-developmental. The position is rationalised by those in this state of consciousness by a declared trust in what the future will bring, while retaining traditional behaviour, the natare of which excludes the assimilation of anything the future does bring. The exact form of the rationalisation is that external time con sciousness is told by memory of the existence of a perfect state some time in the immediate past. External time consciousness is in charge of the individual, and he therefore acts in such a way as to re-create that perfect state.

The Being-In-The-World.

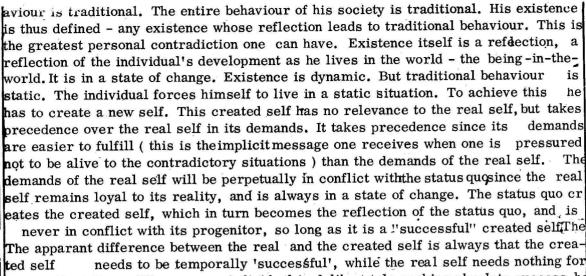
These beliefs have a disturbing effect on the person who lives them. His external beh-











The apparant difference between the real and the created self is always that the created self needs to be temporally 'successful', while the real self needs nothing for its manifestations. Whenever an individual is deliberately seeking absolute success, he is catering to the created self and is not alive to the real self. In fact, he transcends his being-in-the-world into the objects and oppresses his real self. This builds up pressure inthe consciousness, and the created self will be more difficult to satisfy the next time it is catered to. Pressure comes through the mental division the individual must achieve to create a new self in the first place.

THE REAL SELF

The real self is described as emotional, and society tells the individual that he must not be emotional. Sensible people in society follow the path of analysis, even if analysis tells them that they themselves must have no existence. Each time the created self is pandered, it demands in return more of the person's existence. This puts more pressure on the real self, increasing the gap between the emotionality of the human condition and the inanimation of the created objectivity, which in turn causes anguish. Pandering the created self is pleasurable, also it is used as an antedote this anguish, even though it was the pandering that caused the anguish in the first place. More and more pressure is built up, until the individual implodes in existence. If he dies mentally, he has argued himself out of existence, and so it troubles him no more. He is completely taken over by his externally time conscious, created self. is a totally static person, beautifully moulded to a particular situation. When the situation changes (and the absurdity of our reality is that changes do occur) this person has no possibility of changing with it, and so has no relevance to life anymore. He will be a dead weight, resisting change and harking back to his memorised perfect state, state which he is convinced he and society achieved at a moment in time.

NTERNAL TIME CONSCIOUSNESS

External time consciousness is therefore a variation of Descartes' tautology - I am conscious because I am myself. I am conscious because of the passage of time is the same statement. Both define existence itself. It is our experience that we do not operate in terms of a defined existence. The consciousness that a reflection of our existence may be called internal time consciousness. When we are living (revealing) we are esponding to an internal (non-created) consciousness. It has no definite relationship to time, other than that it is not finite, and only exists within the frame-work of our existence. On examination, it is found not to exist, because no quality can be attached o it - it is a reflection of being. It cannot be embodied in any object. When an attempt is made to do so, external time consciousness is brought forward, and the individual becomes concerned to preserve his ontological self, which he can see slipping Things created in memory relapse as time passes, and thereaway into memory. fore the created self will become progressively less adept in its function, which is to allay the passage, to hold up the world and enable the individual to re-create for himself a perfect state. Its definition and function are in contradiction.

Events in the world, or objects in the world does affect whether internal time consciousness is in operation or not. But once internal time consciousness is in operation, it cannot be affected by any such object qualitatively. Thus, if I go to my office to work, my lateness or earliness at the office will not control the quality of my work

if I am an internally conscious person. But if I am externally time conscious, this and many others factors will control the quality of my work.

TO BE EMOTIONAL IS TO BE LESS SENSIBLE

We can see the created self being formed whenever external (minute to minute) time consciousness impinges on to conscious (developmental or revealing) activity. The individual still claims he is 'following his own mind', and gives as examples of his response to internal demands the very occasions when he has catered to his objectifie consciousness. Any demands that cannot be satisfied within his existing behaviour are said to be 'emotional', and society says that sensible people do not behave 'emotionally'. So any overt failure to satisfy internal demands can be rationalised by saying that men have an emotional core whose demands must be analysed before they are passed on to the practical operational being. This pragmatic being sees what is sensible to do by looking at the condition of the environment, i.e. the amount of opposition likely to be encountered if the emotional demand is satisfied. The more real the demand, the more it will go against status quo, and therefore the less sensible it will be.

CORPORATE SENSATE CULTURE

A whole society - a corporate sensate culture - has been built on the basis of this separateness. The best example is on the West Coast of America, in California. corporate, sensate culture contains objects, and the purpose of existence within this culture is to pursue these objects. If the prevailing objects are not caught and then some more are not found to chase, existence cannot go on. So the individual's existential satisfaction depends on such objects. The child has a problem. He cries. crying is resolved by a toy. The youth has a problem. His problem is solved by cadillac. He then has to worry what to do with his cadillac. The thrill lies in to drive cadillac to its maximum capacity - as fast as possible. In turn, the neurosis is solved by getting married or by going nymphomaniac. The problems married life are solved by having the right kind of house. The chance of the marriage being successful dependson the maintainance of a certain degree of prosperity in that house. So to love his wife, the inhabitant of the corporate. sensate culture needs kitchen gadgets, a complicated panorama of simple furnishings, a new car every year and friends with whom he can hold parties at which he can drink a certain amount of varied alcoholic beverages. He expresses his emotionality through these material frameworks.

LOVE

If a man is in 'love', he sends flowers to his girl-friend (or wife). In fact, if he fails to send flowers, his beloved will assume he is not in love; she knows that men who are in love do send flowers, and she deduces that those who do not send flowers are not in love. Love is firstly defined as having a quality that is measurable, and thendeclared to have no existence beyond that measurable quantity. 'If you really love me, do X, Y, and Z.'

MARRIED TO OBJECTS

The married couple have children, and the children develop their own problems. Eventually these have to be combated by the whole family going to psychiatrists. The psychiatrist tries to resolve their problems by showing them specifically which problems depend on which objects. He then assures them that when the object situation is righted, their problems will go away. But they have their problems because their consciousness depends on objects, not because their consciousness has been supplied with wrong kinds of objects. All objects become wrong after a time: the person develops away from them. All he can do to counter the situation is to suppress personal development by the sheer speed of the turnover of the objects. This is the search for pure excitement - kicks, drinks, drugs, sex. The divorce from reality is complete. Any impingement of reality on to the created existence causes pure misery when the created existence is pure excitement.

SCHIZOPHRENIA

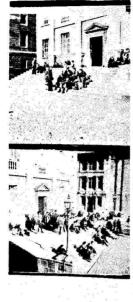
This is the state called schizophrenia. The personality is completely divided, and the being operates in the world on two different codes - the ideal theoretical (used for trivia), and the practical everyday (used for important matters). The schizophr-

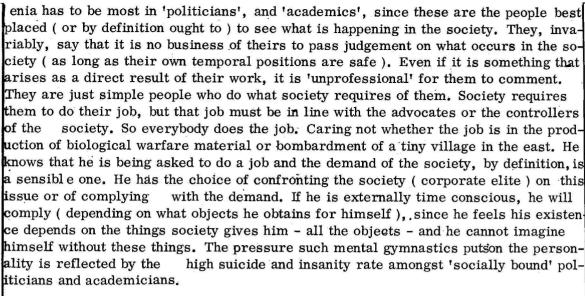












DEATH

Sooner or later anybody caught up in this social behaviour will have to face the final problem - death. He is dying. His life is composed solely of objects, and thus death comes as an objective horror. He finds no objects that can solve the problem of his biological decay. He wakes up one morning and finds that he has no t in actuality, lived He had always thought that the response to any event could be in terms of objects -buy another car, take a different pill, get drunk, go on 'pie-in-the-sky-' trips. This is theonly means of expression he had used since he was a child, and there were not other ways, he says, available in the society. His perception of biological decay is produced by his frantic existence, and his immediate response to that perception is to become more frantic, so bringing the fact of death even closer.

ESCAPE

There is no turning back in existence. The only escape is to break the cycle and reveal internally the consciousness of being. Conscious activity controls object-being in the internally time conscious person. An externally conscious person sees the irrelevance of his 'developmental or revealing' activity because it impinges on his external time conscious self - his created self. When the reality comes face to face, the created self becomes frantic, so losing the abiltiy to lie convincingly to itself. The repressed self (revealing or developmental or real self) is liberated at last. As a result the created self collapses, and the person is drowned in the vision of his own nothingness.

SUMMARY

It is concluded that one must deny oneself the luxury of memory-relapsing-systems. The premise of Buddha is also denied, since our existential state cannot be divorced (is not divorced) from the world-out-there. Nothing is gained by affecting this divorce, since we are the world in which we reflect our existence. The distinction being that the externally time conscious man is tied down to his objects, while the man operating in internal time consciousness is liberated from them.

What our society has done in Europe, and what European society has done most effectively in America, is to divorce consciousness and activity. External time consciousness destroys the individual and the society. It is the individuals responsibility to himself to destroy the created self and to save himself. Created self can only be destroyed if the individual operates fully in his situations on his situations, and not because of his situations.

'What I like most about madness is that it has protected me from the very beginning against the charms of the 'elite': never have I thought that I was the possessor of a 'talent'; my sole concern has been to save myself-nothing in my hands, nothing up my sleeve-by work and faith. As a result, my pure choice did not raise me above anyone. Without equipment, without tools, I set all of me to work in order to save all of me. If I relegate impossible salvation to the proproom, what remains? A whole man, composed of all men and as good as all of them and no better than any."(J. P. Sartre in The Words)







ACADEMIC ACTION COMMITTEE

ACTIVITIES AVAILABLE to both student and lecturer in Trinity College are confined to two categories; aca -ic and non-academic. Whilst the latter's range is quite extensive, the inadequacies of the former have led a situation in which academic freedom, the opportunity to "pursue the argument wherever it might lead" has a ually disappeared, and the desire for the attainment of the Socratic ideal allbut ceased.

NON-ACADEMIC activities in Trinity include a large group of societies and clubs in which the student may a himself of the opportunity to broaden the base of his education and become actively involved in a process of development. It has been, however, and still is, the tradit ion of the major societies to encourage not the delopment of a vigourous academic and intellectual society, but the development of rhetoric, the development sophistry, and the development of non-involvement.

MAJOR SOCIETIES.

Debates and discussions in the major societies are no more than elaborate and institutionalised versions of ee bar intellectualism, which has led to the divorce of the mind from its social context, to the position when emotional socialism and romantic liberalism are the only requirements for a successful evening's entertain It has led to a situation in which Brian Trevaskis can, on the one hand, make a passionate—plea for the resof the country from the iniquities and aftermath of centuries of British domination, and on the other,—part pate in the traditional ritualism which reflects and is helping to maintain the status quo. It has led to a situal in which Brendan Corish, leader of the Irish Labour Party, can state that "We have no idea, or rather only idea, of the demands of the NFA." It has led to asituation in which Michael O'Leary, Labour T.D., can state that "public own ership is the purest and most natural form of economic relations in Ireland," and can follow up almost immediately with "The Labour Party would not be in favour of touching healthy and creative capital It has led to deception and inertia, both of which are incompatible with an academic atmosphere.

ACADEMIC ACTION COMMITTEE.

The problems facing the inhabitants of Trinity College have been constructively analysed in the artivcle THE TEACHER AND THE TAUGHT printed in the first issue of this newspaper; it is not proposed to go into the again at length here. Suffice it to say that the hallmark of a university in the Socratic tradition is a vigorous ademic and intellectual dialogue between students and students, students and staff, staff and staff; in otherw to create an atmosphere in which the argument can be pursued consistently, rigorously and dynamically. In an atmosphere, true academics will flourish, sophists and rhetoricists die and a dynamic system take the positive function of inertia and pseudo-intellectualism.

With this in mind the Internationalists have created an Academic Action Committee; its purpose is to carry to pursuit of the argument wherever it may lead, to confront and attempt the resolution of contradictions both it and outside the university, to encourage student staff contact and to generally set the process of change in account of the contradictions and outside the university, to encourage student staff contact and to generally set the process of change in account of the contradictions are contradictions.

In this endeavour it is hoped that active help will be forthcoming from all quarters of the campus, from stude and staff in science, philosophy and the arts.

IF YOU WERE ONE OF THE PEOPLE who supported the IUNSA demonstration at the American Embassy, you may have wondered whether people in Ireland could do anything more than protest in the street. The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which is sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, is organizing a war crimes tribunal to investigate American atrocities in Vietnam. An international investigating com—mittee is travelling in Vietnam, and will report in Paris this month. The members of the tribunal are drawn from many countries. They include Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, Stokely Carmichael, Isaac Deutscher, Danilo Dolci, and Peter Weiss. The purpose of this tribunal is to assemble as full a report as possible on the nature of the Vietnam War, and use it to influence public opinion in America and throughout the world that America are the aggressors in Vietnam, and that the horror will only stop when the Americans give up their "right" to police the world.

We will give a fuller report on the War Crimes Tribunal in subsequent issues.

Straight Facts: RADIO TELEFIS EIREANN

Radio Telefis Eireann, inaugurated on Dec. 31st 1961. has at last come face to face with its mentors; the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs has publicly stated " I will not allow Telefis Eirean become a completely independent body". The Government has now given it's official interpretation of its own legislation, embodied in the Television act of 1960, which specifically confers upon the Government of the day the right of direct intervention into, and control of, the presentation dissemination of news and other information. effect this means that all criticism of the Government, it's members and the Government Party wi ll be presented by RTE in the light of it's accepta bility to that Government: considerations of objectivity and impartiality have become meaningless. The Government have created a situation in which the Television Authority finds it necessary to impose it's own censorship in anticipation of possible intervention by a Government Minister.

Fianna Fail And Its Supporters

In reality, control by the Government means control by the Fianna Fail Party. thirty years of virtually unbroken Fianna Failrule it is only to be expected that this Party has come to represent the vested interests of the Irish Ascendancy: a new class of native exploiters has developed, refined and extended a system of private profiteering of which the British would have been more than proud.

In a country which never ceases to boast it's claim to democracy it is ironic that the principles of free speech, individual liberty and the right public dissent are now to be entrusted to a Government whose main concern has been to protect those vested interests and which is active in maintaining the haze of confusion which characteristically surrounds Irish politics today.

Control of Television broadcasting by the Fianna Fail Party and the dependence of RTE on advertising revenue has effectively placed the medium in the hands of the Economic Elite: the result has been it's use for the energetic propagation, onthe one hand, of a system of ideas which maintains and fosters the socio-economic status quo, and on the other, the creation and expansion of commercial markets for those same vested interests on whose support the Fianna Fail Party depend.

The History

Let us examine the factors which combined to produce the present state of affairs. Short - sighted industrial and commercial interests were the most significant of the pressure s responsible for the advent of television in Ireland

The need of the business community to expand and diversify it's grip on the life of the country. Domestic and foreign capital interest benefitted enorm ously also from the associated increase in the activities of the large advertising firms whose function has been to expand the home markets for the goods and services of the commercial world This huge involvement with financial interests has lead directly to the over-extension of viewing time to the point where studios and personnel are working beyond the capacity of RTE to provide an efficient and worthwhile service.

The seekers of 'national prestige' who equated civilisation with a television set, and the nationalists vainly trying to counter the influence of the British and American materialist 'cultures' have now seen their efforts thwarted: modern Ireland has become modern England, and modern England has become inextricably tied to modern America. The unending stream of junk which passes for entertain ment is providing mass escapism from the frustrations of daily life in these so-called Democratic states.

The Contradictions

Trying to solve these problems presents serious difficulties. Ideally, the conduct of television should be independent both of the pressures of the business community and the stifling control of the Government.

If advertising was banned, licencing fees would have to be increased to help towards the provision of sufficient capital for the maintainance of the service: but such increases have definite practical limits determined by the cost of living. The fact remains however that the greater part of RTE revenue is presently provided by the advertisers and were these to be banned, the only way out of the dilemma would be recourse to a Government subsidy. A Government subsidy means some form of Government control over expenditure subsidy. Government control over the expenditure of that subsidy means Fianna Fail control; Fianna Fail control means Capitalist control.

We find that RTE can not escape from the influence of the Economic Elite as long as Irish society is under the control of such a class. We arrive back at the beginning of the problem precisely because the internal logic of the societal class structure dictates that we must.

We find that the social and economic context is determining how the Television manifests itself in the society, and this manifestation presents us with a contradiction. The problem is that the aims of RTE to provide an objective, impartial and informative news service are in direct contradiction to it's

manifestation, because the latter is the product of financial interests which place it firmly under their control and their representatives.

We find in fact that this dilemma is a product the economic and social context, a product of the Irish class structure; the contradictions of RTE are only a reflection of the contradictions contained within the socie-economic structure.

The advocates of this 'Great Irish Democracy' may try to solve the problem of just who is to control Television for the next thousand years: they will be no nearer to it's solution as long as they do not devote their efforts to those fundamental contradictions which manifest themselves in so many ways in Irish society today. The control of RTE is only one of them.

MAKE LOVE NOT WAR

The ''DEMONSTRATION FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM." organised by Mr. Kanaan Atiya, Chairman of I.U. N.S.A. was an anti-climax, due to its political dis-organisation. The leadership of the demonstration was confused, and the result was that participants (a significant number of them) went home dissatisfied.

The leadership of the demonstration was afraid to to say publicly that the AMERICAN INVASION of Vietnam was a NAKED AGGRESSION - a blatant extension of the economic elite policy of Western financiers.

The demonstrators were not told that:

- 1. The Anglo-American alliance survives by its war economy.
- 2. People in the Anglo-American world are duped into supporting this alliance by the suggestion th at the more they consume, the more civilised they become, and that they are the pillars the world.
- 3. The quality of our individual and social live s is progressively reduced to drunkenness sexual indulgence.
- 4. It is not the Vietnamese who need help it is us Instead there were placards like " Make Love, Not War ", and "Peace in Vietnam", the first of which insults the demonstrators and makes on lookers regard them as 'non-serious'—and the second which confuses the public about the 'war of

the oppressed against the oppressor'. When an objection was made to these slogans (at the de monstration), Mr. Atiya asked the Guardai silence the objector.

THE U.S. AND THE U.N.

and Abraham Lincoln. Both demanded independence for their respective countries, the only difference being that Lincoln had far less support from the Southern States of America than Ho Chi Minh has in South Vietnam. In 1955 when President Diem of South Vietnam repudiated the Geneva agreement and refused to hold elect ions, Eisnhower actually admitted that had the elections takenplace Ho Chi Minh would undoubtedly have polled 80% of the votes.

We were reminded that the U.S. did not in fact sign the Geneva Agreement. Instead Foster Dulles subscribed three million dollars for the prolongation of the war, and the U.S.made it's own unilateral declaration that they would refrain from the use of force in disturbing that agreement and they would 'seek to achieve unity' by the promotion of free and fair elections. This, one might imagine, should have been as binding as if they had actually been a signatory of the Geneva Agreement

THE VALIDITY OF INTERNATIONAL

ILA W

"Law", said George Bernard Shaw, "is the last preserve of the scoundrel". Mr. Asmal urged us to be realistic, but not cynical; the point to be understood is that if International Law ceases to be valid in certain cases, it ceases to be valid at all In regard to war and International Law, we were reminded of the Tribunals of Tokyo and Nurembers Having for years given silent approvalto continuous atrocities in Vietnam, will we one day also approve the justice of the International Court in the condemnation of TODAYS war criminals?

THE INTERANTIONALISTS.

The Trinity Internationalists are a group students and members of the staff who hold meetings academic discussion. These meetings serve dual purpose of bringing about closer contact betwheren students and lecturers, in a way for facilities do not otherwise exist at Trinity College, and of elaborating the topics for the edification of the participants. The last meeting of the previous academic year was on "Politics per se". The first meeting of the new academic year was held on Oct. 28, and was a great success. The topic for discussion was " The Phenomena of Time Consciousness". Mr. Hardial S. Bains, a lecturer, dwelt on the sublicet at length (see page 2).

'Words' is published by the Trinity Internationalis sts. As we are not 'professional' in terms of the technical lay-out, and as large part of our time is being spent on the actual writing of the contents, we are not able to present our 'review paper' perfe ...rm.

Title: Words

Organisation: The Internationalists

Date: 1967

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive. Visit www.leftarchive.ie

The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to the Irish Left Archive, in addition to the original creators. For re-publication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to the Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.